TIRESIAS

Acknowledgements and Summary

From the Bronze Age through the Medieval era and well beyond, Tiresias was renowned for his prophetic skill. A marginal figure who sought to bridge the divides of god and man, present and future, life and death, male and female, sightedness and blindness, he ultimately revealed the difference between knowledge and ignorance. Always in pursuit of a deeper truth, the name Tiresias became synonymous with one who seeks knowledge. In the spirit of that research, Tiresias is the name given to this undergraduate journal.

In this volume, the articles will follow a roughly chronological approach, from the Etruscans to Medieval. We start with an article that that covers both time periods with an analysis of the Capitoline Wolf by Moira Scully. From there, we jump to a Greek topic that could be said to date to times immemorial; a look at the goddess Hekate and her place in society by Natasha White. Veronika Jorz then speaks to a widespread phenomenon in Greek history; tyrants, and their presence in various city-states. Elise Tennant then blends two of the most well-known artistic outputs of Classical Greece: vase painting and tragedies. Classical Greece gives way to the Hellenistic period with murder of Alexander's father, Philip and Matt Coleman gives us an insight into this historical mystery. Hellenistic monarchs and the early days of Rome combine in an article by John Keating which discusses the political entanglements between the various factions fighting for dominance in the first century BCE. There is no more apt person to move into the Roman Empire than Julius Caesar, and Hayley Mullin takes a look his campaigns. Moving from politics to art, Matt Coleman discusses a topic that touches on many historical eras: the Laocoon statuary group. Next, Caitlin Brast speaks to art that spans space as well as time in the combination of Roman and Egyptian styles in mummy portraits. The final four papers make the move from the ancient world to that of the medieval, starting with Jordan Tardif's look at Beowulf and the transition to Christianity in Britain. Stavros Stavroulias then speaks to the power of the Church by examining excommunications. We then take a brief departure from traditional academic papers as Andrew Hutfluss revives the tradition of the troubadour. Finally, the classical, medieval, and early modern periods blend together in Mac Wallace's examination of how Shakespeare uses Aristotelian structure in Richard II.

Caitlin Brast, Matthew Coleman, and Stavros Stavroulias
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Strength in Numbers:
Caesar's Formation of the First Triumvirate

Hayley Mullin

The path to success is often long and difficult, and it is not often done alone. It is important to carefully analyse the motives and actions taken by an individual on this course towards triumph in order to understand the nature of their success. In the case of Julius Caesar, a critical aspect of his successful early political career was his relationship with Gnaeus Pompey and Marcus Crassus. This political alliance has come to be known as the First Triumvirate. It is very important, however, that the nature of this union is not misunderstood or confused with the Second Triumvirate, consisting of Mark Antony, Octavian, and M. Aemilius Lepidus, which was legally ratified by the *Lex Titia* in 43 BCE.[1] Unlike the Second, the First Triumvirate was a personal arrangement between the three men, orchestrated by Caesar, to support each other's political ambitions. Analysing the how, when, and why of the formation of this alliance is important to understanding Caesar's rise to power. Evidence of Caesar's plan can be seen as early as 67 BCE, but the initial idea must have at least began to occur to Caesar in his youth during Sulla's rise to power and subsequent dictatorship. He would have seen firsthand the reactions and consequences of one man seizing sole control of the state, even having to flee Rome himself at one point.[2] The bloody feuding of those years would surely have been enough to convince Caesar that he would have to take a different path to success, one in which collaboration and legally valid actions were the corner stones. Caesar's efforts to bring the men together culminated during his consulship in 59 BCE, when the First Triumvirate finally came to the attention of the senators and the public,[3] and it was this alliance that allowed Caesar to successfully control Roman politics during his rise to power.

The men that Caesar selected for this political alliance were obvious choices at that time. Crassus and Pompey were probably the most powerful and influential men at the start of Caesar's career, for different reasons. Crassus had been one of Sulla's leading commanders and Plutarch tells us how he used his position to amass an enormous fortune through the proscriptions and confiscations of Sulla's dictatorship: "The greatest part of this [wealth], if one must tell the scandalous truth, he got together out of fire and war, making public calamities his greatest source of revenue."[4] Crassus was known for buying burned down buildings for little money and using his numerous, highly-skilled slaves to repair them. He also had a successful political career and owned multiple silver mines and valuable tracts of land.[5] As one of Rome's most wealthy politicians, Crassus was an obvious choice for Caesar. Likewise, Pompey had the love and support of the people, and by 67 BCE had already achieved numerous important military victories.[6] Individually, these men were perfect allies to the young Caesar, but what was most surprising to the people was Caesar's ability to make them cooperate with each other, albeit for their own personal interests. Pompey and Crassus had a long-standing rivalry that impacted their joint and individual careers repeatedly throughout the years.[7] Only when Caesar pulled them together in 60 BCE did they manage any true cooperation.

The contention between the two men began during Sulla's rise to power. Although they were both given military commands, Pompey always seemed to excel where Crassus did not, receiving many extraordinary honours from Sulla. As Plutarch records, "out of these activities first arose, as they say, his ambitious rivalry with Pompey for distinction."[8] Even many years later during Spartacus' Slave War in 73-71 BCE, Pompey managed to outshine Crassus without officially being a part of the war. In 72 BCE, Crassus was called upon to lead the command in the war after many others had failed.[9] He defeated the slave army, including Spartacus himself, reportedly killing 12,300 men. "But although Crassus had been fortunate," Plutarch tells us, "had shown most excellent generalship, and had exposed his person to danger, nevertheless, his success did not fail to enhance the reputation of Pompey."[10] For when retreating from Crassus, the remnants of the slave army encountered the forces of Pompey on their way back from Spain. They slaughtered and crucified them, effectively striking the final blow to bring the war to an end.[11] Thus Pompey received the honour and glory which rightly belonged to Crassus and was asked to stand in the upcoming elections for the consulship of 70 BCE.

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[1] Tatum, "The Final Crisis (69-44)," 211, note 31.
[2] Plutarch, *Life of Julius Caesar*, 1.5.
[3] Ferrero *The Life of Caesar,* 207.
[4] Plutarch, *Life of Crassus,* 2.3; Stevenson, *Julius Caesar and the Transformation of the Roman Republic*, 53.
[5] Plut. *Crass.* 2.4-6.

[6] Plutarch, *Life of Pompey,* 13-14 & 22.
[7] Ferrero, 207.
[8] Plut. *Crass.* 6.4.
[9] Plut. *Crass.* 10.1.
[10] Plut. *Crass.* 11.7.
[11] Stevenson, 54.

A brief respite in the animosity between these two great men came when Crassus approached Pompey for his support in the same consular election. Pompey agreed to support his candidature, "for he was desirous of having Crassus, in some way or other, always in debt to him for some favour."[12] However, this tentative peace and superficial cooperation would not last long. Almost immediately after assuming their joint office, "they differed on all points, and were constantly in collision."[13] Due to this political stalemate, not a whole lot resulted from the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, the notable exception being the restoration of the veto to the Tribunes of the Plebs, of which they had been stripped during Sulla's dictatorship. Although Plutarch's account of this year is similar in both his *Life of Crassus*[14] and *Life of Pompey*, only in the latter is this mentioned, and, like ending the Slave War, only Pompey is credited, saying it earned him even more power and influence among the common people.[15]

The hostility between the men continued, resulting in a political stalemate in which neither was able to garner enough support to overcome the opposition of the other. When Pompey returned to Rome victorious from the Third Mithridatic War in 62 BCE, he approached the senate and requested the ratification of the arrangements he had made in the East, which included new boundaries, alliances, amounts of tribute imposed, and the transition of power among important individuals. Of course, Crassus was among the senators who opposed the ratification, instead insisting that each provision be examined and debated individually and at length by the Senate.[16] Thus they delayed accepting or rejecting the measures, leaving both Pompey and the Eastern provinces in limbo. A short time later, Crassus was again a part of the opposition to Pompey, this time over a land bill proposed by the Tribune Lucius Flavius that would grant land to Pompey's veteran soldiers. Simultaneously, Pompey endorsed a bill by Metellus Nepos that would abolish import duties on goods coming into Italy from the East.[17] This second bill especially would have had a very negative impact on the interests of Crassus, and thus he supported a petition to the Senate by those in charge of collecting the taxes in Asia. This petition requested a rebate on the price they had bid for the contract, saying that the war-torn provinces were not bringing in revenue fast enough to avoid losses.[18] None of these matters were resolved at the time, however, due to the "long-drawn series of political squabbles"[19] that ensued. Neither Pompey nor Crassus were willing to let the other succeed in any of their endeavours.

It was at this point, on the verge of the consular elections in 60 BCE, that Caesar was able to convince Pompey and Crassus that none of them would be successful working alone, but that together they would have the power to overcome any opposition offered by the likes of Cato and Catulus.[20] However, Caesar had been working within the interests of both men for some time now. His political relationship with Pompey began when he publicly supported the *Lex Gabinia* in 67 BCE, which granted Pompey an extraordinary command in order to deal with the rising problem of pirates in the Mediterranean. The extent and nature of the command was vehemently opposed, with Plutarch claiming that Caesar was the only senator in favour.[21] Contrary to what Plutarch records, however, it is reasonable to assume that in doing so, Caesar not only sought the approval and recognition of the common people, but also to ingratiate himself with Pompey. The very next year, the opportunity arose again for Caesar to lend his support to Pompey against many other senators. The command offered to Pompey by the *Lex Manilia* was just as controversial as that from the *Lex Gabinia*, but still Caesar supported it, and still it passed.[22] Another example of Caesar working in Pompey's interest comes at the onset of Caesar's praetorship in 62 BCE. Suetonius records that he immediately moved to have the responsibility and honour of the restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus transferred from Catulus to Pompey.[23] Although he eventually withdrew the bill because it lacked support, it served the dual purpose of embarrassing Catulus while promoting the merits of Pompey.

The early relationship between Caesar and Crassus is not as well documented and revolves more around financial issues rather than direct influence and popularity. It is often inferred that Caesar and Crassus had financial relations as early as 65 BCE, when Caesar was elected curule aedile. As such, Caesar, alongside Marcus Bibulus, was responsible for the operation and upkeep of temples, markets, and roads, as well as hosting a variety of spectacles. The year of Caesar's aedileship was a spectacular one indeed, and resulted in his accumulation of massive debt, which he was only to sink further into during the subsequent years.[24] This was an acceptable risk for Caesar though, because "by these means he put the people in such a humour that every man of them was seeking out new offices and new

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[12] Plut. *Crass.* 12.1
[13] Plut. *Pomp.* 22.3
[14] Plut. *Crass.* 12
[15] Plut. *Pomp.* 21.4 & 22
[16] Stevenson, 72-73.
[17] Ferrero, 199; Tatum, 198.
[18] Tatum, 198.

[19] Ferrero, 200.
[20] Plut. *Crass.* 14.1-2
[21] Plut. *Pomp.* 25.4
[22] Stevenson, 58-59; Gruen, "Caesar as a Politician," 25.
[23] Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 15; Gruen, 29.
[24] Stevenson, 59.

honours with which to requite him."[25] His financial situation must have been widely known, because while campaigning for the election of Pontifex Maximus two years later, Plutarch says that Catulus, a fellow contender, offered Caesar "large sums of money" to renounce his candidature, "but Caesar declared that he would carry the contest through even though he had to borrow still larger sums."[26] An anecdote from the morning of this election has been recorded by both Plutarch and Suetonius, in which Caesar reportedly tells his mother that he would either return as Pontifex Maximus, or be forced into exile due to his massive debts.[27] Fortunately for Caesar, he managed to defeat his much older and more experienced opponents.

As one of Rome's wealthiest and most active political figures, it is logical to assume that Crassus was among those to lend financial support to Caesar during this time. However, the earliest documented evidence for it occurs in 62 BCE, as Caesar was set to depart for his praetorship in Further Spain. His creditors descended upon him, demanding money that Caesar did not have and preventing him from leaving. Plutarch records, "Crassus did not leave him in the lurch, but freed him from embarrassment by making himself his surety for eight hundred and thirty talents."[28] Therefore, with Crassus standing surety for part of his massive debt, Caesar was able to depart for Spain and continue on his path to political success, the next stop on which was the consulship.

In his first year of eligibility, *suo anno*, Caesar stood for the consular election in 60 BCE, surprisingly forfeiting his *imperium* and the triumph he had earned while in Spain to do so.[29] But with the joint support of Pompey and Crassus, Caesar was propelled to victory. Unfortunately, the three men's plan to have a wealthy friend of Pompey's, Lucius Lucceius, elected alongside Caesar failed. Instead, Caesar was to share his position for a second time with the same man, Marcus Bibulus, who had been supported by his father-in-law, Cato. [30] This critical time is most elegantly described by Guglielmo Ferrero:

> "During the months which he spent at Rome as Consul designate, Caesar manoeuvred so adroitly that he succeeded in breaking down the old hostility between Pompey and Crassus. The reconciliation was of course still kept secret; neither of the three wished it to become publicly known, lest their enemies, who were still powerful, should be frightened into fresh energy."[31]

This alliance, however, was not kept secret for very long. The culmination of Caesar's planning and the first cooperative action of the First Triumvirate came during the first months of his consulship while attempting to have a new agrarian bill passed into law. The proposed bill would grant public land to Pompey's veterans, and later was amended to include the greater urban poor as well.[32] Caesar had crafted this bill so that it "included stipulations and safeguards that ought to have satisfied past opponents,"[33] but still the Senate refused it. Now came the opportunity for Caesar to have the bill brought before the popular assembly. Before he was able to convene one, however, Bibulus and Cato took up a staunch resistance, proclaiming ill omens (*spectio*) that would force a postponement of any and all legislative or electoral assemblies. Nothing would stop Caesar though, and he went ahead with gathering an assembly, at which he openly called for the support of Pompey and Crassus, to the surprise of many:[34]

> Stationing Crassus on one side of him and Pompey on the other, he asked them if they approved his laws. They declared that they did approve them, whereupon he urged them to give him their aid against those who threatened to oppose him with swords. They promised him such aid, and Pompey actually added that he would come up against swords with sword and buckler too. At this impulsive and mad speech, unworthy of the high esteem in which Pompey stood and unbecoming to the respect which was due to the senate, the nobility were distressed but the populace were delighted.[35]

This passage from Plutarch highlights the influence that the three men together held over the populace, the anxiety that they inspired among the senators, and the lengths to which they were willing to go to accomplish their aims. Further illustrating how powerful this new alliance was, Caesar took advantage of a flaw in Bibulus' plan by packing the forum with his supporters and Pompey's veterans to prevent Bibulus from formally announcing the *spectio* in front

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[25] Plut. *Caes.* 5.9.
[26] Plut. *Caes.* 7.2.
[27] Plut. *Caes.* 7.3; Suet., *Iul.* 13.
[28] Plut. *Crass.* 7.6; Plut. *Caes.*11.1-2.
[29] Tatum, 198-199.
[30] Stevenson, 74.

[31] Ferrero, 203.
[32] Gruen, 32.
[33] Tatum, 199.
[34] Ferrero, 207.
[35] Plut. *Caes.* 14.4-6.

of the assembly (*obnuntiatio*). Thus Bibulus' proclamations lacked legitimate force.[36] Realising that he could do nothing against the power of these three men, Bibulus retired from public life for the rest of the year, leaving Caesar's consular power unchecked. Michael Gray-Fow most accurately summarizes this turmoil: "Cato and his friends lauded Bibulus' esoteric obstructionism; Caesar ignored it, and the people thought it ridiculous. Bibulus took to written *edicta*; they pleased his friends, irritated Pompey, and changed nothing."[37] Therefore Caesar succeeded in the first of many actions that year towards the individual benefit of the three men.

Without Bibulus to oppose Caesar on equal ground, the rest of the year proceeded without difficulty. Ignoring the senate and again approaching the people directly, Caesar was easily able to pass those legislations which had thus far frustrated Pompey and Crassus. Pompey's eastern arrangements were ratified, bringing much needed stability to those provinces, and the rebate on the contract for tax collection in Asia was secured for Crassus.[38] On a more personal note, Caesar further secured the alliance by marrying his daughter Julia to Pompey, even though she was already betrothed.[39] But perhaps the most lucrative thing to result from Caesar's consulship was his proconsular appointment for the following year. In February of 59 BCE, Quintus Metellus Celer, the governor of Gaul and the commander for the "imminent war against the Helvetii", died unexpectedly on the eve of his departure.[40] In this Caesar saw great opportunity, and he immediately set about securing the newly vacant position for himself. A bill was quickly and effortlessly passed by the popular assembly which granted Caesar the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria, with command of three legions, for five years. Furthermore, Pompey proposed to the Senate that Transalpine Gaul and an additional legion also be put under Caesar's command. The Senate agreed, "since the members feared that even if they should refuse it, the people would give him this also."[41] So adored by the people was Caesar, and so influential was the support of Pompey and Crassus, that the position was promulgated on the first of March, 59 BCE.

In conclusion, the path that Caesar took to political success would not have been possible without the support of Rome's two most influential men of the time, Gnaeus Pompey and Marcus Crassus. The First Triumvirate was a plan that Caesar worked towards throughout his early political career, culminating in his consulship in 59 BCE. All three men benefited greatly from this alliance: Pompey's veterans received their due land and his Eastern arrangements were ratified; Crassus' position was closer to being equal to Pompey's than it had ever been before, and his financial investments were secured with the rebate on the tax collecting contract; and most importantly, Caesar's career flourished, his influence with the people grew, and he secured a proconsular command that exceeded his expectations. Perhaps the most difficult thing to avoid when examining actions from hindsight is assigning motivation that did not exist. In the case of Caesar, though, the motivations for his actions concerning Crassus and especially Pompey most likely revolved around the idea of future cooperation, which Plutarch describes as "a thing which was honourable in itself and conducive to the public good, but [Caesar] undertook it for an unworthy reason and with all the cleverness of an intriguer. For those opposing forces which, as in a vessel, prevented the city from rocking to and fro, were united into one, thereby giving to faction an irresistible momentum that overpowered and overthrew everything."[42] It was this alliance that created the path that ultimately allowed Caesar to rise to power. The cooperation and support, as well as the personal ambitions, of these three men propelled Caesar onto the course that would lead to his dictatorship and eventual death.

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[36] Tatum, 200; Stevenson, 75.
[37] Gray-Fow, "The Mental Breakdown of a Roman Senator: M. Calpurnius Bibulus," 180.
[38] Plut. *Pomp.* 48.3; Tatum, 200; Ferrero, 209.

[39] Plut. *Pomp.* 47.6; Ferrero, 209.
[40] Ferrero, 208.
[41] Suet. *Iul.* 22.1; Tatum, 200.
[42] Plut. *Pomp.* 47.1-2.

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The Fayum Mummy Portraits:
A Look Into the Eyes of the Past

Caitlin Brast

When asked to name things associated with ancient Egypt, most people come up with similar answers: mummies, pyramids, and golden death masks. These things all have something in common; they are all linked to the funerary practices of this ancient culture. What might be less known, however, is that these practices continued long after the last pharaoh reigned over Egypt. After the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE, Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire. The melting pot that ensued over the next several hundred years created many unique cultural and artistic practices. Among the most stunning examples of this cultural mixing are the so called "Fayum mummy portraits". Found mostly around the site of the Fayum, just south of the Nile Delta area, but they have also been found throughout both the Delta and further south. These pieces were portraits of the dead, done either on wood, which would be placed within the wrappings of the mummy, or on the linen wrappings themselves. Despite their perishable nature, these materials have survived the years due to the xeric nature of Egypt's landscape, thus providing students who learn of the past with some of the only surviving portraits of the ancient world. These paintings provide a view into a unique into the past, seeing how Roman and Egyptian cultures came together during the first few centuries of the first millennium A.D. Instead of getting rid of the ancient culture's long funerary traditions, the Romans adopted them and adapted them with their own artistic qualities. The portraits therefore provide link between two disparate cultures. They also offer a link from the art of the high empire to that of later antiquity, showing continuity from the seemingly distant traditions of verism of the republic, the classicism of the Augustan age, and the stylised manner of the late empire. In this way, mummy portraits offer a fusion of aspects of cultures, both from two different cultures, as well as a showing a coming together of two disparate halves of the same culture.

At its height, the Roman empire stretched from Spain in the west to Turkey in the east, and controlled pieces of Africa as well. Egypt was among her first acquisitions, obtaining it after the deaths of Cleopatra and Marc Antony at the Battle of Actium in 30BCE. However, this was not the first time a new culture had come to Egypt. The ancient nation had been constantly invaded and controlled by new peoples throughout its thousands of years of history, and by the time the Romans conquered Egypt, it was no longer controlled by native Egyptians, but by Macedonian Greeks, the legacy of Alexander the Great's empire. Unlike the previous conquerors, the Greeks and Romans opened up Egypt to a whole new world of ideas.[1] This incredible mixture of peoples from all over the old world is one of the striking aspects of this period, and what allowed for the growth of the mummy portraits.

Fig. 1: Tutankhamun's Death Mask (Walker, "Mummy Portraits")

The funerary customs of the Egyptians had been long established, with mummification reaching back into pre-dynastic times.[2] When the Greeks and Romans came to Egypt, they blended their own patterns of dealing with the dead with those of their newly adopted culture. While occasional cremations and inhumations, the standard methods used by the Romans, were performed, it was mummification that was the most popular method throughout Roman times.[3] However, the Romans brought their own art styles to these mummies, replacing the golden funerary masks such as Tutankhamun's famous mask (Fig. 1), with more realistic portraits. Throughout pharaonic times, the art and styles found in ancient Egypt were rigidly upheld. Stiff, unrealistic art was used throughout most of Egyptian history, with poses that are so commonly featured they have made their way into pop music, and with which even children are familiar. Roman art, however, was an entirely different story, with a fluidity to the styles used that was unheard of in ancient Egypt. In this way, Romans reshaped the static nature of art and brought a new breath of life into the dead.

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[1] Shore, *Portrait Painting from Roman Egypt,* 9.
[2] Walker, "Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt," 9-10.

[3] Riggs, "Facing the Dead: Recent Research on the Funerary Art of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt," 85.

Fig. 2: Roman Period Mummy Mask (Thompson)

While mummy masks like Tutankhamun's were still used, masks adopted many of the more naturalistic features seen with the more standard portraiture on wood or linen.[4] (Fig. 2) However, in the north of Egypt, where Roman influence was greatest, the portraits were the most popular. The wood used for the paintings came from a variety of trees, both those native to Egypt and those that had been imported.[5] Two main techniques were used for creating the image: encaustic and tempera painting.[6] Both were used as a way of fixing the pigment to the wood, but tempera was made of a base of egg, whereas encaustic involves painting with wax. Encaustic painting dominated the first two centuries of the millennium, whereas tempera painting grew later on as a cheaper, faster to make alternative. Both techniques were used to create the striking portraits that are still popular in museums today.

While it is agreed that these are pictures of people, there is a considerable amount of debate on whether these images are true portraits. On one hand, these paintings represent an individual very clearly, and lack the uncanny similarities that leave the Julio-Claudian emperors unrecognizable. However, who exactly the image shows is the question of debate, and if it was painted from life. Formulas and patterns are also seen to occur, with figures wearing the same clothes and jewellery, or even having almost identical faces.[7] However, there is an aspect of idealization in all portraits, as all images have a message to present, whether intentional or not.[8] One way of accounting for this discrepancy of some being realistic, while others are highly stylized, is by the age of the pictures.[9] Much like the switch to the cheaper, easier to work with tempera paint, this may be accounted for by the economic downswing that the empire experienced as it transitioned from the highs experienced during the Principate to the confusion and depression during the Dominate. The formulaic images may represent an almost mass-made industry, in which a picture that looked similar to the deceased would be selected, and then altered to match the dead person's face.[10] The mummy portraits during these two periods look so dissimilar that even a casual viewer would separate them into two groups.

The first period of mummy portraits is defined by paintings which are often so life-like, one could imagine seeing them walking down the street today. (Fig. 3) These early paintings, done in encaustic, feature the same battle between verism and idealism that is seen throughout Roman art. Portraits seem to have emerged sometime in the mid-first century A.D., however, this is some debate on dating.[11] At this point in time, the Julio-Claudians would have been in power, and their imperial art was characterized by the classicism that Augustus so admired. However, the art of the common people continued to reflect the realism that was such a large part of indigenous Italian art. It was in this tradition that the Fayum portraits fall. An early piece (Fig. 4) shows a woman who is unmistakably individualized; her long straight nose, her unibrow, and long, oval face all characterise her as specific person. This individualism can be seen in (fig 5) as well, where a young man is depicted with thin, pointed chin, shaggy, slightly curled hair and a mustache and beard that are just growing in. Clearly, the

Fig. 3: Eutyches, a Greek boy (Thompson)
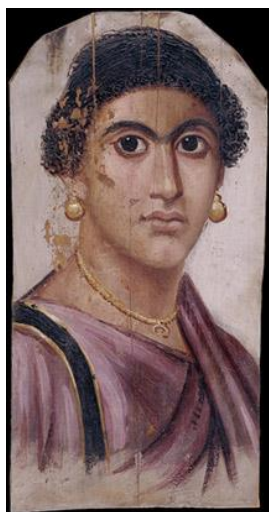
Fig. 4: Portrait of a young woman (Walker, "Mummy Portraits")

Fig. 5: Portrait of a young man (Walker, "Mummy Portraits")

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[4] Walker, "Mummy Portraits," 128.
[5] Shore, 20-21.
[6] Thompson, *Mummy Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 6-7.
[7] Prag, "Proportion and Personality in the Fayum Portraits," 55.
[8] Borg and Most, "The Face of the Elite," 67.
[9] Thompson, 11.
[10] Thompson, 15.
[11] Walker, "Mummy Portraits," 34-36.

artist is depicting a specific person. However, there is also an aspect of idealism present in many of these portraits. Many of the images feature young people, in the prime of their life, and elderly people are rarely seen.[12] In addition, none of the pictures feature any one person with glaring physical defects, even in one case where an analysis of the skull showed the man in life to have uneven eyes, which was not seen in his portrait, nor was the man as young as his portrait made him out to be.[13] This could have been a mistake; putting the wrong portrait on a mummy, or the skull could have been damaged peri- or post-mortem. However, it could also represent a tension between the ideas of representing the dead as they are, or the dead as how they were at their best. Either way, this is more of an unusual case, as many people are depicted young for a simple reason: they were young. Until modern times, age at death was much younger, and the lack of elderly people represented may be for an obvious reason of the fact that there just were not many older people present in the society. It was in this first period of mummy painting where verism reigned supreme.

Fig 6: Sarcophagus of Artemidorus (Walker, "Painted Hellenes")

One of the suggestions for the realism found here is the combination of funerary traditions of Egyptians and Romans. The Romans practiced a form of ancestor worship where busts of the deceased were kept for ceremonies in which the dead would be celebrated.[14] Therefore, it was necessary for the face of the statue to closely resemble the face of the dead family member. A similar function was present in the death masks and cartonnages of the Egyptian sarcophagi, and even the practice of mummification; in order for the soul to return to the body and enter the afterlife, the soul must recognise the body. The faces on most sarcophagi are indistinguishable from one another, and the practice of mummification comes directly from this: in order to for this recognition to happen, the body must look somewhat like it did when the person died. Here, it is easy to see the link between the two cultures that made the mummy portraits such a popular option. By combining two funerary customs, the Romans created something unique. An illuminating example of the combination of the two cultures is seen in the sarcophagus of Artemidorus, who died sometime in the late second century AD. (Fig 6) He is depicted not only in a mummy portrait, but his sarcophagus is decorated with traditional symbols relating to the funerary practices of the Egyptians, including depictions of the gods and traditional symbols of Egyptian religion, such as a sun-disc and the feather of Ma'at.[15] In the example of Artemidorus, it combines the life-like verism of Roman art with the flat abstraction of Egyptian art.

Flat and abstract are also ways in which the art of late antiquity is described. Often the difference between Classical and Medieval art is so stunning that it could be seen as completely discontinuous.[16] However, in the mummy portraits, a slower transition between two very different art styles begins to appear. A portrait of an older man done in tempera shows a clear spot in between earlier classical times and into later antiquity.[17] (Fig 7) He shows clear examples of verism and realism in his grey hair, large bald spot and wrinkles on his forehead. However, he does not retain the striking realism as in earlier portraits. He does not look someone walking down the street; he is very clearly a picture; almost cartoonish in his face. An interesting aspect to this portrait is his age: the slight idealism of displaying people as young and handsome is not

Fig. 7: Portrait of an Older Man (Walker, "Mummy Portraits")

Fig 8: Portrait of a Young Boy (Thompson)

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[12] Shore, 28.
[13] Walker, "Mummy Portraits," 46-47.
[14] Hinks, *Greek and Roman Portrait Sculpture,* 45.
[15] Walker, "Painted Hellenes: Mummy Portraits from Late Roman Egypt," 315.

[16] Elsner, "Late Antique Art: The Problem of the Concept and the Cumulative Aesthetic," 275.
[17] Walker, "Mummy Portraits," 87.

present here in any similar degree to as the earlier portraits. Another portrait follows this schematization and dates from either the mid- to early third century but could be as late as the fourth century.[18] The face of this boy is lacking almost any sort of individual features, nor is there any level of shading, proportion or perspective that the earlier paintings did so well. (Fig 8) While both Fig. 3 and Fig. 8 represent young boys, they could not look less alike, as there has been a clear transition. From these paintings, the step to the more abstract, flat images of the Byzantine and Middle Ages does not seem as distant of a step.

One fascinating aspect of the mummy portraits is they represent the only corpus of panel painting available to modern scholars. While pictures painted on wooden panels made up a large part of the paintings in the ancient world, none from outside of Egypt survive.[19] Many mosaics, wall paintings and other decorative pieces were based on these panels. In ancient Greece, both the Propylaea on the Acropolis and the Stoa Poikile in the Agora of Athens were renowned in ancient times as tourist locations because of the panel paintings displayed within.[20] Over history, these paintings were either destroyed or rotted away in the humid climate of the Mediterranean. It was only in the dry, harsh landscape of ancient Egypt that these wooden portraits survived. Therefore, they provide scholars some of the only views into Graeco-Roman painting, especially portraits. The Severan Tondo, (Fig 9) also from Egypt, is one of the few other pieces of panel painting preserved, and the style is very similar to that of the mummy portraits.[21] Done around the year 200 AD, during the reign of Septimius Severus, this portrait displays the royal family in a style that fits a transition from more realistic style to a more schematized style that would come to

Fig 9: The Severan Tondo (Thompson)

dominate in late antiquity and into the medieval period. This portrait also provides one of the only ones remaining from antiquity, with a few exceptions from the eternally preserved city of Pompeii. Here, one of the surviving portraits features a couple which shows the verism common in the later first century. Once again, this reflects the styles found in the mummy portraits. However, these are only two examples of a corpus that is mostly lost to history. Here is the extreme value of mummy portraits is apparent: the xeric climate provides scholars with the only corpus of panel painting remaining from the ancient world.

The mummy portraits of Roman period Egypt present a corpus of art that provides scholars and viewers with a view into different cultures across different times. Not only do the paintings show Roman style painting combined with Egyptian funerary customs, it also shows the link between the earlier art of the Roman Republic with the art of Late antiquity. These images also have such an importance to art history in the fact that they are some of the only surviving pieces of panel painting, a once vibrant tradition, to make it into modernity. The portraits offer a view into a side of Graeco-Roman art that is only preserved elsewhere in wall-paintings, frozen in time in Pompeii. While there is some debate about whether these paintings are true "portraits", they do offer a link to the past for all viewers. When one looks at a mummy portrait, they see the face of someone who has been dead for over 1500 years, and yet are still able to make a connection to them in a way that the cold, unfeeling marble statues and jagged pieces of mosaics are unable to do. Perhaps this view into the eyes of the ancients is the most amazing part of these spectacular portraits.

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[18] Walker, "Mummy Portraits," 84.
[19] Gschwantler, "Graeco-Roman Portraiture," 14.

[20] Pausanias, *Description of Greece,* 1.15.1.
[21] Thompson, 26.

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La croisade de l'amour

Andrew Hutfluss

Mon amour,
Ma câlina,
Seulement avec toi je serai couronna,
Prendre la croix est un crève-coeur,
Sortir ton amour mon nom est blasphémateur.

Dieu peut me abandonna,
Mais crois moi,
Mon esprit est avec toi,
Les croisades futiles que j'ai accompagna.
Seulement votre noble corps peuvent me donner l'absolution, ma câlina'

Au paradis,
Ou en enfer,
Pour toi je me bats avec mon collègue Hospitalier
Pour notre amour fleurit comme une petite iris
Vaut mieux pour moi que la couronne de Paris

My love
My darling
Only with you will I be crowned
Taking the Cross is a heartbreaker
Leaving your love, my name is blasphemer.

God may have forsaken me
But believe me
My soul is with you
The futile crusades I have accompanied
Only your noble body can give me absolution.

In paradise
Or in Hell
For you I fight with my fellow Hospitaller
For our love blossoms like a small Iris
That is worth more to me, than the crown of Paris.

Presentation or Performance:
Euripidean Tragedy in Greek Vase Painting

By Elise Tennant

There are few absolutes within the scholarship of antiquity and fewer still in art history. Ancient vase paintings are often studied and seldom completely understood – the sheer variety and number prohibits any definitive conclusions. As such, matching a specific image on a pot to a specific, corresponding Greek tragedy would be like matching a needle to its silver haystack. Yet at times, we come close. Certain depictions tread closer to the literary versions and arguably display the very specificities that encapsulate them and make them unique. Looking specifically at conceivable depictions of Euripidean tragedy through vase paintings, the following will examine the potential consequences and implications these portrayals might have on the continuum of mythological illustrations.

Figure 1. Phiale Painter. "The Euaion/Perseus Krater."

Such requires a brief disclaimer: while there are multitudes of surviving pots, there are far fewer studies examining their relationship with theatre. It is a messy and imprecise field, full of complicated contexts and pieces rarely contemporary with the initial production of their ascribed works.[1] These mythological characters are a composite of their actions, a series of "diverse facets united by repetition in depictions."[2] As such, it is enormously difficult to separate one representation of a character from another, and to further attach that image to that of a tragedy. There seem to be no absolutes, only estimations.

Figure 2. Darius Painter, "Volute-Krater."

Seventeen of Euripides' tragedies survive, and are thought to have more artistic imagery than Sophocles or Aeschylus, making his works the most likely candidates to pin down a specific corroboration between art and play.[3] One could argue he had a greater impact on mythological pictures as a whole than either of the other playwrights.[4] Bearing in mind that, like the genre itself, Euripides' tragedies were innovative retellings of myths with certain specific changes only he was responsible for introducing. It is those precise changes – those specificities, unique to his version – that allow for any possibility of connecting art to literature, or vice versa.

While matching specifics may be less than certain, it is undeniable that tragedy impacted both contemporary and subsequent artistic expression. For example: there was a story of Perseus that was not popular in his cycle until the mid 5th century, when tragedians retold it dramatically.[5] In this instance, we have a strong connection: a pot (figure 1.) which includes an inscription referencing Aeschylus' son Euaion ("Euaion is handsome, son of Aeschylus"), who likely played Perseus in that performance of Sophocles' *Andromeda*.[6] Here is an example of tragedy influencing both the subject matter – the story the painter wished to show – as well as the specific interpretation – featuring a reference to the actor himself.

Euripides' works are more widely expressed artistically than their tragic counterparts. Among these expressions is a pot of possible relatedness to Euripides' *Hippolytos*: specifically, a scene around the messenger speech. The Apulian volute-krater dates to around the 340s and is attributed to the Darius Painter (figure 2.).

[1] Taplin, *Pots & Plays: Interactions between Tragedy and Greek Vase-painting of the Fourth Century B.C.,* 3.
[2] Steiner, *Reading Greek Vases,* 173.
[3] Taplin, 109.
[4] Taplin, 109.
[5] See Schefold, *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art*.
[6] Sparkes, *The Red and The Black: Studies in Greek Pottery,* 130.

This krater features the climactic scene in the story: Hippolytos' chariot-ride into exile, resulting in his death; the retainer seen on the left, who will ultimately narrate the episode as the messenger; the bull, rising out of the sea by Poseidon's command, in response to the curse Theseus had placed on his son; as well as the personified panic striking the rearing horses, here as a Fury – portrayed typically with snakes on her head and arms, bearing a torch, and sporting ornate boots.[7] The upper register, as is Apulian practice, is a composition of gods presiding over the course of events, some deeply invested, others only barely – if at all – involved.[8] The figures are thought to be, from left to right: Pan (featuring his syrinx and *lagobolon*), Apollo, Athena, Aphrodite and Eros, and Poseidon.[9] Only the latter three are directly involved in the action. This leads to a series of inevitable discrepancies between play and pot.

Rather than attempting to say this is a depiction of Euripides' tragedy it is, more accurately, a "presentation of a theme from *Hippolytos*."[10] There is an allowance of discrepancies: the *paidagogos*, the old man assumed to later become the messenger, is just that: an assumption. It does not match the Euripidean text, in that the messenger is an attendant and a groom. It is possible this change is a later performance tradition or local variation, as Taplin argues. However, he continues to conclude that regardless of the character, the figure is "a signal toward Euripides' tragedy."[11] The disregard for firmly identifying the character is undesirable, although ultimately this assumption, whether or not it is stretching sources, remains an option.

Furthermore, the series of gods depicted above remains a question. The gods to the left have no purpose, at least none stated in Euripides, for being present. Why then this selection of deities? Do they come from another version of the episode outside of the tragedy? Were they chosen at random? There are questions unanswerable by scholars that consequently allow no single solid attribution.

As demonstrated above, the assignment of a pot to a play, or vice versa, is not easily done. However, there are instances that lend themselves more favourably for examination. Perhaps Euripides' most notorious work, placing 3rd out of 3 in competition and surviving most famously, is *Medea*. The following examines related imagery on both the Cleveland and Policoro pots, focusing primarily on the latter.

The Policoro pot, a Lucanian Hydria dating to ca. 400 BCE, is attributed to the Policoro Painter (figure 3.*)*. It features the infamous Medea (labeled ΜΕΔΕΙΑ), flying on a snake- (or snake-like beast) drawn chariot. She is wearing an oriental headdress, a decorated chiton featuring a "strokes" pattern, and a himation – all typical costume elements.[12] Divinities flank her either side, likely Aphrodite and Eros.[13] Beneath her rushes forward Jason, wielding a sword, obviously too late to stop her

Figure 3. Policoro Painter. "Lucanain Hydria."

actions.[14] Directly below her lie her two sons, slain, and to their side a lamenting man – likely their *paidagogos*.[15] The Cleveland pot, similarly, displays the iconography executed with more ornate and elaborate qualities (figure 4.*).*

The Policoro pot was one of 12 figured pots found at an excavation in a single tomb at Policoro. Two of those twelve have been established as plausible theatre connections.[16] It is entirely possible they were buried with the deceased in order to reflect their love of tragedy – possibly even a love specifically for Euripides' work.[17] Considering the extent scholars are able to determine concerning the purposes of grave goods, this is as plausible a speculation as any. Furthermore, the date of reference puts the Policoro pot conceivably within Euripides' lifetime.[18] Both of these facts strengthen the idea of relationship with Euripides' tragedy.

[7] Green & Handley, *Images of the Greek Theatre,* 47.
[8] Trendall & Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama,* III. 3, 23-24.
[9] Trendall & Webster, III. 3, 23-24; Taplin, 138.
[10] Green & Handley, 47.
[11] Taplin, 137.
[12] Sourvinou-Inwood, "Medea at a Shifting Distance: Images and Euripidean Tragedy," 269.

[13] Sourvinou-Inwood, 269.
[14] Taplin, 117.
[15] Taplin, 117.
[16] Taplin, 117.
[17] Taplin, 117.
[18] Taplin, 117.

When looking upon these depictions, the modern viewer would logically be brought to think immediately of the climactic scene in Euripides' play. This is a valid assumption. Like the aforementioned Perseus story, Medea's episode in Corinth was not represented in vase-painting until tragedy brought it to the forefront: Medea was not seen depicted until the end of the 5th century BCE.[19] It is therefore reasonable to speculate artists to have drawn inspiration from Euripides' play, initially staged 431 BCE. Medea is even portrayed as wearing a typical stage costume.[20] It features elements particular to Euripides' version of the myth (Medea murdering her children and her supernatural escape).[21] There is little space to doubt the direct influence of the drama on these depictions. Taplin bluntly states his answer to the real question being posed: that this is, "not just 'the myth:' it is Euripides' particular myth."[22]

Figure 4. Psuedo-Policoro Painter. "Red-Figure Calyx-Krater: Medea in Chariot."

While most elements point to Euripides' version, there are certain caveats. There are a number of discrepancies to be addressed, looking only at those large enough to pose serious problems. It is not a foregone conclusion that this is linked to Euripides specifically. There are 8 dramatic versions of Medea in ancient literature.[23] How can we possibly be certain this is Euripides? Furthermore, where we have, for instance, 8 versions of the same episode, we have "tens, even hundreds of instances of myth in vase-painting."[24] Until the late 5th century, the dating of vases is primarily stylistically based.[25] Subsequently only vague calendar dates could be attributed – these limitations in accuracy extend within the time of Athenian tragedians, Euripides included.[26] While we think this vase is to be dated to 400 BCE, at that level there is no saying so with absolute conviction.

Moreover, there are issues with the depicted subject matter previously discussed. Taplin lays out three major objections: 1) The children's bodies are not with Medea in the chariot, but rather on the ground (or altar) below her; 2) The children are lamented by a *paidagogos*, who is not present at the time in Euripides' text; 3) The creatures drawing the chariot are not explicitly stated or described in the text – while there is nothing to contradict the snakes, there remains nothing to corroborate them either.[27] Then there are the matters concerning the actual staging of the play – certain aspects of the portrayal do not match theatre practices at the time. Jason, for example, is naked – an unaccepted exercise in drama.[28] As well, there are no depictions of the required stage craft. The chariot would have been hoisted by *mechane*, and the flying divinities would have needed bulky cranes.[29] None of these necessary staging attributes are included in the artistic portrayal.

There have been attempts to explain these discrepancies while maintaining the connection between pot and play. Painters are, after all, artists; they are not required to follow any single or composite literary versions. They have and express their own tastes and opinions. Taplin accounts for the dissimilarities through his preferred justification of the "local staging variant:" that by this time, actors were already introducing their own variations of the original Athenian performance in 431 BCE.[30] Like local variation in any artistic medium, this would explain the differences in expression of the same central idea or story.

Other possible explanations can be discussed as well. I argue that depictions of theatre on ancient vase-paintings are not always the play in performance, with the *scene* and costumes and technical restraints, but rather a depiction of what is being performed; that is to say, the tragedian's specific version of the myth, as if it were the mythology itself.

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[19] Trendall & Webster, III. 3, 34.
[20] Trendall & Webster, III. 3, 34.
[21] Taplin, 117.
[22] Taplin, 117.
[23] Billing, "Representations of Greek Tragedy in Ancient Pottery: a Theatrical Perspective," 239.
[24] Sparkes, 124.
[25] Billing, 239.
[26] Billing, 239.
[27] Taplin, 119.
[28] Billing, 239.
[29] Billing, 239.
[30] Taplin, 120.

There are innumerable external factors influencing decisions in arts, most of which we will never know or understand simply because we were not there. Degrees of difference between the tragic text and the artist's image can be accounted for by recognizing that the Medea adorning the vase is not simply Euripides' Medea, but a compilation of external influences and forces – a composite.[31] She is the actor's body personifying her; she is a combination of the viewer's memory with the artist's; she is the choices and inflections of the artist themselves.[32] Medea is a mythological character; this Medea is that character with theatrical connotations, subsequently changing the portrayal in itself. They are fluid with each other, for "a well-constructed character in one instance will not portray traits at odds with another depiction."[33] This presentation of Medea is the tragedian's own, coming to the fore amidst all the versions preceding her. The myth and the actor – the image and the 'woman' on the stage – they embody a continuation of depth and meaning achieved by means of each other.[34] These discrepancies are not, in fact, differences, but artistic decisions made to express the story they thought was being told. It is dangerous to psychoanalyze a painting, let alone the artist, but it is a plausible enough idea to suggest an artist might express personal outlooks. The starburst encircling the triumphant Medea in the Cleveland vase is not an effect conceivable or achievable on a Greek stage. It is a representation of the Medea in that story at that moment – not as an actor on a stage, but a woman upon a chariot.

The stage exists to tell a story. Perhaps to entertain and instruct, or to depict cultural ideas and ideals of the time but first and foremost an expression through drama. It presents a version of events unique to its author. A survey of speculation on vase-paintings expressing possibly Euripidean tragedies serves to explore this idea, primarily seen in the Medea vases of Policoro and Cleveland. I argue that these paintings present not the stage version itself, not the *theatron* and *scene* and theatrical restraints, but the version of the myth that is being offered by the tragedian. Not the play in performance, but the story being performed. The representation of drama on pots is one subject to a multitude of variations. As seen through an examination of Euripidean drama in relation to artistic depiction, this study is subjective at best. Ultimately, I believe that the artistic depictions of drama, such as Euripides' Medea, were subject to artistic license and interpretation.

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[31] Lada-Richards, "'By Means of Performance': Western Greek Mythological Vase-Paintings, Tragic "Enrichment," and the Early Reception of Fifth-century Athenian Tragedy," 117.

[32] Lada-Richards, 117.
[33] Steiner, 173.
[34] Lada-Richards, 117.

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Excommunication: Blessing or Curse?

Stavros Stavroulias

Excommunication was an effective tool in strengthening ecclesiastical power throughout medieval Europe. There were two kinds of excommunication, major and minor, which represented the severity of the act being punished. Both were supposed to be used as medicinal mechanisms, to help get people back on the righteous path. However, over time excommunication began to serve far more nefarious goals.[1] The clergy began to use it to instil fear and exude power over others, under the guise of its aforementioned purpose. By perverting the act of excommunication, the Church reinforced its power and further subjugated the rest of the medieval population to its authority. Therefore, by examining the application of clerical authority through excommunication, we can begin to comprehend a highly hierarchized society which lived in radicalized religiosity.

To begin, excommunication - like almost anything - evolved throughout the millennium of the Middle Ages. When excommunication began to be employed in the Catholic Church, it was used primarily against people who violated sacred property and was only upheld until the excommunicate made restitutions for what had been done.[2] It was a fair system meant to encourage good behaviour, and to ensure that the souls of men be received into paradise. This system was maintained from the sixth century until the ninth, when excommunication slowly began to change. By the twelfth century a division took place which morphed the process in two forms:[3] these were known as 'minor' and 'major' excommunication. When the minor form was prescribed, the excommunicate was forbidden from receiving the Eucharist as well as other sacraments, but otherwise it had little effect on him within a public forum.[4] Being sentenced to major excommunication, however, was a far greater punishment. Often distinguished by the term 'anathema', this sentence deprived one of all the blessings of the Church: they could not receive communion, partake in confession, receive a Christian burial and could not physically enter a church. Worse than the expulsion from the earthly Church was the possible exclusion from Paradise as well;[5] in fact, "[s]o grave were the effects of major excommunication that previous warnings were required before it could be imposed."[6] Three warnings (or one peremptory) had to be given, all sanctioned by a judge, before any major excommunication could be instilled.[7] All of these precautions were put in place because this was designed to be a last resort for the Church, since "[i]n theory, to suffer the sentence of excommunication was the most serious disaster which could ever befall a man."[8] The Church modified excommunication to this severe form in order to further control the population of God-fearing men. In a society in which the only form of religious salvation was through communion, administered by the Church, excommunication was akin to a death sentence. In fact, it was even seen as "a curse that [would] either bring […] grace or asure […] eternal damnation", and in knowing this, the Church was aware of the fear that came along with the curse.[9] The papacy grew greedier and desired more power as Christianity spread throughout the Middle Ages. They wanted the potential to be able to contest the other secular powers growing around them, to rival the powers of kings and emperors, and to display their superiority over them. As such, excommunication became a more common sentence for crimes that were much less serious than the punishment deserved.[10] Thus, the clergy warped this fear to further their own goals, and to remove men who disagreed with Church doctrine, rather than to help Christians regain the favour of God.

Further, the perversion of excommunication in these ways made it possible for the Church to maintain power and intimidate dissenters because of the terror that such a sentence carried. Throughout the late Middle Ages, when the Church had hit its pinnacle of power, there are several different examples of this taking place. The two situations of note are the conflict between Pope Gregory VII and Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, and the conflict between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip IV of France. The dispute between the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor is most commonly referred to as the Investiture Controversy, which took place between 1076-1122, with Gregory and Henry as the main figures.[11] This episode began with Gregory proclaiming the *Dictatus Papae* (The Dictates of the Pope), in which he made such claims as: "That it may be permitted to him to depose emperors," or "That he may absolve subjects from their fealty to wicked men."[12] Dictates such as these were often how papal authority was exerted, as they would

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[1] Bjork "Excommunication."

[2] Bjork "Excommunication."

[3] Bjork "Excommunication."

[4] Pavlac, "Excommunication and Territorial Politics in High Medieval Trier," 21.

[5] Palvac, 22.

[6] Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England*. 15.

[7] Logan, 15.

[8] Hill, "The Theory And Practice Of Excommunication In Medieval England," 1.

[9] Palvac, 22.

[10] Fowler, "Secular Aid for Excommunication." 115.

[11] Bjork "Investiture Controversy."

[12] Gregory VII, "Dictatus Papae."

create rules that would result in excommunication if not obeyed. This would prove effective on most occasions, considering how powerfully they had built up the sentence of excommunication over the past centuries. However, Henry took this as a personal attack and sent a letter to the Pope stating that "[He] Henry, King by the grace of God, do[es] say unto thee, together with all [his] bishops: Descend, descend, to be damned throughout the ages."[13] In response to this, the Pope replied with a letter in which he absolved anyone who had previously made bonds and oaths to the king and later bound him to the Church with anathema.[14] This is the area in which I would like to place emphasis, since it is the direct link to our current topic. Here Gregory uses the sentence of excommunication to settle an argument with another powerful figure, rather than attempting any kind of diplomatic action with Henry. This is a blatant exertion of power; Gregory is showing Henry that he is more powerful than him, and as a result, that God is more powerful as well. At the time of Gregory's ascension to Pope, the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire were at odds, and there was already tension between the secular and the ecclesiastical leaders.[15] Therefore, Gregory abused his position as Pope to settle a personal dispute, and in fact he did so on more than one occasion. Henry approached Gregory to beg for re-entry into the church so that he could keep his position as Holy Roman Emperor, and although Gregory acquitted him, he went on to excommunicate him once again for reasons that appear weak, stating that Henry had been disobedient to the previous rules set forth to earn the acquittal of the first excommunication.[16] Although this may in fact be true, it seems very likely that the relationship between the two men influenced the use of excommunication.

In addition, Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip IV had a dispute which proceeded in a similar fashion. Philip was at war with England, and needed funds for his campaign, so he attempted to tax the clergy to gain the necessary funds for the war.[17] Boniface did not take this attempt at clerical taxation lightly, and even though the French churchmen were behind the king, the Pope was not. As a result, Boniface issued a papal bull that declared that any official attempting to tax the Church or any clergyman willing to submit to such a tax would be excommunicated.[18] This is once again an example of the church attempting to use excommunication to influence and exude power over others. Using excommunication as a means of intimidation did not always succeed for the church, and in this case Philip did not take kindly to the threats being made by the Pope. In fact, the matter escalated to such a point where Philip attempted to have Boniface kidnapped and brought to justice in a French court.[19] The affair between the two led to a conflict within the Church, wherein the next Pope took his seat at Avignon, resulting in the Avignon Papacy.[20] These cases exemplify the Church's mindset in using excommunication as a means of displaying their power, as well as threatening others to achieve outcomes they desired.

In conclusion, what was once used as a medicinal practice to help people regain the favour of God became perverted into one of the Church's greatest powers. Throughout the Middle Ages excommunication was used to threaten and manipulate people to perform in ways that would benefit the church, which undoubtedly started disputes between other important figures, such as kings and emperors, who felt as if the Church was encroaching on their secular power. Although this power was great, it did not always play out favourably for the Church, though it was always tool they could use to attempt to gain some sort of advantage. The fact remains that the original purpose of excommunication was to help people, to get people back on the path to God. However, the Church, becoming greedy with power, began to warp excommunication to the point where it was no longer a blessing, but a curse.

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[13] Henry IV, "Letter to Gregory VII, Jan 24 1076."
[14] Gregory VII, "First Deposition and Banning of Henry IV."
[15] Bjork "Gregory VII."
[16] Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085,* 198.

[17] Bjork "Philip IV."
[18] Boniface VIII, "Clericis Laicos."
[19] Coste, *Boniface VIII En Procès,* 75.
[20] Bjork "Philip IV."

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Ancient Greek Tyrants
Veronika Jorz

Introduction

Tyrants in the modern sense are associated with dictators or despots who rule their country with an iron fist. Tyranny is, therefore, often associated with violence and is seen as a threat to political freedom.[1] During the Archaic period in Greece, many poleis saw changes in government structures as tyrannies began replacing traditional aristocratic governments.[2] Tyrants were basically a kind of non-traditional and unconstitutional monarch.[3] Ancient Greek tyrants typically came from aristocratic families and tended to come to power as a result of forming coalitions.[4] These tyrants acquired their power through unconstitutional means such as force, deceit, and violence.[5] There was no formal position of tyrant as tyranny involved the illegal seizure of governmental power in order to hold it indefinitely; therefore, a tyrant would typically attempt to normalize his rule and have it accepted by the population.[6] They would try to rule as the legitimate leaders of the poleis.[7] The early period of Greek tyranny lasted until about 400 B.C..[8] Aristotle saw tyrants as rulers who rose up to confront the elite and prevent the common people from being oppressed by them.[9] In this view of tyranny, it was a step towards democracy. In fact, a number of the poleis, which were previously ruled by tyrants, went on to become democracies during the Classical Period.[10]

The ancient Greek historian, Herodotus strove to learn the facts about the events that transpired during the time of Greek tyranny through inquiry.[11] In his writings, tyranny is seen as an act of usurpation of power by violating established laws and norms.[12] A most common image of a tyrant that emerges from Herodotus is of one who rises through power by taking advantage of social disorder to seduce a population through manipulation and with minimal violence.[13] Scholars sometimes point that the word *tyrannos* used by Herodotus has a vague and ambiguous meaning.[14] Others see Herodotus' portraying some of the Greek tyrants in a neutral manner and not necessarily as evil.[15] Despite these claims, in Herodotus' presentation, most tyrants are characterized by some form of immorality or licentiousness.[16] The following paper will seek to illustrate that through his portrayal of various ancient tyrants, Herodotus presents an overall negative and oppressive view of tyranny that stands in opposition to freedom.

Tyranny and Tyrants

There are a number of passages where Herodotus seems to point to a disparity between the notions of tyranny and freedom.[17] Through the speech by a certain Corinthian by the name of Socles, Herodotus presents a very condemning view of tyranny as being "more unrighteous and bloodthirsty than anything else on this earth."[18] Herodotus seems to point out that freedom cannot coexist with tyranny.[19] This view ties in with his portrayal of various tyrants throughout Greek history. Greek tyrants described by Herodotus typically equate their own will with the law, they are greedy and aggressive, they fear for their life, they commit atrocities, they base their rule on fear, and they execute without trial.[20] Herodotus never used the word *tyrannos* to denote Greek kings unless he wanted to indicate that their actions were like those of a tyrant.[21] There are also no instances of a Greek tyrant referring to himself as a tyrant or *tyrannos*.[22] They do seem to realize that their reign was tyrannical or oppressive to the people, however. When Herodotus recounts the Ionian council, one of the Ionian tyrants urges the others to stand by Darius as he warns them that without Darius' support, the people would choose democracy and overthrow them.[23] How does this quote relate to tyrants realizing their reign was oppressive?

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[1] Kalyvas, "The Tyranny of Dictatorship: When the Greek Tyrant Met the Roman Dictator."
[2] Fleck and Hanssen, "How Tyranny Paved the Way to Democracy: The Democratic Transition in Ancient Greece."
[3] Koiv, "Basileus, tyrannos and polis. The Dynamics of Monarchy in Early Greece."
[4] Fleck and Hanssen.
[5] Kalyvas.
[6] Cawkwell, "Early Greek Tyranny and the People"; Kalyvas 2007.
[7] Koiv.
[8] Ferrill, "Herodotus on Tyranny."
[9] Cawkwell.
[10] Fleck and Hanssen.
[11] Cawkwell.
[12] Kalyvas.
[13] Gray, "Herodotus and Images of Tyranny: The Tyrants of Corinth."
[14] Ferrill.
[15] Ferrill.
[16] Kalyvas.
[17] Ferrill.
[18] Gray; Herodotus, *The Histories,* 5.92.
[19] Herodotus, 6.5.
[20] Gray.
[21] Ferrill.
[22] Ferrill.
[23] Herodotus, 4.137.

The first tyrant described by Herodotus was Gyges.[24] Gyges served as a bodyguard to Candaules, sovereign of Lydia, but when Candaules shamed his wife by allowing Gyges to see her naked, she sought revenge on her husband.[25] She threatened Gyges and made a deal with him that he will kill Candaules and in return marry her and take over the throne of Lydia.[26] Their plan worked and Gyges ruled for thirty-eight years and apart from a few minor conquests, he did not accomplish anything noteworthy.[27] This early example points to the selfish motivations behind the tyrant's rise to power. Gyges has no concern whatsoever for the good of the people, instead, his only concern is his own life.

Corinthian Tyrants

Herodotus' speech of Socles of Corinth is one of the main sources on Corinthian tyranny.[28] Through the speech, tyranny is shown as unjust and bloodthirsty.[29] Socles explains how tyranny originated in Corinth as he recounts the story of Cypselus and the oracles that foretold his future rule.[30] Having escaped death as a child, Cypselus put faith in an oracle that was given him and so went forth and gained control of Corinth.[31] After becoming the tyrant of Corinth, Cypselus was not a kind ruler as he exiled many of the Corinthians, others he deprived many of their property, and many others he killed.[32] Cypselus is characterized by a form of justice with no regard to compassion or justification in his treatment of the Corinthians.[33] He reigned for around thirty years and despite being a harsh ruler, he brought prosperity to Corinth.[34]

Periander, the son of Cypselus, was at first a gentler tyrant than his father but became more murderous after taking advice from Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus.[35] Thrasybulus' solution to ensure an unchallenged reign was to cut down the "best and richest" or all the outstanding citizens who could be a potential threat to one's rule.[36] Periander followed this advice and became an even harsher tyrant that Cypselus.[37] One time, he had all the Corinthian women stripped naked so that he could offer their clothes to his dead wife, while another time he sent three hundred boys from among the Corcyraean noblemen to be castrated.[38] He did so as an act of vengeance for killing his son, Lycophron, whose story Herodotus recounts in detail in Book 3, chapters 50 to 53. The story begins when Periander's younger son, the seventeen-year-old Lycophron, learned that Periander killed his mother. Lycophron refused to speak to his father, which resulted in Periander initially banishing his son and forbidding anyone to give him shelter. Periander later took pity on his son and offered to take him back if he put aside his anger. Lycophron refused to return and pointed out that Periander broke his own law when he decided to speak to him. This rejection of Periander's pity pointed to Lycophron's harsh commitment to justice and lack of compassion.[39] When Periander was old, he realized Lycophron was the only one that was suitable to inherit his rule, so he pleaded with him once again to return to Corinth. Lycophron agreed only under the condition that Periander leave Corinth and move to Corcyra. When the Corcyreans heard of this, however, they killed Lycophron in order to prevent Periander from becoming the tyrant of Corcyra. This indicates that Periander could not have been a good ruler if the people preferred to face his vengeance for the murder of his son than have him as the ruler of their city.

Athenian Tyrants

The tyrants of Athens, Pisistratus and the Pisistratids could be considered the most "democratic" out of all the ancient tyrants as their rule partially depended on the people's support.[40] Even they were quite oppressive, however, and did not provide the people with more freedom than the traditional aristocratic rule. Pisistratus had initially gained fame due to his success as a general in the war against Megara.[41] He used his military reputation, rather than justice, to climb to power by taking advantage of the social disorder in Athens as the time.[42] He did so by resorting to trickery and deceit of the Athenian population, first when he pretended to have been attacked by his enemies, later when he used Athena to persuade the Athenians to welcome him back, and finally when he came up with a plan to scatter the Athenians before they could reunite and rally against him.[43] Thus Peisistratus' rise to power was confirmed by his military victory.[44] Herodotus writes, however, that Pisistratus did not change Athenian laws, but governed Athens in accordance to its constitution.[45] By the time of his death around 528 B.C. Pisistratus had not done much to directly

[24] Kalyvas.
[25] Herodotus, 1.8.
[26] Herodotus, 1.11.
[27] Herodotus, 1.15.
[28] Gray.
[29] Gray.
[30] Gray.
[31] Herodotus, 5.92E.
[32] Herodotus, 5.92E.
[33] Gray.
[34] Herodotus, 5.92F.

[35] Herodotus, 5.92F.
[36] Herodotus, 5.92F – 5.92G.
[37] Herodotus, 5.92G.
[38] Herodotus 5.92G and 3.48.
[39] Gray.
[40] Cawkwell.
[41] Cawkwell.
[42] Gray.
[43] Herodotus, 1.60 and 1.63.
[44] Gray.
[45] Herodotus, 1.59.

benefit the people of Athens.[46] According to Cawkwell, tyranny was little felt by the common Athenian people but was felt most heavily by the members of the aristocracy.[47] To support this, he points to the confusion surrounding the "abolition" of tyranny in Athens, which was associated with the assassination of Hipparchus in 524 B.C. though it was actually his brother, Hippias, that was the tyrant of Athens at the time.[48] Herodotus writes that the Alcmeonidae, which were an aristocratic Athenian family, were known as "tyrant-haters" and were actually the ones who were instrumental in bringing about the end of tyranny.[49] Does Herodotus have a more favourable opinion on Athenian tyrants because they were more "democratic" than the Corinthian tyrants? Why were these specific two groups used to support the arguments of the paper?

Conclusion

Through the examples of Gyges, Cypselus, Periander and Pisistratus, Herodotus illustrates that bloodshed was one of the characterizing motifs of tyranny. Each of these rulers rose to power through some form of unjust violence. They then proceeded to maintain their rule through the use of force, though admittedly they were not necessarily unjust as they tended to follow the traditional laws. Their fear of losing their power made them rule with cruelty, however, and this made them in a way worse than the aristocracies that they overthrew as now both the elite and the common people are oppressed by a single powerful individual. That is probably the reason why through Socles' speech on tyranny, Herodotus presents the view that tyranny is the worst thing that could happen – for in tyranny, freedom does not exist.

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[46] Cawkwell.
[47] Cawkwell.

[48] Cawkwell.
[49] Herodotus, 5.123.

An Investigation into the Murder of Philip II of Macedon
Matthew Coleman

Throughout the Hellenistic period 46% of royal males who did not perish in battle met their untimely end by murder, execution, assassination or the like.[1] So, in 336 BCE it came as no surprise that a King, who himself had orchestrated the murder of his 5 half-brothers, should himself be murdered. King Philip II of Macedon was assassinated rather spectacularly during the celebration of his daughters' wedding, on the eve of his greatest campaign to date, and no great shortage of intrigue came to follow. The extant sources for his assassination are by-and-large rather poor, as not one of the writers could have known the intricate details of the event and if anyone—as it is believed—aside from the assassin, was involved in the plot.[2] Indeed, the tales spun by Diodorus, Plutarch, Justin, and Aristotle are all complex and wrought with embellishment, suffering from what Hammond identifies as a certain "journalistic sensationalism."[3] Despite their conflicting accounts and attributions of blame, however, one thing is agreed upon by all: the murder itself was carried out by Pausanias of Orestes.[4]

Most assuredly Pausanias ran Philip through, but the question remains: why did he do it? As Cawkwell puts it rather softly, "Pausanias was a man with a grievance."[5] He had been the lover of Philip, who had at one point or another fallen out of love with the Orestian, and into love with another man also named Pausanias. After Pausanias the Lesser (with respect to narrative importance) had been called a hermaphrodite by the first Pausanias he committed suicide, throwing himself over Philip in an Illyrian war, unable to go on having suffered the abrasive accusation.[6] Attalus, for purported reasons of varying viability, invited the Orestian to a feast where he then plied him with alcohol and had both his men and his muleteers rape the poor fellow.[7] Justin writes that this incident made the boy an object of "universal ridicule amongst his peers."[8] Having begged for justice and having complained to Philip about Attalus, Pausanias saw that Philip neither investigated nor punished his new father-in-law for his indecency, but rather promoted him to command in Asia Minor in preparation for his upcoming Persian Campaign.[9] This blatant disregard for Pausanias' honour "nursed his wrath implacably," and drove Pausanias to seek revenge on both players in his humiliation.[10] Although since Attalus had already made for Asia, Pausanias had to settle to strike only at the source of his villain's power, King Philip. While undeniably unsavoury, and certainly a sympathetic episode, the Pausanias affair as it was, "smacks of the sensational."[11] Sordid homosexual affairs, jilted lovers, sexual assaults, and bloody murder are so common that they live in the place of Greek mythological tropes and may have been the Roman authors' way of keeping the early events of Alexander's life just as exciting as the later ones. These embellishments however, in no way negate the veracity of the story's core; Pausanias was certainly disgruntled and to what degree is of little importance, the result remains the same. Where the intrigue increases is in a small detail of pluralization in Pausanias' getaway that has modern scholars and antique writers up in arms and pointing fingers.

> [Pausanias] posted horses (ἵππους) at the gates of the city and came to the entrance of the theatre carrying a Celtic dagger under his cloak. When Philip directed his attending friends to precede him into the theatre, while the guards kept their distance, he saw the king was left alone, rushed at him, pierced him through his ribs, and stretched him out dead; then ran for the gates and the horses (ἵππους) he had prepared for his flight.[12]

The passage above demonstrates that Diodorus believes not only was there one horse at the gate waiting for Pausanias but multiple. This detail seems insignificant, especially when it is presented in passing as in Diodorus' account, but a closer reading might bring to light some intriguing points. At any rate, even a single horse implies that Pausanias meant to survive the ordeal.[13] Of course, seeing as he had just murdered the most powerful man in Greece and Macedon, his likelihood of finding refuge seems rather low, barring him having had powerful friends who were aware of his plot and willing to take him in.[14] He would never make it to refuge, however, or even onto the horse as two rather zealous bodyguards, Perdiccas and Leonnatus, speared the man *en route* to the horses. The above accounts

[1] Ager, "Violent deaths (excluding battle but including rumour) of Hellenistic Royalty," 4.
[2] Gabriel, *Philip II of Macedonia: Greater than Alexander*, 234.
[3] Hammond, *Alexander the Great: King, Commander, and Statesman,* 168.
[4] Gabriel, 234.
[5] Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon,* 179.
[6] Diodorus, "Library," 16.93.4-6.
[7] Diodorus, 16.93.9.
[8] Justin, *Epitome of the Philipic History of Pompeius Trogus,* 9.6.6.
[9] Kuskowski, "Whodunit? The murder of Philip II of Macedon," 23.
[10] Diodorus, 16.94.
[11] Heckel, "Philip and Olympias (337/6)," 56.
[12] Diodorus, 16.94.3.
[13] Gabriel, 239.
[14] Gabriel, 239.

for the horse he would have rode out on by introducing outside help. But what of the other horses? Both points will be elaborated on below, but for now it is right to conclude that barring Pausanias having acted completely of his own will and with no outside help as Aristotle believes, he seemingly worked closely with a conspirator or conspirators, and quite possibly was not a lone assassin, seeing that "no killer worth his salt provides the means for pursuit" (i.e., ἵππους rather than ἵππον).[15]

First, to deal with the conspirator theory. The usual suspects for conspiracy line up as follows: The Athenians, Amyntas—Phillip's one-time co-regent, either two or all of the Lyncestian brothers, Alexander III, and the most widely implicated, Olympias.[16] The Athenians and Amyntas are the least plausible but not entirely out of the question. However, this paper shall focus on the three most widely accused parties and since the three Lyncestians were accused of being in league with Pausanias in ancient times, and two of the three were executed for the act resulting from the trials brought by Alexander in 336 BCE, our investigation most logically begins with them.[17] If modern scholars had no doubt in Alexander the Great's investigative and judicial ability papers like this would not be necessary, alas, this author will press on. Their motive, much the same as Amyntas, Alexander, and Olympias, as Carney states, "would have been accession to the throne and some form of independent rule."[18] As such, many modern scholars have assumed that because they were executed Alexander must have felt that they had the means to usurp the throne, which Bosworth in his soberer commentary on the Alexander histories, disagrees with. Due to their relative dynastic infancy the Lyncestian royal house could never have borne the broad support base needed to usurp the powerful Agread house.[19] The brothers moreover would have lacked any sense of timing, because Philip might so easily have been killed in his Persian campaign in the following year, and a rebellion raised in his absence would have been a much more viable option.[20] To this author, the execution of the Lyncestians may have been an attempt to have Alexander seen by his people as making moves in the avengement of his father, and knocking off a few members of a fellow Macedonian royal family is a pretty good kicker.

From here, the investigation turns to the prime suspects: Alexander and Olympias. Indeed, they were the two who benefitted most because of the assassination—Alexander ascended to the throne and Olympias regained her influence as the new Queen Mother.[21] They would no doubt have each been happy with how their affairs were shaping up, but does that make them the conspirators? To frame the latter half of this paper I turn to the words of Carney once again:

> We should not treat the murder of Philip II as a puzzle to be solved - a Macedonian Agatha Christie with stock characters - but as a real crime experienced, however, by people with very different values and expectations from our own. Yet scholarship on the subject of the murder has often assumed that either the participants or the sources or both share the values of the scholars. Since analysis of criminal motivation depends on evaluation of personality, goals and values of suspects, all culturally based judgements, we must be more sensitive to the social as well as the political setting, if we are to understand the events at Aigai in the late summer or early fall of 336 B.C."[22]

The above outlines a novel divergence from the normal manner of investigation. The following will keep in mind all the missteps of the investigation so far, so that this paper might deduce the most correct answer to this previously unsolvable question.

Misstep number one: the accusation of Alexander the Great. The reasons for this accusation are based on the narrative as follows. In either 338 or 337, Philip married what proved to be his final wife, Cleopatra, niece of Attalus--Pausanias' rapist, and full Macedonian.[23] The marriage is purported to have produced immense conflict between Alexander and his father, as the pure Macedonian child it potentially may have produced might have displaced Alexander from the throne.[24] What served to further the disillusion surrounding Alexander's claim to the throne was the Pixodarus affair, a small marital dispute involving a Persian satrap.[25] Alexander was allegedly so angered with his father, who had meant to engage a Persian princess with his dimwitted brother Arrhideus, that Alexander sent an

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[15] Aristotle, *Politics,* 1311b; Hammond, 170.
[16] Gabriel, 237.
[17] Hammond, 170.
[18] Carney, "The politics of polygamy: Olympias, Alexander and the murder of Philip," 183.
[19] Bosworth, *Commentary on Arrian's history of Alexander,* 159.

[20] Carney, 184.
[21] Cawkwell, 180.
[22] Carney, 169.
[23] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander,* 9.
[24] Kuskowski, 29.
[25] Plut. *Alex.* 10.

envoy of his closest friends to beg the satrap to reconsider the match, and eventually botch the whole deal.[26] Philip would later chastise Alexander saying that the Persian princess was "unworthy of his high status," thus why he had offered her to his mentally incapable brother.[27] The Cleopatra and Pixodarus affairs led to the expulsion of Alexander and his closest friends respectively and allegedly drove the heir-apparent mad with rage, causing him to use Pausanias to strike down his father.[28] Of course, the recruitment of Pausanias to murder his father because of misunderstandings, fantasies, and improbabilities seems a bit contrived. Especially when paired with lazy scholarship such as Worthington's assertion that, "when we remember that Alexander had taken refuge in Illyria and that Pausanias the assassin came from Orestis in western Macedonia, the idea of Alexander's (and his mother's) involvement in a plot that used a willing Pausanias does not seem so far-fetched."[29] The assumption here being what can only be read as both the killer and conspirators had a "Go, West!" mentality, and therefore, complicity and guiltiness are foregone conclusions. The whole investigation begins to stink of ease.

What most scholarship leaves unmentioned is that Alexander really need not have felt his inheritance of the throne was on shaky ground. The setting of the scene on the day of Philip's assassination demonstrates that Philip ranked Alexander next to himself.[30] Philip and Alexander entered the theatre at Aigai side by side as if to demonstrate that he and Alexander were equals not only to each other, but in the eyes of Macedon.[31] Beyond this scholars must remember that Alexander had been left regent of Macedon four years before the murder, and more recently had been promoted to leader of the Companion Cavalry in 338 BCE at Chaeronea.[32] What is more, when Philip dedicated the Philipeum, he enshrined not only himself, and his mother, but the entire Argead dynasty as he saw it best represented including Olympias and a young Alexander. The statue group served to demonstrate that Philip had not only recognized Alexander as his heir privately, but rather explicitly publicly as well.[33]

Due to the militaristic nature of Macedonian culture, the Monarch had absolute power over the nation and as such, the punishment for treason was both the immediate murder of the convicted and the execution of his entire family.[34] Knowing that the hot-headed Alexander curried little favour from his father's generals and had no reason to believe that he would not succeed his father, a plot against the king in such a public manner is misplaced.[35] Especially considering much or all of his support came from his mother, the only family member of impact he stood to lose should the plot have been discovered. Moreover, like Amyntas above, would not a private assassination attempt have gone much smoother and with less chance of public humiliation? And is it feasible that Alexander might have persuaded Pausanias, knowing full well that his first regal duties would be, and were, to find, try, and execute the murderer of his predecessor?[36] Might not, amidst the chaos and murderous din of war have Alexander easily murdered his father in the upcoming Persian campaign, and have the perfect propaganda piece to continue his conquest of the barbarians?[37] Alexander's timing if he was indeed the conspirator is suspect. Especially when what followed the assassination was the epitome of filial piety in that Alexander executed his father's murderers to the best of his ability, celebrated his funeral rites per tradition, and continued his work with the Persian campaigns as soon as it was viable.[38] . The alacrity with which he ascended is also noteworthy, and indicative of a contingency plan, created by Philip II.[39] In the words of Kuskowski, "it seems that Alexander did not chose the timing of his father's death, and had no part in Philip's murder."[40]

The final consensus-accusation holds an outstretched finger in the direction of Alexander's mother, Olympias. As with Alexander, the argument for conspiracy will be presented first, and the reasons why the argument is flawed will come shortly thereafter. The gaggle of uncontemporary historians who accuse the Queen Mother base their evidence in the Attalus affair at the wedding of Cleopatra and Philip, during which Alexander was accused of being unworthy of the thrown, insulted, and he invoked his father to defend his honour. When Philip did not, Alexander openly berates his father. Then Philip charged him with a sword and tripped over a couch. Which Alexander again mocks to illustrate that Philip was unfit to lead on account of his footwork.[41] This atypical response by Philip with respect to his son, and the idea that Olympias was so outraged by what had conspired at her polygamous husband's

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[26] Plut. *Alex.* 10.2.
[27] Plut. *Alex.* 10.3.
[28] Worthington, *Philip II of Macedonia*, 184.
[29] Worthington, 186.
[30] Hammond, 168.
[31] Hammond, 168.
[32] Plut. *Alex.* 9; Diodorus, 16.86.
[33] Müller, "Philip II," 181.
[34] Hammond, 166.

[35] Gabriel, 239.
[36] Hammond, 174.
[37] Gabriel, 239.
[38] Frears, "Pausanias, the assassin of Philip," 135.
[39] Frears, 130.
[40] Kuskowski, 34.
[41] Plut. *Alex.,* 1.9.4.

wedding that it led to her orchestrating his murder, are all too unbelievable.[42] What is more, Justin's account, on which entirely too many scholars base their anti-Olympias cases, reeks of the sensational. He would have us believe that Olympias, enraged by her "divorce" (i.e., return to Molossia), and planning to pit both the parties who would have benefitted from the marriage of Cleopatra, her full daughter and Macedonian representative, and her brother, a king of her home nation Epirus, into a war of revenge. Then instigating the actions of Pausanias and providing the getaway horses with no safe destination to speak of in Greece or Macedon. Of course, following these events she would, according to his account, then have crossed from Molossia over high Pindos to attend the funeral rites of Phillip to maintain her uxorial piety, but later that night she crowned the crucified Pausanias with a gold crown, implored the people of Macedon to sacrifice in the assassin's name annually, and had the murder weapon dedicated to the God Apollo in a rather unsubtle emotional juxtaposition.[43] Rather contrived a tale. It seems right at this juncture however to point out that Olympias was not a good woman, at least in the antique sense. It is true that Olympias did commit political murder, she certainly killed Cleopatra and her son, Arrhidaeus, and his wife Adea Eurydike *inter alia*, but this does not make her the murderer of Philip.[44]

What seems to have happened is that the idea of Olympias as the arch-planner of the Philip assassination stemmed from "a rather warped interpretation of Macedonian monarchy, political complexity, the role of women, and polygamy by later Greek and Roman writers."[45] Given the impending Persian campaign and the dangers therein, good sense led Philip to marry, following the 'heir plus spares' rule, and this in no way would have inspired so much jealousy in Olympias, a woman who married the man fully aware of his 6 previous wives, to the point of conspiracy.[46] In addition her motivation falls flat, if it is identified as a grab at power. Given Philip's age and penchant for war, she need only have waited until Alexander's inevitable shoulder tap.[47] Although Olympias assuredly was a powerful woman and probably ruthless, the same things can be said of most great men in antiquity, but because she is not a man these characteristics are identified as character defects rather than qualities by later Greeks, Romans, and moderns alike.[48] In this way, all scholars must be careful not to enforce their own culturally based conclusions on cultures so completely separate from their own. But where should the investigation continue from here?

The final and most controversial suspect of this paper is the Persian Empire, and more appropriately, King Darius III. A few major scholars play with the idea of Persia and have provided enough proof to intrigue this author. There are of course some scholars who believe that the Persian theory holds no water, citing the lack of evidence with regard to Macedonian-Persian relations, before Alexander's initial investigation.[49] However, the *argumentum ex silentio* does not negate the possibility of Persian conspiracy because of the relative abundance of Persian conspiracy that follows the assassination, such as the enticement of the surviving Lyncestian, by Darius, to murder Alexander, by offering him the throne of Macedon and a large sum of money. Where the Persian theory really gains traction is in between the lines. In the investigations so far, too little attention has been paid to two key aspects of any murder: timing and location.[50] With respect to its timing, the focus shifts from who benefitted from Philip's murder, to the more appropriate question, who suffered if he continued to live.[51] As the sources tell us, Philip was most probably killed in July, just before he would have gained power of his expeditionary force and started his Persian campaign. It stands to reason then that whoever killed Philip either wished to end the invasion or at the very least was indifferent to Philip's effect on the campaign.[52] Continuing under the assumption that the former was the case, the profit King Darius served to gain was threefold: Philip's murder would have stopped or at the very least postponed the Persian campaign (which it did). The fall out, and potential dynastic struggle might have proved to be as deadly a dynastic struggle as the one the Persians had just recently endured. And finally, sensing the vacuum of power, the Greeks might revolt against Macedonia and the entirety of Greece would have been in shambles for quite some time.[53] With respect to the location of the assassination it must be noted that the setting was highly public. Diodorus tells us that the event was attended by Greek envoys, Balkan dependencies, and yes, Persian guest friends would have been in attendance.[54] As mentioned many times above, the other suspects would have had ample opportunities to strike privately, but for the Persians, the time was now to make their attempt against the King. Due to their almost 200-year old connection with Persia and relative familiarity with the Macedonian court goings-on, it would have been no great task to find and utilise Pausanias, bending him to their own will, therefore supplying his means and motive with its trope-necessitated

[42] Kuskowski, 33.
[43] Hammond, 174.
[44] Kuskowski, 32.
[45] Gabriel, 238.
[46] Gabriel, 238.
[47] Carney, 185.
[48] Kuskowski, 32, citing Carney 1987: 40-41.

[49] Badian, "The Death of Philip II," 248.
[50] Carney, 183.
[51] Gabriel, 241.
[52] Gabriel, 241.
[53] Gabriel, 240.
[54] Diodorus, 16.91.5*ff*.

opportunity, not to mention a getaway-horse with a viable destination.[55] The Persian theory also supplies this author with the most plausible solution to the blasted 'horses' paradox. Hammond's opinion that there were in fact three horses, prepared to transport three individual assassins safely to Persia. The other two assassins may very well have been Perdiccas and Leonnatus.[56]

The pair being descended from Alexander the First of Macedon as well, and each viable leaders of the nation in their own right, certainly had the motivation, the means as members of the royal guard, and now a brilliant opportunity to act against Philip and bring about a period of dynastic uncertainty in Macedon, in which they might easily, with the aid of Persia, have risen to the throne. The day of the assassination went something like this: Philip entered the theatre as above, flanked by Alexander III and Alexander of Epirus, Cleopatra's newly wedded husband.[57] Closely behind were Philip's guards.[58] At the last moment, Philip sent both Alexanders amongst a larger group to take their seats in the theatre so that he could be left alone, this author believes that the group consisted of the two other potential assassins along with their two marks: The Alexanders. However, seeing that Philip was left alone and entirely open to assault, Pausanias in his murderous anxiety seized the brilliant opportunity for personal revenge, broke script, and took his mark out.[59] The other two assassins fearing his inevitable questioning, and their possible incrimination as a result, offed the only man who might have the evidence to see them executed.[60]

Of course, there is the whole business of Perdiccas and Leonnatus accompanying Alexander in his years at the reins, but it stands to reason that, given time, cooler heads prevailed, or at least, given his reckless nature and paternally-inherited proclivity for war, they thought it best to wait out the young man's life. Perdiccas, as is clear, made quite the claim for the throne following Alexander's death, even inheriting the infamous signet ring from the Great King.

Each one of the suspects outlined in detail above, and countless others which were excluded for brevity's sake, might possibly have been involved, and the conclusions of this paper, while strongly expressing that the conspiracy against Philip came from outside, in no way denies the possibility that members of the Royal family or the Lyncestians could have captained this tragic event. There simply is not enough solid evidence to say definitively one way or the other. What this author does hope to say definitively, however, is that the way scholars look at issues of the past needs to be overhauled. As Carney writes, "we have compounded this original cultural misunderstanding by attributing to inhabitants of a very different culture motivation better suited to our own."[61] The preceding statement is undoubtedly true of our investigation of Philip II's murder but transcends this issue into many aspects of the field in which the many correct answers are substituted for solutions which seem most correct to us. There surely is a difference. Whatever transpired in that theatre in Aigai and with whomever the day involved, one thing is certain: Philip II of Macedon died, and the issue of conspiracy ought not to be taken as an invitation to attribute antique or modern suggestions as foregone conclusions. Olympias, Alexander, or the Lyncestians are feasible conspirators, but limiting the search to the three is restrictive and out of line with scholarly method. The aim of this paper is not to say conclusively that the Persians killed Philip, or even that Pausanias did not act alone, in personal outrage, but with the help of two of Alexander's most trusted friends, rather the implication should be that more—and certainly more thorough—work needs to be done, and more questions need to be asked. The antique writers, as modern scholars, were not writing inside a vacuum. Our goal should therefore be to find solutions to problems in the most democratic and well-reasoned way possible, looking not only at what the written word supplies us, but also what can be inferred from what has been omitted or added in. Especially in issues like the assassination of Philip II of Macedon where uncertainty reigns and sensationalism paints a more alluring picture.

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55 Gabriel, 241.
56 Hammond, 170.
57 Hammond, 168.
58 Diodorus, 16.93.
59 Diodorus, 16.94.3.
60 Hammond, 170.
61 Carney, 189.

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The Liminal Hekate
Natasha White

The goddess Hekate is an ever-changing, fluid deity, both in her image and depictions, and in her characteristics—she is, in a sense, the opposite of continuity. With no definitive origin, Hekate appears to be much different deity than the most popular image of her as a chthonic deity, worshipped by Medea and Circe. Hekate is probably not of Greek origin. Many have linked Hekate to the Carians, as a large cult is found at Lagina which seems "to reflect the goddess' traditional realm as guardian of roads and waysides."[1] Aegina and Samothrace are two others of her Eastern cults, though these cults seem to lie slightly closer to the later view of chthonic-Hekate through the sacrificing of dogs.[2] Pausanias reports a cult statue in Aegina where they worshipped Hekate the most of all the gods, in his *Description of Greece,* 4.20.4 "[w]ithin the enclosure is a temple; its wooden image is the work of Myron, and it has one face and one body." This statue no longer survives, though it is important to note the single-bodied image of Hekate, as at this time, the triple-bodied and triple-headed image of a chthonic Hekate was popular, suggesting that they both live contemporaneously. The earliest mentions of Hekate have to do with liminality: crossroads, entrances, and crossing boundaries (i.e., the boundary between life and death, the land of the living and Hades).[3] Through examining the evidence of Hekate left behind, such as the earliest writings found, artifacts, and the Greek Magical Papyri, the one constant feature of this changing goddess is her liminality.

The earliest artifact we have of Hekate is a terracotta statue from the six-century, featuring a single-bodied Hekate sitting on a throne. None of Hekate's usual images appear here, no torches or animals; only the inscription at the base of the statue identifies it as Hekate.[4] This image of her is similar to the images that one would have presumably found of her at her old cult of Lagina, even before the temple was built in the second century, though this temple too keeps her singular form. Lagina focused on Hekate being a liminal deity, as did the inscription at the temple of Apollo, for she guards entrances. Hekate has possibly always been a deity which can cross between worlds (e.g., Earth and Hades) and these characteristics are linked to the earliest textual evidence of Hekate, from Hesiod's *Theogony* ca. 700 BCE. Hesiod, after explaining Asteria and Perses bore Hekate, goes on to praise her and her power in her realms in the sky and on land (410-424). Unlike Hekate's later reputation as a complete goddess of the underworld, it appears that she started out as a non-chthonic goddess, as she rules over the sky and the earth and the realm below. This depiction of Hekate is linked to the terracotta Hekate, as she bears neither torches nor dogs, and is a simple powerful goddess with a headdress on a throne. The power and closeness to Zeus illustrated in the *Theogony* can also be seen in these fourth century pots (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2) as Hekate is depicted fighting giants with her two torches as weapons during the Gigantomachy. These images insist that Hekate has not always been a chthonic deity, but rather a more powerful deity with Olympian-like duties.

Though there are images of Hekate fighting giants in the land of the living, there are many depictions of her in Hades. She is seen in Hades bearing two torches against Heracles stealing Cerberus (Fig. 3). As well as on a black-figured lekythos, which Karouzou makes a compelling argument for believing it is Hekate.[5] Depictions of Hekate are often combined with those of Persephone, Selene, and Artemis. The PGM IV. 2241-2358 in a 'document to the waning moon' uses many epithets of Hekate such as "Thrice-bound goddess" (2247), and "dog in maiden form" (2251), whilst also using the title "Mene" (2263) which when looking at the *Orphic fragment 155,* is the term that mortal men use to name the Moon, as opposed to using Selene.[6] The epithets "goddess of childbirth" (2286) and "shooter of arrows" (2288) call upon images of Artemis, as does the repeated term "Kore" (2302) and (2344) reflect Persephone, as Kore was a more common name for her. Hekate and Artemis are possibly linked in part because of Hesiod's *Theogony,* and other literature.[7] According to Hesiod Hekate is the daughter of Asteria, whose sister is Leto, Artemis and Apollo's mother, making them cousins.[8] Hekate and Selene are found linked in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* in which Hekate, along with Helios, hears the abduction of Persephone (25-30), and later Hekate, torch in hand, meets Demeter and

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[1] Williamson, "Civic Producers at Stratonikeia: The Priesthoods of Hekate at Lagina and Zeus at Panamera," 212. The first priest of Hekate at Lagina mentioned was in the early second century BCE, and by the end of the century, the cult of Hekate had grown into a "major civic complex."

[2] Marquardt, "A Portrait of Hecate," 251.

[3] The earliest inscription regarding the cult of Hekate is a boustrophedon inscription of the sixth century BCE, found "on an altar in the temple of Apollo Delphinius at Miletus, where Hekate

appeared with Apollo as the protectress of entrances," see Marquardt, 251.

[4] Marquardt, 252.

[5] Karouzou, "An Underworld Scene on a Black-Figured Lekythos," 65-73.

[6] Athanassakis and Wolkow, *The Orphic Hymns,* 90.

[7] Aeschylus, "Suppliant Women," 674 "We pray that other guardians be always renewed, and that Artemis-Hecate watch over the childbirth of their women."

[8] Athanassakis and Wolkow, 73.

tells her of Persephone's abduction (50-60). Hekate is portrayed as the opposite to Helios, the sun god, therefore implying her part as a moon goddess. Hekate is linked with Persephone, for not only did she hear her abduction, but later in the hymn becomes Persephone's "minister and companion" (2.440). All of these goddesses are constantly linked in the PGM, such as in IV. 2786 "three-faced Selene," "three-headed, you're Persephone" (2797), "Hekate, / Many-named, Mene, cleaving air just like / Dart-shooter Artemis" (2815-19).

These connections are found throughout the art of Hekate, particularly on vase paintings from the 5th century. An Athenian red-figure terracotta bell krater ca. 440 BCE features Persephone, Hermes, Hekate, and Demeter (Fig. 4). Persephone raises from a hole in the ground "one hand raised in a gesture of surprise; her guide, Hermes, stands by her side holding the herald's staff; Hekate lights the path with two torches, while Demeter quietly awaits her daughter, scepter in hand."[9] Hekate's symbol of two torches is shown, as with her being with Hermes, with whom she is identified with in the PGM III. 47 as "Hermes, Hekate, [Hermes?] Hermekate" in a spell to deify a cat. Hermes and Hekate are both liminal deities, able to leave the underworld to the land of the living whenever they please—which for the Greeks was no easy feat. Hekate's liminality reaches into her history back to the inscription at the temple of Apollo where she is a guardian of entrances, to Hesiod saying she has control over all realms, and to her connection with crossroads. Hekate's liminal nature is her defining continuous characteristic.

The famous triple-bodied and/or triple-headed Hekate is produced in the fifth century. Pausanias attributes the sculpture named Hekate-Epipurgidia to Alkamenes, and says it was placed beside the temple to Nike, right by the entrance way to the Acropolis in Athens[10]. It is this depiction of Hekate that becomes increasingly popular, and takes on a more chthonic undertone, as a goddess with three heads and/or three bodies is not common in the Greek pantheon. She is, in turn, created into a fearsome creature. This version of Hekate is seen throughout the Greek Magical Papyri, such as in IV. 2117 as in 'Pity's spell of attraction' it is instructed to draw Hekate with "three heads and six hands, holding / torches in her hands, on the right sides of her fave having the head of a cow; and on the left sides the head of a dog; and in the middle is the head of a maiden with sandals bound on her feet." A triple Hekate would have possibly looked like Fig. 5, the Roman copy of a Hellenistic statue, as Alkamenes statue does not survive.[11] Though the PGM consistently describes the three of Hekate's heads being animal, this is not found in Greek or Roman art, as zoomorphic deities were generally Egyptian. Therefore this repeated instance of animal heads is understandable, as the Greek Magical Papyri was found in Egypt. However, there is an instance in the 170s AD where Hekate is written zoomorphic. In Lucian's *Philopseudes* 17, 22-4, Hekate is regarded as fearsome, with a torch in hand and snake-feet, with the head of a gorgon.[12] The tripe-Hekate is not a liminal aspect of the goddess, though its continuity lasts a long time in the depictions of Hekate, as its triple-terrifying nature makes her infamous. Although Hekate's zoomorphic nature is not seen in surviving artifacts, her other symbols such as the torch and the key, can be found throughout history.

The symbol of the key is linked to the cult of Hekate at Lagina. Lagina had festivals in honour of Hekate which over time joined with another polis, Stratonikeia, which was just eight kilometres south.[13] The main festival at Lagina was the *kleidophoria,* or, 'the procession of the key,' which was brought from Lagina to Stratonikeia. The earliest evidence of this procession if from an inscription from either the second or first century BCE.[14] Hekate is closely related with the symbol of a key, confirmed in the Greek Magical Papyri, found in lines IV. 2292-3 "…and posses your key. / I opened the bars of Kerberos," IV. 2335-6 "..who rules Tartaros, / Her fillet, Key, wand.." and again at LXX. 10-11 "serpent, wreath, key, herald's wand, golden sandal of the lady of Tartaros." Although the PGM references Hekate and her key in a chthonic sense, the *kleidophoria* was not chthonic by any means, but rather simply focused on the liminal aspect seen throughout all versions of Hekate, as she would use the key to cross thresholds and entrances. Although the actual image of the key, is not seen in the surviving art of Hekate, in almost every depiction of her she is holding a torch. Whether she is holding a single torch, one in both hands, or one in each of her six hands, varies. In Figures 1-4 Hekate is bearing torches, and this tradition sticks with the image of Hekate.

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9 Richter, "An Athenian Vase with the Return of Persephone," 246.
10 Pausanias, *Description of Greece,* 4.20.4
11 The Roman version of Hekate is named Trivia. She embodies a truer combination of Selene, Hekate, and Persephone, as many depictions of her are accompanied by crown which appear in a ray-of-light fashion, like a moon shines (Figure 5).

12 Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds,* 275.
13 Williamson, 213.
14 Williamson, 218, the inscription praises a daughter of a priest named Klodiane, for carrying the key the entire stretch of the procession.

She is depicted in the Pergamon frieze fighting with a torch.[15] A Triple Hekate in Bronze from 200 AD was found at Aegina, and she too bears torches.[16] The image of a torch is particularly important in the PGM Xii. 1-13 in a specific spell to invoke Persephone (though the double torches she holds as she appears in the middle of a crossroads is more identified with Hekate), the spell caster snuffs out her torches and until she does their bidding, they will not be relit. The PGM, ranging from the second century BCE to the fifth century AD depicts Hekate as a goddess of magic, mixing her together with Selene, Persephone, and Artemis and focuses her liminal aspect in a chthonic sense, as she is able to enter and leave the underworld whenever she chooses.

Hekate goes through one last transformation. After being honoured as a powerful liminal goddess who ruled the sky and land and underworld, to being confined strictly to the underworld, she emerges once again as an important powerful goddess like Hesiod described, in the Chaldean oracles. The fragments of the oracles are written in first person, as if by Hekate herself. Hekate comes from the first father, Had, and then bears Hadad, the second father, and her womb also bore the worlds. Hekate exists in the three worlds as three identities (reminiscent of the triple-Hekate). Hekate's liminality was so important in the ancient world that it transformed Hekate into Hekate/Soul in the Chaldean oracles. There was an essential belief in a transcendent God that could bridge the gap between the divine and the human, just as Hekate easily passes through borders.[17] Hekate's was "supplicated at the earthly crossroads to insure safe transition through an uncertain point; she was the factor that bridged the gap imagined to exist there, guiding men through a place that was proverbial for its uncertainty."[18] Hekate's liminal continuity is why she was the perfect fit for the oracles. She also follows after Hesiod's *Theogony*, as she answers the prayers of men (420).

The image of Hekate appears to be as changing and fluid as her characteristics. She goes from a single-bodied and single-headed goddess of crossroads, to a triple-bodied, and/or triple-headed, goddess of ghosts and witchcraft to again back to her role as a powerful helper of men. Hekate's continuity lies not in a straight path with slight evolution, but rather a twisting road that changes through the centuries, adding and leaving parts of her identity behind, with her liminality as a constant. Through examining the evidence left behind, the texts of Hesiod and the Greek Magical Papyri, as well as her many artifacts, portray Hekate in conflicting lights, with Hekate's liminal nature being the only constant, until the Chaldean oracles, where her original role appointed by Hesiod is restored. In the end, Hekate's role as goddess comes full circle and she is once again a goddess of great power and rule, leaving her main role as a chthonic deity behind.

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[15] Farnell, "The Pergamene Frieze (Continued)," 105-42, argues this goddess depicts Hekate, based on the fact that she is wielding torches and appears to have more than one body.

[16] Vermeule, "Greek, Etruscan, Roman, and Byzantine Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," 296.

[17] Johnston, *Hekate Soteira,* 71-2.

[18] Johnston, 74.

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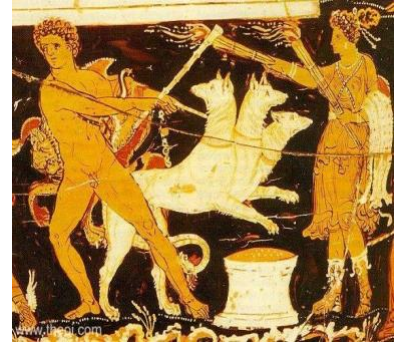
Figures

Figure 2. Aristophanes, "Hecate & Giant Clytus, Kylix."
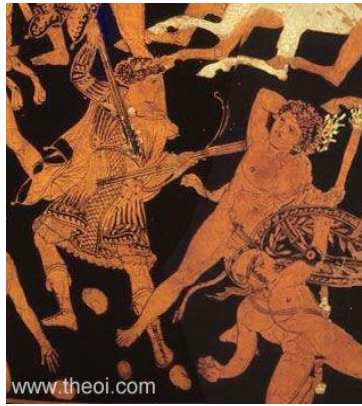
Figure 1. Suessula Painter, "Hecate & Giant Clytus, Amphora."

Figure 3. Underworld Painter, "Hercules & Cerberus, Volute-Krater."

Figure 4. Persephone Painter, "The Return of Persephone, Bell-Krater."

Figure 5. "Hecate Chiaramonti." A Roman copy of a Hellenistic original

The Egyptian Pyramid Builders:
The Archaeology of the Giza Plateau
Veronika Jorz

Introduction

The land of Egypt lies on the fertile banks of the longest river on earth, the Nile River. It is a land whose history reaches back thousands of years, to the cradles of human civilization. Though the ancient Egyptians themselves have long disappeared, they still remind modern people of the accomplishments of the Egyptian civilization through the inspiring and magnificent architecture: the pyramids. These pyramids were monumental burials built for the pharaohs, the rulers of Egypt. The impressive size of the pyramids inspired fear and loyalty from the subjects of the pharaoh, which could have aided in ensuring continual loyalty of the Egyptians to their pharaoh.[1] The main reason for the building of the pyramids, however, was probably due to an increased connection with the cult of the sun, which is evidenced by the increasing importance of the sun god Ra in the royal names and titles of ancient Egypt.[2] The identification of the dead pharaoh with the god Re, who was reborn daily at sunrise, could have been a powerful metaphorical insurance of the survival of the pharaoh's soul.[3] This increased importance of the pharaoh in the religious cult probably might also have resulted in the conferring of status to those Egyptians or subjects of the pharaoh who were in close proximity to the royal pyramid and perhaps enhancing their prospects of eternal life.[4] Ann Roth writes that in exchange for these benefits, the Egyptians provided the enormous amount of labour and resources necessary to support the building of these pyramids. The building of the monumental pyramids could, therefore, be understood as a symbolic currency which the pharaohs conferred on their subject in exchange for increased power, control, and continual service.[5]

The pyramids were built near the desert fringes on the Giza Plateau, located above the fertile Nile Valley. The Giza Plateau was chosen as the building site for the pyramids not only because it was safe from the periodic floods of the Nile River, but also because it was a site of pure limestone hill and so it provided the stone material necessary for the building of the pyramids.[6] The largest of the pyramids is the Great Pyramid, the tomb of the pharaoh Khufu, built during the Fourth Dynasty of the Old Kingdom in Egypt. It possibly took almost a century to build this Great Pyramid, as its construction started around the year 2613 B.C. and ended sometime around 2500 B.C.[7] Though the pyramids themselves attracted great attention, until recent years, not much was known about the builders of the pyramids at Giza. The AERA (Ancient Egypt Research Associate) excavation team led by Dr. Mark Lehner was the first to begin research at Giza, as part of the Giza Plateau Mapping Project, in an attempt to discover more about the people who toiled in building the great monumental pyramids on the Giza Plateau.[8] This research led to the discovery of a complex Old Kingdom settlement of Heit el-Ghurab, also known as "the Lost City of the Pyramid Builders" (Figure 1).

The discovery of this Lost City has finally allowed for a possibility of reconstructing who were the Egyptian builders of the great pyramids that have survived for so many centuries on the edge of the Egyptian desert. The excavation of the settlement provides invaluable insights into the lives of the builders through the remains of the settlements buildings, through the way the settlement was organized, and through some of the material remains that were left over from the time that the settlement was inhabited. The insights gathered from the settlement combined with the possible techniques or ways in which the builders could have built the pyramids, can hopefully help reconstruct at least part of the lifestyle of the Egyptian pyramid builders during the time when they were employed in the construction of the inspiring pyramids that are still being admired today, thousands of years later.

The Lost City and the Pyramid Builders

The ancient settlement of the pyramid builders, Heit el-Ghurab, dates mainly to the 4th Dynasty and consists of a fairly large urban area located to the south of the Wall of the Crow.[9] The remains of this Old Kingdom settlement stretch over an area of two hundred fifty meters east to west and two hundred fifteen meters north to

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[1] Roth, "Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries."
[2] Roth.
[3] Roth.
[4] Roth.
[5] Roth.
[6] Brier and Hobbs, *Daily Life of the Ancient Egyptians,* 227-228.

[7] Edwards, "Building the Great Pyramid: Probable Construction Methods Employed at Giza."
[8] Redding, "Why do We Excavate Where We Do: The Western Compound and the Chute."
[9] Wodzinska, "Potmarks from Early Dynastic Buto and Old Kingdom," (2009).

south.[10] Lehner divides this settlement it into several main districts or sections, which include the Wall of the Crow, the Gallery Complex, the Eastern Town, the Western Town, and the Western Compound (Figure 3).

The Wall of the Crow

The Wall of the Crow is a two hundred metre stretch of massive stone wall which bounds the settlement on the northwest.[11] The builders erected the Wall of the Crow later than the Gallery Complex.[12] It was built right against Gallery Set I of the Gallery Complex and could have controlled the movement of people and supplies into and out of the galleries.[13] Thick reddish mounds of pottery sherds, mostly coming from bread moulds, were found up against eastern end of the Wall of the Crow, indicating that there were probably bakeries located nearby.[14] A path or compact road emerges from the southern side of the Great Gate in the Wall of the Crow, worn into the surface of the banked quarry and masonry debris, and leads down to a prepared compact surface.[15] Lehner (2002) writes that deliveries could have been made this way through the Great Gate, which is large enough to allow horse and camel riders to pass through into the settlement.

The Gallery Complex

The Gallery Complex that is up against the Wall of the Crow consists of galleries, or long elongated structures, that were built around three streets that run east to west and are identified by archeologists as the Northern, Main, and Southern streets.[16] The entrances to the galleries opened out onto the streets of the town.[17] The galleries themselves consisted of large open space, partially due to the long colonnade at the ends of the galleries.[18] Not all the galleries had colonnades, though they all did show evidence of openings at the ends.[19] The colonnades consisted of a series of thin wooden columns with limestone bases set at regular intervals, that would have supported a light roof or ceiling, possibly made of mats.[20] Each of these excavated galleries was separated into two areas: a larger room that probably served as a sleeping and living area, and a small room at the back that served as a kitchen area.[21] There was also a more complex pattern in eight of the galleries which were separated into a small entrance or hall, a main room, and inner room which could possibly have served as a sleeping room.[22] Most of the galleries contained something resembling a house in the rear, which shows evidence of intensive use by the residents who seemed to have cooked, baked or roasted their food in the rear chambers of these houses.[23] There were also some industrial areas at the south or the back of the galleries, some of which included bakeries and a copper workshop.[24] Bakeries also flank the Gallery Complex both on the east and west and were recognizable by the ash filled chambers with walls of broken stone.[25]

On the eastern side of the Gallery Complex (Gallery Set II), Lehner and his team excavated a large house-like compound that they called the "Manor." This Manor is the width of three galleries and is complemented by the Hypostyle Hall and small housing units that lie across from it on the so-called Main Street. The southeastern room of this Manor probably used to be decorated in its time of use, as archeologist found that fragments of marl plaster from the fill had thin red paint layers, indicating that at least parts of the walls were painted red. The Hypostyle Hall appears to have served some practical function, ranging from fish or grain drying, to a dining hall. It featured a series of low troughs and benches of about ankle height running lengthways across the hall. Many tiny bits of fish bone that were found in the dirt filling the troughs between the benches, raised the theory that the parallel troughs and benches could have been used for cleaning, salting, and drying fish.[26]

Another interesting find in the Gallery Complex, in Gallery III, consisted of a complete adult hippopotamus hip as well as a charred olive pit.[27] The hippo hip was found crammed into a niche in the southeastern wall of the cooking chamber and was not the only hippo bone found at the site as Dr. Richard Redding, an archaeozoologist who is part of the AERA excavation team, identified twenty-one hippo fragments and suggested that due to the

[10] Lehner, "The Pyramid Age Settlement of the Southern Mount at Giza," (2002).

[11] Murray, "Provisions for the pyramid builders: New evidence from the ancient site of Giza," (2004).

[12] Lehner, "Excavation in the Northwest Territory: Terra Incognita of the HeG Site," (2011).

[13] Murray (2004); Lehner, (2002).

[14] Lehner, (2002).

[15] Lehner, "Excavation in the Northwest Territory" (2011); Lehner, (2002).

[16] Wodzinska, (2009).

[17] Wodzinska, (2009).

[18] Lehner, (2002).

[19] Lehner, (2002).

[20] Lehner, (2002); Lehner, *2012 Field Season Excavations: Gallery III,* (2012).

[21] Wodzinska, (2009).

[22] Lehner, (2002).

[23] Lehner, *Gallery III,* (2012).

[24] Lehner, (2002); Wodzinska, (2009).

[25] Lehner, (2002).

[26] This entire paragraph uses information from Lehner, (2002).

[27] Lehner, *Archeological Science: Hippo Hip and Olive Pit,* (2012).

presence of various skeletal parts, whole hippos were probably consumed at Giza. The hippo held an important place in ancient Egyptian religion, as the female hippo represented fertility and protection, while the male was a metaphor for chaos, evil and destruction.[28] A scene from the entrance hall of the pyramid temple of Pharaoh Pepi II (Figure 4) illustrates what was probably a hunting ritual, whereby a live hippo would be restrained by the pharaoh's men while the pharaoh would drive a harpoon into the hippo. The hunting ritual was symbolic of the royal order overpowering the chaos represented by the hippo, and so could have served to strengthen and regenerate the royal power of the pharaoh. The presence of the hippo bones at the Lost City could indicate according to Redding that hippos were brought to Giza alive and kept nearby until the hunting ritual.[29]

As to the olive pit that was discovered near the hippo bone, it is by far the earliest example of olive in Egypt. There were also bits of charred olive twigs found scattered throughout the settlement. One of the theories was that the olive twigs could have been brought by Egyptian workers back from Levant along with timber shipments, which would explain why they were typically found in association with other Levantine woods such as cedar, pine, and oak. The olive pit could have then been from olive fruits that the Egyptians could have brought with them from the Levant. Whatever way the olive products came to Gaza, be it brought by Egyptian workers or as olive shipments, both the olive fruit and wood indicate trade with the Levant coming through the Lost City settlement. The occupants of the galleries may have thus been of higher status than common labourers, and perhaps may have been men belonging to royal troops who assisted in rituals like the hippo hunting or were commissioned for duty as far away as the Levant.[30]

Feeding the Builders

According to Lehner (2002), from one thousand six hundred to two thousand people could have slept in the galleries found in the Gallery Complex just described. Thus, the galleries could have served as the barracks for at least some of the pyramid builders or perhaps for the elite men of pharaoh's troops.[31] The occupancy of the galleries by a large number of people can be further supported by the abundance of material culture that has been excavated within the Gallery Complex. Excavations have unearthed thick deposits of pottery, including discarded bread molds, as well as ash and animal bones, of which an abundant amount came from cattle, sheep and goat remains.[32] The faunal evidence that was excavated shows that the residents of the settlement consumed sheep, goats, and cattle that were less than two years old.[33] According to the estimates of Dr. Redding, the animal remains show that around 11 cattle and 37 sheep or goats were slaughtered per day.[34] Based on his estimate that ten thousand builders were employed in the construction on the pyramid, Redding estimated that the amount of animal bones found on the site was enough for several thousand people to have eaten meat every day over a period of over three generations.[35] In order to provide such vast quantities of meat for the builders the animal herds needed must have been considerably large. Redding estimates that the herd size for cattle was almost thirteen thousand, while the herd of sheep and goats must have numbered around thirty-three thousand.[36] The large herds of animals that Redding estimates were needed to feed the builders were unlikely to have been maintained close to the pyramids and were probably delivered to the Heit el-Ghurab settlement from long distances.[37] There remains the question, however, of how such large amounts of animals were transported to the settlement.

The Chute and the Western Compound

In 2009, Mark Lehner and his team excavated a long corridor about 5 cubits wide they called the Chute.[38] It was found on the southern boundary of the Western Compound and stopped twelve meters short of the West Gate which lies on what archeologists called the Main Street. The excavated Chute looks very similar to modern-day cattle chutes. Redding assumes that the Chute could have been a funnel from leading animals from the western desert into the Western Compound, whose open area looks to have been ideal for holding animals and then slaughtering them.[39] This would tie in with his theory that the animal herds needed to feed the builders living in Heit el-Ghurab could have come from the area of the Nile Delta and then been driven down the West side of the Nile Valley along the boundary between the Nile floodplain and the Western desert until they reached Heit el-

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[28] Lehner, *Hippo Hip and Olive Pit,* (2012).
[29] The last few sentences use information from Lehner, *Hippo Hip and Olive Pit,* (2012).
[30] This entire paragraph uses information from Lehner, *Hippo Hip and Olive Pit,* (2012).
[31] Lehner, *Hippo Hip and Olive Pit,* (2012); Lehner, (2002).
[32] Lehner, (2002).

[33] Redding.
[34] Lehner, (2002); Redding.
[35] Redding; Lehner, (2002).
[36] Redding.
[37] Redding.
[38] Lehner, "Excavation in the Northwest Territory" (2011)
[39] Redding.

Ghurab.[40] Unfortunately, the 2009 excavations of Dr. Lehner's archeological team were not yet able to find obvious connections between animals herding and the Chute.[41]

The Western Compound, where the Chute seemed to lead, was separated by a thick Enclosure Wall.[42] The Enclosure Wall probably acted as a barrier against windblown sand from the desert.[43] The area of the Western compound contained massive dumps of pottery waste and ash, and in this respect, is similar to the industrial yard in the Gallery Complex which contained bakeries.[44] The interior of the Western Compound was mostly empty, covered with gritty sand that seems to have been there since ancient times. As mentioned previously, this could have been a fitting location for holding animals due to the empty space and the fact that it lies just inside the gate in the Wall of the Crow.[45] It is possible that animals were held here as needed, and then could have been herded down Main Street to the east galleries where they could have been slaughtered.[46]

Eastern Town

Going back to the question of housing and living quarters for all ten thousand builders that were employed in the construction of the pyramids, Lehner writes that the Eastern Town could have housed the builders that were also permanent residents of the Heit el-Ghurab settlement.[47] This Eastern Town, located southeast of the Gallery complex, seemed a bit less planned and more self-organized than the Galleries. The houses here are smaller than in the Western Town, possibly indicating that it was the residence of the less wealthy Egyptians.[48] It consists of a crowding of small, rectangular chambers and courtyards as well as other features like silos and ash-filled chambers.[49] Lehner (2002) writes that this suggests that the residents of these units or houses were not totally reliant of the production facilities of the Heit el-Ghurab settlement like the workers from the Gallery complex. Instead, the Eastern Town residents seemed to have stored grain and cooked for themselves within their own living quarters.[50] The positioning or housing plan in the East Town also suggest that the daily movements of its residents were freer than that of the Gallery Complex residents, where the ground plan leads to the suggestion of regimentation along the lines of modern military drills to move the hundreds of people residing there in and out.[51] The residents of the Gallery Complex could have been organized teams or groups of workmen.[52] In this case, the building plan of the Gallery Complex which facilitated regimentation, sleeping together and eating together could not only serve to maintain control and uniformity of action of such a large group of workers, but it could also serve to promote fellowship among the members of a group.[53]

Royal Administrative Building

Just west of the Eastern Town, in the southeastern sector of Heit el-Ghurab, lie the ruins of what is called the Royal Administrative Building. This building complex was so called as the presence of large granaries along with clay sealings and clay tokens indicated that it could have functioned as a central storage and distribution center. The compound is also enclosed in a thick limestone wall, adding to the sense that it contained goods that needed to be protected. Excavations in the Royal Administrative Building produced one of the largest accumulations of artifacts found in any one area of Heit el-Ghurab, including pottery sherds, plant items, animal bones, wood charcoal, chipped stone tools and associated debitage, mudbricks, pigment specimens, and clay sealings. There were also around one thousand objects found which included artifacts like querns, grinding stones, abraders, anvils, whetstones, household items, metals, beads, bracelets and gaming pieces. This wide assortment of objects (which are not all listed here) reflects the role of the Royal Administrative Building as both an administrative center as well as an area of craft workshops and domestic living space. The round storage silos were the first architectural components of this building complex, indicating its main function as a central storage and distribution center. Grain storage was important grain was a key in the production of bread and beer, the staples of the Egyptian builders' diet. The fact that these silos are the only grain storage facilities found in Heit el-Ghurab indicate that the cereal was stored and distributed by a central authority to the bakeries found throughout the settlement.[54]

[40] Redding.
[41] el-Aziz, "Excavations in the Chute Area, 2009."
[42] Lehner, *The Two Towns: Season 2009 at Giza,* (2009).
[43] Lehner, "Excavation in the Northwest Territory" (2011).
[44] Lehner, (2009).
[45] The last few sentencues use information from Lehner, "Excavation in the Northwest Territory" (2011).
[46] Redding.
[47] Lehner, (2002).

[48] Wodzinska, (2009).
[49] Lehner, (2002).
[50] Lehner, (2002).
[51] Lehner, (2002).
[52] Lehner, (2002); Wodzinska, (2009).
[53] Lehner, (2002).
[54] Entire paragraph uses information from Murray, "Archeology Science 2009," (2011).

The workshops were found in the Western Rooms of the Royal Administrative complex, in eight small, paired rooms on which floors were found tools and raw materials. The vestibule found the Western Rooms seems to contain a sleeping platform similar to those that are found in the Gallery Complex, and seeing as it is has a full view of the access points into the workshops, it is possible that it was used by a guard who was assigned to monitor the safety of the small workshops. The Western Buildings of the Royal Administrative Building complex were possibly living quarters that were attached to the workshops. The rooms in this section are larger than the rooms devoted to workshops. The remains of pottery and animal bones offer evidence that food was prepared and served in these rooms. Among the animal bones that were found here, there were pig bones in addition to those of cattle and sheep/goats. Redding suggests that the people living here supplemented their diet with pork that could have been raised by the inhabitants of the Eastern Town. Mary Anne Murray, the leader of the archeological science team that formed a part of Lehner's excavation team, writes that the inhabitants of the Royal Administrative Building ate better than the residents in most other town areas – they even had access to hunted game, like gazelle, which was a high-status food in 4th Dynasty Egypt.[55]

Western Town

The Western town was a neighborhood of large homes.[56] House Unit 1 was the largest house that was excavated, covering an area of around four hundred square meters and containing approximately twenty rooms, well-laid floors, and traces of red and black paint at the base of the plastered walls.[57] It also possessed refined architectural details, such as a bed niche with painted plaster decorations as well as a unique double bed platform. This house probably belonged to a high-ranking scribe who headed a scribal workshop located in the house.[58] One of the components of the house also seemed to include a bakery, located on the eastern side of the house and consisting of five small chambers. The predominance of low bins and vats, in addition to hearths, could indicate that the "bakery" could have been devoted to brewing or beer production. Other evidence consists of large quantities of beer jar fragments south of a corridor leading from the bakery complex to a southwestern room with eight shallow bins, which could have been used for sprouting. This would make it the first and only brewery found in this city of pyramid builders.[59]

During the excavations in 2013, Dr. Redding examined over one thousand bone fragments found in House 1 that were recovered from floor surfaces and the rubble of the collapsed roofs. Stewing seems to have been the usual cooking method throughout the settlement as indicated by the fracture patterns on the bones which were smashed while fresh, probably as cooks broke them for a stew pot. In House 1, the stews were made of highly prized meat, mostly young cattle and Nile perch, but also catfish, sheep, goat, and pig. There were higher proportions of perch found in the Western Town than in other areas of the settlement, and the perch found here were typically around a meter long, indicating that these residents probably received the best of the catch brought in by the fishermen. Apart from the perch remains, another indicator that the residents of House 1 and the Western Town were of high status was the finding of a leopard bone, which could have been part of ritual garment – high ranking, ancient Egyptian priests wore leopard pelts in mortuary rituals.[60]

Egyptian Stoneworkers and Builders

The ancient Egyptians builders from this 4th Dynasty settlement have shown through the monuments they built that they mastered the art of working with stone to a remarkable degree. This mastery is made even more remarkable by the fact that the Egyptians found ways to quarry and shape stones like limestone and even granite, before bronze tools became available.[61] The quarry from where the Egyptians got the blocks for the building of the pyramids was located to the west of the Sphinx and to the north of the causeway leading to the Great Pyramid.[62] One type of tool the Egyptians used for quarrying these stones were copper chisels, which were made harder, and so more suitable, by the fact that Egyptian copper was not pure, but contained traces of tin.[63] The Egyptians could also have used toothless copper saws to cut a limestone slab into a desired block of rock.[64] There were, furthermore, thousands of pieces of flint found in the waste sites near the limestone quarries, pointing to the fact that Egyptians

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[55] Entire paragraph uses information from Murray, (2011).

[56] Wodzinska, "Khentkawes Town 2009: Pottery Overview," (2011).

[57] Lehner, (2009).

[58] The last few sentences use information from Lehner, *Dining in a High Status House: The Good Life, 4th Dynasty style,* (2013).

[59] The last few sentences use information from Lehner, (2009).

[60] Entire paragraph used information from Lehner, (2013).

[61] Brier and Hobbs, 227.

[62] Reader, "A Geomorphological Study of the Giza Necropolis, with Implications for the Development of the Sites."

[63] Brier and Hobbs, 228.

[64] Brier and Hobbs, 230.

were using flint tools in addition to copper tools in quarrying limestone.[65] Flint chisels were probably used together with a wooden mallet to prevent the flint from shattering, and could have been the primary tools used for quarrying limestone.[66]

Building the Pyramids

As to the building of the pyramids themselves, there are a number of theories on how the ancient Egyptians accomplished such a feat of engineering using the technology they had available to them. The main theory is that they constructed a massive ramp against one of the faces of the pyramid. The ramp would have been lengthened as the construction of the pyramid progressed and would have been about one-and-a-half kilometers long. This ramp would have been a huge undertaking, requiring more than three times the volume of material used to complete the pyramid. Another theory is that the Egyptians built either a spiral ramp or a combination of ramps around the pyramid.[67] There would have been many problems, however, associated with constructing and supporting the ramps of such large proportions. Although archeologists have indeed found the foundations of a number of small, embankment-like structures, these structures were probably only used during the initial stages of construction, for elevating the limestone blocks while the pyramid was still at a low level. The multiple large ramp combination necessary to build the entire pyramid would have also generated a vast amount of material for which there is no evidence either at the site of the pyramids nor anywhere nearby. Alternatively, archeologists have also proposed that the pyramids could have been built by elevating individual blocks of stone used in the construction of the great Pyramid using levers and packing pieces.[68] Yet, according to Edwards (2003), both the ramp and lever methods would have been inefficient and extremely time-consuming ways of building the ancient pyramid. Instead, what he proposes is that the pyramid could have been constructed using the angled faces of the structure itself. This method would have eliminated the need to build massive ramps and would be more energy efficient as the building teams would have remained on the pyramids' level plateau and would not have to travel up and down the ramps. He uses the example of hauling that is depicted on a wall painting in the tomb of an Egyptian nobleman Djehuty-hotep at Deir el-Bersha (Figure 2). Combining that with contemporary technical evidence and calculations, Edwards theory is that the stone blocks used to construct the pyramid could have been hauled up the face of the pyramid by teams that were assigned an area to work with, with sufficient room between the teams so that they would keep clear of each other when hauling. Edwards estimates that this way, according to his calculation, the Great Pyramid could have taken about twenty-three years to complete, with around ten thousand people involved in the construction during the most intensive periods of work. This corresponds with the estimate by Dr. Redding, who also estimates that around ten thousand individuals were working on the pyramids.[69]

Conclusion

Through excavation, inference, and analysis, the lifestyle of the ancient Egyptians begins to slowly emerge. The Giza Plateau during the 4th Dynasty period emerges as a place full of people, full of activity brought about by the pyramid construction. The picture that is painted is that of this vast pyramid building project started by the Egyptian pharaohs and employing over ten thousand Egyptian people on site, and probably many more throughout the Kingdom of Egypt, dramatically influenced the Egyptian way of life. People from all levels of the Egyptian society must have been engaged – both directly and indirectly – as a result of this undertaking, from the scholars and architects who must have designed the pyramids and figured out a way to build these amazing monuments using the technology and tools available in Egypt, to the people who were employed in herding the animals needed to feed the builders that toiled at the edge of the desert quarrying stone and constructing the rising pyramids. The start of the pyramid projects must have caused a noticeable change in the Egyptian society, which went far beyond being the religious changes mentioned by Roth (1993) of shifting focus onto the sun-god, Re, and focusing on the afterlife. This change must have gone on to greatly influence Egypt's economy and even settlement patterns. Due to the numbers of pyramid builders and overseers necessary for a project of these proportions, a new settlement to emerged on the Giza Plateau at the foot of these monumental structures – a city of pyramid builders. This settlement or city was home not only to rotating, temporary groups of workers, but it was one where a fair number of builders seem to have decided to settle permanently, as evidenced by the housing of the Eastern Town of Heit el-Ghurab.[70] This builder settlement was provisioned by vast amounts animals, mostly cattle, goats, and sheep, that were transported or "imported" from the fertile Nile Valley, possibly the Nile Delta.[71] Though none of the material discussed above

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[65] Brier and Hobbs, 229.
[66] Brier and Hobbs, 229-230.
[67] The previous few sentences use information from Edwards.
[68] The previous few sentences use information from Edwards.

[69] Redding.
[70] Brier and Hobbs; Lehner, (2002).
[71] Redding.

reveals much about the wealth of the builders, it is apparent that despite being subject to the control that was necessary to maintain a well-ordered organization of so many workers, the builders were not slaves and, judging by the workshops found in Heit el-Ghurab and the abilities necessary for the pyramid project, the builders were probably skilled workers. They were very well fed, having meat to eat every day, and were provided with all the living necessities.[72] All this was probably administered from the Royal Administrative Building complex, which seemed to have served as a storage and central administrative center.[73] Combined with the religious merit and enhanced status that Roth writes the Egyptians could have associated with working, and being buried, near the pyramids, the pyramid builders were likely willingly working for their pharaoh in the building of these great monuments. For years, perhaps decades, they lived in this Lost City of the Pyramid Builders until they were provided employment in the large pyramid projects. After these ended around the end of the 4th Dynasty, the settlement seems to have been abandoned and as years, decades, and centuries passed, the sands of the Egyptian desert buried the Settlement of the Pyramid Builders deep under the hot sand, leaving only the awe-inspiring pyramids as a testament to the greatness of the Egyptian pharaoh's and the skill and hard labour of his long-forgotten subjects.

In recent years, the Lost City of the Pyramids has once again resurfaced thanks to the efforts of the AERA excavation team led by Dr. Mark Lehner, who wishes to bring this Lost City back to life using both old and modern technologies. One of the ways in which he wishes to accomplish this is through the reconstruction of the ancient structures of everyday life – both virtually using modern graphics software and archeologists' expertise, as well as by building life-size copies of the ancient structures using materials and techniques identical to the ones used by the ancient Egyptians. In the fall of 2005, the team built a replica of the Eastern Town house which would allow scholars and visitors to see and study the building, while the original would be preserved below, under a protective bed of clean sand. This physical reconstruction also gave insights into ancient materials and techniques, as well as served to give a real sense of the size and layout of the ancient structures.[74] Together with 3-D digital model reconstructions, these are amazing steps aimed at bringing the Lost City of the Pyramid Builders back to life and so truly reconstructing a portion of life during the 4th Dynasty of Ancient Egypt.

This reconstruction by AERA's archeologists will surely aid in furthering the study and understanding of ancient Egyptian life; however, as the excavation details above show, these ruins and artefacts themselves already give a lot of insight into how the Egyptians lived, what foods they ate, and what facilities and activities were present in the settlement. The Gallery Complex shows possible housing for temporary workers or for the royal soldiers, while the Royal Administrative Buildings to the south reveal the possible redistribution center from where these temporary residents together with other settlement residents received the majority of their resources. The excavations from the Eastern Town adjacent to this complex of administrative buildings reveal details from the lives of the Egyptians permanently employed in different aspects of the pyramid building project, who were not wealthy, judging by the crowded living quarters, but neither were they slaves as not only were they well fed but they even seemed to possess more freedom of movement than the residents of the Gallery Complex. Finally, the Western Town reveals a glimpse into the life of the wealthy and high-status residents of the Lost City, with their large complex houses and superior diet. Altogether, the excavated ruins of the settlement reveal a structured society of lower and higher classes who formed a settlement that thrived throughout the era of the pyramid building as Egyptians workers toiled with the creation of these monuments, while others worked in the settlement baking and cooking, crafting goods in small workshops and keeping the settlement in order as the pyramids slowly grew taller and taller over the long years of construction. The pyramid projects of the 4th Dynasty pharaoh's spurred the development of a whole new city that thrived in its own right as people found employment and income in the construction work of the monuments that still awe the modern peoples today.

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[72] Lehner, (2002); Wodzinska, (2009).
[73] Murray, (2011).

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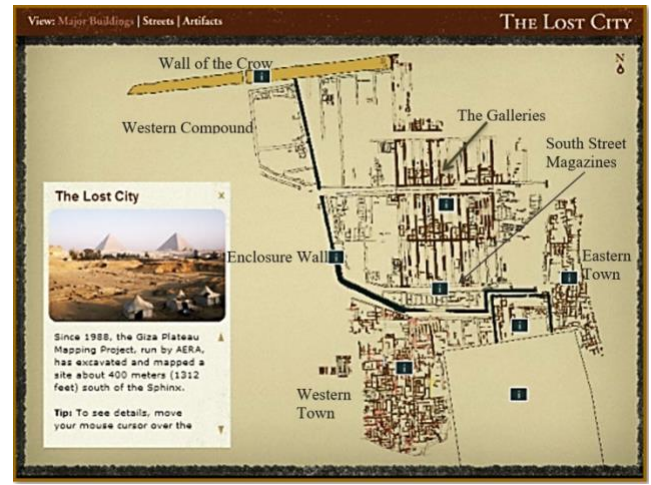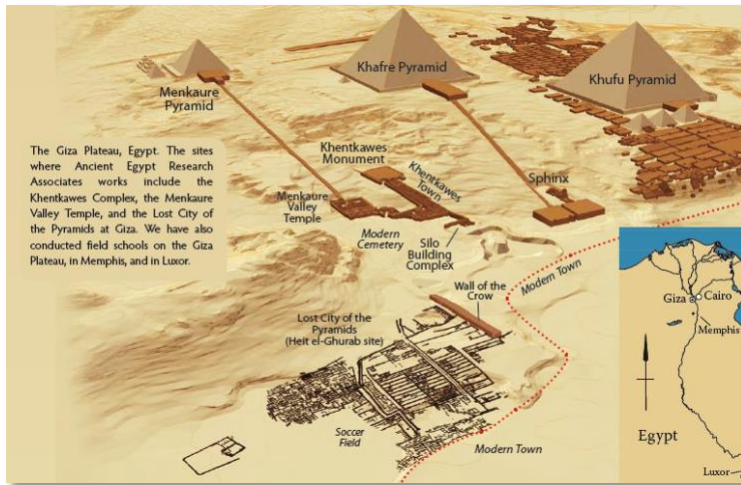
Figures

Figure 1. Location of the Lost City of the Pyramids in relation to the pyramids (AERA 2012-2013 Annual Report 2013)

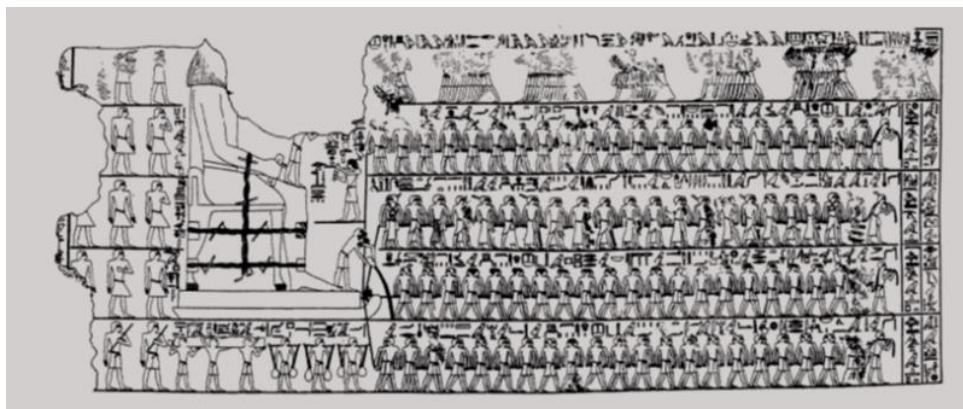**Figure 3.** Site map of the Lost City of the Pyramids (AERA 2015)

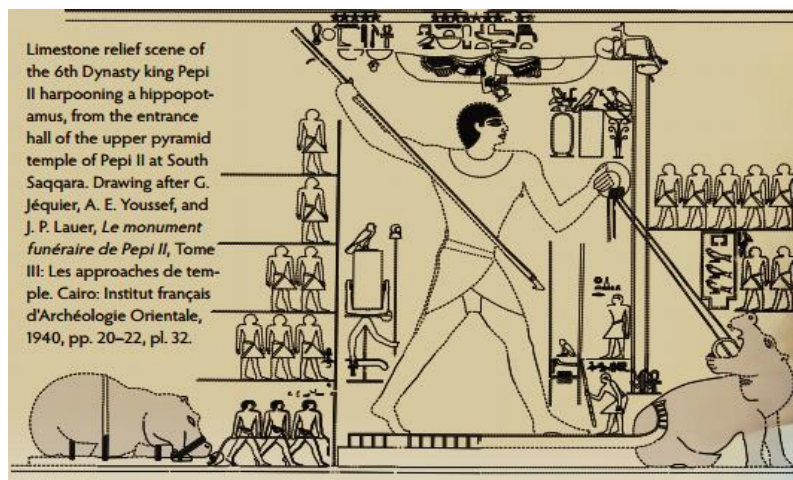**Figure 2.** Wall Painting from the tomb of Djehuty-hotep (Edwards 2003)

Figure 4. Wall relief from the pyramid temple of Pharaoh Pepi II (Lehner 2012)

Crisis and Intervention:
Roman and Pontic Interference in Dynastic Affairs of Cappadocia and Bithynia
John Keating

The trigger for the First Mithridatic War between Mithridates VI Eupator and the Roman Republic is generally attributed to the seizure of Asia Minor and the massacre of the 80,000 Roman and Italian citizens at Pergamon, between 89 and 88 BCE.[1] While this violent outrage against the Roman people is certainly the first 'shot fired' in the first conflict between the Pontic kingdom and Rome, tensions between the two empires reach further back, and Mithridates' violent expansion into the sovereign territories of Asia Minor made war with the equally expansive Romans nearly inevitable. The catalysts for the war between the Romans and Mithridates were two similar dynastic crises occurring between the years 99 and 89 BCE; the first in the kingdom of Cappadocia, and the second in the kingdom of Bithynia. Both Pontic and Roman intervention in the dynastic affairs of these two sovereign kingdoms represent the causes behind the violent military conflict between the two ambitious, aggressive and expansive empires.

The dynastic crisis of Cappadocia as a precursor to the First Mithridatic War began with the murder of the king Ariarathes VII in 99 BCE[2], and consisted of a dynastic civil war between two factions in support of respective candidates for the throne.[3] The crisis featured heavy involvement from both Rome and Pontus, who each attempted to settle the issue on terms favourable to their respective interests.[4] The intervention from both the Romans and Mithridates cannot be dismissed as simple chauvinistic imperialism, however, as each party had significant historical ties to the Cappadocian royal house.

In Rome's case, political interaction with the Cappadocian Ariarathids can be traced to the early second century BCE, when the king Ariarathes IV Eusebes supported his relative Antiochus III against the Roman Republic.[5] It was during the Galatian campaign in 189 that Ariarathes IV surrendered to Cn. Manlius Vulso, cos. 189,[6] in which the Romans granted peace to the Cappadocians.[7] Afterwards, Ariarathes was able to secure his friendship with Rome by forging a marriage alliance with the Roman ally Eumenes II of Pergamon; after the alliance with Eumenes had been announced, Manlius Vulso informally recognized Ariarathes as a 'friend' of the Romans.[8] The formal recognition of Cappadocia as a 'Friend and Ally of the Roman People' came under Ariarathes V Eupator (crowned in 164/3), who was given assistance against the invading Galatian Trocmi tribe by Cn. Octavius, cos. 165,[9] in exchange for supplies and intel for Octavius' mission in Syria.[10] Throughout their diplomatic relationship, the Roman senate displayed little interest in the affairs of Cappadocia, and declined to intervene in both internal and external crises involving the Ariarathids in the second century.[11] Indeed, until the beginning of tensions with Mithridates VI, Rome largely opted to steer clear of dynastic struggles and political intrigues in Asia Minor, and allowed the kings of Anatolia to expand and attack each other quite freely.[12]

The relationship between Cappadocia and Pontus, however, is far more complicated, and it appears that there was a possible dynastic connection between the royal houses of the two kingdoms reaching back into the early Hellenistic period. Appian relates a historical anecdote which (as he judges) explains the familial connection between the ruling houses of both Cappadocia and Pontus:

> He had with him one Mithridates, a scion of the royal house of Persia. Antigonus had a dream that he had sowed a field with gold, and that Mithridates reaped it and carried it off to Pontus. He accordingly arrested him, intending to put him to death, but Mithridates escaped with six horsemen, fortified himself in a stronghold of Cappadocia, where many joined him in consequence of the decay of the Macedonian power, and possessed himself of the whole of Cappadocia and of the neighboring countries along the Euxine. This great power, which he had built up, he left to his children. They reigned one after another until the sixth Mithridates in

[1] Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, 76-77.
[2] Pastor, "Cappadocia and Pontus: Client Kingdoms of the Roman Republic from the Peace of Apamea to the Beginning of the Mithridatic Wars (189 – 89 BCE)," 54.
[3] Dmitriev, "Cappadocian Dynastic Rearrangements on the Eve of the First Mithridatic War," 285.
[4] Dmitriev, 285.
[5] Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East,* 40.
[6] Broughton and Patterson, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, Volume I,* 366.
[7] Sherwin-White, 40.
[8] Sherwin-White, 40.
[9] Broughton and Patterson, Vol. 1, 438.
[10] Sherwin-White, 41.
[11] Sherwin-White, 41.
[12] Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire: The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 B.C.,* 231.

succession from the founder of the house, and he went to war with the Romans. Since there were kings of this house of both Cappadocia and Pontus, I judge that they divided the government, some ruling one country and some the other.[13]

The Mithridates referred to by Appian is most likely Mithridates III of Cius, who was forced out of his satrapy after apparently falling out of favour with the Macedonian successor-king Antigonus Monophthalmus.[14] After establishing himself at a fortress in Paphlagonia, he ruled for thirty-six years (302 – 266 BCE), styling himself Mithridates I Ctistes of Pontus and taking advantage of the collapse of the Macedonian empire to expand his influence into Cappadocia and northern Anatolia.[15] Military interference by the Pontic kings into Cappadocia was not without precedent either. Pontic interventionist aggression against Cappadocia first occurred under Pharnaces I, son of Mithridates III and fifth ruler of Pontus after Mithridates I Ctistes.[16] In 186/5, Pharnaces became involved, like many other Asiatic powers, in a conflict between Prusias I of Bithynia and Eumenes II of Pergamon, in which Pharnaces sided against Eumenes along with Ortiagon of Galatia and Philip V of Macedon.[17] After the truce between Pergamon and Bithynia in 183/182, Pharnaces continued aggression against Eumenes, and both powers sent envoys to Rome, representing the first diplomatic contact between Rome and Pontus.[18] By 181, Ariarthes IV of Cappadocia additionally sent an envoy to Rome, who feared Pontic intervention after accepting a betrothal of Eumenes' daughter to himself.[19] The negotiations culminated in Pharnaces' breaking of the truce of 183/182, and invading Galatia and Cappadocia.[20] By 179, Pharnaces had been overpowered and forced by the coalition of Eumenes, Ariarathes and Prusias to make peace, pay heavy indemnities for his unprecedented attack on Ariarathes and withdraw from Cappadocia immediately.[21]

Pontic interference in Cappadocia resumed two generations later under Mithridates V Euergetes ('The Benefactor,' 151 – 120 BCE[22]), who after the Roman war against Aristonicus/Eumenes III subjugated Cappadocia with a military invasion and a dynastic marriage.[23] Appian briefly states that Euergetes had attacked Cappadocia "as though it were a foreign country,"[24] but evidently, in contrast to the simple imperialism of his predecessor Pharnaces, he attempted to create a lasting dynastic connection between the two kingdoms by marrying his daughter Laodice to the Cappadocian king Ariarathes VI as part of the peace agreement.[25] Two explanations have been offered for Euergetes' aims in marrying off his daughter to his ostensible enemy: the first, held by historian B.C. McGing, states that Euergetes was aware of the consequences faced by Pharances for his brash imperialism regarding Cappadocia, and hoped instead to use his daughter to control the throne of Cappadocia indirectly.[26] Another theory presented by McGing, which – if true – would set a helpful precedent for Mithridates VI's activities in Cappadocia, states that an internal dynastic conflict had arisen in Cappadocia, and Euergetes' 'invasion' was an attempt to rescue his ally Ariarathes VI from an insurrection, and the subsequent marriage was a means to stabilize the kingdom.[27] In any case, Euergetes' attempt to interfere in the activities of Cappadocia through military force combined with dynastic intrigue certainly set a precedent for his successor's foreign policy; McGing states, "For [Mithridates VI] Eupator's Cappadocian policy was almost certainly the same: that is, he was unwilling to occupy the country directly but tried constantly to control it indirectly through intermediaries. Eupator probably just took over his father's policy."[28]

After his succession in 121[29], Mithridates VI Eupator continued his father's policy of heavy interference in Cappadocian affairs. In 112/111, Mithridates, through the treacherous Cappadocian noble Gordius, murdered Ariarathes VI and installed his nephew Ariarathes VII Philometor with his sister Laodice as queen-regent.[30] Brazenly taking advantage of the chaotic situation, Nicomedes III of Bithynia rapidly invaded Cappadocia and married the recently widowed Laodice; Mithridates then quickly overwhelmed the Bithynian invaders and had both Laodice and Nicomedes exiled, placing his nephew Ariarathes VII solely in power.[31] Ariarathes, however, proved to be more independent-minded than Mithridates had anticipated, and stubbornly refused to obey his uncle's command to restore his henchman Gordius to noble status after his flight into exile during the invasion.[32] As tensions between the two threatened to break out into war, Mithridates called for a conference with Ariarathes to settle the matter and avoid

[13] Appian, *The Mithridatic Wars* 2.9.
[14] McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, 15.
[15] McGing, 15.
[16] McGing, 24.
[17] McGing, 24.
[18] McGing, 25.
[19] Livy, *The History of Rome* 38.39.5-6.
[20] McGing, 27.
[21] McGing, 28-29.
[22] Scullard, 75.

[23] Kallet-Marx, 240.
[24] App. *Mith.* 2.10.
[25] McGing, 37.
[26] McGing, 38.
[27] McGing, 38.
[28] McGing, 38.
[29] Scullard, 75.
[30] Sherwin-White, 105.
[31] Sherwin-White, 105-106.
[32] Sherwin-White, 106.

possible violence.[33] The 'conference', however, was a trap set by Mithridates, who murdered his nephew personally and immediately proclaimed his own eight-year-old son, styled Ariarathes IX Eusebes ('The Pious'), to the Cappadocian throne.[34] Thus, in 99 BCE, the Cappadocian crisis began.

Shortly after the instalment of Ariarathes IX, civil unrest broke out among the Cappadocian nobles, who protested against what they perceived to be foreign interference in their affairs. They quickly called the child-king to be deposed, and invited the murdered king's brother, styled Ariarathes VIII, to take the throne.[35] Attempting to seize yet another opportunity from the chaos, Nicomedes III sent Laodice to Rome, to appeal to the senate by claiming that a third, unknown son of Laodice and Ariarathes VI had the most legitimate claim to the throne of Cappadocia.[36] Mithridates responded to Nicomedes' bold move by sending Gordius to Rome to argue that Ariarathes IX was in fact directly tied to Ariarathes V Eupator, Rome's 'Friend and Ally.'[37] After deliberation, the senate decided that neither party had a legitimate claim to the Cappadocian throne, and were both simply attempting to install usurpers for political gain; they therefore decreed Cappadocia (as well as Paphlagonia, which had been seized by Nicomedes[38]) a 'free republic.'[39] The Cappadocian nobility, unsatisfied with the senate's decision, demanded that a king be named, and the senate declared that they would recognize a monarch of the Cappadocian people's choosing.[40] The available candidates with any legitimacy were Ariobarzanes, an exiled member of the Ariarathid royal family, and Mithridates' agent Gordius.[41] With little hesitation the Cappadocians chose Ariobarzanes, and the senate promptly ordered Mithridates to pull out of Cappadocia; facing the prospect of war with the Romans, Bithynians and Cappadocians combined, Mithridates evacuated his son Ariarathes IX and Gordius back to Pontus.[42] Mithridates' fear of Roman invasion may have been due to a visit from Gaius Marius, who (under the pretense of visiting Cappadocia and Galatia to visit their great shrines) met with Mithridates personally and delivered his famous warning to "make himself stronger than the Romans or to carry out their commands in silence."[43]

The decree of the Roman senate, therefore, represents the first real interest in the machinations of the Pontic kings since the dynastic meddling of Mithridates V.[44] The senate, therefore, decreed that not only would Mithridates pull out of Cappadocia, but that L. Cornelius Sulla, prae. 93 BCE[45], would personally escort Ariobarzanes from Rome to Cappadocia, not trusting (with sufficient reason) that Mithridates would not attempt to interfere once again.[46] Upon arrival in 96/95, Sulla dispatched several of Gordius' reactionary forces and Mithridates' Armenian allies, and went so far as to strike an agreement with the Parthians that they would recognize Ariobarzanes in exchange for Roman friendship.[47] While the events of the Cappadocian crisis did not lead directly to war between Pontus and Rome, the interference and machinations of Mithridates certainly drew him attention from the Roman senate for the first time. This crisis, therefore, represents the first phase of the buildup of war between Rome and Mithridates.

The second phase, the Bithynian crisis, began in 94 BCE, as both Mithridates and his now son-in-law Tigranes I 'the Great' of Armenia enacted plans to seize the kingdoms of Bithynia and Paphlagonia, as well as Cappadocia, once again.[48] Like Cappadocia, Bithynia had a complex political history with both Pontus and Rome. Roman interaction with Bithynia dates back as far back as 190, when rare Roman diplomatic intervention in Asiatic affairs forced Prusias I to abandon a rumoured alliance with the Seleucid Antiochus III, and to surrender the occupied territory of Phrygia to Eumenes II of Pergamon.[49] This resulted in the war in 186/5 between Pergamon and an alliance of Bithynia, Galatia, Macedonia, Pontus and the exiled Hannibal of Carthage; the peace settlements apparently secured the surrender of Phrygia to Eumenes, the surrender of Hannibal to Rome, and the status of 'Friend and Ally of the Roman People' being bestowed upon Prusias.[50] The status of friendship, however, was revoked by the senate during the reign of Prusias II, who launched a successful invasion of Pergamon after the succession of Attalus II Philadelphus.[51] Prusias, fearing that the cancellation of the alliance was intended as a threat of war, immediately settled with the senate, who restored the borders of Pergamon to their pre-war status and exacted a nominal indemnity fee.[52] In 149, Prusias was deposed due to a successful intrigue by Attalus to install his son Nicomedes to the throne,

[33] Sherwin-White, 106.
[34] Sherwin-White, 106.
[35] Dmitriev, 285.
[36] Kallet-Marx, 247.
[37] Kallet-Marx, 247-248.
[38] Stark, *Rome on the Euphrates*, 52.
[39] Kallet-Marx, 248.
[40] Kallet-Marx, 248.
[41] Kallet-Marx, 248.
[42] McGing, 77.
[43] Sherwin-White, 108.

[44] Sherwin-White, 108.
[45] Broughton and Patterson, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, Volume 2,* 14.
[46] Kallet-Marx, 248.
[47] Kallet-Marx, 249.
[48] Kallet-Marx, 249.
[49] Sherwin-White, 44.
[50] Sherwin-White, 44.
[51] Sherwin-White, 45.
[52] Sherwin-White, 45.

establishing a new dynasty; the Roman senate responded by sending a slapdash mission of three low-ranking senators to settle the issue, who passively allowed the dynastic coup to proceed as an 'internal affair' of Bithynia.[53] These were the only political interactions of note between Rome and Bithynia before the outbreak of the crisis.

Prior to the crisis, Bithynia also had dealings with Pontus, although to a lesser extent than that of their relations with Cappadocia. The Pontic-Bithynian relationship was far more political and martial than dynastic. As previously mentioned, Pharnaces I of Pontus sided with Prusias I in his war against Eumenes II of Pergamon in 188[54], although his joining the war was likely a means to an end towards his goal of expansion into Pergamon and Cappadocia. Additionally, Prusias II of Bithynia was one of the signatories to the peace settlement of 179, and had sided against Pharnaces after his invasion of Galatia and Cappadocia.[55] In 155/4, during Prusias II's invasion of Pergamon, Mithridates IV Philopator Philadelphus (along with Ariarathes V of Cappadocia) sent some nominal assistance to Attalus II, with whom they had forged a private alliance sometime after 179.[56] In 108, Mithridates VI Eupator and Nicomedes III Euergetes of Bithynia entered into a joint venture to capture Paphlagonia and divide the territory between the two kings: Mithridates made a dubious claim that the annexed territory was his by hereditary right, and Nicomedes styled his own son as Pylaemenes and placed him on the Paphlagonian throne.[57] The senate demanded that both Nicomedes and Mithridates withdraw from the territory, but the order was ignored by both kings until 95/96, when Cappadocia and Paphlagonia were declared free republics by the senate.[58] This would be the last cooperation between Pontus and Bithynia prior to the crisis.

In 94 BCE, Nicomedes III died and left two possible heirs to the Bithynian throne in his wake.[59] Civil war broke out between the two successors: Nicomedes IV and Socrates Chrestos (supported by Mithridates VI), both sons of Nicomedes III.[60] Both princes travelled to Rome to argue their claim to the senate, who in 91 BCE chose to recognize the older Nicomedes IV; outraged, Mithridates, after making a failed attempt to assassinate Nicomedes, sent his forces into Bithynia to depose the legitimate king and install Socrates.[61] It was additionally alleged at the time that Mithridates had bribed M. Aemilius Scaurus, advisor to M. Livius Drusus (tr. pl. 91)[62], into speaking in favour of his puppet Socrates at the hearing.[63] At the same time, Tigranes I (again, at Mithridates' behest) invaded Cappadocia and, once again, expelled Ariobarzanes and reinstalled Ariarathes IX.[64] In 91/90, the senate ordered Mithridates to withdraw from his annexed territories and restore Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, and the Pontic king, fearing violent reprisal, obeyed.[65] To ensure further cooperation from Mithridates, the senate sent ambassadors M' Aquilius (cos. 101 BCE[66]) and T. Manlius Mancinus (both legates of 89 BCE[67]) to advise Nicomedes IV and ensure his stable rule.[68] Aquilius and Manlius, however, began to pressure the young Nicomedes to attack Mithridates and begin a war between Pontus and Rome; Appian reports that Nicomedes had apparently incurred large debts to Roman generals and ambassadors in exchange for support of his placement on the throne.[69] It is also alleged that Aquilius and Manlius provoked Nicomedes into war at the behest of Gaius Marius, who hoped for command of a profitable war against Mithridates.[70] Nicomedes caved to the demands of his Roman handlers and launched an invasion of Paphlagonia and Pontus, reaching as far into Pontic territory as the city of Amastrasis, while Mithridates' forces backed deeper into their kingdom.[71] Mithridates, still wishing to avoid war with the Romans, complained to the senate of Nicomedes' aggression, to which the senate responded by insincerely sympathizing with Mithridates but warning him not to counterattack against the Bithynians.[72] Infuriated, and likely recognizing the opportunity presented by the distraction of the Social War in Italy,[73] Mithridates launched a massive counterattack in 89, destroying the Roman envoys and garrisons in Asia and occupying most of Asia Minor by the end of the year.[74] The Bithynian crisis then finally transitioned into the First Mithridatic War in 88 BCE, when Mithridates simultaneously ordered the massacre of approximately 80,000 Italians in Pergamon, captured most of the islands of the Aegean sea, and launched a full land invasion of Greece and Macedonia.[75]

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[53] Sherwin-White, 46.
[54] McGing, 24.
[55] McGing, 28.
[56] McGing, 34-35.
[57] McGing, 68-69.
[58] McGing, 69.
[59] Bekker-Nielsen, *Urban Life and Local Politics in Roman Bithynia*, 27.
[60] Pastor, 57.
[61] Pastor, 57.
[62] Broughton and Patterson, Vol.2, 21.
[63] Pastor, 57.

[64] Kallet-Marx, 251.
[65] Keaveney, *Sulla: The Last Republican*, 64.
[66] Broughton and Patterson, Vol.1, 570.
[67] Broughton and Patterson, Vol.2, 35.
[68] Keaveney, 64.
[69] App. *Mith.* 2.11.
[70] Keaveney, 64.
[71] Kallet-Marx, 254-255.
[72] Kallet-Marx, 255.
[73] McGing, 88.
[74] Keaveney, 65.
[75] Keaveney, 65.

The crises of Cappadocia and Bithynia, therefore, were the catalysts that directly led to the first war between Pontus and Rome. Both powers, each with historical ties to these respective regions, were inevitably brought to war with each other through political alliances as well as military and dynastic intervention. In consideration of Mithridates VI's expansive, imperialistic ambitions in Asia Minor, and Rome's wish to maintain their control over the region, war between the two empires was inevitable.

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Richard II, Identity, and the Aristotelian Tragic Structure
Mac Wallace

On the temple of Apollo in Delphi, there was inscribed the famous Greek proverb *γνῶθι σεαυτόν,* often translated into English as, 'know thyself.' It is the struggle to follow this advice which consumes Shakespeare's character, Richard II. In the play, Richard has a hard time staying grounded; it seems as if he does not quite have a firm grasp of reality. And, as his role shifts throughout the play, he undergoes several identity crises as a result. *Richard II* is a history in genre and it is titled as such in the First Folio of 1623. Despite this classification though, the story of the disillusioned king who struggles with his identity is a tragic one. In so many ways, *Richard II* structurally resembles Shakespeare's tragedies, so much so that earlier printings of the play refer to it as *The Tragedie of King Richard the Second*.[1] There is an attempt throughout the play, seemingly informed by theories found in Aristotle's *Poetics*, to manipulate form and structure in order to achieve some new effect. Shakespeare, in *Richard II*, though it is a history in name and not a tragedy, ironically uses Aristotle's conceptualization of the ideal tragic structure to defuse the tragic emotion of the play, in the process leaving the audience shocked, surprised, and (most importantly) amused.

It is first necessary to examine Aristotle's ideal tragic structure from the *Poetics* in some depth before considering *Richard II*. Aristotle starts the discussion with a conversation on the ideal tragic character. The ideal protagonist of a tragedy, he says, ought to be high born, powerful, and wealthy. Essentially the protagonist must have a great deal to lose. Aristotle further expounds his discussion by providing examples of his framework, consistently using the example of *Oedipus Tyrannos*. In this ancient play, the name itself, *Oedipus the King*, is enough to show that Sophocles met this criterion (1452b). Aristotle claims that the protagonist must also have some *hamartia* which leads to his downfall. *Hamartia* translates literally to "failure" or "fault" and is even used in the New Testament as "sin." This concept is known to modernity as the tragic flaw. Aristotle says this fault, along with the unpredictable *fortuna*, leads to the downfall of the hero. The example given by Aristotle is the *hubris* of Oedipus, who believes he can avoid the prophecy governing him and defy the gods (1453a). The next step is for the protagonist to endure a *peripeteia*, a reversal. At this stage, the hero's fortune is completely turned around and he or she begins their great fall. The reversal in *Oedipus* occurs when the hero murders his father and marries his mother, albeit unknowingly (1452b). Now the protagonist has the *anagnorisis*, a realization. The hero realizes what has happened—alas, too late— and is forced to feel the consequences of the reversal. The hero is able to realize, at last, his or her flaw. Oedipus realizes what he has done and goes into an exile of intense pain (1453b). These components lead the protagonist to suffer and often die. If all of these features are respected by the author, Aristotle says that the fall of the hero ought to invoke fear and pity from the audience and to create an atmosphere of *philanthropia*, fellow-feeling or sympathy (1453a & b).

Many of these literary features described by Aristotle are employed in *Richard II*. Richard himself is a man of great power and wealth; he is the king of England. As the audience understands immediately, Richard indeed has much to lose. The extent of his loss is elegantly described in the third act:

> I'll give my jewels for a set of beads,
> My gorgeous palace for a hermitage,
> My gay apparel for an almsman's gown,
> My figured goblets for a dish of wood,
> My sceptre for a palmer's walking staff,
> My subjects for a pair of carved saints
> And my large kingdom for a little grave (III.3, 147-153).

Richard's losses are dramatically given in this speech and help to stress that he has all the requirements to fulfill Aristotle's ideal tragic character.

Richard also has a *hamartia*. His faults, which help in leading him to peril, are his *hubris* and his lack of humanity. Pride, which is often found deposing kings in literature and is perhaps the most common and potent of all the tragic flaws, is Richard's undoing. He believes himself unconquerable because of his power through God. Richard

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is guilty because he believes himself to be *more* than human; he identifies himself at times more as a God than a man and he is unable to accept moral judgement against his actions. Immediately before his tragic fall, the *hubris* of Richard is laid bare. Richard declares:

> For every man that Bolingbroke hath press'd
> To lift shrewd steel against our golden crown,
> God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay
> A glorious angel: then, if angels fight,
> Weak men must fall, for heaven still guards the right (III.2, 58-62).

Richard here claims that no matter how many men Bolingbroke may muster, he and his interests shall be protected by God and the divine right of kings. Richard goes so far as to demand service of the earth itself:

> Feed not thy sovereign's foe, my gentle earth,
> Nor with thy sweets comfort his ravenous sense;
> But let thy spiders, that suck up thy venom
> And heavy-gaited toads lie in their way,
> Doing annoyance to the treacherous feet
> Which with usurping steps do trample thee:
> Yield stinging nettles to mine enemies (III.2, 12-18).

Richard's pride is so great that he believes his kingship and authority extends even over nature. This display of *hubris* is reminiscent of Herodotus' famous display of *hubris* in *The Histories.* Xerxes orders that the sea be lashed for the loss of a significant naval battle. Even as Henry is in the process of usurping the throne, Richard makes multiple comparisons between his own deposition and the betrayal of Christ; attempting to blur the lines between himself and the divine in the process. He famously claims, "But he [Christ], in twelve, / Found truth in all but one; I, in twelve thousand, / none" (IV.i.170-172). Yet pride is not Richard's only vice. At the beginning of the play, Richard banishes Bolingbroke (ignoring his right to prove his innocence through a duel) despite his father's pleas and sickness. Then, upon Gaunt's death, Richard seizes the rightful inheritance of Bolingbroke. It is clear through the speeches of others that, in making these decisions, Richard has abandoned justice. Richard is plagued by both pride and a lack of humanity; that fellow-feeling *pathos* which makes a person 'good.'

The *peripeteia* of *Richard II* is the climax of the play. All at once, his situation is completely reversed. Richard's Welsh army has left just before his arrival; Bolingbroke has returned to England and taken up arms just as Richard has left for Ireland; the vast majority of the nobility has betrayed Richard (perhaps York is the most devastating example of this). Moreover, Richard's primary supporters, Bushy, Bagot, and Greene, have all been executed. Richard commands his remaining supporters, upon having heard the dreadful news, "all souls that will be safe, fly from my side" (III.3, 80). Richard here has undergone a dramatic shift, from over-confidence and pride to despair and suffering. Richard's anguish and suffering is characteristic of Shakespearean tragedy—if not perhaps a little overblown. McAlindon, in the *Cambridge Companion to Shakespearean Tragedy*, writes, "Shakespeare conceives of his tragic characters as individuals to be remembered less for their errors and misdeeds than for the sufferings and griefs they endure in consequence."[2] Richard's suffering during the *peripeteia* and later is typical of the Shakespearean tragic hero.

The *anagnorisis* of the play is perhaps the most difficult aspect to identify and this paper will seek to argue that it is inextricably linked to Richard's self-identity. In his book, *Shakespeare's Patterns of Self-Knowledge*, Soellner wisely points out, "through [Richard's] own misrule, he loses his crown and the only identity he knows, that of a divinely ordained king."[3] The question of identity first arises at the climax when, having heard the terrible news, Aumerle tells Richard, "Comfort, my liege, remember who you are", to which Richard responds, "I had forgot myself, am I not king?" (III.3, 82-83). The reversal is now occurring, and the compromised state of Richard's authority can be acknowledged by all, especially Richard himself. Richard's question is on the surface rhetorical, stating the obvious, that he is in fact king. Yet there is a trace of insecurity in the question, as if he needs to be reassured that he *is* king. Richard struggles with his identity again later when transferring the crown over to Bolingbroke. After much

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[2] McAlindon, *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespearean Tragedy*, 16.

[3] Soellner, *Shakespeare's Patterns of Self-Knowledge,* 110.

reluctance to hand it over, Bolingbroke asks, "are you contented to resign the crown?" and Richard replies, "ay, no; no, ay; for I must nothing be" (IV. 1, 200-201). The first part of Richard's response again reflects some lack of understanding of himself. Aurally, the audience would perhaps hear, 'I no know I,' a kind of primitive exclamation of identity insecurity. Despite some progress in this scene towards discovering something about himself, he refuses to admit his flaws and feigns tears so as to avoid admitting guilt. It is significant that he is confused by what he sees in the looking glass during this scene, and that he eventually dashes it to the ground. Finally, stripped of everything in the dungeon, Richard has his epiphany. In his final soliloquy, he describes his identity crisis so far: "Thus play I in one person many people, / And none contented" (V.5, 31-32). He begins to describe his flaws as well in this speech:

> But, for the concord of my state and time,
> Had not an ear to hear my true time broke.
> I wasted time, and now doth time waste me (V.5, 47-50).

Soellner explains this quote elegantly, "as he hears music that does not keep time, he realizes fully the disharmony in himself that led to his downfall."[4] The admission of guilt and the recognition of the tragic mistakes are an essential part of the *anagnorisis* and it is significant that this requirement is at least somewhat fulfilled here. There is a parallel made by Richard between the music and his tragic flaws. Yet his great discovery is as follows:

> but whate'er I be,
> Nor I nor any man that but man is
> With nothing shall be pleased, till he be eased
> With being nothing (V.5, 38-41).

Richard's self-discovery is that he is nothing and that there is peace and joy in nothingness. He has attempted to understand this before claiming "I must nothing be" (IV. 1, 201), but he failed to fully understand it. Like a car with a faulty starter, his understanding attempted to catch and failed several times before finally roaring to life in ignition. He understands how his flaws played into his reversal of fortune and that being nothing, free from ambition and luxury, he can be pleased. His identity has shifted, he is not a divine ruler but nothing, a simple man.

And though the realization does not elicit a complete change in Richard's character, as Soellner points out he still has some of his old vanity, there is still change to be observed. Richard's interaction with the groom is a witness to this change.[5] The groom addresses Richard as "royal prince" (V.5, 67), yet this new Richard rejects the title and addresses the groom as "noble peer" (68) and "gentle friend" (81). The royal 'we' seems to have completely vanished from Richard's vocabulary, and this once subservient, lower class servant is now Richard's equal. Richard premieres a new humility never before seen. Even when his familiar anger is again sparked by jealousy and talk of Barbary, the king's steed, he manages to catch himself, "Forgiveness, horse! Why do I rail on thee?" (V. 5, 90). Richard is at last able to take charge of his wild mood swings for the better and show some sympathy. This is significant, since it is sympathy which informs one's sense of humanity. Of course, Richard is still angry. This is evident in the way he speaks of Bolingbroke, and Richard's speech is still laden with self-pity. Yet despite this, Richard has still undergone an immense change and he has recognized and attempted to correct his tragic flaws with a new-found humility and humanity.

After this dialogue with the groom, Richard is murdered by Exton and the journey of the tragic hero is complete. His death though is radically different from the deaths of other tragic protagonists. Death in this play is not the murky bottom of a downward spiral of suffering and agony for the hero. Following Richard's redemptive *anagnorisis*, Richard's death is full of dignity. Naked and unarmed, Richard shows no fear in the face of death. Richard is sure his soul will immediately ascend to heaven, "Mount, mount, my soul! thy seat is up on high" (V.5, 111). There is hope after death for the murdered prisoner. After the deed has been done, Exton admires the former king, saying that he is "as full of valour as of royal blood" (V.5, 113). According to Aristotle, the *anagnorisis* and the death of the hero ought to have caused the audience to feel pity for the hero and fear for their own situations. This is not the case in *Richard II*. Richard is admired in his death and, although he was perhaps pitied during the reversal, he is not to be pitied now. Somehow, Richard has not died as a tragic protagonist, but as a holy and defiant martyr of the just cause of true kingship. *The Hollow Crown* (2012) film adaptation portrays this reading well. Richard is shot to death with

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[4] Soellner, 109.

[5] Soellner, 105.

arrows, creating a direct parallel between Richard II and the early Christian martyr Saint Sebastian.

The final scene of the play, in the throne room of the new king Henry IV, is full of death. Nobles loyal to Henry bring news of the executions of political opponents and old allies of Richard. In *The Hollow Crown*, the tragic nature of this scene is striking. The heads of these opponents are laid before Henry's feet, so that the 'stage' is full of heads. The parallel is made between this history and Shakespeare's other tragedies, many of which conclude with a stage covered with bodies. Yet the body of the redeemed king Richard, what should be the most tragic element of this final scene, disturbs the tragic emotion of the scene. Indeed, the victim of tragedy no longer seems to be Richard, but Henry. Richard is admired, while a brooding cloud of potential harm swirls over Henry.

In conclusion, Shakespeare, in his *Richard II*, ironically uses Aristotle's ideal tragic structure to dilute the tragic emotion of the play, in the process surprising and entertaining the audience. Shakespeare uses Richard's self-realization to create a kind of *anagnorisis*. This self-realization is redemptive though, and by the conclusion of the play the audience feels no pity or fear for Richard's situation, but instead respect and awe for his final act of defiance and martyrdom. Aristotle's framework is clearly given in the *Poetics* and it is easy to recognize these features in other works of tragedy. However, the reader, through *Richard II*, learns an important lesson. The artistry of the tragedian lies not in predictability or proper adherence to the 'laws' or foundations established by classical literature, but in his or her ability to manipulate these features in unexpected and entertaining ways.

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Capitoline Confusion:
An Analysis of the Dating of *The Capitoline Wolf*
Moira Scully

Enveloped in a rich historical background, *The Capitoline Wolf* is not only a beautiful piece of art but also a piece engulfed by controversy. Due to its traditional close association with the Classical world, recent dating methods of the statue's interior have created a resurgence of the possibility that this piece was instead a later Medieval work. By analyzing different components of the piece such as artistic style, historical documentation in written sources, and the results of scientific dating methods, it is possible to gain a better understanding of which period this work belongs to. Despite the passionate cases made for both the Etruscan period and the Medieval era, the culmination of the aforementioned factors strongly suggests that the bronze is a work of the former period. However, it is vital to acknowledge that stylistic similarities regarding the former and latter dates, both help and hinder the quest to find definitive answers. Due to a scattered presence of conflicting scientific results, an absence of concrete data makes it extremely difficult to confidently determine the actual date of this well-known piece.

Firstly, looking at *The Capitoline Wolf* as a product of the Etruscan period (2000-1200 BCE), one can narrow in on specific stylistic similarities between this bronze and other Etruscan pieces. Although the wolf appears starved, as indicated by her protruding ribcage, her teats are full in order to feed the two babes suckling beneath her. The infants are known today to be later Renaissance additions, likely representing Romulus and Remus, however the protective stance of the wolf strongly indicates that these figures were present in antiquity as well.[1] At first glance, it is apparent *The Capitoline Wolf* (figure 1) possesses a realistically portrayed body contrasted with a simply stylized mane. Connections between *The Capitoline Wolf* and Etruscan bronzes provide a clear

Figure 1. The Capitoline Wolf

resemblance to one another. For example, both *The Capitoline Wolf* and the *Wounded Chimera* (figure 2) depict a natural world image and mythical creature, which represent important cultural motifs of the Etruscans. One prominent feature of both creatures is the largely realistic anatomical portrayal of their bodies, which is juxtaposed by their patterned manes. Well sculpted details such as the visible ribs, veins, and musculature are present in both sculptures. Additional subdermal anatomy is accurately portrayed in the facial expressions as well as in the finer details, like the ears on both pieces. The fusion of these realistic and stylized elements, occurring around the fifth century BCE, exhibits a development in depicting anatomy more accurately in Etruscan figural bronzes.[2] Despite the usage of decorative elements as detail, *The Capitoline Wolf* undoubtedly portrays this artistic advancement. The stark stylistic similarities between the two works, reflects a consistent compositional style to the Etruscan period.

Figure 2. Wounded Chimera

However, similar design elements are observable in some Medieval bronze sculptures. Despite there being almost a millennium separating the two possible dates of construction, clear visual connections between the Etruscan and the Medieval styles are evident. Comparing *The Capitoline Wolf* alongside the Medieval bronze, *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* (figure 3)*,* reveals an initially substantial likeness between each piece. Featuring realistic anatomy contrasted by a patterned mane, both works of art depict mythological narrative in a similar fashion. One can easily see the muscles beneath both of the animals' pelts, their carved manes, and the expressions of pain on either animals' faces. While the lion appears to be crying out in pain as it is engaged with Hercules, *The Capitoline Wolf* displays similar distress as she guards the infants from danger. However, one stylistic difference is apparent in the overall composition. While the *Capitoline Wolf* appears to depict anatomical details more realistically, the *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* is unable to

Figure 3. Hercules and the Nemean Lion

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[1] Bickerman, "Origines Gentium," 67.

[2] Errickson, *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art,* 15.

successfully achieve realism to a similar degree. For instance, the depth in the wolf's ribcage effectively illustrates the fragility of the creature while simultaneously showing its lean musculature. Further attention to detail is present in the wolf's tendons, stretching down the hind legs, which demonstrates the utilization of a more advanced technique to portray anatomy than the Medieval piece.[3] The level of detail appears simpler in the lion's composition as a result of its rounded forms. Not only are these slightly rounded forms used to indicate musculature, but they consequently limit the accuracy of depicting the human body. Even though the tapered waist of the lion parallels the idea of the wolf's thin but lean form, the mane and ribcage seem to blend together as the depth and line weight in carving are indistinguishable from one another. Whereas the transition from mane to pelt is more clear-cut on *The Capitoline Wolf*. Stylistically, both *The Capitoline Wolf* and *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* appear quite analogous to one another. However, it is the subtle differences in detail which suggest *The Capitoline Wolf* is more contemporary to the *Wounded Chimera* over a Medieval piece like *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*.

Another important factor to consider in determining a relative date for this piece is literary sources. Featuring descriptions of the famous statue, written records from surviving texts provide concrete information, which indicates this icon is contemporary to ancient sources.[4] Supporting evidence for *The Capitoline Wolf* as an Etruscan piece resides in the works of multiple writers from antiquity. Prominent figures such as Cicero, Strabo, and Pliny the Elder all make reference to the statue, "residing on the Capitoline Hill,"[5] in their written documents. All three primary sources give a similar brief description of the statue in their written works, confirming its presence in the ancient world. However, it is in the orations of Cicero that a definitive feature of the statue, which is visible today, is revealed. In Cicero's oration of L. Catiline, he describes *"a bronze statue of the wolf suckling the infants [...] which bears marks of lightning seaming one of its hind legs."[6]* The statue still bears this scar today on its left hind leg as an explicit indicator of its original time period (figure 4). Although the damage to the statue could also be interpreted as the result of a later incident, the literary evidence alongside the physical evidence appears to be more concrete than coincidental. The specific details of the wolf suckling a babe from her teats are consistent throughout all accounts, but it is the distinct detail of Cicero's work, which supports the dating of the statue to the Etruscan period. Due to the damage on the wolf's hind leg as well

Figure 4. Hind leg of Capitoline Wolf

as Cicero's report of the lightning strike mirroring this same area, there is an extremely strong possibility this work is the same one mentioned in ancient primary sources.

One criticism regarding the bronze's overall composition is the unmistakable difference between the wolf and the two babes. While it is agreed that the two suckling infants are later Renaissance additions, as indicated by their similar depiction to cherubs of this time, the question still remains whether or not the twin boys were part of the original design.[7] As noted previously, the posture of the wolf is slightly hunched over as if she is guarding something beneath her. Once again reliable information can be derived from primary sources. Turning to Pliny the Elder as a trustworthy source, he records sufficient information, supplying answers to this query. In his *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder details the Roman foundation myth of Romulus and Remus being fed by a she-wolf. Immediately following this description, Pliny documents how "a group in bronze was afterwards erected to consecrate the remembrance of this miraculous event."[8] Combining Pliny's information of a group of statues and with the protective stance of the she-wolf it is clear the babes were present in the original creation.

Furthermore, these written confirmations of *The Capitoline Wolf'*s potential ancient origins are additionally supported by recent scientific dating methods. During restorations to the statue, occurring in the early 2000s, scientists extracted remaining wax fragments from the sculpture's interior and tested them using multiple dating methods. One finding from these inquiries, which reopened the discussion of the statue being a Medieval work, was taken from the thermoluminescence testing, which provided a date belonging to the mid sixteenth century. However, G. Lombardi notes that although "radiocarbon dating yielded inconsistent data; the thermoluminescence date of 1515 ± 50 AD corresponds to the last heating to which the sculpture was subjected."[9] Not only does this evidence prove the statue was constructed prior to the Late Medieval Period, but the secondary support provided by literary sources further

[3] Errickson, 33.
[4] Rissanen, "The Lupa Romana in the Roman provinces," 339.
[5] Strabo, *Geography,* 5.3.
[6] Cicero, "L. Catilanum Oratio III," 8.18-19.
[7] Mazzoni, *She-Wolf: The Story of a Roman Icon,* 46.

[8] Pliny, *The Natural History.*
[9] Lombardi, "A Petrographic Study of the Casting Core of the Lupa Capitolina Bronze Sculpture (Rome, Italy) and Identification of its Provenance," 602.

suggests that *The Capitoline Wolf* belongs to a previous era. The combination of ancient literary sources and modern scientific research seeks to reinforce the notion that *The Capitoline Wolf* is a piece of Etruscan art.

Secondary supporting evidence produced from this restoration project is the discovery of the geographical location where the in which the bronze was made. By analyzing various components such as the thickness and quality, as well as the casting and heating methods of the metal itself, scientists were able to determine the specific region from which the statue's materials came. This feat was achieved by once again assessing the wax fragments withdrawn from the wolf's interior. The overall outcome determined that "the material used in the preparation of the sculpture's inner mold, [was identified to] the location of the bronze foundry area in the lower Tiber valley, close to Rome."[10] Therefore, the case favouring the statue as a work of antiquity is significantly increased with this additional scientific finding. Furthermore, this recent discovery yields supplementary information regarding the degree and expertise of Etruscan metal production. If the Etruscans were able to maintain a foundry or "factory" for metalworking it is not unimaginable that they would be able to produce strikingly realistic works such as *The Capitoline Wolf*. Many surviving pieces attest to this Etruscan skill, which is particularly noted in a remaining *Gold Fibula* (figure 5). Exhibiting an advanced artistry in the miniature, this *Fibula* depicts a lion resting on the pin. A theme of using Near Eastern imagery as well as a natural world element is present in both the lion and similar contemporary pieces. An almost identical artistic approach is apparent in the patterned

Figure 5. Gold Fibula

mane juxtaposed by the realistic body as seen in this piece as well as in *The Capitoline Wolf, Wounded Chimera,* and *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*. Not only does the continuity in styles propose a similar date of composition to *The Capitoline Wolf*, but it clearly reflects the exceptional talents of the Etruscans.[11] Their ability to depict items with such detail in both the miniature and to full scale confirms that they possessed the skills to have completed a statue like *The Capitoline Wolf.*

Despite discovering the true production date of this statue, it is so deeply associated with and ingrained into an academic's understanding of Roman visual culture that it would be difficult to separate it from this era.[12] Over the years, through scholars' inference, *The Capitoline Wolf* has come to embody a multitude of meanings about Roman culture and society, even in the present day. Similar to the statue of the former world it represents the strength as well as foundation of a great civilization.[13] Due to the numerous pieces of evidences from various sources, *The Capitoline Wolf* appears to be a work of Etruscan art. Even though there are clear visual comparisons to some Medieval styles, the supporting evidence from literary sources as well as scientific testing reveal a date prior to the Middle Ages. Also, the discovery of the metal's geographical origin residing in the region where Etruria once occupied, further indicates *The Capitoline Wolf* as a work of antiquity.

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[10] Lombardi, 602.
[11] Errickson, 44.

[12] Gleba, "Archaeology in Etruria 2003-2009," 121.
[13] Rissanen, 337.

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The Transition from Paganism to Christianity in Early to Middle England
Jordan Tardif

We have one surviving copy of the poem Beowulf, copied by two monastic scribes somewhere in southern England shortly after the year 1000.[1] This work gives us a fantastical story of a man coming to a new country to save its people from a great evil. While Beowulf keeps many of its pagan elements and values at the forefront of the story, it also displays a religious transition to Christianity through carefully chosen links to the Bible and underlying ecclesiastic references. This transition was likely not present at the time of the events described, but the scribes carefully chose a story into which they could insert Christian teachings, in order to show a smooth transition and appeal to the largely pagan Anglo-Saxons of Briton.

The Anglo-Saxons were a Germanic people who invaded England (along with the Jutes who left) and with them brought a pagan world view, not far from that of Vikings, which centered on a heroic code. This heroic code centered on gift-giving and blood feuds. The scribes kept the idolization of gift giving in the story and only showed punishment for what they considered to be greed. Gift giving was a way to display one's power and wealth to friends and enemies alike, and it became a very important part of the pagan culture; we see it displayed in Beowulf when Beowulf is lavishly gifted with horses and metals, among other things, for defeating Grendel.[2] This show of wealth in most Christian writings would be considered an exhibition of greed, a deadly sin that warrants punishment. For example, Proverbs 20:21 says, "an inheritance claimed too soon will not be blessed at the end." This proverb is about how greed will bring no true reward. Beowulf seems to idolize the idea of gift giving as it was part of the pagan culture of the time. However, the story takes great pains to show that greed is harmful.

It describes how Grendel's mother has a magic sword among other treasure in the bottom of her lake, and she is killed. Moreover, Grendel's mother was mourning the loss of her son and displays the practice of blood vengeance, i.e. killing someone who has killed her kin. Her desire to have her son alive again could have been viewed as a form of greed, and the practice of blood vengeance was seen as a greedy practice by the Christians. Blood vengeance was part of the heroic code that demanded if a person killed another, then the victim's family either had to kill the killer, or the killer could pay the family blood money, essentially a fine, to have their transgression forgiven. This was considered unfavourable by Christians as it was putting focus on forgiveness only through money or murder. With this being the case, Grendel's mother was killed because of her greed and pursuit for vengeance instead of pious forgiveness. Beowulf hunting the dragon also shows this Christian view of punishment for greed. The dragon is disturbed by a thief who found its lair; the dragon attacks the land because of its greed to keep its treasure and is killed for it; and Beowulf is greedy as he wants the dragon's treasure and seeks to keep his own from the hands of the dragon, and he is later killed for it.[3] In all these instances someone appears to be punished for some kind of greed.

Beyond the heroic code that the Anglo-Saxons held, there are underlying references to God throughout Beowulf. While these references are rather short in comparison to other ecclesiastic writings of the time, they are a link between the church writings and pagan customs that go largely unnoticed unless the story is read quite closely. We see hints of Christian faith with references to God through phrases like, "Lord of life, / Wielder of Glory" (26.16-17) or "lordly people lived in joy" (27.99), all coming before the most prominent reference: i.e. after Beowulf defeats Grendel, during Hrothgar's speech when he "offer[s] thanks / to the Almighty…[explaining that] / God may always / work" (38.928-931). These short references are interspersed throughout the entirety of the text and show the pagans that God causes these things to happen; therefore, by joining him you may be successful like people in the story. This is comparable to how advertising works today. By showing the viewer something they like or admire, while also showing them the product, is an effort to correlate buying the product and receiving the thing they admired. The aforementioned God references are similar to other ecclesiastic works from the middle ages as it was common throughout the middle ages for monastic writers to attribute victories and successes to the will of God. For example, in the annals of Wurzburg, when describing the fall of the western to church in the second crusade, it is described that "God allowed the western church, on account of its sins, to be cast down."[4] Also present in these accounts is a writing style that goes back to the Bible, i.e. the capitalization of anything referring to the Lord. In early English capitalization was not used as it is today; however, anything referring to the Lord, God, The Father, et cetera, were always capitalized, as "Wielder of Glory" is in Beowulf. While capitalization is a common practice in modern language, in

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[1] Black et al., *ENGL 200A: Survey of British Literature 1 Courseware*, 23.
[2] Beowulf, 39.1020-1045.
[3] Beowulf, 39.1020-1045.
[4] Allen and Amt, *The Crusades: A Reader,* 142.

earlier forms of English capitalization was not used as often. In most ecclesiastic writings it would have been used in the middle of sentences referring only to God to ensure that the reader knew to whom the writer was referring.

Furthermore, there are underlying ecclesiastical references that show parallels between the story of Beowulf's life and that of Jesus. Beowulf is presented as a kind of saviour for the people of Heorot, similar to how Jesus appeared to save the Jews. Moreover, Beowulf mirrors the important numbers from Christianity: he received seven gifts for defeating Grendel,[5] he faced three tasks, and he died because of the betrayal of his men. The differences between Jesus and Beowulf are obvious, but Beowulf seems to be a pagan Jesus as he fulfilled pagan ideals, like how Jesus fulfilled Jewish teachings through the Torah. Beowulf is shown as a great warrior, facing three tasks, Grendel, Grendel's mother, and the dragon, similar to the three temptations that Jesus faced in the desert. Beowulf goes on to receive seven gifts for defeating Grendel, reflecting the importance of seven in the Bible as it is used for the number of deadly sins, the time it took to create the world; and even representing Jesus Christ, as god is three parts and earth is four, seven was used in early times to represent God on earth, also known as Jesus. While these things may again go unnoticed by most people, especially the pagans of the time, the church writers would have intentionally drawn the parallels between these two people to show the pagans that Christianity is not that far from their own religion and heroic figures, enticing them to convert.

Beyond the underlying connections between pagan ideals, Jesus, and God, the story also makes direct reference to the Bible to connect Christianity and paganism even more. This is done by referencing the story of Cain and Able from Genesis 4. In this story Cain murders his brother Abel, making Cain the first murderer. Due to this act he is cursed by god, and in Beowulf this explains how all the monsters of the world are descended from Cain as part of the curse.[6] In this way the story connects Grendel, Grendel's mother, and the dragon directly to the Bible and Christianity. Murder and blood vengeance were a part of the pagan culture, but the ritual of blood vengeance and killing go against Christian doctrine, until justified by Thomas Aquinas' writings on just war theory. In order to rectify this the scribes showed that killing for survival was the only time one should kill. This is shown through the reasons for Beowulf's fights and the outcomes of those fights. Beowulf begins by answering a call for aid and swiftly kills Grendel, leading to the survival of the people of the village. Beowulf gets away from this fight uninjured because it showed the best reason to fight is in the defence of others. This conformed quite easily to Christian thinking, and two hundred years later it would fit at least two of the three requirements for just war, sanctification by a state or prince (in this case king) and occurring for a just purpose, like the defense of human life.

The scribes went on to show how killing for unjust reasons was bad in the following fights: Grendel's mother in grief and rage, goes to Heorot and kills many people in revenge, for this she is killed. Beowulf's fight is partially just as he fought under the prerogative of the king, but it was not necessarily needed as it was unknown whether the mother would continue to return and kill the people of Heorot. For this Beowulf is injured in the battle, but he is still successful. During the fight with the dragon, although Beowulf fights for the defence of his land, he also fights for the defence of his treasure, as does the dragon, a display of greed, and neither of them abide by any of the good reasons to fight per Christian doctrine; thus, they are both killed because of it. While these fights would have disagreed with the Christian values of the time, they served to keep the story interesting and allowed for the scribes to show Christian morale in the epic, instilling a slightly more Christian morale in the pagans who heard it.

The ecclesiastic scribes carefully added Christian values into the story of Beowulf, making their connections with Jesus and God easily overlooked by the common reader. The only thought of such connections would have been on a subconscious level, giving Beowulf the face of a pagan story to appeal to the common people. While doing this, the scribes intrinsically connected the pagan world with that of Christianity through direct biblical references and popular catholic symbols. This careful use of Christianity by the scribes not only shows the pagans a transition into Christianity in one of their oldest stories, but it also shows us how the church tried to convert the pagans, non-violently, to Christianity in early middle Briton.

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Laocoön and His Sons:
From the Hellenistic Schools to the Vatican
Matthew Coleman

Not many sculptures have been so meticulously analyzed, and by so many, as the sculpture of Laocoön and his Sons as it stands in the Belvedere courtyard of the Vatican (fig.1). Upon the statue's discovery during the Renaissance artists, poets, and scholars alike were unanimous in their praise and enthusiasm, having immediately identified the group as that of which Pliny spoke in his statement on Roman artistic honour.[1] The best minds of the day, including the likes of Michelangelo himself, converged upon the piece and thereupon subjected the work to immense scrutiny.[2] The people of the day, in line with the contemporary artistic trends, saw the Laocoön as "an example of extreme naturalism and unrestrained emotion," unparalleled in antique art.[3] However, all may not have been as it seemed, as often is the case when dealing with issues of textual evidence and parallel antique art. Michelangelo and Giovanni Cristofano Romano at once denied several aspects of Pliny's description, most notably that the group they studied was clearly hewn from seven pieces rather than the one which Pliny

Figure 1. Laocoon and His Sons at the

had previously asserted.[4] Since this disparity was uncovered the statue has inspired many questions about its date, literary parallels, and most controversial, its "status as a Roman copy of a Greek original."[5] This paper, while obviously non-exhaustive, will analyze the evidence for each of the above issues in an attempt to pinpoint the original Laocoön in accordance with extant evidence.

The investigation to find the true, original Laocoön most rightly begins with the primary sources. Pliny's Natural history provides the last known location of the alleged Vatican Laocoön as it stood before its rediscovery on January 14, 1506.[6] In which the sculpture group comes up in Pliny's discussion on *fama*, *claritas*, and *Gloria* in Roman art. The author praises both the work and its artists:

> Beyond these, there are not many sculptors of high repute; for, in the case of several works of very great excellence, the number of artists that have been engaged upon them has proved a considerable obstacle to the fame of each, no individual being able to engross the whole of the credit, and it being impossible to award it in due proportion to the names of the several artists combined. Such is the case with the Laocoön, for example, in the palace of the Emperor Titus, a work that may be looked upon as preferable to any other production of the art of painting or of statuary. It is sculpted from a single block, both the main figure as well as the children, and the serpents with their marvelous folds. This group was made in concert by three most eminent artists, Agesander, Polydoros, and Athenodoros, natives of Rhodes[7]

Keeping the above passage in mind, the common opinion is that both the Belvedere group in the Vatican and the one mentioned by Pliny are one and the same.[8] This may very well be true, but note well, the last known location per Pliny's description is in the house of Titus. But the rediscovery took place in the *Sette Sale*—the holding tanks for Trajan's baths on the Esquiline (fig. 2).[9] As such, it stands to reason that the "fortuitous connection between transmitted text and archaeological find has not [yet] solved all problems."[10]
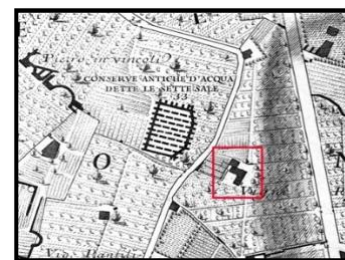
Figure 2. The find spot at Sette Sale

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[1] Bieber, *Laocoon: The influence of the group since its rediscovery*, 12.
[2] Bieber, 12.
[3] Squire, *Image and text in Graeco-Roman antiquity*, 99; For the quotation see Bieber, 12.
[4] Found in a letter written by Cesare Trivulzio, dated June 1506, as cited in Bieber, 12.
[5] Hwang, *Uncoiling the Laocoön: Revealing the statue group's significance in Augustan Rome*, 2.

[6] For the date of its rediscovery, see Isager, *Pliny on art and society: The Elder Pliny's chapters on the history of art,* 169; Bieber, 11.
[7] Pliny, *The Natural History,* 36.37.
[8] Isager, 169.
[9] Hwang, 3.
[10] Isager, 169.

As we have it, the Vatican group stands with the Trojan priest Laocoön entangled in a fatal struggle of the serpentine variety, along with his two sons, following the narrative of their death as Vergil describes it in his *Aeneid*.[11] The two serpents entwine the three sympathetic male figures in a pyramidal composition with Laocoön at its apex.[12] His heavy, exaggerated musculature illustrates hyperbolically the immense pain and struggle of the priest's body (fig. 3) .[13] The young boy at the

Figure 3. The Laocoon's Torso

right of the piece echoes most of his father's physical output, whereas the younger boy's musculature is softer and seems to be completely exhausted; his time is up (fig. 4).[14] An area of particular interest in the group is Laocoön's face, in which it is right to observe a disparity between Vergil's account and the Vatican statue.[15] The ill-fated Trojan, in incredible pain and on the brink of certain death, expresses not the "gaping mouth of a hollow screaming mouth," which the Vergillian account would have us expect, but "the all but closed lips of a sigh" (fig. 5).[16] This is because the medium in which the artists worked demands that they forgo the climax of

Figure 4. The sons' musculature

Laocoön's story for a moment which allows the audience to most clearly visualize the "preceding calm and succeeding cry."[17] This is achieved by hitting upon the 'pregnant moment'; the episode of any given story which has the greatest capacity to stimulate the imagination of the audience.[18] As Goethe encapsulates so perfectly in his essay *Über Laokoon*:

Figure 5. Laocoön's Face

> "Shortly before [the depicted moment], no part of the whole may have been in this situation, shortly afterwards, each part must be forced to leave this situation. In this way, the work of art will ever become alive again for millions of onlookers"[19]

The pathos and poignancy which the Laocoön commands are precisely because the group inhabits the 'pregnant moment' so perfectly. Where the medium's apparent limitations, at least relative to its counterpart in epic, might seem artistically restrictive, achieving this 'pregnant moment' may have been what Pliny believes set the piece above all other depictions in any medium; which will be elaborated on below.[20] Despite the innate agony of the piece, the face betrays the intensity which the violence would imply.[21] This is not because crying out does not capture the noble priest's character, but rather because it "disgustingly disfigures [his] face."[22] The sculptors, as their job description would have demanded, chose to achieve the highest beauty possible despite their subject's tortuous suffering.[23] Certainly the Vatican group is an incredible artistic achievement, but should all the credit go to the Rhodian Three?

If Pliny's discussion on artistic honour is taken at face value, the "Rhodian" Laocoön is a singular work and all the consequent abundance of praise should fall on Agesander, Polydoros, and Athenodoros alone. However, a deeper reading of the statuary might have us allocate some of that bounty to a few other places. To find the places (the artists, schools and the periods of art in which they worked), we must turn to the relative dating as discussed in great length by critics with results of varying plausibility. Per Bieber, the date range in which the Laocoön is most commonly placed is somewhere between the reign of Alexander III and the principate of Titus from 79-81 CE.[24] Early dating using stylistic relationships began with the natural connection, as in Isager, of the Pergamene School giving the piece a *terminus post quem*.[25] Logically, if the Vatican group is taken to be the piece Pliny describes, his work acts as the *terminus ante quem*. When these two dates are paired with epigraphical evidence for the artists, the date range is yet

[11] Vergil, *Aeneid,* 2.1*ff.*
[12] Hwang, 1.
[13] Hwang, 1.
[14] Robertson, *A history of Greek art*, 542.
[15] Squire, 98.
[16] Squire, 97.
[17] Bieber, 23.
[18] Squire, 101; The work of Exekias, in the Black Figure painting style best exemplifies this approach (Fig. n. 1)

[19] Goethe from his essay *Über Laokoon* cited in Bieber, 27.
[20] Pliny, 36.37.
[21] Squire, 97.
[22] Bieber, 22; For discussion on Heroic crying see, Squire 99
[23] Squire, 100.
[24] Bieber, 26; Bieber believes both dates are at the very ends of logical dating and are therefore incorrect.
[25] Isager, 169.

further whittled down to a period between 80-20 BCE, settling at ca. 50 BCE for the composition of the Vatican group.[26] However this date was later confused with the discovery of the Grotto at Sperlonga.

Figure 6. Odysseus in the Scylla Group

In September 1957, several marble fragments were discovered in a grotto near Sperlonga.[27] These, when reconstructed, featured the attack of Odysseus' ship by Scylla, Odysseus' attempt to steal the Palladion away from Diomedes, a version of the so-called 'Pasquino Group,' and the Blinding of Polyphemus. The Sperlonga groups, on the whole, are similar to the Laocoön with respect to their cruel mood and mythological subject matter.[28] There are also a great many stylistic similarities between these groups. In terms of physical distress, one piece that stands out in comparison is that of the Scylla group (fig. 6). Like in the Laocoön the artists have chosen to depict a pregnant scene, in which their subjects will end up dead. Scylla's hound-legs engage Odysseus' men with their teeth as the bodies of their victims tense up and writhe in the same acute pain which moved Laocoön to his veins.[29] To the left of the composition a steersman, who Hwang asserts is Odysseus, is depicted in a typically unheroic fashion, similar to the Laocoön (fig. 7).[30] Both heroes bear the grimaces of defeated, powerless men who expect more pain is to follow; Odysseus having been pinned to the bow of the ship by Scylla's great hand, and Laocoön in the predicament described above. If these physical comparisons were not enough, it was discovered that the outrigger of Odysseus' ship bore an inscription of the same artists' names which Pliny attributed to the Laocoön, including their patronymics.[31] The letter forms of which place the inscription as having been written in the second half of the first century CE.[32] This only complicates things further because Margherita Guarducci, an epigraphic authority who inspected the group, asserts that this was a later addition which replaces an earlier one on the base.[33] The above might mean that the attribution of the Rhodian artists occurred later in order to lend grandiosity to royal statues, the Rhodians having gained fame in Italy through their work and Pliny's histories being distributed among later Romans. But if the patronymics are accurate, and it must be permitted that this be the case with no evidence to the contrary, it appears the Scylla group, by style and signature, was produced by the same artists as the Laocoön.

Figure 7. The Scylla Group reconstruction

The Original Laocoön

The question from here on becomes whether the works of Agesander, Polydoros, and Athenodoros, were truly unique pieces of statuary as Pliny describes in the line: *opus omnibus et picturae et statuariae artis praeferendum.*[34] Which Andreae points out could be read as preferred above all works in painting and bronze, rather than statuary in general.[35] This reading must be allowed, as Andreae suggests Pliny wished to demonstrate that the Laocoön group in the palace of Titus, when compared to other renderings of this powerful mythology in the mediums of painting and bronze work, should be regarded as the best.[36] These suggestions, when joined with contemporary 15th century findings of other Laocoöns at the houses of Mario Macaroni and Antoniolo Antiquario and Pliny's words, assert logically that the Vatican Laocoön may simply have been following the mode and Andreae goes on to suggest that the piece was in fact, "a marble copy of a Hellenistic original in bronze."[37]

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[26] Bieber, 26.
[27] Hwang, 15.
[28] Bieber, 41.
[29] Bieber, 22 on Laocoön's pain; Hwang, 34 on the comparison between Odysseus' men and the Laocoön.
[30] Hwang, 34.
[31] Hwang, 15.

[32] Robertson, 541.
[33] Guarducci as cited in Bieber, 38.
[34] Pliny, 36.37.
[35] Andreae as cited in Isager, 171.
[36] Andreae as cited in Isager, 171.
[37] On the other Laocoöns found in the 1500s see Hwang, 5; Andreae as cited in Isager, 172.

The 'baroque' style of which the Laocoön is so reminiscent and which is marked by high theatricality and

Figure 8. Alkyoneus and Ge on the Great Altar

strong visual juxtaposition, was practiced widely by both the Pergamene and Rhodian schools.[38] As such scholars quite often note similarities between the extant Laocoön and figures attributed to each. For instance, physical similarities have been pointed out between the figures of Laocoön and Alkyoneus from the Great Altar of Pergamon, suggesting that the former actually be based on an exclusively Pergamene original (fig. 8).[39] The pair are more-or-less identical in composition. Each bears a bulky, upturned chest atop a tense and contorted abdomen with pronounced musculature in the intercostal and oblique regions. The right arms of both are upturned and bent back about their heads, which in turn are constructed with furrowed brows, an ascending gaze, groaning mouths, and the same abstracted, shaggy, deep cut hair; a serpentine entanglement all but confirms the original Laocoön's Pergamene influence (fig. 9). John Onians echoes this comparison, not only comparing the postures of Laocoön and Alkyoneus, but that of the older son, Antiphantes and the Giant's mother, Ge.[40] Although the evidence does not suggest that Pliny connected the Laocoön with the Pergamene school, by the groups artists, he certainly connects the piece with Rhodian. As Pollitt suggests rather fearlessly, "most critics who have been inclined to see the Hellenistic baroque style in sculpture as the creation and hallmark of a Rhodian school have been lured to this thought, consciously or subconsciously, by the Laocoön."[41] Assuredly the Rhodian trio's work popularized the look, but insomuch as this paper is concerned, the sculpture was a copy and therefore the style it emulates is not theirs to claim ownership of. Moreover, the consensus regarding the existence of a Rhodian school and its trademark baroque, is that the pair seem to have been assigned *a priori* and since have been reconciled thanks to the opinion of many modern scholars working with new methods of identification and categorization.[42]

Figure 9. Alkyoneus' Face

If the assumption that the Rhodian group copied a second Century Greek work is undertaken, no narrative issues need be extrapolated. However, if the trio conceived the Laocoön along with the groups at Sperlonga originally much of the evidence necessary must be supplied. In Pollitt's understanding, should the latter theory be true, the Rhodians must be alleged to have absorbed the Hellenistic high baroque through a sort of artistic-osmosis, perhaps even having travelled to Pergamon to better understand the style itself, only then to have made their eventual trip to Italy at which point they constructed Pergamene-styled, Rhodian originals, in Greek Marble, for a Roman grotto.[43] A contrived tale, but one that has proved conclusively indeterminable, as yet. Although all which has preceded, when taken with Pliny's discussion at 34.38 in which he discusses the diminishing possibilities of bringing Greek originals home to Rome, the theory seems more and more unlikely.[44]

In this author's opinion, the Sperlonga groups are commissioned works by Romans who were aware of the Rhodians excellence in copies of this style; much in the same way actors are typecast in similar roles, yet have no part in their characters' creation. Moreover, what is known as the Vatican Laocoön is plausible to be the statue group which Pliny discusses, however, the piece which Pliny praises is, in fact, a Roman copy of a Greek bronze which has been lost to time. That is not to say that the Vatican group is not a brilliant piece of art. Like the group Pliny describes, the famous Laocoön demonstrates the height of Hellenistic expression and holds a unique place in the cultures of Ancient Greece, Early Rome, the Renaissance, and certainly the modern artistic realm. The Rhodian Three, Agesander, Polydoros, and Athenodoros, assuredly wrought masterpieces in the grotto at Sperlonga, and if the Vatican Laocoön truly is their work it too stands singular among statuary. Few archaeologists would deny that this piece spells the end of a style which, in its perfect execution, can be pushed no further.[45] The Laocoön as we know it stands, like Goethe says, "as fixed lightning," and is a marvel unlike any other pieces of art; the height of tragedy, pathos, and heroism in stone.

[38] Fowler, *The Hellenistic Aesthetic*, 88; Bieber, 38.
[39] Hwang, 2.
[40] Onians, *Classical art and the cultures of Greece and Rome*, 144.
[41] Pollitt, "The Phantom of A Rhodian School," 99.

[42] For more on the Rhodian school see Pollitt, and the article by Mark on the Victory of Samothrace.
[43] Pollitt, 101.
[44] Pliny, 34.38.
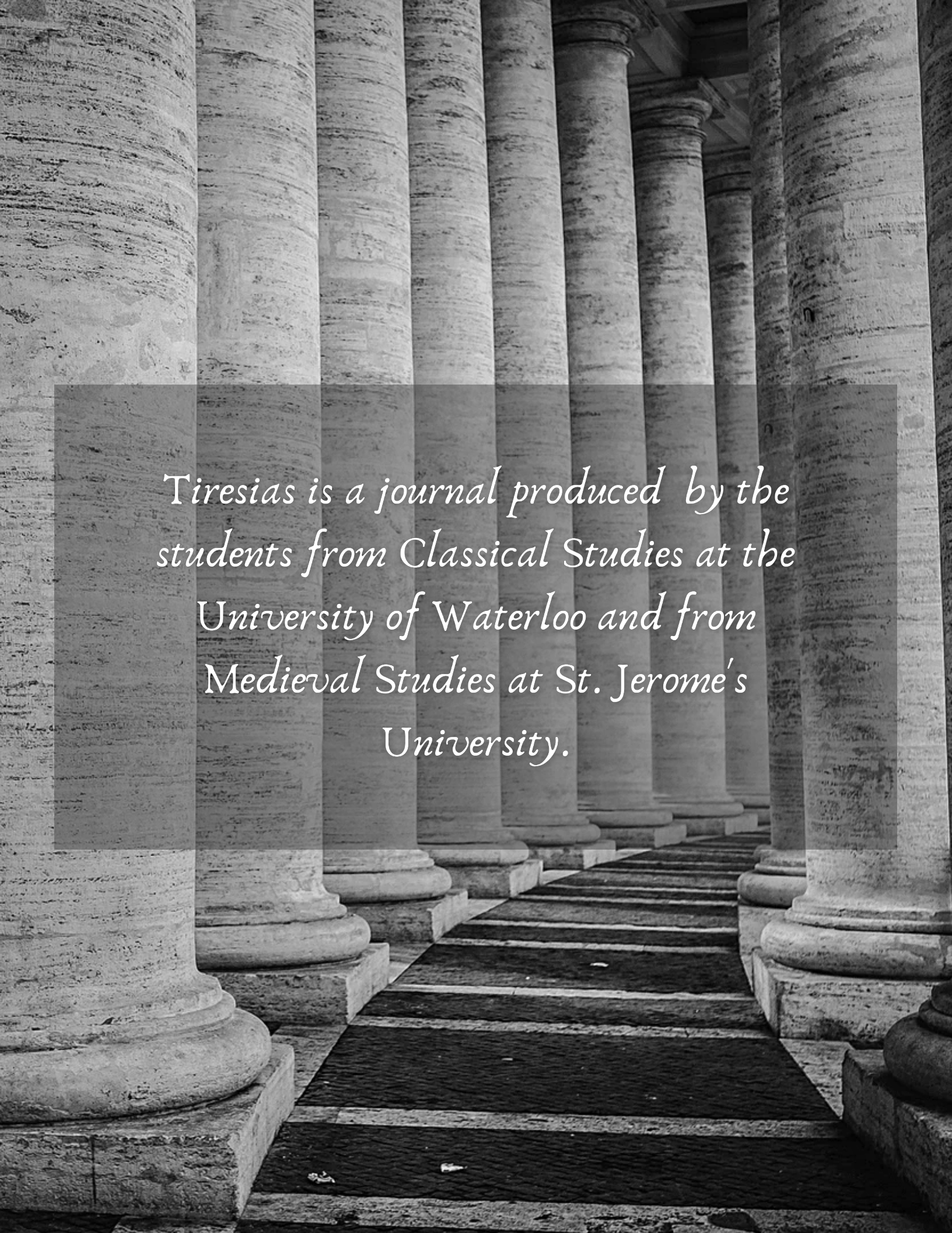[45] Bieber, 36.

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