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EDITORS

Martha Cassidy is a fourth year Greek and Roman Studies student, with a double minor in Archaeology and Anthropology. She has been involved in the society since 2014 and this her second year as a member of the Editorial team, moving from co-Editor to Editor-in-Chief this year. She has worked at the archaeological site of Gabii and is on the Board of Directors for the Ottawa chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA). She is also a member of the AIA Fellowship Selection Committee. Upon completion of her undergraduate degree, Martha will be entering her Masters in Anthropology and Digital Humanities, focusing on cultural heritage, refugee and women's rights, and international law. Martha hopes to continue her studies, with a goal of completing a PhD in the same field.

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Morgan Windle is in her final year of her undergraduate degree in the Greek and Roman studies program. Being heavily influenced by 3 seasons of archaeological excavation with the University of Liverpool Field School at Penycloddiau Hillfort, she has interest in egalitarian societies in prehistoric Europe, particularly in social and climatic transitional periods including the Early British Iron Age. She has focused the extent of her coursework throughout her degree on understanding the cultural interchange that occurred between Rome and her provinces, namely Britain, and recently completed a Directed Study with Dr. Laura Banducci on changes in agricultural and cultural knowledge in Roman

Britain. Morgan will be attending the University of Sheffield to complete an MSc in Environmental Archaeology and Palaeoeconomy in the fall of 2017, with the intention to subsequently pursue a PhD in archaeobotany.

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Ally Chapman is a second year Greek and Roman Studies student with a Minor in English. Her interests include Greek religion and how it is portrayed within art and literature. She hopes to pursue a career in teaching to share her passion for ancient history with others.

Chris Chase-Onions is a fourth year Greek and Roman Studies major. His interests are primarily in religion and politics in the later Roman Empire, with a focus on how Christianisation effected Roman domestic and foreign policy. Chris plans on furthering his education at graduate school, focusing on the study of the later Roman Empire.

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Colleen Dunn would like to thank the Students, Staff, and Faculty of Greek and Roman Studies, Religion, and Archeology for their ongoing help and support in working towards personal academic goals during these my retirement years. Colleen will be entering her 'fourth' year in a Double Major and Minor this September. University is enlightening and it is all of the College of Humanities whom inspire her to write poetry!

Jeff Marschmeyer is a mature student and is in the process of completing an Honours Degree in Greek and Roman Studies. He has worked on a number of Archaeological sites in the Ottawa area and hopes to continue excavating abroad. He would like to take the opportunity to thank George W. M. Harrison, Marianne Goodfellow, John Osborne, Danielle Kinsey, Roland Jeffreys, Roger Blockley, et al. in the GRS Department for their support, encouragement and patience.

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A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Welcome to the seventh edition of *Corvus*! This collection of articles is brought to you by the Carleton University Classics Society, and the writings Carleton University's brightest. I hope that it will inspire and delight all the minds enamoured by antiquity, as it has done mine for the past four years. Without these inspirations given by *Corvus* and the Classics Society, I know that I and many of my counterparts would not be on the paths we are on today.

I give enormous thanks to Editor-In-Chief Martha Cassidy and her Editorial Board for working day and night to bring this journal to its potential. To all those who contributed their writing to the journal, being able to bring great ideas to fruition is one of the most difficult tasks, I hope you are proud of your work. To Petra Hohenstein, my Executive-At-Large, who has fought beside me for the society since day one. To Shamus McCoy and Oonagh Burns who stepped up to the plate as Treasurer and Social Coordinator of the Society. You two brought intense dedication to your roles from the beginning and I could not wish for a better executive team. Thank you all for your hard work and your friendship. To all the members. Without you this journal would not have been created. Thank you for your devotion, discussion and collaboration, I wish you all the best in your endeavours.

The journal would like to thank the College of the Humanities and the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Your advice and contributions are what pushes us forward.

Long live *Corvus*!

Sheri Kapahnke
CUCS President

THE ACROPOLIS
EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SACRED SPACE AND SANCTUARIES

ALLY CHAPMAN

Abstract: To achieve an understanding of the relationship between sacred space and religion, it is necessary to survey the different aspects of a sanctuary's location. Through examination of the Acropolis of Athens, it becomes clear that the connections between sacred space, location within the city, and the site's history offer insight into the nature of worship conducted there. These connections lead to a greater understanding of who would worship at the sanctuary, why a deity would be revered above others at this location, and how the iconography connects to the location of the site.

Sanctuary spaces offer a more pronounced manifestation of a culture's religious worship. By examining the positioning of their locations within the context of the city much can be deduced about a religious institution and its values. Sanctuary location not only cultivates the nature of reverence toward the dedicated deity, but also provides insight into the sanctuary's function within the city. The urban sanctuary of Athena at the Acropolis of Athens represents the substantial role that this deity played within Athenian life and the ornate manner of worship that the Athenians dedicated to their patron goddess. The suitability of the location as a sacred space came from the mythological biography within the landscape that, determined the space's connection to the goddess Athena. The martial history surrounding the site and its connection to the Persian Wars would have influenced the iconography that the Athenians used to honoured their goddess within this particular sanctuary. The location, then, was an essential component of the sanctuary to Athena as well as the Acropolis of Athens due to its relation to the city and the surrounding natural landscape. This built on the character of the divinity worshipped and established the nature of worship conducted within the sanctuary.

The Acropolis' location as an urban sanctuary within the city of Athens is a necessary factor to understanding who would worship at the

sanctuary. Its position as an urban sanctuary was used to help determine who would worshipped there; as its prominent location would have been visited by many throughout the Mediterranean. Throughout Attica individuals traveled to the Acropolis to worship the goddess Athena. Despite her not being their patron goddess, they revered Athena as the land of Attica was sacred to her.[1] Pausanias comments on Attica's relationship with Athena, "Both the city and the whole of the land are alike sacred to Athena; for even those who in their parishes have an established worship of other gods nevertheless hold Athena in honor."[2] By looking to Attica, it is evident that the central location extended the number of worshippers at this sanctuary to beyond that of Athens.

As a major religious centre, Athens also drew many visitors to the Acropolis through its religious celebrations.[3] One of the major attractions Athens had to offer was the Panathenaia. The Greater Panathenaia, which was held every four years, included games and a religious procession, drawing groups from throughout the Mediterranean to Athens.[4] The games would have attracted competitors throughout Greece with the hope of winning a competition at Athens. The competitors in the games partook in the ritual practices in the festival, including the worship of Athena at the Acropolis.[5] The procession, which would have been held annually in addition to the Greater Panathenaia, started at the Pompeion and would have made its way up to the Acropolis, where the statue of Athena Polias was presented with a woven peplos.[6] Those partaking in this procession would have been counted as worshippers at the sanctuary of Athena on the Acropolis.[7] It is because of this that the Acropolis' position within the city that made the it the destination of many different worshippers.

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[1] Pausanias, *Description of Greece.* trans. W. H. S. Jones (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), Attica, I, 26, 6.

[2] Ibid.

[3] John Griffiths Pedley, *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World* (New York:
Cambridge UP, 2005), 202.

[4] Ibid., 204.

[5] Matthew Dillon, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece* (London:
Routledge, 1997), 142.

[6] Pedley, *Sanctuaries and the Sacred*, 204.

[7] Ibid.

The extensive mythos of the Acropolis further contributed to its role as a sacred location in Greece and indicates the vital role that location played in establishing the sanctity of a location. The very centre of the Acropolis' sanctity can be seen within the Erechtheion, a temple that housed three sacred objects and contained altars dedicated to Athena, Erechtheus, and Poseidon.[8] The Acropolis was the presumed site of the contest between the Poseidon and Athena over the patronage of Athens based on the sacred relics.[9] Poseidon struck the earth with his trident which created a sea and Athena bestowed upon the Athenians a sacred olive tree. Upon the Acropolis, the site of this divine contest, an alleged impression of Poseidon's trident and olive tree had been left following the battle. This is thought to have been the original tree planted by Athena, which would indicate why spiritual associations may have been connected to the location of the site, and why the sanctuary was devoted to the worship of Athena.[10] Pausanias records the sacred nature of the olive tree on the Acropolis, "about the olive they have nothing to say except that it was testimony the goddess produced when she contended for their land. Legend also says that when the Persians fired Athens the olive was burnt down, but on the very day it was burnt it grew again to the height of two cubits."[11] This confirms that the Athenians believed that the Acropolis was a sacred location and would have provided further justification to devote the area to worship of Athena. The contest between Athena and Poseidon, the everlasting olive tree, and the marks of Poseidon's trident created a sacred space on the Acropolis, moreover the Acropolis had another divine item to connect the location to its patron goddess Athena.

The statue of the goddess Athena, a sacred relic of olive-wood, was housed within the Erecthion and was believed by the Athenians to

[8] Cornelia Hadziaslani, *A Day on the Acropolis in Search of the Goddess Athena* (Athens:
Acropolis Restoration Service), 10.
[9] Manolis Korres and Cornelia Hadziaslani, *Let's Go to the Acropolis.* (Athens: Acropolis
Restoration Service.), 14.
[10] Hadziaslani, *A Day on the Acropolis*, 10.
[11] Pausanias, *Description of Greece,* Attica, I, 27, 2

have fallen from heaven.12 Pausanias mentions this revered statue in his account of the Erechtheion as, "the most holy symbol, that was so considered by all many years before the unification of the parishes, is the image of Athena which is on what is now called the Acropolis, but in early days the polis. A legend concerning it says that it fell from heaven."13 With so many sacred features surrounding the Acropolis, it was natural for the Athenians to place the sanctuary for their patron goddess in such a culturally prevalent location, further demonstrating the connection between a location and its sanctity. Further proof of the connection between divine presence at a location and Athenian worship is recognizable in the literary accounts of the Acropolis' construction.

While the decision to build and dedicate the sanctuary on the Acropolis was on the basis that it permanently reinforced the goddess' spiritual prominence in the minds of Athenians, the decision to build on the Acropolis was reaffirmed by the divine support of the goddess herself. Plutarch documents the encounter that Pericles had with Athena during the construction of the Propylaea;

> A wonderful thing happened in the course of their building, which indicated that the goddess was not holding herself aloof, but was a helper both in the inception and in the completion of the work. One of its artificers, the most active and zealous of them all, lost his footing and fell from a great height, and lay in a sorry plight, despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was much cast down at this, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a course of treatment for him to use, so that he speedily and easily healed the man. It was in commemoration of this that he set up the bronze statue of Athena Hygieia on the acropolis.14

With the belief that Athena supported the rebuilding of the Acropolis, the Athenians felt justified in their choice of location for the

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12 Rachel Kousser, "Destruction and Memory on the Athenian Acropolis." *The Art Bulletin* 91, no. 3 (2009): 264, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40645507
13 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Attica, I, 26, 6.
14 Plutarch, *Lives.* trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916), III, 13, 8.

new sanctuary of Athena. It re-established the sanctity of the location and maintained the goddess's presence within the sacred space. This event also helped establish a district of worship that would have taken place on the Acropolis with the votive offering of the bronze statue of Athena Hygieia.[15] While the entire sanctuary was dedicated to Athena, different aspects of her sacred realm would have been worshipped through the dedication of temples, altars, and votive objects. This demonstrates how the belief that an area was sacred to a deity would influence which divinity would be worshipped in that location, highlighting the connection between location and worship.

The nature of worship at the Acropolis was also dictated by the history of Athens and the martial values of its society. There was a point in Greek history in which the Acropolis had been destroyed and left in ruins as a reminder of the Persians who sacked the site in 480 B.C.[16] After burying votive offerings, the reconstruction of the Acropolis was ordered and plans were made to rebuild it in a more impressive manner.[17] The Athenian's connection to the mythological significance and connection to its place in the landscape meant that the space needed to be rebuilt instead of re-established elsewhere, indicating a deep connection to the sanctuary at the Acropolis. This rebuilding project would have further contributed to how this location and patron deity were represented in the minds of the Athenians as it would come to express the triumph of the Athenians over the Persians.

In addition to it's sacred role in Athens, the Acropolis was martially significant .[18] The site's natural high vantage point and rocky outcropping made it the perfect location for a citadel and had been used as such by the Myceneans.[19] The martial component of the Acropolis's history is evident when examining how the Athenians refused to abandon their city in response to the Persians destruction of Athens, making their

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[15] Korres, *Let's Go to the Acropolis,* 16.
[16] Jarrett A. Lobell, "The Acropolis of Athens." *Archaeology* 68, no. 6 (2015): par. 22, http://connection.ebscohost.com/c/articles/110321733/acropolis-athens
[17] Kousser, "Destruction and Memory on the Athenian Acropolis." 272.
[18] Pedley, *Sanctuaries and the Sacred*, 187.
[19] Lobell, "The Acropolis of Athens." Par. 9.

last stand within the Acropolis.20 Herodotus recorded the outcome of the ensuing assault in which, "the Persians… turned to the gates… and murdered the suppliants. When they had levelled everything, they plundered the sacred precinct and set fire to the entire acropolis."21 This devastating destruction and defeat was followed by successive wins by the Athenians against the Persians that would result in the Greeks triumphing over the Persians and the end of the Persian Wars.22 The militaristic nature of the Acropolis, the destruction of the archaic Acropolis and the unexpected victory of the Athenians subsequently led to the new Periclean Acropolis which retained its location due to the spiritual associations with the land.

A reoccurring theme on the Acropolis that connects back to the history of the location is the depictions of Athena Nike and other divine representations of victory. The numerous depictions of Nike found within the Acropolis indicate the pride that the Athenians felt towards their total defeat of the Persians. The Temple of Athena Nike, while preceding the establishment of the Periclean Acropolis, was the first building on the Acropolis to be restored.23 Choosing to dedicate a temple of this magnitude to their goddess speaks to the influence of history and societal views on the nature of worship in ancient Greece. The temple also included a cult statue which led to the temple being named as the temple of Wingless Victory. The Athenian victory over the Persians influenced the way the Athenians worshipped their goddess at their sanctuary, leading to the depiction of a wingless victory. The statue of Athena Promachos was created to celebrate the Athenian victory at Marathon and the statue is depicted in full battle armour.24 This statue is another allusion to Athenian warfare and subsequent victory made within a religious context. Finally, Victory is also represented on the statue [CB31] of Athena Parthenos as she holds a statue of Nike in her right hand.25 As the Parthenon was the centre of Pericles' rebuilding project

20 Herodotus, *The Histories.* trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), VIII, 53, 2
21 Ibid.
22 Pedley, *Sanctuaries and the Sacred*, 190-191.
23 Lobell, "The Acropolis of Athens," par. 13.
24 Hadziaslani, *A Day on the Acropolis*, 3.
25 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Attica, I, 24, 7.

and the chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos was the heart of the Parthenon, depicting the cult statue of their goddess holding the figure of Nike was the Athenian celebration of their victories. With the area of the Acropolis already having a militaristic history and connection to the Persian Wars, it became the perfect location for the Athenians to worship their goddess with depictions of victory. This, a translation of pride and thankfulness to their goddess, can be seen through the nature of Athenian worship, as they connected to their goddess, and dedicated votive objects to her; to victory.

Next, with the location's connection to the Persian Wars through the destruction of the site, it made the Acropolis an appropriate place to incorporate artistic reverence toward Athena with Athenian history. Art on the Acropolis generally depicts mythological scenes and most commonly scenes of mythological battles. Depicted on the Parthenon, these battles are frequently divided into groups of Athenian figures fighting against a group of foreigners. These figures are depicted in the 92 metope reliefs that run along all sides of the Parthenon.[26] The eastern metopes of the Parthenon depict the Gigantomachy;[27] the metopes on the southern wall depict the Centauromachy.[28] The western metopes show the Amazonomachy[29] and the northern metopes show scenes of the legendary Trojan war in which Greece defeated Troy.[30] These mythological battles represent the struggle between civilized and barbarian. The Greeks viewed the Persians as barbarians and themselves as the defenders of the civilized world. The Athenians, then, are referencing their victory over the Persians within the decoration of the Parthenon.[31] The depiction of the Amazonomachy metopes parallel the mythological battle and the Persian Wars.[32] The Amazonomachy is set on the Acropolis with depictions of Amazons scaling the walls with

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[26] Korres, *Let's Go to the Acropolis,* 15.

[27] The divine battle between the Olympian gods and the giants (Ibid.*,* 11.)

[28] The battle between the Centaurs and the Lapiths (Ibid., 12.)

[29] The invasion of Athens by the Amazons (Kousser, "Destruction and Memory," 277.)

[30] Korres, *Let's Go to the Acropolis,* 15.

[31] Kousser, "Destruction and Memory," 275.

[32] Ibid., 277

torches to burn the citadel in a similar fashion to the Persians.[33] These myths not only serve as a dedication to Athena but also as a reminder and commemoration to the past destruction of the sacred space of the Acropolis.

Another connection to the history of the Acropolis is evident through the impact that the Persian Wars had on Athenian worship through the change made to the procession at the Panathenaia.[34] After the Persian Wars, the procession included a trireme which was hoisted out of the water and placed onto a wheeled cart to carry it to the Acropolis.[35] The peplos for the statue of Athena Polias would be attached to the ship as a sail.[36] Not only would this spectacle attract many people to the Panathenaia, but it was also a reminder of the Athenian naval victory at Salamis.[37] This, again, highlighted the martial nature of the location and its connection to the Persian Wars through the destruction the sacred site suffered at the hands of the Persians. It is evident that the militaristic history of a location was important in defining the site and the nature of worship conducted there.

Location is essential to understanding the role that sanctuaries played within Greek religion and belief. When examining the sanctuary of Athena on the Acropolis of Athens, its location as an urban centre allowed individuals from throughout Greece to worship at this sanctuary and pay tribute to the patron deity. The Acropolis would draw worshippers from Attica as it was the centre of the polis and the location of the Panathenaia. This indicates that location had an essential role in dictating who would worship at the sanctuaries. The mythological connection to the contest for patronage between Athena and Poseidon as well as the physical evidence of the sacred olive tree, trident marks, and olive wood statue made the Acropolis the perfect location to build a sanctuary and represented the necessary connection between sacred space and sanctuary location. Finally, the historical importance of the Acropolis to the Athenian people would lead to characterizing the nature of worship that would take place within the Acropolis, as dedications to

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Pedley, *Sanctuaries and the Sacred*, 204.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

their patron goddess would revolve around warfare and victory for Athens. The location of the Acropolis in connection to the city, the mythological past, and militaristic significance would define the nature of worship at this sanctuary.

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THE WINDS OF CHANGE
ATHENS AND THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

CHRIS CHASE-ONIONS

Abstract: Between the reigns of Hadrian and Justinian it has often been proposed that there was a unilateral decline in the city of Athens in the late imperial period. The sack of Athens in 276 CE and the later closing of philosophical schools in Justinian's rule indicate the transformation of Athens from a thriving imperial city to a Medieval settlement. The events of the 2nd to 6th centuries did not cause Athens to be culturally irrelevant but solidified its legacy for subsequent centuries.

During the Roman period, the era of Hadrian saw Athens at its cultural and territorial peak as new building projects sponsored by the philhellene emperor breathed new life into the stagnant superpower of the 5th century BCE. As the situation of Athens looked bright, trouble was on the horizon. By the time of Justinian, in the 6th century, Athens had fallen from its position of primacy in Roman intellectual life and existed merely as a small, fortified, backwater outpost in the expanding Empire. The story of the decline of Athens begins during the Third Century Crisis, and ends with the closing of the philosophical during the reign of Justinian. However, the question we must ask about the decline of Athens is 'why?' The question of the decline of Athens reflects larger themes within the decline of the wider Roman Empire in Late Antiquity and how we examine the historiography of this period.

When looking at the decline of Athens we must start at the Third Century Crisis, a turning point for both the city of Athens itself and the wider Roman Empire. After the assassination of Alexander Severus in 235 and the subsequent breakdown of Roman Imperial authority over the next 50 years, Athens found itself still nominally a part of the Roman Empire, but as it was not a frontier city it found itself without adequate protection from the threats facing the Roman world (fig.1). This would come to a head in 276, when the Heruli sailed down from the Black Sea and managed to conquer Athens. The *Historia Augusta* describes the event, stating that:

> At the same time the Scythians [Heruli] crossed the [Black] Sea, entered Histrum, and committed many atrocities on Roman soil. …Then they devastated Cyzicum in Asia and

finally all of Greece, but they were defeated by the Athenians,
who were led by Dexippus, a historian of the time[1].

Dexippus, as mentioned in the *Historia Augusta*, was a contemporary Athenian Historian who repelled the Heruli from Athens. Dexippus is an incredibly important figure in Late Antique Athens. Prior to earning his fame fighting back the Heruli, Dexippus was a career politician who held the eponymous archonship, as well as a minor (and seemingly traditional or hereditary) priesthood at Eleusis.[2] Holding the eponymous archonship would have given Dexippus a certain amount of fame, however for us Dexippus is noteworthy for the historical works he wrote. While he wrote at least three historical works (none of which survive in their entirety), the work most relevant for our purposes is the *Scythica*, which details the invasions of Greece by the Heruli and other peoples north of the Black Sea. *Scythica* is also fairly remarkable as it is a first-hand source by Dexippus, and while a certain amount of embellishment is undeniable, the importance of a written first-hand source regarding these events cannot be underestimated. Dexippus also helps us to understand the Athenian mindset in the 3rd century, and how Athens viewed its position in the Greek and Roman world. First, looking at the continuation of Athenian Exceptionalism, we see this theme in the *Scythica* when Dexippus notes that:

> It is glorious that we have carried out our inherited role and made these deeds an example of courage and freedom for Greece, and wonderful to have a share in everlasting glory amongst both the living and those yet to be born, showing by our deed that the spirit of the Athenians is not broken in misfortune. We will take as our battle cry our children and those we love the most; let us call on the propitious ruling gods to preserve them, and form up in our battle formation.'[3]

This section near the end of the fragment shows that, at least in the mind of Dexippus, the Athenians still considered themselves to be the protectors of Greece. This idea has a long history, from the Athenians claiming to be the protector of the Ionian Greeks, to their attempt at controlling Greece through the Delian League, to Hadrian's attempted revival of the league in the late 2nd century, Athens had always seen itself as a leader in the Greek world. In this passage we see this storied

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[1] *Historia Augusta*, 12.6-8
[2] Millar, *P. Herennius Dexxipus: The Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions*, 20
[3] Dexippius, *Scythica*, F28

tradition continue as, according to Dexippus, Athens can serve as an example of freedom and courage to the rest of the Greeks during the Third Century Crisis. The second excerpt from the *Scythica* worth noting relates the civic mindset in Athens. Dexippus recalls, stating:

> I think we will inspire the rest of Greece with the same zeal. I myself am set upon these actions; I won't put myself out of the way of danger or carry out an easier role, my heart is set on glory and I will hazard all: I want to gain for myself the highest sorts of honour and not to destroy my reputation in the city. And I advise you to realise this: death comes upon all men, and to lose one's life fighting for one's city is the most beautiful prize and brings everlasting glory.[4]

Dexippus' assertion that dying for one's city is the greatest glory possible highlights that in 3rd century Athens there was still a great devotion to the city itself, and that the Athenians still seemed to identify themselves as such over identifying as citizens in the Roman Empire. The sack of Athens in 276 also makes its way into the *New History* of Zosimus, a later Greek writer who will be dealt with later. On the sack, Zosimus merely mentions that, "After the Scythians had wrought havoc in Greece and captured even Athens by siege…"[5] Despite Dexippus being able to successfully repel the Heruli, their sacking of Athens would prove to be a cataclysmic event in the city's history. Comparing Athens in the year 200 (fig. 2) and 300 (fig. 3), we see a city that had gone from a large, metropolitan area to a small fortified outpost, comprising merely a shadow of the city's former glory. Athens would expand very little over the next three centuries, and this physical destruction of the city in 276 would serve as the beginning of the Athenian decline into obscurity within the Roman world. As the chaos of the third century drew to a close, great change began to sweep across the Roman world. After ending the Third Century Crisis, Diocletian's reformation of the Roman government highlights the changing importance of geography. Looking at the borders of the Tetrarchy (fig.4), we see that a quarter of the Imperial administration is devoted to the Balkans (as well as parts of modern Austria), highlighting how volatile this region had become in the Roman Empire. The instability of the Balkans would not leave Athens unaffected, and would affect the city in the late 4th century. Following the collapse of the Tetrarchy into civil war, Constantine rises from the ashes and begins the Christianisation of the Roman Empire. While this has

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[4] F28

[5] Zosimus, *New History*, 2.39

little direct effect on Athens, it highlights the 'winds of change' in this period of Roman history that would ultimately doom the influence of Athens. As the fourth century carried on, Athens was able to curry some favour with Julian, the last pagan emperor. Julian paid for a restoration of the roof of the Parthenon, as well as being the last Emperor to be initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries. As Julian modelled himself after Hadrian, we can surmise that, given time, Julian may have bestowed more on Athens, however a Persian spear during a minor skirmish ended such a dream. In the late 4th century (c. 390), a Neoplatonic Academy was founded in Athens by an Athenian named Plutarch, which would go on to serve a critical role in the later history of Athens.[6] However, Athens would once again be affected by changes within the wider Roman Empire when Theodosius I died, and the Empire was divided between his sons Honorius and Arcadius. (fig. 5) This would be compounded by Gothic resentment towards the Romans in the aftermath of the Battle of the Frigidus and would lead to the rise of Alaric in 395. (fig. 6) While Alaric's main mark on Roman historiography is his sack of Rome in 409, early in his career he was active in the Balkans, and is attributed with destroying the temple of Demeter at Eleusis before making his way to Athens.[7] However, aside from the fact that Alaric was present at Athens, we know very little of what he did. Philostorgius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, makes brief mention of it, noting that,

> About the same period Alaric, a Goth by descent, having collected an army in the upper parts of Thrace, made an incursion into Achaia and took Athens ; he also laid waste the regions belonging to Macedonia, and the borders of Dalmatia[8].

Philostorgius does not even give Alaric's incursion into Athens an entire sentence before moving the action westward. Other contemporary sources are similar, giving little information regarding Alaric's actions in Athens. The only historian who goes into any depths regarding Alaric in Athens is Zosimus, whose account has some major historiographic issues. Archaeology is also unhelpful in this regard, as there has not been enough excavations within the post-Heruli wall, and aside from some damage outside the walls to indicate Alaric was there, we cannot make

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[6] Watts, *Justinian, Malalas, and the End of Athenian Philosophical Teaching in A.D.*
529, 169

[7] Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens*, 232

[8] Philostrogius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 12.2

any definitive conclusions regarding Alaric's visit.[9] The fifth century in the Roman world saw the final legal decline of Paganism. In 439, the Theodosian Code was implemented in both the Eastern and Western Roman Empires, and among the decrees was the closing of Pagan temples and the outlawing of public (but not private) practices of Paganism. As the Parthenon closed, the Neoplatonic Academy increasingly became a holdout of Paganism in the Empire, and allowed Athens to provide an effective resistance to the changes in the Roman world.[10]

However, whatever successes we can find in the fifth century are swiftly taken away in the sixth, as Athens loses its status as the university town of the Roman Empire. The Neoplatonic temple had been achieving some success in the early sixth century; under the leadership of Damascius, the school was able to expand and attract scholars from around the Empire and exist as a thriving centre of pagan thought.[11] This would end during the reign of Justinian however, and by 531 the operation of the Neoplatonic academy would become untenable. John Malalas, a contemporary chronicler from Syria, recounts the story, stating that,

> During the consulship of Decius [529], the emperor issued a decree and sent it to Athens ordering that no-one should teach philosophy nor interpret the laws; nor should gaming be allowed in any city, some gamblers who had been discovered in [Constantinople] had been indulging themselves in dreadful blasphemies/ Their hands were cut off and they were paraded around on camels.[12]

There is some issue with Malalas' statement, as such a decree is not directly mentioned in any of the contemporary legal texts of the reign of Justinian. However, once the *Codex Justinianus* came into effect in 531, the Neoplatonic academy in Athens would have been forced to close. The Codex states that,

> No one shall by testament or gift be allowed to leave or give anything to persons or places in order to uphold the iniquity of

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[9] Camp, 231

[10] Frantz, *Pagan Philosophers in Christian Athens,* 29

[11] Watts, *Justinian, Malalas, and the End of Athenian Philosophical Teaching in A.D.*
529, 170

[12] Malalas, *Chronicle*, 18.47

the pagans, although this purpose be not specially mentioned in the words of the last wish, testament or gift, but where the truth may be ascertained by the judges in some other manner.[13]

The Neoplatonic academy in Athens had been able to survive the Theodosian Code by being a private institution, and therefore not subject to the same legal restrictions as temples. The *Codex* however outlawed the giving of gifts to persons or places to uphold paganism, meaning that the academy could no longer function through private funding, and would therefore be forced to close. Watts also suggests that the schools could have faced complications due to, "[Athens' location in] Achaea, where political culture was increasingly dominated by Christians…[and the] system of local government that emphasized the concerns of Christian landholders and Christian clergy"[14] While this is unlikely to be the entire reason for the schools closing, it would show that local officials had little cause to try and resist the Imperial decree, thus sealing the fate of the Neoplatonic Academy.

The closing of the Neoplatonic Academy was a major blow to Paganism in the Roman Empire, as the Academy and Athens in general held great symbolic weight for Pagans. The philosophical world of Athens helped to provide sanctuary for Pagan intellectuals that felt persecuted within the increasingly Christian Roman state, with public devotions of Paganism (and private sacrifices) becoming punishable as acts of treason to the Roman state.[15] We also can see the importance of Athens and Attica to Pagans in Late Antiquity in the writings of Zosimus, one of the last Pagan historians of antiquity. Active during the reign of Anastasius I in the late fifth and early sixth centuries, Zosimus' main work, the *New History*, chronicles the history of the Roman Empire up until his time with a focus on the reign of Honorius in the late fourth and early fifth Centuries, focusing on the decline of the Roman Empire through the introduction of Christianity (acting as the Gibbon of Late Antiquity). Zosimus' account of Alaric's sack of Athens demonstrates how important the city was to him, when he states that,

> [Alaric] went on to [capture] Athens, expecting that he would easily take the city because it was too vast to be defended by its inhabitants, and also that the besieged would soon

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[13] *Codex Justinianus*, 1.11.9.1

[14] Watts, 170

[15] Harl, Sacrifice and Pagan Belief in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Byzantium, 7

surrender because, moreover, the Piraeus was short of provisions. These were Alaric's hopes, but this ancient won some divine protection for itself despite contemporary impiety and thus escaped destruction. And I should not pass over in silence the reason for the city's miraculous preservation, because it will excite piety in all who hear it. When Alaric and his whole army came to the city, he saw the tutelary goddess Athena walking about the wall, looking just like her statue, armed and ready to resist attack, while leading their forces he saw the hero Achilles, just as Homer described him at Troy when in his wrath he fought to avenge the death of Patroclus. These apparitions were too much for Alaric who, giving up his attempt against the city, sent heralds to treat for peace… After accepting the terms and exchanging oaths, Alaric entered Athens with a few men. He was treated to every kindness and, after bathing and being entertained by select citizens and given gifts as well, he went off leaving the city and the whole of Attica unharmed.[16]

Zosimus attributes the survival of Athens against Alaric to direct divine intervention, a classic trope of Pagan historiography, and is reminiscent of accounts of the Gods fighting alongside the Athenians at marathon. This is not the only time when Zosimus attributes divine intervention for saving Athens; in the previous book, he tells an account of how a priest saved the city of Athens from an earthquake, stating that,

earthquakes occurred in some places: Crete, the Peloponnese, and the rest of Greece were severely shaken and many cities were destroyed. Athens and Attica, however, were spared, and they say the reason for their preservation was this: Nestorius, the hierophant at this time, had a dream in which he was told to honour the hero Achilles with public sacrifices in order to save the city but when he informed the magistrates of this vision, they thought he was foolish and senile and took no notice of what he said. He turned it over in his own mind, however, and under the influence of divine thoughts, he fashioned an image of the hero in a small shrine which he set up under the statue of Athena in the Parthenon. So when he made the customary sacrifices to the goddess at the same time did for the hero that was decreed by law. In this way he carried out the advice of his dream, and when Greece was

[16] Zosimus, 5.5-6

afflicted by earthquakes, only the Athenians were saved, and the whole of Attica shared in the hero's benefits.[17]

We can surmise, therefore, that Zosimus (and by extension, other Pagans in this period) held Athens in special regard as Zosimus twice deigns to tell us that the gods themselves saw fit to save Athens through direct intervention despite the contemporary impiety of the period (i.e. Christianity). However, while Zosimus may have prized Athens above all else, the gods did not save the city from falling into obscurity, and therefore we must ask the major historical question that hangs over us: Why?

We can look at this decline through different lenses. First we should examine the traditional narrative around the decline and fall of the Roman Empire: Christianity and barbarism. This view, popularised by Edward Gibbon in the 18th Century, contends that the Roman Empire fell as a result of barbarian invasion and the encroachment of Christianity upon Roman society. In the broad strokes, this idea has merit; Athens was physically destroyed by the Heruli in 276 (and perhaps damaged again by Alaric 120 years later), and then destroyed culturally by Justinian during the sixth century with the Christian-motivated closing of the philosophical schools. And there is merit to this idea; looking at the layout of Athens in 200 versus the layout in 300, we see that the 276 sack had a massive impact, reducing the city's total geographic area. (fig. 1 and fig. 2) However, this idea is not perfect, and leads to further questions: Why did the Romans not bother rebuilding Athens? Why did the Empire target Athens specifically if it was such a backwater?

One other way to look at the decline of Athens is to look at the greater cultural forces within the Roman world in Late Antiquity. Looking at the map of the Tetrarchy shows us one of the main socio-economic trends in the later Roman Empire: The decline of the interior. (fig. 4) During the Third Century Crisis, the important centres of the Roman world shifted away from the interior towards the frontier, with even Rome ceasing to be the political capital of the Empire during the Crisis. Aside from perhaps Carthage and Alexandria, all of the major centres of the Empire – Milan, Ravenna, Trier, Nicomedia, Sirmium, Antioch, and Constantinople – are all situated at the frontiers of the Empire. Athens, on the other hand, was located in the Aegean, by contrast a fairly unimportant interior region of the Empire with little strategic value other than connecting to the Black Sea (which was

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[17] Zosimus, 4.18

partially why Constantinople was used as the capital). The Romans could have afforded to rebuild Athens; however, while monumental architecture and a devotion to the ancient past is all well and good when an Empire is in a position of unchallenged power, once the borders of the Roman Empire began feeling increased pressure imperial attention (and therefore money) began to focus on those centres near the borders.

In this vein the idea that Christianity destroyed Athens culturally also lacks a certain nuance. First, Athens and Paganism were singled out by the imperial administration, especially during the reign of Justinian. In fact, the religious policy of Justinian can be seen as a continuation of the trend of religious authority in the Roman world increasingly being centralised around the Emperor – from Augustus becoming *Pontifex Maximus*, to Diocletian's proclamation that him and Maximian were Gods, to Constantine being part of the Council of Nicea, the Roman Emperor had constantly played a part in the religious affairs of the Empire. And in the reign of Justinian we see this manifest in the increased centralisation of religious policy around Chalcedonian Christianity, to the detriment of non-Chalcedonians just as much as non-Christians. Looking at contemporary legal writings (and accounts of those writings), we can see this clearly. Regarding legal testimony, the *Novels* of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* state that,

> We have forbidden heretics to testify whenever orthodox persons are in litigation with one another, and we have permitted them by our constitution, whenever they have any legal controversies with one another, or either the plaintiff or the defendant is [a] heretic, he can testify because they are litigants; and they can give testimony for an orthodox person against a heretic; but not against one who is orthodox… [18]

This proclamation states that Heretics (mainly referring to Arians, Monophysites, and Nestorians in this period) are not allowed to give testimony against a Chalcedonian, therefore giving them a secondary legal status. We also see this regarding the Samaritans (a sect of Judaism), stating that,

> Moreover, we do not permit a Samaritan to hold office, or to discharge the duties of civil administration, to bring suit in

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[18] *Novels of Justinian*, 2.24.1

court, to be admitted to the Association of the Rhetoricians, or to impart instruction to young persons.[19]

Here we see that Samaritans are banned from holding any sort of public office, not even being allowed to teach pupils, or even bring a lawsuit to court (which even heretics could do, providing they were not attempting to litigate someone who was Chalcedonian). Concerning Astrologers, Procopius's *Anecdota* agrees with Malalas' account of how astrologers were treated. Procopius states that,

> Justinian and Theodora also dealt very harshly with the astrologers, so that the officers appointed to punish thieves proceeded against these men for no other cause than that they were astrologers, dealt many stripes on their backs, and paraded them on camels through the city; yet they were old and respectable men, against whom no reproach could be brought except that they dwelt in Byzantium and were learned about the stars.[20]

Even those who read the stars for glimpses of the future were not spared harsh punishment during the reign of Justinian. Astrologers had little to do with Pagan intellectuals undermining imperial authority, they (much like the Neoplatonic Academy) were simply a victim of Justinian's attempt to focus Roman religious policy around Chalcedonian Christianity. As well, there are some issues with the narrative of cultural decline. First, it ignores non-Christian contributions to philosophy. Frantz notes that, "By the middle of the seventh century, when the fear of paganism was finally alleviated, some teaching was going on again in Athens…"[21] This idea also ignores Athenian contributions to the Christian church itself; from Thomas Aquinas taking inspiration from Aristotle, to Theodore of Tarsus, an Athenian-educated Sicilian, being appointed as the Archbishop of Canterbury, we see that Athens still had an impact on the Christian world.[22]

We can see that in Late Antiquity Athens goes into a decline, ultimately falling from its Hadrianic heights to little more than a contemporary backwater. The seminal event of this decline is the 276 sack by the Heruli, an event from which the city never recovered. However, while Athens does decline, there is not one single way to view

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[19] *Novels of Justinian*, 9.27.2
[20] Procopius, *Anecdota*, 11.37
[21] Frantz, *Pagan Philosophers in Christian Athens*, 38
[22] Frantz, 38

the decline, and the question (as it does with history of the wider Roman Empire) invites multiple ways to address this issue – from the simple to the overly complex, there is merit in looking at the decline through more than one lens. However, even though Athens does decline in its importance in the Roman world, its effects on contemporary Western culture are, for better or for worse, still relevant, and Athenian culture, despite its apparent 'decline' in Late Antiquity, has been felt throughout the Middle Ages into modernity. While the winds of change may have blown away from the favour of Athens, they also brought the Athenians with them and, ultimately, allowed the Athenians of the past the effect the world of the present.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1 – The Roman Empire in the Third Century Crisis

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Ancient_Rome_271_AD.svg
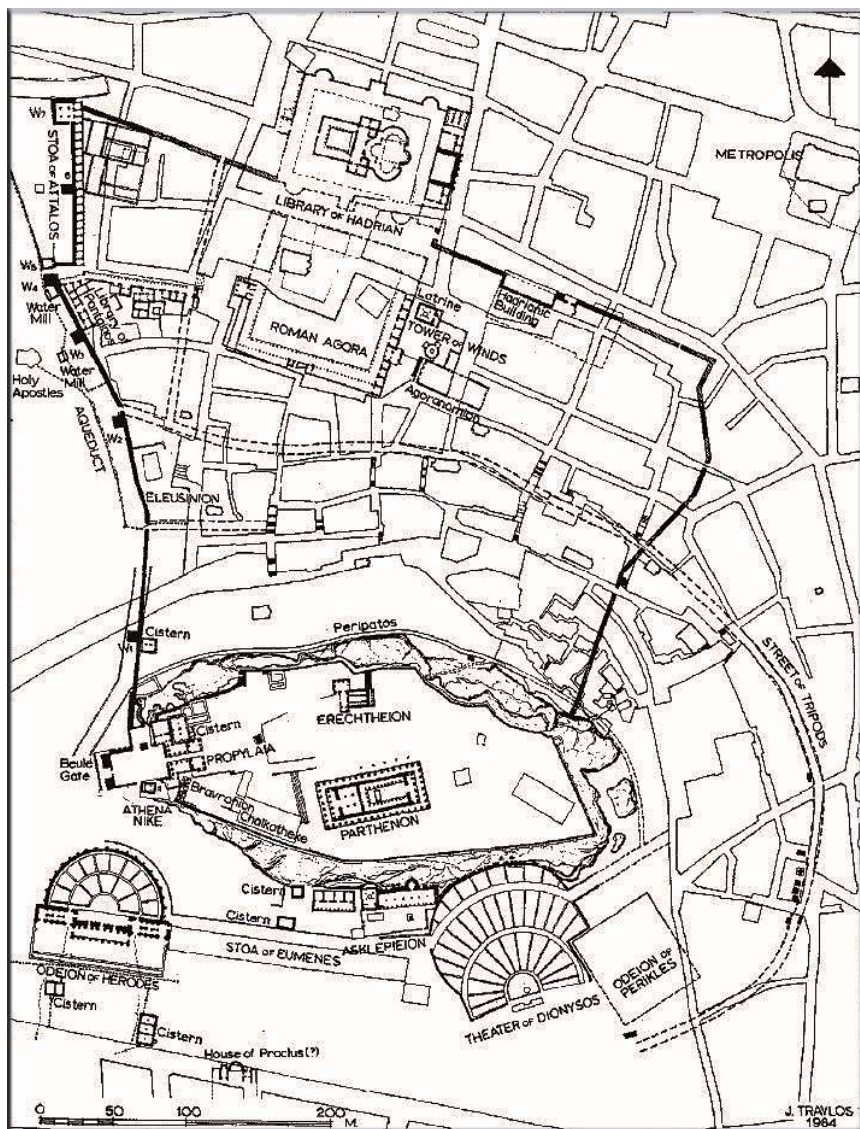Accessed October 22, 2016

Fig, 2 – Athens c. 200 CE

http://www.emersonkent.com/map_archive/athens_200_ad.htm Accessed
November 21, 2016

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https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tetrarchy_map3.jpg Accessed
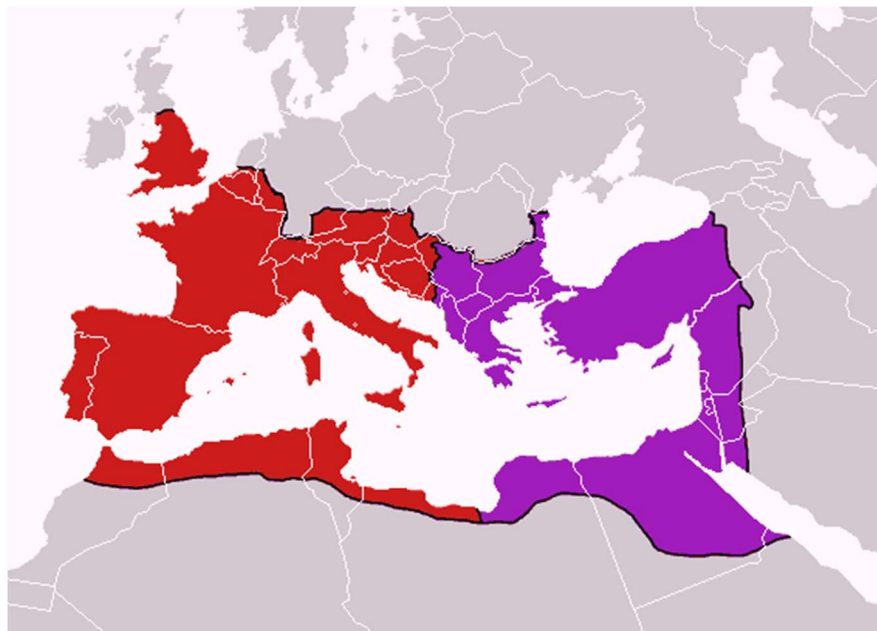October 22, 2016

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https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Theodosius_I%27s_empire.png
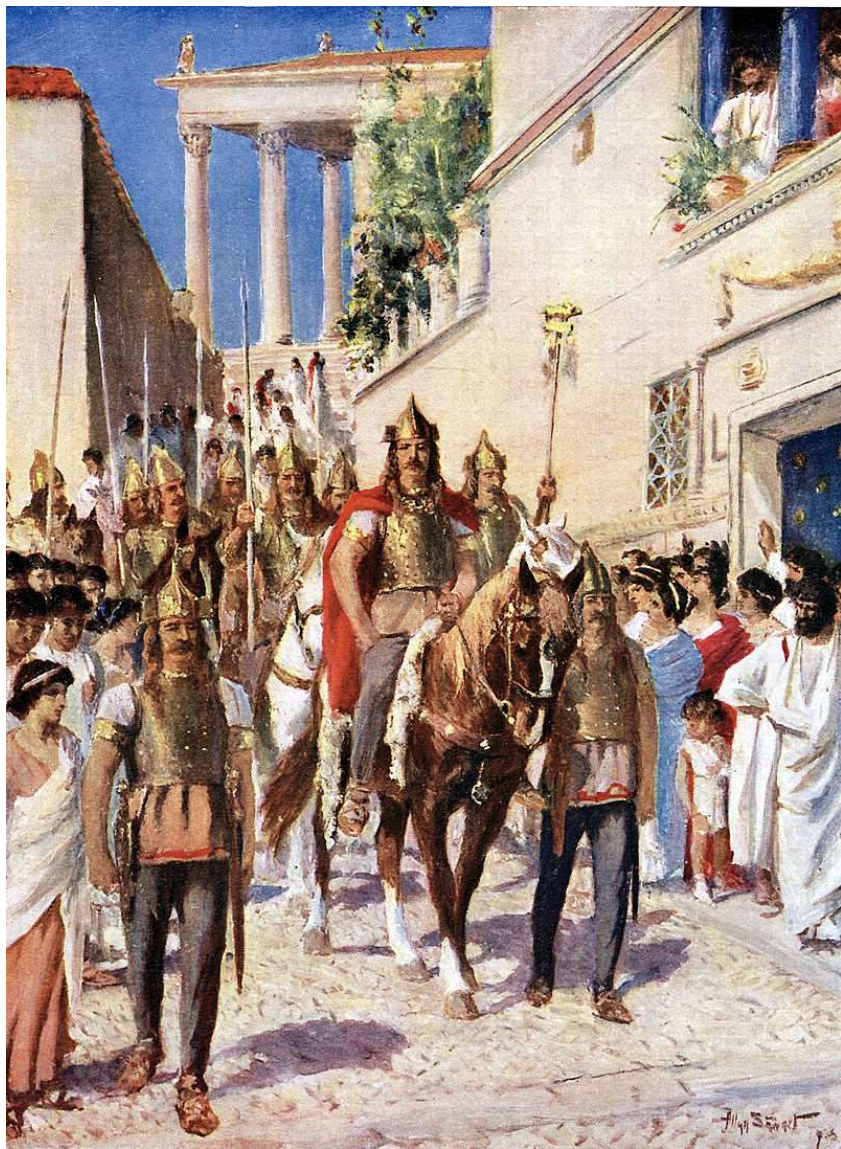Accessed October 22, 2016

Fig. 6 – 1920's depiction of Alaric entering Athens in 396

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alaric_entering_Athens.jpg Accessed November 21, 2016

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THE GAZE OF SIVAKAMASUNDARI
COLLEEN DUNN

Sivakamasundari patiently she watches,
her eyelids sunset low but never wavering from Siva.
Moody melodies herald bursts of golden beams on emerald streams.
Sivakamasundari's eyes spring open, bright sunrise eyes reflecting all creation,
as she watches Siva dance.

Sivakamasundari beloved of Siva,
side by side divine arms extending to guard the pulsing stars.
Delicate duet humming tunes ensuring preservation of their realm.
Sivakamasundari's eyes belie the fearsome rhythm gossamer wrapped in gentle tones,
which accompany Siva's dance.

Sivakamasundari lending strength to Siva,
a deafening roar rising falling fading as the stars extinguish.
Cold collage of embers, painted destruction upon moonless tapestries.
Sivakamasundari, no tear escapes, eyes squeezed shut against the stinging dust of doom,
somber Siva dances.

Sivakamasundari clings to dusky Siva,
all is concealed, great god and goddess hidden, perhaps they sleep?
No mighty Milky Way, no bird nor beast, no drum nor human heart to beat,
Sivakamasundari peering or not peering through the woven veil of deepest night,
knows that Siva dances.

Sivakamasundari stunning breathless beauty,
radiating grace with every gaze, she listens for the song.
Within the cosmic circle, smooth and steady path away and yet toward.
Sivakamasundari content in timeless meditation nudges drowsy Siva
energizing Siva's dance.

MAGIC IN THE HEBREW BIBLE
AND ITS USE IN DIFFERENTIATING CULTURES

JESSICA DOBSON

Abstract: The Biblical authors to differentiate the ancient Israelite identity from that of the Canaanites and the ancient Egyptians used the idea of "magic"; therefore the term "magic" did not strictly relate to magical practices. This use of language established a sense of "other" in relation to the ancient Israelites, with a negative or neutral connotation depending on the narrative, while the practices themselves were the same.

Ancient Israelite identity largely relied on the narrative found in the Hebrew Bible and a long ancestral tradition. The ancient Israelites formed this sense of identity in part by using magic in order to differentiate themselves from their neighbours and inwardly establish a hierarchy of their own, with their god Yahweh as the superior power. Biblical portrayals of magic were intended to construct or reinforce social and ethnic boundaries that established superiority of Israelite reliance on their god for supernatural favours over the inferior attempts of non-Israelite magicians to manipulate their gods for similar outcomes. First I will examine how the Hebrew Bible shows that the Israelites had a tradition of magic and understood methods like divination as a viable way of discerning Yahweh's will. Furthermore the Israelites used magic to erect boundaries within their own culture between the lay people and the religious leaders (priests and prophets). Ultimately these boundaries instilled the superiority of the Israelites and Yahweh over their neighbours, which was important because their neighbours had similar magical practices.

It is important to understand magic as the ancient Israelites defined it in order to avoid placing a modern meaning on words that were not used in the same context. The Israelites were not against magical practices, in fact, there are numerous Biblical stories that can be interpreted as containing practices that the Israelite Law Code otherwise appears to outlaw. According to the ancient Israelites, the difference between 'magic' and 'religion' depended on the agent. If the agent of the 'miracle' was a person manipulating the natural world, then it is

considered magic, while if a god is the agent, then it falls under religion.1 Almost every patriarch in the Hebrew Bible used Yahweh's power to perform super-human deeds, from plagues to healing to parting the Red Sea.2 These acts could be considered magical deeds since it was not only Yahweh performing the action but also humans. My paper will focus on practises that are closely associated with magic in order to draw a connection between those practises, the terminology used, and how this demonstrates the way the Israelites constructed their identity. Following this the ancient Israelites were both aware of and practiced magic, as can be demonstrated by the stories in the Hebrew Bible.

The awareness of magical practises influenced ancient Israel's emerging identity. As a society develops, "religion adopts the social function of maintaining the hierarchy and morality within a society according to the dictates of sacred (spiritual) characters."3 By way of contrast, magic in antiquity was usually sidelined and repressed because it deviated from the dominant social norms. The distinction between "magical" and "religious" was only made to establish this.4 With this understanding in mind, I will now look at examples of magic being performed in the Hebrew Bible and how these related to the emerging self-identity of the Israelites. By looking at the instances of words relating to magical practises used in the Bible, we will come to understand how and why the Israelites used these specific terms.

The first of these passages we will examine is Deuteronomy 18:10-11, which scholars agree contains words describing magical practices.

> [10] No one shall be found among you who makes a son or daughter pass through fire, or who practices divination, or is a soothsayer, or an augur, or a *sorcerer* (מְכַשֵּׁף), [11] or one who casts spells, or who consults ghosts or spirits, or who seeks oracles from the dead.5

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1 Shawna Dolansky, *Now You See it Now You Don't: Biblical Perspectives on the Relationship Between Magic and Religion* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 35.

2 Dolansky, *Now You See it Now You Don't,* 39.

3 Dolansky, *Now You See it Now You Don't,* 35-36.

4 Stephen Ricks, "The Magician as Outsider: The Evidence of the Hebrew Bible." In *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism,* ed. Paul V. M. Flesher (New York: University Press of America, 1990) 127.

5 Deuteronomy 18:10-11 (New Revised Standard Version)

There are not many passages in the Hebrew Bible that use magical terminology, so while this makes the terms difficult to translate, their rarity establishes the significance of their use.[6] Most notably *Měkaššēp* (מְכַשֵּׁף) is found both in Deuteronomy 18:10 and Exodus 7:11 (in the plural, מְכַשְּׁפִים), which will be discussed later, to describe a foreign magician or sorcerer.[7] Many of the words and phrases referred to in this passage do not appear again in the Hebrew Bible, so their rarity suggests that the Biblical authors were using them for a specific purpose in this case and did not otherwise want these words to be used positively unless they are used to demonstrate the superiority of Yahweh and the ancient Isrealites.

Returning now to the Deuteronomy 18:10-11 passage, this passage does not just endeavor to establish the Israelites as superior in comparison with their neighbours, but wants to control the use of magic and divination within the Israelite community. It gives authority to the priests and prophets by prohibiting the laypeople from divining Yahweh's will and practicing other forms of magic, thus allowing the priests and prophets to control the Israelite culture and identity. Magic posed a threat because it was not as easily controlled, especially divination since it could be interpreted in many ways.[8] In addition, "the Law Code seems genuinely interested in prohibiting access to any supernatural realm outside of Yahweh."[9] The list of prohibited professions and practices in Deuteronomy 18 shows the Deuteronomist's desire to control the emerging Israelite identity in matters focusing on purity and pollution.[10] The Israelites were seen as a nation and people that were not to be "polluted" with the practices of outsiders. They were therefore instructed by the biblical authors to stay clear of these practices, without becoming tainted by their neighbours, while they lived in a land that did not belong to the Israelites. This is an important distinction as it demonstrates the Israelites' superiority while living in

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[6] Dolansky, *Now You See it Now You Don't,* 38.

[7] Dolansky, *Now You See it Now You Don't,* 42. The term is also found in Daniel 2:2, 2 Kings 9:22, 2 Chronicles 33:6, and Isaiah 49:9 and 12.

[8] Dolansky, *Now You See it Now You Don't,* 37.

[9] Dolansky, *Now You See it Now You Don't,* 46.

[10] Brian Schmidt, "Canaanite Magic vs. Israelite Religion: Deuteronomy 18 and the Taxonomy of Taboo," in *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World,* ed. Paul Mirecki et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 259.

another nation's land, and marks a sharp ethnic divide between them and their neighbours.

An example of this is Numbers 22:7-21, which tells the story of Balaam, a diviner, who is unable to curse Israel because of Yahweh. In this narrative, Yahweh is portrayed as the most powerful god since Balaam appeals to him on behalf of the Moabites and Midianites, presumably instead of their own gods. In addition, Balaam himself was a foreigner and not an Israelite. Despite this Balaam's magical connection is treated as legitimate by the author of the story and he is able to divine Yahweh's will without any disrespect.[11] These verses specifically describe how the Israelites are not to be cursed by the Moabites, their neighbours, since Yahweh blessed the Israelites. This story was used to establish a sense of the superiority of Yahweh over other gods, since the Moabites go to him instead of another god, and the superiority of the Israelites, since they are blessed.

In addition this suggests that it was an accepted means for the Israelites to contact Yahweh and receive a trusted response, since the passage does not have a problem with Balaam divining Yahweh's will. However, since their neighbours had similar practices of divination, but used them for their own purposes, the Israelites perhaps did not want to be confused with these and so outlawed the practices entirely. Thus it was not that the Israelites were concerned with getting false messages, but rather that they did not want to be associated with practices that were used by other cultures and directed at gods different than Yahweh.

Not all forms of divination had ties to other cultures however; three instruments used for divination were used more often by the Israelites than in reference to foreigners. The ephod, Urim and Thummin, and casting lots were accepted to have Israelite origins even by the Biblical authors.[12] Since they had this undeniable connection to the Israelites' own identity, these practices were not conveyed in a negative light, unlike other forms of divination discussed above. This shows that ultimately the Israelites wanted to create their own identity by outlawing some magical practices, but nonetheless knew of and practiced forms of divination, among other magical practices, because they knew divination worked. They looked on those directed towards Yahweh and of Israelite origins more favorably than those acknowledging the power of other gods.

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[11] Dolansky, *Now You See it Now You Don't,* 40.
[12] Ricks, "The Magician as Outsider," 133.

The Israelites also aligned these prohibited practices with their neighbours as a way of explaining Israel's superiority. Since the ancient Israelites were living in the Canaanites' land they wanted to both establish these differences and illustrate why they were authorized to live there. They discerned Yahweh's will through means that gave them a sense of authority, which told them they were the chosen people who deserved to live in that land. Stereotypes of the "other" reflect a society's own anxieties, born of a desire to control them, which the Israelites do by labeling the Canaanites as "other" (and therefore also their magical practices).13 In this way the Biblical authors were able to shape the ancient Israelites' identity by differentiating themselves from their neighbours. The Canaanites posed a threat to Israel's social identity, so "to protect the family line and yet to stake a claim to the Promised Land, the ancestors [had to] steer clear of Canaanite cities, [couldn't] intermarry with the natives, and reject[ed] economic integration."14 If the Israelites wanted to survive as a people separate from the Canaanites while living in their land, they had to define themselves as separate and not associate with them or their practises as much as possible.

Canaanites were also later blamed for idolatry, along with divination and other magic-related practises. However, as I have begun to demonstrate with divination, these may have been part of the Israelites' culture before they condemned the practices, or at least these were something they were aware of but not opposed to. The Bible was written by different authors at different periods in the ancient Israelite's history, which results in contrary positions within Biblical stories, depending on when the source came from and where.15 Thanks to this the Bible contains two contradictory images of the Canaanites: the ancestor origin story and the conquest origin story. In the ancestral origin story, one of the narratives written from a specific source, the Canaanites were not stigmatized and so their practices were likewise not seen as harmful or isolated from the Israelites' own.16 This demonstrates that magical practices may not have always been seen as "other," since not all the Biblical sources agree on this point. Therefore despite the efforts of

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13 Robert Cohn, "Before Israel: The Canaanites as Other in Biblical Tradition," in *The Other in Jewish Thought and History*, ed. Laurence J. Silberstein et al. (New York: New York University Press, 1994) 74.

14 Cohn, "Before Israel," 86.

15 Richard Elliott Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?*, New York: Perennial Library (1987) 20-21.

16 Cohn, "Before Israel," 86.

Deuteronomy, a contrary source, magical practises were not so foreign to the Israelite culture.

The glorification of Yahweh continues in my next example as the Israelites drew a line between themselves and their neighbours by using magical terminology. They not only drew distinctions between themselves and the Canaanites, however, but also the Egyptians since they were well aware of their culture as well. This is seen in Exodus 7-9, the Egyptian 'magicians' (מְכַשְּׁפִים) are able to perform the same feats as Moses and Aaron, who actually have the blessing of Yahweh and are portrayed purely as servants of God.[17] This demonstrates how the practices were the same but the language used to address each showed a clear boundary drawn between the Egyptians and the Israelites. The Israelites did not see Moses as a sorcerer "but a man working on a mission for God for the benefit of the people of Israel."[18] For example, in Deuteronomy 34:10, Moses is described as a great prophet; he was a spokesman for God, and was like a teacher and guide for the Israelites.[19] However, Moses was quite a different figure from the Egyptians since he brought many curses upon them, therefore resembling a sorcerer or magician.[20] To the Israelites, Moses was very different than the Egyptian magicians because he was acting on the authority of Yahweh. This made his practices acceptable even though they were otherwise the same as the Egyptians. This passage uses the term of 'magician' (מְכַשֵּׁף) to differentiate the roles of Moses and the Egyptians to establish an ethnic boundary and glorify Yahweh.

A demonstration of sympathetic magic can be seen in the Bible in Numbers 21:6-9, when Moses curses the people dying of snake bites by erecting a brass snake for them to look upon. Sympathetic magic is the practice of substitution, using an object similar to the target, to perform a desired outcome. In this example a brass snake is substituted for the snakebites, with the commonality between the forms of the two drawing a connection. God instructs him to perform this act of sympathetic magic, so the passage does not contain direct references to

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[17] Ricks, "The Magician as Outsider," 128.
[18] Meir Bar-Ilan, *"*Between Magic and Religion: Sympathetic Magic in the World of the Sages of the Mishnah and Talmud," *Review of Rabbinic Judaism,* no.5 vol. 3 (2002): 398.
[19] Bar-Ilan, "Between Magic and Religion," 393.
[20] Bar-Ilan, "Between Magic and Religion," 399.

magic in wording, but reflects a sympathetic magic approach.[21] This action by Moses was later rejected in the time of the First Temple. In 2 Kings 18:4 King Hezekiah was praised for destroying the brass snake since the people had started making offerings to it like an idol.[22] Although Moses' actions were not presented as magical in the initial narrative, later stories reflect a connection to practises that were outlawed in Deuteronomy 18. The Israelites knew that Moses' actions resembled magical practices found in other cultures, but they were careful not to label his actions as such.

The Israelites were by far not the only ancient people group to use sympathetic magic, demonstrating further that these magical practices were not foreign to them or their neighbours. In 1 Samuel 5-6 the Philistines were the agents of such practices.[23] In this passage, the Philistines made gold models of mice and of the hemorrhoids currently afflicting them thanks to the plague, in hopes of curing themselves. This works because their actions were directed towards appeasing Yahweh and the Israelite people by returning the Ark of the Covenant to them. This demonstrates how sympathetic magic was not just known to the Israelites, but was used by others to the same end: to heal. There is no mention of magical terms in this story, and the practice is not portrayed in a negative light. On the contrary, this is the correct course of action for the Philistines because it showed their acknowledgment of Yahweh's superiority. They could not heal their afflictions themselves and had to depend on His mercy.

The ancient Israelites were also shown in a superior light in Genesis 41 when Joseph was able to interpret Pharaoh's dreams while his own royal magicians and wise men refused. First, the term 'magician' is used here to only refer to the Egyptians, even though Joseph was able to do the same job as them. Furthermore, Joseph was able to accomplish the task when they could not. In verse 16 Joseph makes clear that it was Yahweh who gave Pharaoh the answer, demonstrating that his ability is superior to the Egyptian magicians because it derived from Yahweh.[24] By the end of the story, Pharaoh favours Joseph and gives him a position of authority (despite having just pulled him from the dungeons) and recognizes Yahweh as the source of Joseph's wisdom. In this way, both

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[21] Bar-Ilan, *"*Between Magic and Religion," 388.

[22] Bar-Ilan, "Between Magic and Religion," 388.

[23] Dolansky, *Now You See it Now You Don't,* 48.

[24] Ricks, "The Magician as Outsider," 129.

the Israelites and Yahweh are shown to be superior and separate from the Egyptians, even though they later live with the Egyptians in their land. It was important for the ancient Israelites to make this distinction in order to craft their own conception of identity – one that established them as superior to these other nations even though the Israelites lived in their land for some periods. In this way they resembled refugees but did not want to appear as such.

The ancient Israelites knew of the practices of the Egyptians, whether there was an exodus or not. It is difficult to determine the historical authenticity of the majority of the Bible, as most of the stories in Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy were written well after the events they depict.[25] There is archaeological evidence of an ancient Israelite settlement in Egypt on the island of Elephantine. They established a military colony of Israelites in roughly the sixth to fifth century BCE. They erected their own temple to Yahweh, known to them as YHW, and were employed by the Persians to keep the peace against the Nubians.[26] The Israelites used their knowledge of Egypt to draw a distinction between themselves and the Egyptians, to create a distinction not of ritual but of purpose. The Israelites used their magic at the behest of Yahweh, which is why they were superior to the Egyptian magicians.

The Israelites were thus exposed to the Egyptian's religion and practices. The Egyptian religion was very different from that of the ancient Israelites, but a comparison can be made between the two due to their similar supernatural practises. Egyptian gods were often depicted appearing to Pharaohs, and dreaming was understood as a time when the Pharaohs could receive messages from them. In the early third millennium BCE, direct access to the gods was restricted to the Pharaoh.[27] In comparison to the emerging Israelite identity at this time, when avenues to communicate with Yahweh were being largely restricted to the priests and prophets, in Egypt it was almost entirely restricted to the Pharaoh. However, in Egypt, anyone could pray to a god

[25] Peter Machinist, "Outsiders or Insiders: the Biblical View of Emergent Israel and its Contexts," in *The Other in Jewish Thought and History,* ed. Laurence J. Silberstein et al. (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 36.
[26] Stephen Rosenberg, "The Jewish Temple At Elephantine." *Near Eastern Archaeology*, no.67 vol.1 (2004), 4.
[27] Kasia Szpakowska, "The Open Portal: Dreams and Divine Power in Pharaonic Egypt," in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World,* ed. Scott Noegel et al. (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003) 112.

in special temple areas, as depicted in reliefs and inscriptions.[28] This was not because the Egyptians lacked a priestly order; on the contrary they had a highly developed system with four of five phyles, or service groups, depending on the Dynasty. These priests served for a few months at a time on rotation according to their phyle, even in the time of the New Kingdom when priests became increasingly fulltime.[29] The priests played an important role in the Egyptian religion, but it was the Pharaoh that was the head of the national religion since he was considered divine. Prophetic dreams appear to be common to both Israelite and Egyptian religions, and provide a way for the gods to communicate with important members of each religion, from prophets to Pharaohs.

The Egyptian religion was slightly more egalitarian than the Israelites' however, since there was less distinction between the common person and the priests. What made the Egyptian priests unique was that they were not restricted to the temple since the priesthood was not their only job.[30] They were not always priests, and thus could not be holy in and of themselves. They lived secular lives as well as religious ones. In addition, both the people and priests had access to, and could commune with, the gods as they wished. The New Kingdom age especially brought a wave of opportunity to the Egyptians for contacting the gods. This is credited to the cosmopolitan nature of this new age, which enlivened not just religion but all aspects of Egyptian life – they were able to use public prayer faculties, oracles, and omens freely.[31] The Egyptians both knew of and trusted divinatory methods like the Israelites, but the people had more access to their gods than the Israelites did under the restrictions outlined in Deuteronomy 18.

Regardless of the historical accuracy of the texts, it is reasonable to conclude that the Israelites were themselves outsiders in the land they inhabited. The repeated references to coming from a land outside of Canaan throughout the Hebrew Bible and its many authors and narratives make this very likely.[32] Taking this into account, the Israelites would have wanted a narrative that established themselves and their god as superior because they were outsiders. They needed validation for living

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28 Emily Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 77.
29 Teeter, *Religion and Ritual,* 35.
30 Teeter, *Religion and Ritual,* 17.
31 Szpakowska, "The Open Portal," 121.
32 Machinist, "Outsiders or Insiders," 54.

in the land of another culture, and a strong understanding of why they should keep their own culture separate. Magic provided them with a means to differentiate themselves, describing others as magicians and magic-users while outlawing and hiding these practices of their own.

In conclusion, the Biblical authors describe Israelite patriarchs as practicing rites that were labeled 'magic' when used by other cultures, but not when referring to themselves. They made references to magic in order to draw a line between themselves and these "others," the Egyptians and the Canaanites, because they were followers of Yahweh while these "others" were not. Finally, in Deuteronomy 18 the author outlines explicitly the different kinds of magic that were prohibited for the Israelites, suggesting that they saw it as a threat to their identity because these practices are not always seen as directed by Yahweh. The ancient Israelites created their own sense of identity, one that established their own superiority and that of Yahweh over their neighbours by justifying the supernatural practices of their patriarchs and condemning those done by other cultures, referring to them as 'magic.' Crafting an identity was as relevant a need for them as it is for any refugee in the present day, to stay true to their roots established by their ancestors, and navigate a world surrounded by "others."

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NEAR EASTERN CYLINDER SEALS
JEFF MARSCHMEYER

Abstract: Cylinder Seals were invented in Mesopotamia during the late Neolithic period (ca. 4000 BC) and were in popular use until ca. 500 BC. They were utilized by a number of cultures in the region, which included the Akkadians, Babylonians, Mittani, and the Cypriots. Measuring only ½ inch to 1 ½ inches tall, they were carved from various media such as different types of stone and later glass. These cylindrical shaped objects would then be rolled onto wet clay. They acted not only as official signatures for their owners, but also as a guarantee of an objects' contents and were even used as amulets. Some were small enough to be incorporated into rings, or were worn as a pin or necklace. The imagery depicted upon them included a number of common themes that were updated over time and changed with an individuals' or cultures' needs. They could also be personalized with the addition of other figures or objects and inscribed with the names of their owners' and deities. Both the figures and the objects were a stylized pictorial representation of cuneiform, the system of writing that developed in the region at the same time. Their use also coincided with the rise of regional bureaucracies. Even though many figures and objects can be identified, much of the symbolic meanings are still not known.

Cylinder Seals were carved by hand at first from stone including marble, chert, shells,[1]serpentine, jasper, and metadiorite.[2] Artisans later employed mechanical tools such as drills and cutting wheels to incorporate rough shapes into the stone before applying smaller hand

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[1] C. J. Gadd, "Mesopotamian Cylinder-Seals" in *The British Museum Quarterly 3*, no. 2 (1928), 39.
http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/stable/4420946 "(2) A smaller cylinder (119425) is of shell …"

[2] "Diorite," Geology.com. http://geology.com/rocks/diorite.shtml Geology.com, 2005-2016. "Diorite is the name used for a group of coarse-grained igneous rocks with a composition between that of granite and basalt." "metadiorite," *wordnik.com*.   https://www.wordnik.com/words/metadiorite   n.a. n.d. Metadiorite is defined as "… a rock, having the composition of diorite, which has been produced by the alteration or metamorphism of another rock."

tools to carve the finer details.3 Dominique Collon (1987: 4315) stated that: "these cylinder seals were carved with designs in intaglio4 and could be rolled across clay jar-sealings, door-sealings, bullae, tablets, or their clay envelopes so as to leave a design in relief.5 The carver had the challenging task of creating a balanced and clear design especially when the seal was rolled out "… half of its length on a small surface or twice its length on a larger surface."6 A hole was drilled through the seal lengthwise to allow its owner to wear it as a pin or mounted in a ring. It is also likely that they were worn for protection like an amulet.7 Some Uruk seals have knobs (see Figure 2) attached at the tops, which depict animal or crest shapes. Collon (1994: 14) adds that: "the animals [were] sometimes cast in copper and provide some of the earliest evidence for the use of the lost-wax technique of metal-casting."8

Glass (a Mittani invention)9 would later be used as a medium. Podany (2010: 153) stated that: glazed cylinder seals could be made much more

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3 Hans J. Nissen, *The Early History of the Ancient Near East 9000-2000 B.C.,* translated by Elizabeth Lutzeier and Kenneth J. Northcott, (USA: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 78.

4 Maurice White and Sara Walker, editors, *Oxford Paperback Dictionary and Thesaurus*, 3rd Edition (UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), 487. Intaglio is defined as: "an engraved design." The technique would create a raised impression on the surface.

5 Dominique Collon, "Iconography: Mesopotamian Iconography" in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd Edition, Edited by Lindsay Jones, 4315-4317. Vol. 7, (USA: Macmillan Reference, 2005), 4315. Gale Virtual Reference Library. https://proxy.library.carleton.ca/login?url=http://go.galegroup.com.proxy.library .carleton.ca/ps/i.do?p=GVRL&sw=w&u=ocul_carleton&v=2.1&it=r&id=GALE %7CCX3424501466&sid=summon&asid=20ee44a39e3cbd0c5cfc3068ba53b32 d

6 "Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History," *Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–2016. http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/329090 Adapted from: *Art of the Ancient Near East: A Resource for Educators* (2010).

7 *ibid*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–2016. http://metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/41.160.192/

8 Dominique Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, (USA: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 14.

9 Amanda A. Podany, Brotherhood of Kings: How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East, (USA: Oxford University Press, 2010) 153.

cheaply and easily than stone-carved seals, making them accessible to many more people in society that could previously afford them.[10]

Seals had been primarily found in temples or government administrative buildings of whichever region had economic control and power at the time. It has been presumed that they were possessed by priests and government officials, but seals have also been found in homes of prominent business owners, and in the graves of the elite class. However, the social status of the seals' owner did not guarantee that they were the only ones who used the seals. Hans Nissen (1988: 76) theorized that Uruk seals were used by individuals, while Jemdet Nasr seals were used by temples and palaces,[11] and added that the sealing could have been done by anyone in that department.[12] Collon (1994: 15-16) refined the argument:

> The Uruk seals [were] being used by those predominately male temple institutions dealing with raw-materials and produce: animal husbandry, hunting, cereal production, irrigation and fishing, booty, while Jemdet Nasr-style seals were used by predominately female temple institutions engaged in activities connected with the production of manufactured goods: spinning, weaving, pottery-making, all of which are depicted on the seals of this group.[13]

The gender of the seals' owner can usually be identified as well. Amy Rebecca Gansell (2007: 38) stated that: various studies have established that lapis lazuli seals bearing banquet imagery were characteristically female possessions while those of red and white materials carved with animal, hunting and contest motifs typically belonged to males.[14]

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[10] *ibid*.

[11] Hans J. Nissen, *The Early History of the Ancient Near East 9000-2000 B.C.,* translated by Elizabeth Lutzeier and Kenneth J. Northcott, (USA: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 76.

[12] *ibid*. 78

[13] Dominique Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, (USA: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 15, 16.

[14] Amy Rebecca Gansell, "Identity and Adornment in the Third-Millennium BC Mesopotamian 'Royal Cemetery' at Ur," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17 (1), 2007: 38.
http://journals2.scholarsportal.info.proxy.library.carleton.ca/details/09597743/ v17i0001/29_iaaittbmcau.xml
The cylinder seals were grave goods found in the Royal Cemetery at Ur. The

In a mortuary context, seals could serve as memorials and preserve the personal identity of the dead. The distribution of seals in Royal Cemeteries may also show dynamics of authority among the deceased as well as reveal who held the 'privilege' of enduring personal identification.[15] Identification of the owner could occasionally be difficult, especially when a king who lived in another city ruled a city or region. The earliest known royal seal (see Figures 3 & 4) was found at Ur and is thought to be from Basha-Enzu, who some regard as the first king of the IVth Kish dynasty (ca. 2990 B.C.).[16] The inscription translated *Bá-šad En-zu* as *Basha-Enzu,* and *Ikkar da-ra-ta Urîki* as the never-failing husbandman of Ur.[17] *Ikkaru* the husbandman has also been interpreted to mean pastor and caretaker which are common titles given to regent kings.[18] The seal was made of limestone and has three figures and three lines of inscription engraved upon it. The central figure (who faces left) appears to be a seated god, wearing a robe and turban while holding a rod. A female figure holds the hand of a worshipper and leads him to the god. Each holds a hand up as a sign of worship. A goat is presented as an offering. The crescent shape above and between the god and the female figure likely represents the Moon God. It is shaped like bulls horns because the Moon God was also known as the bull of heaven.[19]

Many of the seals have common themes or scenes or have geometric designs, all of which reflect the different periods of rule or styles at the time. Some scenes were introduced at later dates, while others were no longer used and there were also regional variations in the

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gender of some of the grave occupants contained cylinder seals with both masculine and feminine characteristics, and seals with combined characteristics.
[15] *ibid*. 40.
[16] Leon Legrain, "Five Royal Seal Cylinders" in *Expedition Magazine* 13.1 (March 1922): 60. Expedition Magazine. Penn Museum, March 1922 Web. 13 Nov 2016. http://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/?p=17350   Legrain states that Basha-Enzu was "… probably the first king of the IVth Kish dynasty … [and reasoned that] the seal of Basha-Enzu was discovered in the ruins of Muqajjar." Muqajjar is the modern name for Ur.
[17] Leon Legrain, "Five Royal Seal Cylinders" in *Expedition Magazine* 13.1 (March 1922): 60. Expedition Magazine. Penn Museum, March 1922 Web. 13 Nov 2016.
[18] *ibid*. 60-62. Legrain added that Basha-Enzu "…was the son of Azag-Bau, a woman wine merchant … [who] … claimed to be the founder of the IVth Kish dynasty. It is likely that he used the regent title instead of king because of this.
[19] *ibid*. 62-64.

designs.[20] Nissen (1988: 77) identified a number of major themes or scenes from the Uruk period: "worshipping at a temple; procession of boats; prisoners before a ruler; feeding animals; rows of animals; battle scenes between wild and domestic animals; and a large group of smaller seals featuring abstract symbols or geometric patterns (see Figure 5)[21]."[22] These patterns also included rosettes, centre-dot circles, hatched bands which formed arches or lozenges, and herring-bone (see figures 6 & 7). Other themes or scenes depicted: hunting; battle between king or deities and animals; contests; banquets; and presentations or offerings to a deity. Some of these included scorpions (see Figure 8), which were more popular in Syria, and spiders, which were more popular in Iran (see Figure 9). Spiders were stylized, associated with weaving, and often represented the goddess Uttu. Another common design was that of pig-tailed figures. These can either represent women squatting or involved in a procession while holding a knobbed staff (see Figure 10). Seals with rows of sheep or goats may have been used for textile manufacture (see Figure 11).[23] Near the end of the 4th millennium BC, oval patterns became quite common in Persia, and from Syria to Egypt (see Figures 12 and 13). These ovals can resemble eyes or fish. Collon (1994: 16, 19) remarked that: these seals indicate the growing importance of a trade network from which southern Mesopotamia was eventually to be excluded.[24]

Registers, which were thought to have been introduced during the Early Dynastic II Period, served as dividers for the scenes depicted. Seal K.M. 26824 (Figures 14-16) from the Kelsey Museum is such an example. Mark Garrison (1989: 1-5) described the registers of the seal and offered some interpretation. All the figures were depicted in profile with diamond-shaped heads. In the upper register, the central figure is depicted on a chariot with a horse. Its' head and forelegs are depicted in the same fashion as the human figures. The chariot driver and the figure directly behind him face right, while the other two seated figures face

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[20] Dominique Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, (USA: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 16.
[21] No description or interpretation was given. This seal is just an example of one of the geometric designs used.
[22] Hans J. Nissen, *The Early History of the Ancient Near East 9000-2000 B.C.*, translated by Elizabeth Lutzeier and Kenneth J. Northcott, (USA: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 77.
[23] Dominique Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, (USA: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 16, 23.
[24] *ibid*. 16, 19.

left. The figure behind the driver is holding some sort of stick.[25] According to Garrison, both seated figures are holding cups, which may indicate that this is also a banquet scene of some sort. In the lower register, four seated figures are in a boat, and all face left. Only the figure on the far right seems to be holding his paddle but this may just be due to the crude rendering or wear of the seal. There appear to be fish underneath the boat and water lines to frame the boat on either side. Garrison (1989: 4) added that: the sex of the figures on the Kelsey seal, as is usually the case in ED[26] genre scenes, is difficult to determine.[27] A dress that covers the body while leaving one of the shoulders free, and hairstyle or headgear are usually the two main ways to determine if the figure is female. Garrison added that the seal is likely read from left to right beginning with the lower register. It is possible that the whole seal may depict that people travelled by water to partake in a banquet, and then travelled by chariot to attend another banquet.[28]

In most periods, inexpensive seals likely were depicted using linear lines. Seal A3 (Figures 17-18) from Tatarlı Höyük V, likely dates from the Middle Bronze Age, and depicts two linear figures tête-bêche.[29] K. Serdar Girginer and Dominique Collon (2014: 65) noted that each figure had a thick vertical line running the whole height of the seal, and was topped with a dot for the head. The figure to the left is smaller, upside down and appears to have its arms raised but wide apart. The figure on the right is larger, right-side up, and also has its arms raised but not as far apart. There are a number of parallel diagonal lines on either side of each figure. The figure on the left has been partially covered by

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[25] 25.   Mark B. Garrison, "An Early Dynastic III Seal in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology: The Relationship of Style and Iconography in Early Dynastic III Glyptic." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48, no. 1 (1989): 1-5.

[26] ED = early dynastic period.

[27] Mark B. Garrison, "An Early Dynastic III Seal in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology: The Relationship of Style and Iconography in Early Dynastic III Glyptic," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48, no. 1 (1989): 4.

[28] Mark B. Garrison, "An Early Dynastic III Seal in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology: The Relationship of Style and Iconography in Early Dynastic III Glyptic." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48, no. 1 (1989): 1-5.

[29] Collins French Dictionary Plus Grammar, 2nd edition, (USA: Harper-Collins, 2001), 422. Tête-bêche is defined as head-to-tail.

what appears to be some sort of divider.30 There was no interpretation of the seal provided.31

The black hematite seal FIC.07.178 from Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Museum depicts an example of a presentation scene (Figure 19). Anna Glenn (n.d.) described the seal: a clean-shaven man is presented before a seated, bearded god … in the spaces between the figures is a cluster of three drill-holes, a crescent moon, and a tall, narrow-necked jar on a small table.32 There is also a cuneiform inscription.

A female protective deity or goddess leads a human towards a seated deity. The goddess and deity are identified as such because they wear horned hats.33 The goddess is acting on behalf of the human. The deity is not further identified. The crescent moon may indicate that it is the Mesopotamian moon god Sîn, but these moons were depicted above both deities and kings. Glenn (n.d.) added a translation for the cuneiform:

> Aḫa-nīšu, servant of Nūr-Šulgi." Aḫa-nīšu was a fairly common name during the Ur III and later periods; the name Nūr-Šulgi, though less common, is also attested (e.g., on another presentation-scene seal also dating to the Ur III period [BM 89180, published in Collon 1982 no. 452]). His name means "light of Šulgi" (Šulgi being the name of a deified Ur III-dynasty king).34

Seal 3236 depicts another common and popular theme known as "King with a mace." Anna Glenn (n.d.) described it: a bearded, kilted figure, holding a mace, stands facing a suppliant goddess … the goddess wears a flounced robe and a multi-horned headpiece, with a necklace counterweight hanging down her back … in the space between the

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30 K. S. Girginer and D. Collon, "Cylinder and stamp seals from Tatarlı Höyük," Anatolian Studies, 64, (2014) , pp. 65.

31 Giringer and Collon added that other linear line seals made of brown stone have also been excavated at Jerusalem, Gezer, and The Levant which suggested that Seal A3 may have been made to imitate these.

32 Anna Glenn, *Presentation Before a God* . "Ancient Cylinder Seals," *John Hopkins Archaeology Museum*. n.d. http://archaeologicalmuseum.jhu.edu/the-collection/object-stories/cylinder-seals-from-the-ancient-near-east/

33 *ibid*. Glenn states that: "horned hats were a symbol of divinity in Mesopotamian from the 3rd millennium onward."

34 *ibid*.

figures are a double lightning fork, a bull standing on a dais, a sun-disc and crescent standard, and a "bow-legged dwarf" … [and] … an inscription written in cuneiform.[35] The figure is thought to be a human king or warrior because the hat he wears is not horned, it is a cap with a brim or turban. He appears to the left of the second figure, which is a female goddess because she wears a horned hat. In this scene however, she is thought to be providing a suppliant role because she appears to be serving the king. The bow-legged dwarf is depicted as small, naked, and ithyphallic, and has often been found on seals from the Old Babylonian period. His stance is suggestive of dancing. Many interpret him as a minor deity or protective spirit. He could represent the god known as Baal, Ptah, or Bes (all of which share common attributes) and was known throughout the Mesopotamian/Syrian region to Egypt. The symbols of the fork of lightning and the bull, the sun-disc and crescent are all representations of the storm god Adad, Šamaš (the Babylonian sun god) and Sîn (the moon god) respectively.[36] Glenn (n.d.) provided the following translation of the inscription:

> The inscription consists of two divine names: Adad (written IŠKUR), the storm god, and Šala, his consort. This pair is commonly invoked in Old Babylonian seals inscriptions. The practice of inscribing a deity's name on one's seal was one of the ways (along with depicting deities or showing their symbols) seal owners sought to ensure benevolence from that deity.[37]

Seal 1900.53.0106A (made from seashell) Iraq, Early Dynastic III, ca. 2900–2334 BC from the Spurlock Museum of World Cultures, depicts another common scene of heroes (Figures 21-22). Two lions are attacking a gazelle. While one hero rescues the gazelles, the other hero attacks one of the lions, by stabbing it with his knife. The knife wielding hero was described as naked but wearing with three feathers on his

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[35] Anna Glenn, *King with a mace. Ancient Cylinder Seals," John Hopkins Archaeology Museum*. n.d.http://archaeologicalmuseum.jhu.edu/the-collection/object-stories/cylinder-seals-from-the-ancient-near-east/the-king-with-a-mace/

[36] *ibid*.

[37] *ibid*.

head,[38] while a second description notes that both heroes have curly hair.[39]

Seal 1900.53.0061A (made from hematite with jasper patches) from Iraq, is thought to be Old Babylonian ca. 1900 – 1600 BC, and depicts a presentation scene (Figure 23). The goddess Lama presents a worshiper to a king with a long beard, who sits upon a throne. It appears the seal was re-carved for a new owner because the naked, upside down man has replaced the original owner's name. Frances Rogers (1939) stated that it:

> This is a unique seal, showing one nude figure up-side down. The Moon God is again seated on the throne. A priest--full front--stands before him and the suppliant approaches with both hands raised. Here, the nine pointed star, the staff, and other symbols appear in the background.[40]

Edith Porada (1950) added that:

> Suppliant goddess and worshipper before a king or god holding a cup and enthroned upon a stool. In the field: a star above a ball-staff; a crescent above a vessel; and one star above another (probably added when the seal was recut).[41]

Seal 1900.53.0052A, from Iran (Achaemenid, ca. 550–336 BC), was made from chalcedony and quartz--agate with alternating bands of white and brown, below a section of gray (Figure 24). The artisan who crafted this must have noticed the section of coloured bands and capitalized upon the stone's structure with a unique design. Two priests attend a magus[42] or Zoroastrian priest who is sitting. Below this, a

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[38] Frances Rogers, *Babylonian Seal Cylinders as a Historical Source*, UIUC Master's Thesis, 1929.

[39] Edith Porada, *Concordance of Seals in the Oriental Museum*, UIUC. Unpublished MS., ca. 1950.

[40] Frances Rogers, *Babylonian Seal Cylinders as a Historical Source*, UIUC Master's Thesis, 1929.

[41] Edith Porada, *Concordance of Seals in the Oriental Museum*, UIUC. Unpublished MS., ca. 1950.

[42] Marilyn J. Lundberg, "Cylinder Seals and the West Semitic Research Project," *Ancient Texts Relating to the Bible*. University of Southern California., n.d. http://wsrp.usc.edu/educational_site/ancient_texts/cylinder_seals.shtml In a report for the West Semitic Research Project with the University of Southern California, Marilyn J. Lundberg (n.d.) added that the three Persian magi, or

winged sun-disc (which likely is a depiction of Ahura-Mazda) radiates sun-beams. All three figures hold three sticks or rods in one hand. Both Rogers (1939) and Porada (1950) comment that these three figures all: rest upon a winged sun-disk, but neither offer any explanation beyond an Egyptian influence.43

Seal 1900.53.0097A from Iraq (Neo-Assyrian Period ca. 900–600 BC) and made from agate with red hematite areas, is another stunning example of craftsmanship (Figure 25). A worshiper stands before a sacred tree and a winged sun disc. The figure on the right side of the seal faces (left) towards the centre in which a stylized representation of the tree of life sits. The tree is situated within a coloured area giving it the appearance of glowing. The left side of the seal contains a number of stylized objects which includes a star. Porada (1950) described the objects to the left of the tree as: a star above a rhomb, [which is] above a ball-staff, [which is] above a fish.44 An Egyptian styled sun-disc sits above the tree.45

Cylinder seals were initially intended to be only used by kings, priests, and other court officials. These seals usually contained scenes of deities, kings, heroes, worshipping, presenting, banqueting, animals in rows, fighting animals, and hunting and have been found on the correspondence, accounts, and inventory records of the bureaucracy in power at the time. Seals eventually spread to those businessmen and merchants who had direct dealings with the government and acted as signatures and guarantees. This status appears to have filtered to the more prominent merchant class that developed during this time period. These seals likely featured abstract symbols or geometric patterns and were personalized with the owners' name.46 Unfortunately, many

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court priest-astronomers were likely the same as the "Three Wise Men" recounted in the famous Christmas story.
43 "Mesopotamian Cylinder Seals Collection," *Spurlock Museum of World Cultures*. http://www.spurlock.illinois.edu/collections/search-collection/details.php?a=1900.53.0052A University of Illinois, 2016.
44 Edith Porada, *Concordance of Seals in the Oriental Museum*, UIUC. Unpublished MS., ca. 1950.
45 "Mesopotamian Cylinder Seals Collection," *Spurlock Museum of World Cultures*. http://www.spurlock.illinois.edu/collections/search-collection/details.php?a=1900.53.0097A University of Illinois, 2016.
46 Hans J. Nissen, *The Early History of the Ancient Near East 9000-2000 B.C.,* translated by Elizabeth Lutzeier and Kenneth J. Northcott, (USA: University of

meanings for the symbols have been lost and this has made interpretation difficult. Seals would also later be reused which may have indicated the new owner's wealth and status.[47] They also reflected the beginnings of written communication and how it was lost temporarily then re-learned, which was reflected in their designs. Cylinder seals were used by many cultures over a large geographical area, which was an indication of how they were linked to the economy and vast trade networks. They were the first business cards and helped establish the reputations of business owners. Despite their official use as signatures and guarantees, the craftsmanship involved in their creation reflects in the seals being regarded as objects of art because they were worn as jewelry and as protective amulets. They also succeeded in reflecting the religious, economic, and political lives of the cultures that created them.[48] Perhaps Bes and a few others endured because of the fact that they were depicted upon them – the cylinder seals acted like an "American Express" card for deities.

Chicago Press, 1988), 76, 109, 151. Nissen adds that later scenes included sieges and buildings being erected.

[47] See Seal 1900.53.0061A, Figure 23.

[48] "Circular Signatures: Getting a better view of Mesopotamia's smallest art form," *Biblical Archaeology Society*. Wayne T. Pitard, 2016.
http://www.baslibrary.org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/biblical-archaeology-review/40/3/9
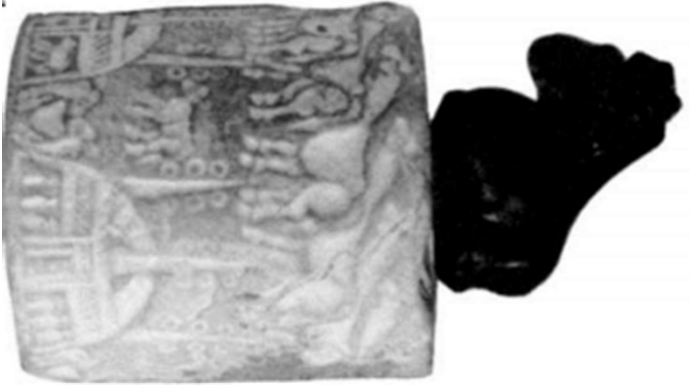
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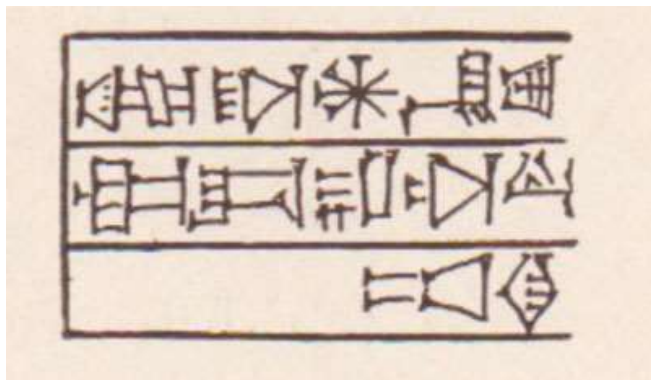
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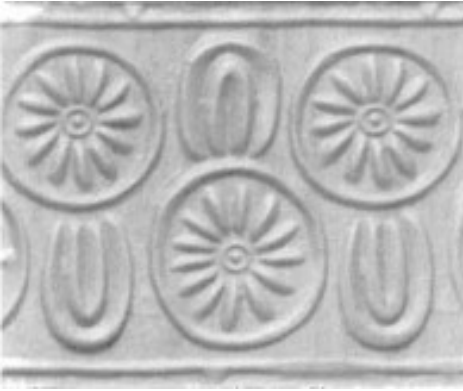
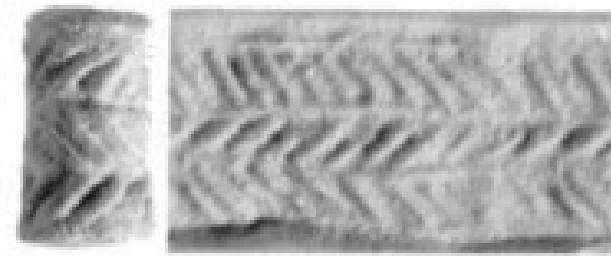Figure 6: Rosette/Centre-Dot Circle.

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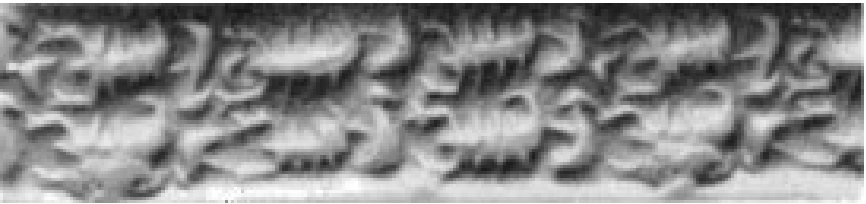

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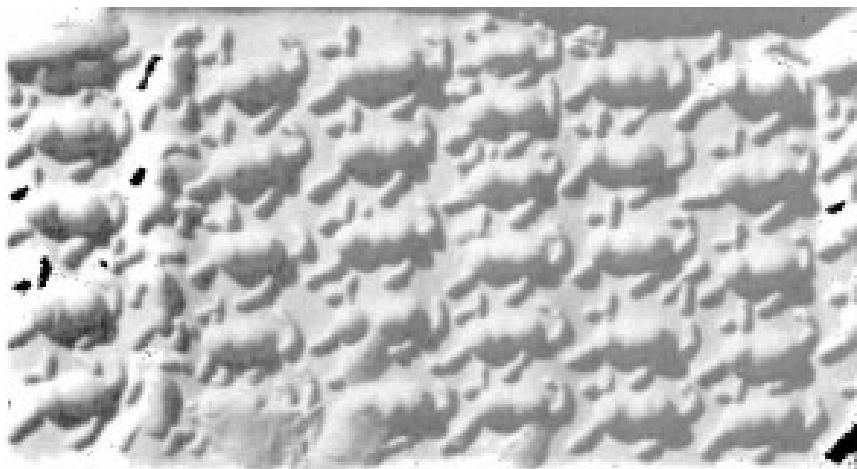

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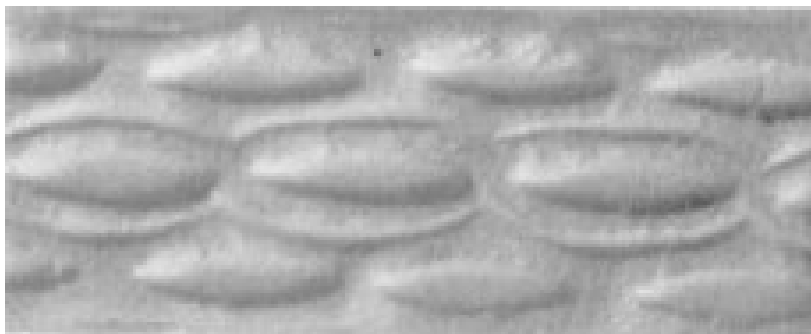

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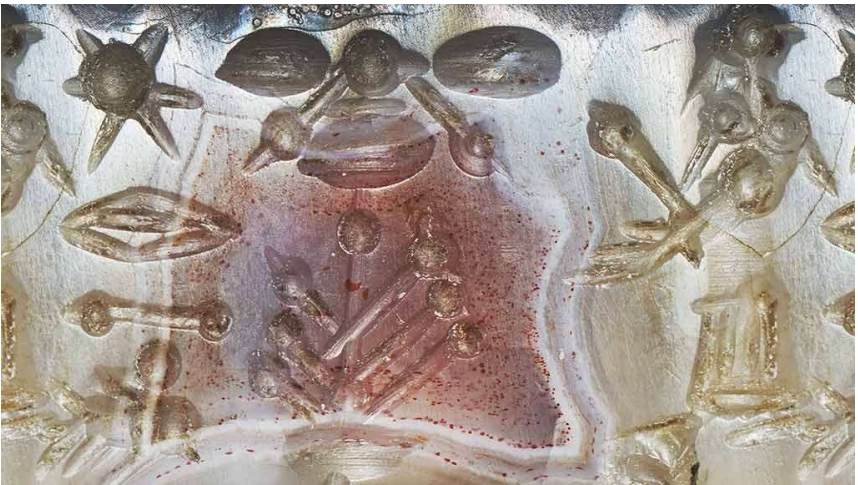

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THE DAUGHTERS OF PARNASSUS
COLLEEN DUNN

Glorious *Parnassus* within her *adyton* daughters reside.
Repeatedly reborn we sisters share the tripod throne.
With a *pythian* hiss,
ethereal *pneuma* drifts to kiss the sweet breath of our mother.
Nurturing *Parnassus*,
the *Omphalos* of the world.

Majestic *Olympus* tell *Pythian Apollo* we call to him.
Symphonic sisters singing pure *paeans* peak to peak.
With lyre and laurel,
upon winged chariot *Apollo* with his raven flies.
All-knowing *Olympus*,
father of the *Oracle*.

Questions queries quibbles march the twisting slopes to sacred summit.
With willing eyes and ears each listening priestess takes her turn.
Apollo's arrows,
piercing, dicing answers, perplexing riddles they may be.
Perhaps we are all fools,
to presume to understand.

We are not drugged nor crazed, firm earth of dear *Parnassus* keeps us
sane.
Olympus rains Castalian springs and bathes each *Pythia* clean.
Prepared for prophesy,
we each agreed to leave our lives and serve the *Oracles's* whim.
In rhythmic beat daughters speak,
the meters of *Apollo*!

LYCURGUS OF ATHENS
ANDREW OSBORNE

Abstract: The fourth century of Athenian history is often seen as the decline of Athenian prosperity following the loss of the Delian League at the end of the Peloponnesian War. Yet, this is not necessarily true as there is a period of twelve years in the fourth century where Athens economically rebounded. This period, under the leadership of Lycurgus, saw Athens try to regain its past glory. This essay examines Lycurgus and how he came to power in Athens. It examines his genealogy and the foundation it creates for his political positions, as well as his educational upbringing alongside the orator politicians, and how these two factors led to him becoming the treasurer-general of Athens. It then examines what this position entails, the building program undertaken during this period and economic success accomplished during his political power. This essay finds that he held substantial authority, was part of a considerable building program of mostly functional buildings, and aided economic growth substantially, although it is unclear how substantial. Lastly, it examines the idea that he was anti-Macedonian, finding that there is not enough evidence to support this theory. Ultimately, this paper shows that during Lycurgus' time in office, he continues a trend of economic growth from his predecessor that allows for large-scale undertakings by the Athenian state.

The fourth century of Athenian history is a period often neglected in study. If it is studied, it is often portrayed as a period of Athenian decline following Athens defeat in the Peloponnesian War in 404 BC. However this is not necessarily an accurate portrayal. There is some indication of economic prosperity in this period under Lycurgus. Therefore, this paper will examine Lycurgus of Athens who rose to prominence following the Battle of Chaeronia in 338 BC and will evaluate the problems with sources in the fourth century, Lycurgus' early life, the rise of the orator politician, how much power Lycurgus held, the 'Lycurgan' building program, the possible financial success of Lycurgus, and whether Lycurgus was anti-Macedonian. Each of these points will be examined fully to determine what can and cannot be known. Ultimately, this essay shows that under Lycurgus, Athens experienced an economic resurgence.

It was not as large as under Perikles, but it was significant enough that it allowed for large-scale undertakings by the Athenian *polis*.

To properly talk about Lycurgus of Athens, it is first important to talk about sources for this period. The fourth century is filled with numerous sources such as Demosthenes, Aeschines, and others who write about events of the time and mention Lycurgus. However, these authors write about events from their point of view and through their own biases. Furthermore, none of the sources are written with preserving history in mind. Most of the texts from this period are court cases and orations. For this reason, although useful, they do not always give the circumstances for events or represent the essential details of an event. Unfortunately, the later fourth century lacks any surviving historians. There is no Thucydides, Herodotus, or Xenophon to give us a clear indication of the historical narrative of the period. Instead, to fill in the chronological gap , later historians must be used. In the case of this study, the three major sources on Lycurgus are the writings of Pseudo-Plutarch, Photius, and *The Suda*. However, Photius is from the ninth century AD and *The Suda* is from the tenth century AD.[1] These two sources are not even from the same millennium as Lycurgus and it's uncertain where they got any of their information or how credible it is. Yet, Pseudo-Plutarch has just as many problems, if not more. With Pseudo-Plutarch it is unknown who the author is or if one author is solely responsible for the text.[2] Furthermore, there is a problem with dating the source, but it is thought to have been written no later than the late third century AD.[3] The problems alongside this lie with where Psuedo-Plutarch got his information. Burtt argues that it may have been through Caecilius of Calace who possibly used an early source of Philiscus.[4] Yet, Roisman and Worthington argue that it is uncertain who his sources were and whether the things he quotes he ever read directly.[5] Although there

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[1] Joseph Roisman and Ian Worthington, *Lives of the Attic Orators: texts from Pseudo-Plutarch, Photius, and the Suda* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 6.
[2] Ibid., 11
[3] Ibid., 5
[4] J.O. Burtt, *Minor Attic Orators II* (London: Heinemann, 1954), 2 (it might be good to add a bit of information in this footnote about when these authors date to. The reader has no idea who these people are.
[5] Roisman and Worthington, *Lives of the Attic Orators,* 17

are a lot of problems when it comes to Pseudo-Plutarch, it is the most extensive source on this period and on Lycurgus. Therefore, to be able to make any conclusions about this topic, Pseudo-Plutarch must be used.

Before being able to talk about the political career of Lycurgus, it is first important to talk about his early life and his schooling. What we know about Lycurgus' life before 338 BC comes primarily from Pseudo-Plutarch who writes that Lycurgus "belonged to the family of the Eteobutades" and "was the son of Lycophron, and the grandson of that Lycurgus whom the Thirty Tyrants put to death."[6] It is also theorized that Lycurgus may have been connected to an earlier Lycurgus in history who had opposed Pisistratus and ruled over the plains.[7] This Lycurgus is known through both Herodotus[8] and Aristotle[9]. However, based on the literary evidence it is impossible to say with complete certainty whether this earlier Lycurgus is from the Eteobutades or not. Therefore, although it would be interesting to connect these two individuals, it is impossible to do so beyond speculation. However, we do know about the Eteobutades further through their genealogy which connected their *aition* back to the historic figure Butes.[10] Through the writer Apollodorus, we know that when Butes and his twin brother Erechtheus' father died, they had to decide what to do with their inheritance of Athens. He writes, "when Pandion died, his sons divided their father's inheritance between them, and Erechtheus got the kingdom, and Butes got the priesthood of Athena and Poseidon Erechtheus."[11] This connection to Butes seems to have then been used to give religious authority to the Eteobutades as they are known to have held two religious positions exclusively. The priestesses for the cult of Athena Polias were hereditarily chosen in this clan[12] as well as the priesthood of the cult of Poseidon Erechtheus.[13] Clans that held important religious offices such as these two would have been prestigious and wealthy, controlling two of the biggest cults in

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[6] Plut. *Vit. X. Orat. 841*A-B

[7] John M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens* (London: Yale University Press, 2001), 29

[8] Hdt. 1.59.3

[9] Aristot. *Const. Ath*. 13.4

[10] Paus. 1.26.5

[11] Apollod. 3.15.1

[12] Aeschin. 2. 147

[13] Plut. *Vit. X. Orat. 843*E ; Paus. 1.26.5.

Athens. It is clear that Lycurgus came from a wealthy family with historic roots in Athens. He was from the *pentakosiomedimnoi* and took part in all the rights he received therefrom. Furthermore, he was able to afford the best when it came to education that would help him to succeed in the *polis*. Pseudo-Plutarch writes that Lycurgus, "received his first instruction in philosophy from Plato the philosopher. But afterwards, (Lycurgus made) himself the pupil to Isocrates the orator."[14] This information shows that before entering the political life, Lycurgus' family base made him wealthy enough to vie for the highest positions of treasurer and *strategos*.

The next thing that must be discussed is the rise of the orator politician in the fourth century, a movement which Lycurgus took part in and was the source of his political power. Oration was always a part of the political landscape of ancient Greece. As far back as Homer, there is mention of Achilles being a "speaker of words and a doer of deeds."[15] Later, Thucydides has Perikles giving a funeral speech which is a form of oration.[16] However, in the later fifth century and fourth century, oration changed with oration becoming formally taught by a specialized teacher. Of the ten orators in the Canon of the Attic Orators, Antiphon, Isocrates, Isaeus, and Aeschines taught oration to others.[17] In fact, some of the more renowned orators of Athens were students of these people, with Demosthenes being a student of Isaeus, and Lycurgus being a student of Isocrates. Unlike earlier periods where politicians such as Cimon and Perikles used untrained oration to dominate public life, orators of the fourth century used training to be able to do dominate public life more effectively.[18] Orators used the three forms of oration, "symbouleutic (political oratory), forensic (law court oratory), and epideictic (demonstrative or showpiece oratory, such as funeral orations) to help advance their political careers."[19] Oration became so prominent that by the period of Phocion (402-318 BC), there seems to have been a split between the activities of the orators and that of the generals. In Plutarch's *Phocian*, it is written:

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[14] Ibid., *841*B.

[15] Hom. *Il*. 9.443

[16] Thuc. 2.36-2.46.

[17] Plut. *Vit. X. Orat*. 832E, 837B, 839F, 840D.

[18] Roisman and Worthington, *Lives of the Attic Orators,* 2

[19] Ibid., 3

the public men of his day had distributed among themselves as if by lot the work of the general and the orator. Some of them merely spoke before the people and introduced measures—men like Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hypereides; while such men as Diopeithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chabrias advanced themselves by holding the office of general and waging war.[20]

From this quote, it seems that in the 4th century there were different ways of winning renown and that, unlike Perikles, orators did not have to excel in both policy and military matters. Instead, they focused on policy. In fact, this is demonstrated by the accounts of Demosthenes at the Battle of Chaeronia. Pseudo-Plutarch writes:

> Demosthenes with others went to the war of Chaeroneia, where he is said to have deserted his colours; and flying away, a bramble caught hold of his cloak behind, when turning about in haste, thinking an enemy had overtaken him, he cried out, Save my life, and say what shall be my ransom.[21]

From this passage, you would assume that these dishonourable actions during battle would have a negative effect on the renown of Demosthenes, or that there would be some form of repercussion for his actions, perhaps being brought before court for cowardice like many others before him. However, this was not what happened. Pseudo-Plutarch tells us that he was given the honour of giving the funeral oration for the Battle of Chaeronia.[22] Why was a man who fled during battle given the right to give the funeral oration? Demosthenes himself writes that, "our city owes to me...both the inception and the success of many great and noble enterprises; nor was she unmindful. It is a proof of her gratitude that, when the people wanted one who should speak over the bodies of the slain…they appointed me."[23] The reason he was given this honour was because of his orations and what he did for the city as an orator. He was given this honour over other orators and politicians because his impact had been so great. This example shows the change in the fourth century in which the orator politician gained renown not

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[20] Plut. *Phoc*. 7
[21] Plut. *Vit. X. Orat.* 845F
[22] Ibid.
[23] Dem. 18. 285

through military valour, but through his orations and what came from them. It is from this change that Lycurgus could impact Athens.

With the concept of the orator politician and its rise being explored, it is important to address Lycurgus' orations. Dobson argues that there were fifteen orations of Lycurgus preserved in antiquity.[24] Yet, this begs the question of how many orations Lycurgus wrote that were not preserved. Unfortunately, the answer to this question remains unclear, and of those fifteen orations which we know of whose titles are known through *The Suda*, most are not preserved. All of Lycurgus' orations, excluding *Against Leocrates,* are either fragmentary or lost. This makes knowing the contents of his orations and the style of his orations difficult to understand completely. It is difficult to judge the corpus of Lycurgus from a single oration, let alone an oration that was unsuccessful.[25] Yet, more is known about his orations through Pseudo-Plutarch who writes:

> This Lycurgus also was used frequently to plead on religious matters; and accused Autolycus the Areopagite, Lysicles the general, Demades the son of Demeas, Menesaechmus, and many others, all whom he caused to be condemned as guilty. Diphilus also was called in question by him, for impairing and diminishing the props of the metal mines, and unjustly making himself rich therefrom; and he caused him to be condemned to die, according to the provision made by the laws in that case…He likewise accused Aristogeiton, Leocrates, and Autolycus for cowardice.[26]

From this passage, the renown of Lycurgus as an orator becomes apparent. If an individual is successful suing a member of the *areopagus* as well as one of the generals from the Battle of Chaeronia, he is likely prominent. Furthermore, it shows that he was interested in many different areas of civic life from economics, to military and religious matters. Although the contents of these orations are lost, it is now possible to understand the scope of his interests. Furthermore, this quote demonstrates that Lycurgus was generally successful when persecuting others. With this information, it is possible to show that Lycurgus built

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[24] John F. Dobson, *The Greek Orators* (London: Ares Publishing, 1967), 273

[25] Aeschin. 3.252

[26] Plut. *Vit. X. Orat.* 843D-E

up a strong political base for himself based on his skill with orations and through suing prominent Athenian figures.

The next thing that must be addressed is what position Lycurgus held in the state and how much political power he possessed. Pseudo-Plutarch writes, that "to his care was committed the disposal and management of the city funds, and so he executed the office of treasurer-general for the space of twelve years."[27] From this source, the office of Lycurgus is demonstrated to be limited to the financial management of the city. Pseudo-Plutarch even illustrates how Lycurgus gained the position when he writes that "it was the orator Stratocles that procured him this appointment. At first he was chosen in his own name; but afterwards he nominated one of his friends to the office, while he himself performed the duties."[28] It is clear from Pseudo-Plutarch that Lycurgus held the position of treasurer-general, obtained the position through his friends, and held it through proxy for twelve years. Yet Mossé and Dobson, to not fully show the influence of Lycurgus' political power, have argued this.[29] Even in Pseudo-Plutarch there are references to Lycurgus instituting religious changes and cultural changes that do not seem to have anything to do with his financial office.[30] These include laws such as which plays should be put on at the Chytrian festival, how many circular dances to Poseidon should be done in the Peiraeus, and that no woman should go to Eleusis in a carriage.[31] It is argued by Mossé that this was because of a change during the fourth century in which the financial office gained importance and allowed for increased influence over all activities of the *polis*.[32] Humphreys argues that this change was in the power of the *nomothetai* and that during this period this group gained more power, making it easier for them to pass legislation.[33] However, although both theories are plausible, it is

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[27] Ibid., 841B.

[28] Ibid., 841B-C.

[29] Dobson, *The Greek Orators,* 272; Claude Mossé, *Athens in Decline 404-86 BC* trans. Stewart, J (London: Routledge, 1973), 81-82.

[30] Plut. *Vit. X. Orat.* 841F-842B

[31] Ibid.

[32] Mossé, *Athens in Decline 404-86 BC,* 81-82.

[33] S. C. Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods: Historical Perspectives on the Interpretation of Athenian Religion*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 81-83

impossible to know which gave Lycurgus his power. In fact, it is impossible to truly know the extent of Lycurgus' power. All that can be known is that he was given a financial office in Athens for twelve years and that he also proposed legislation on other topics outside of his office. He was certainly not "the first citizen" as Perikles was, but he was certainly influential politically from 338 BC until his death in 324 BC.

Now that the topic of Lycurgus' political office has been examined, we shall discuss the 'Lycurgan' building program. There are two sources for this building program: literary and archaeological. The literary will be the first that is examined. Literarily the 'Lycurgan' building program is attested in Pseudo-Plutarch and an honourific inscription to Lycurgus. Pseudo-Plutarch writes,

> He built four hundred triremes for the use of the state, and prepared and fitted a place for public exercises in Lyceium, and planted trees before it; he likewise built a wrestling-court, and being made surveyor of the theatre of Dionysus, he finished this building... He adorned and beautified the city with gold and silver vessels of state, and golden images of victory. He likewise finished many things that were as yet imperfect, as the dockyards and the arsenal. He built a wall also about the spacious Panathenaic race-course, and made level a piece of uneven ground, given by one Deinias to Lycurgus for the use of the city.[34]

From this quote, it is clear that Lycurgus built buildings with various different purposes, from military with the building of triremes, the dockyard, and the arsenal, to religious and cultural buildings with the theatre of Dionysus and the Panathenaic race-course. Furthermore, they are functional buildings that would have been used for a purpose and not simply ostentatious displays of wealth. Interestingly, Pseudo-Plutarch is corroborated in a few accounts by an inscription from 307 BC.[35] Although fragmentary, this inscription corroborates the building of many of these structures and attributes them to Lycurgus. Therefore, from the literary proof it seems that Lycurgus had an extensive building program with many functional buildings. Now it must be discussed whether this evidence is supported by the archaeology.

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[34] Plut. *Vit. X. Orat.* 841C-D
[35] *IG* II^2 457 + 3207

There are many buildings from the period of Lycurgus attributed in archaeology both that are literarily attested and those that are not. The first that will be examined are those with literary representation as well. The Theatre of Dionysus was built during the period in which Lycurgus was in power and was made of stone with limestone seats, seating up to 15-17000 people.[36] The Panathenaic stadium is currently under the later Roman stadium and is not going to be excavated. The Lyceum is still under excavation. From the Piraeus, there are known through inscription to have been 372 sheds in 325 BC.[37] Yet, according to Camp there are problems distinguishing which of these buildings were started by Euboulos and finished by Lycurgus and which are done entirely by Lycurgus.[38] Furthermore, the great arsenal of Zea is attested as early 347 BC and was likely only finished by Lycurgus.[39] From the archaeology, it seems that some of the buildings from the literary sources are corroborated and that Lycurgus at least had a hand in building them. They all seem to be from during his period of power and with his position as treasurer-general, Lycurgus would have controlled the money needed to pay for these buildings. He also would have been able to stop the funding to any projects that he did not think was necessary.

Yet, there are other buildings from the period that are not literarily attested that Lycurgus may or may not have been associated with. Camp argues that Lycurgus and Euboulus likely had a hand in these buildings, though there are no epigraphical or literary sources to prove this.[40] These buildings include adding a porch to the Telesterion at Eleusis, the Asklepion receiving a small temple and a stoa, the Pnyx being started but not finished, the Temple of Apollo Patroos being renovated, the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes being set up as well as other political monuments, and a water clock that was created in the *agora*.[41] However, the problem remains that it is unclear whether Lycurgus played any part in the building of any of these buildings. In fact, many of them could have been done under the tenure of Euboulos or they may not have involved either of them. The problem in trying to figure out what

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[36] Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens*, 146
[37] *IG* II^2 1604-1632
[38] Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens*, 149
[39] Ibid., 150
[40] Ibid., 153
[41] Ibid., 153-160

building projects were associated with Lycurgus is that it is often difficult to distinguish between his projects and those of his predecessor Euboulos. From the buildings that can be distinguished, it appears that Lycurgus' buildings were functional and something useful for life in Athens. They were not ostentatious in the same way that the building program of Perikles was.

The next topic that will be examined is the financial success of Athens while Lycurgus was treasurer-general. Creating public building, as was shown, costs a significant surplus of wealth to create. Therefore, where did this economic success come from and how successful was it? Pseudo-Plutarch gives extensive figures about the success of finances during this period. Pseudo-Plutarch writes that during his time in office,

> there went through his hands fourteen thousand talents, or (as some will have it) eighteen thousand six hundred and fifty…The greatest thing he did while he lived was to increase the public revenue wholly from six hundred talents, as he found it, to twelve hundred…He was likewise of so great repute among all sorts, that he was entrusted with two hundred and fifty talents of private citizens.[42]

If these figures are to be believed, then under the financial rule of Lycurgus, Athens flourished to an extent almost unheard of in all Athenian history. In fact, Van Wees argues that the revenue raised is as high as at the peak of Athens' empire.[43] Burke estimates using Thucydides and Plutarch that in 431 BC Athens made 1000 talents: 600 through the Delian league and 400 internally.[44] These figures become difficult to believe when one takes into account that Demosthenes wrote that during his life, the state revenue was as low as 150 talents.[45] Yet, there are some possibilities of where this economic growth may have come from and it is prudent to analyze these examples.

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[42] Plut. *Vit. X. Orat.* 841B-842E

[43] Hans van Wees, *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London: Duckworth, 2004), 239

[44] Edmund M. Burke, "Finances and the Operation of the Athenian Democracy in the 'Lycurgan Era.'" *The American Journal of Philology*. 131, no.3 (2010): 393

[45] Dem.10 37-38

The first place where this economic growth may have originated is Laurion. Laurion had long been a source of internal wealth for Athens and it can be argued that Laurion began to be worked more extensively during this period. A study by Bissa concludes that there was considerable interest in the fourth century in mining at Laurion.[46] The thought that one could invest in the mines and be able to make a large profit was enticing to entrepreneurs and would increase the desirability of renting the land from Athens. However, there is a problem with this theory that is shown by Burke. Burke argues that per the surviving *poletai* lists, the annual income from rent on the land in Laurion was 160 talents and that the percentage of yield for the state would have been less than the rent.[47] If this is true, then the most that Laurion would have made for the state is 320 talents annually. This does not seem to demonstrate enough of a growth to explain why the annual earnings of the state were as high as Pseudo-Plutarch wrote. Yet, there are other possibilities of where economic increase may have originated.

The second possibility that is proposed by Mossé is that with the increase in the number of court cases there was also an increase in confiscation of land and fines.[48] From Lycurgus alone there is the case of Diphilos who Lycurgus sued for impairing and diminishing the props of the metal mines.[49] Lycurgus, who was victorious in this case, would have confiscated the land of this wealthy individual, which the state then would have sold and/or rented out for profit. Yet, it is unclear how much profit the state made off these legal confiscations. Usher argues that it would not have likely been the most impactful economically, but that it was a factor.[50] There is also a problem in arguing that there was even an increase in this practice during the fourth century. The fourth century saw the rise of oration and many of the orators were famous logographers[51]. This has left a vast number of sources from this period

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[46] Errietta M. A. Bissa, "Investment Patterns in the Laurion Mining Industry in the Fourth Century BCE." *Historia: Zeitschrift fur Alte Geschichte*. 57, no. 3 (2008): 273

[47] Burke, *Finances*, 396

[48] Mossé, *Athens in Decline 404-86 BC, 82*

[49] Plut. *Vit. X. Orat.* 843D

[50] Stephen Usher, *Greek Oratory: Tradition and Originality* (New York. Oxford University Press, 1999), 324

[51] Logographers were professional legal speechwriters.

detailing courts and legal cases that are not found in other time periods simply based on the circumstances of who was writing the history. This does not mean that there was an increase in court cases, just that more have survived from the fourth century. While it is likely that there was some increase, it is difficult to know to what extent. Furthermore, in the fourth century there continued to be public pay for being a part of the jury and this would have cost the state money to run any court case. For these reasons, it is unclear if there was an increase and to what extent this would have made profit for the state.

The next possibility for the increase in income is that the state began making more money off land redistribution and taxes. This is demonstrated by the increase in writing about selling of land and property as well as the finding of the *Rationes* Stele. The *Rationes* Stele, although fragmentary, describes a one percent tax on land transactions from 340-325 BC to a deity. This stele shows that there was a considerable amount of land being distributed and that the state could have made considerable wealth through taxation. Furthermore, Foxhall argues that the land attested on this stele was possibly land of demes that were encouraged to be sold to make profit for the state.[52] Foxhall also argues that this land was likely marginal or undeveloped and was possibly being sold to the people who were renting the land.[53] Yet, this source of income has similar problems to the money gained through court cases. There simply is not enough information to show the extent of wealth gained through this venture and it is possible that it was not increased from any period before.

The last possibility for increased wealth of Athens in this period was an increase in trading through the Piraeus and the wealth then gained through taxation of trade. It is argued by Burke, that trade was increased through,

> improved living conditions in the Piraeus, the adjustment in law that from mid-century required that *dikai emporikai* be heard in a timely manner, the *conferrai* of grants of <u>enktesis</u> on influential *xenoi* - and the signal this sent to metics and

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[52] Lin Foxhall, *Olive Cultivation in Ancient Greece: Seeking the Ancient Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 73-73
[53] Ibid.

> foreigners otherwise about Athens as a city welcoming to
> those who were instrumental in trade and maritime commerce
> - the increased use of *proxenia* decrees to individuals in
> maritime trading states, the increased frequency of awards of
> citizenship to bankers and those otherwise involved in
> maritime trade, and finally, the efforts to provide greater
> security on the seas.[54]

Under this theory, Athens became the center of trade in the Aegean and was able to exploit the Piraeus and trade to its highest extent. Yet, there are some serious problems to this theory, since if there was this level of increase in trade, one would assume that there would be an increase in buildings for trade. Yet, of the buildings attributed to Lycurgus in the literature, none are singularly attributed to trade. Furthermore, how could Athens become a bigger center of trade in the Aegean then when they controlled the majority of the Aegean through the Delian League? Although they did have a large amount of ship sheds during this period, it seems unlikely that trade was increased to such an extent as to significantly impact state revenue this severely.

Did Lycurgus increase the state revenue to 1200 talents annually? As has been shown, the evidence for how this increase could have occurred is not convincing. Each of the arguments has problems or is unclear as to the extent to which it increased revenue. Laurion does not seem to have increased drastically, it is unclear how much revenue was generated through courts and through land sales, and the argument of Athens becoming the trade center of the Aegean is not corroborated by archaeology. Therefore, the economic figures proposed by Pseudo-Plutarch must be exaggerations. It is unlikely that without the Delian League to economically exploit for state revenue, Athens was able to reach the same annual earnings as at the peak of its empire. Furthermore, Camp gives evidence that during the second half of the fourth century there were problems with drought and lack of food.[55] It is problematic enough to justify the figures of Pseudo-Plutarch with significant proof that the *polis* lacked the bare necessities to survive in water and food. Therefore, there does seem to have been some economic growth under the administration of Lycurgus, shown by his building program, but it is

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[54] Burke, *Finances*, 397
[55] Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens*, 159-160

unclear how much economic growth there was. Based on the building program, Lycurgus created substantial economic wealth, but it is not to the same extent as what existed under Perikles. All the buildings created are functional and if they were making the monetary figures presented by Pseudo-Plutarch, it is unclear where this wealth ended up. It is possible that Lycurgus ended spent the surplus on triremes, but this still would not account for all of the revenue during this period.

The last thing that must be examined about Lycurgus is whether he was anti-Macedonian. Many authors such as Dobson, Bauman, and Mossé write that Lycurgus was anti-Macedonian.[56] They make blanket statements such as, Lycurgus "seemed one of the most fervent representatives of the anti-Macedonian party,"[57] or that "of his earlier political life we know only that he was an ally of Demosthenes."[58] Yet, the authors do not go into any depth in proving their points and the proof that they do provide has flaws. Their arguments are dependant on the idea that Lycurgus alongside Demosthenes was being removed in 335 BC because of his anti-Macedonian tendencies and that Lycurgus went on campaign with Demosthenes to rally allies against the Macedonians. As such, each of these ideas will be examined separately for their validity.

The first idea that will be examined is that Lycurgus is anti-Macedonian because Alexander tried to remove Lycurgus and Demosthenes in 335 BC. It must first be stated that this event is preserved in two separate sources, Arrian of Nicomedia and Plutarch who are roughly contemporary of each other. Arrian writes,

> In regard to other matters [Alexander] gave the embassy a courteous reply, but wrote a letter to the people demanding the surrender of Demosthenes and Lycurgus, as well as that of Hyperides, Polyeuctus, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus, and Moerocles; alleging that these men were the cause of the disaster which befell the city at Chaeronea, and

[56] Dobson, *The Greek Orators, 271*; Richard A. Bauman, *Political Trials in Ancient Greece* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 100 ; Mosse, *Athens in Decline 404-86 BC,* 81

[57] Mosse, *Athens in Decline 404-86 BC,* 81

[58] Dobson, *The Greek Orators, 271*

the authors of the subsequent offensive proceedings after Philip's death, both against himself and his father.[59]

From this quote, there is some validity to the idea that Alexander tried to remove Lycurgus for being anti-Macedonian. Arrian writes that the charges were for causing the disaster at Chaeronia and writing offensive things against Alexander and Phillip. However, the problem lies in that Alexander may not have had correct information that he was charging these individuals with or Lycurgus may have simply been lumped in with Demosthenes and others on these charges. Yet, these ambiguities do not disprove that this quote shows that he was at least thought of by Alexander as having taken part in these events. Yet, this is not the only quote about this event as there is a similar passage from Plutarch. Who writes,

> Then straightway Alexander sent to Athens a demand for the surrender to him of ten of their popular leaders, according to Idomeneus and Duris, but according to the most and most reputable writers, only eight, namely, Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Moerocles, Demon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus.[60]

From this quote, the reason for removing these individuals in 335 BC is because they are popular leaders. It has nothing to do with the fact that they are anti-Macedonian and this makes sense. If Lycurgus is running the economy of the state well, and giving orations against a member of the *areopagus* and the general from the Battle of Chaeronia, he is a well-off politician. Alexander would not want political rivals gaining too much power. Yet, from these two quotes there are problems with claiming that Lycurgus is anti-Macedonian based on this event. From the two authors who are virtually contemporary with each other there is no consensus on the event. One views it as anti-Macedonian, the other views it as the prominence of Lycurgus as a politician. It is unclear who is correct and as such it is impossible to conclude that he is anti-Macedonian.

The second argument of Lycurgus being anti-Macedonian is that he went on campaign with Demosthenes to gain allies against Philip.

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[59] Arr. *Anab*. X
[60] Plut. *Dem*. 23

However, like the first example, there are some problems with this idea as well. In this case, there are two literary sources who talk about the event, Pseudo-Plutarch and Demosthenes himself. Pseudo-Plutarch writes that "when Philippus made the second war upon the Athenians, [Lycurgus] was employed with Demosthenes and Polyeuctus in an embassy to the Peloponnese and other cities."[61] If this quote is true, then Lycurgus is aiding Demosthenes against Macedon. However, as has already been stated, there are some problems with Pseudo-Plutarch. It is unclear where he got this evidence and if it was written about after the events had already happened. With the accuracy of this source in question, it is unclear whether this is correct. Furthermore, Demosthenes writes,

> Nor were those embassies useless which you sent round the Peloponnese last year to denounce Philip, when I and our good friend Polyeuctus here and Hegesippus and the rest went from city to city and succeeded in checking him, so that he never invaded Ambracia nor even started against the Peloponnese.[62]

Interestingly, in the account from Demosthenes who was part of the embassy itself, there is no mention of Lycurgus. Instead, there is mention of his two other friends Polyeuctus and Hegesippus. It is possible that Lycurgus is included in the rest, but this would seem to lessen his importance in the embassy. Therefore, if the source, which, claims that Lycurgus was part of the embassy, is questionable at best and Demosthenes does not clearly write that Lycurgus was there, then was he? It is simply not conclusively provable that Lycurgus took part in any embassy with Demosthenes against Philip.

From this evidence, it is unclear whether Lycurgus was anti-Macedonian or not. For every example of Lycurgus being anti-Macedonian, there is evidence from the same event that brings that evidence into question or simply is not conclusive. There is no simple answer to whether or not he was anti-Macedonian and there are other things that bring this idea into question. As has been previously shown, Pseudo-Plutarch writes that Lycurgus built 400 triremes during his time

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[61] Plut. *Vit. X. Orat. 841E*
[62] Dem. 9.72

in office. This begs the question: why would Lycurgus be allowed to build triremes at all, let alone 400, if he was anti-Macedonian? Why would Macedon let the Athenians build triremes, a ship specifically made for war and not trade, if the person who proposed it was then going to use it against Macedon? There are some issues with proposing that Lycurgus was anti-Macedonian because there is evidence that suggests that he was not. Therefore, it is not as obvious of an answer as Dobson, Bauman, and Mossé believe it is. Instead, Lycurgus may have been anti-Macedonian, but it is impossible to prove conclusively.

As has been shown, it is often difficult to completely understand the topic of Lycurgus based on problems of sourcing. The information is often contradictory and there is no consensus amongst scholars on issues relevant to Lycurgus. Yet, this paper has shown that there are some things that can be attested to Lycurgus. Lycurgus came from a wealthy family and was trained in oration, which he used to aid his political ambitions. Lycurgus was also part of the fourth century trend in which individuals trained in oratory came to prominence politically through their skills in oration. He achieved the position of treasurer-general, but it is unclear how much more power he had than this. Lycurgus also played a part in a building program in the late fourth century, but it is unclear as to how much can be attributed to him and how much should be attributed to his financial predecessor Euboulos. Furthermore, the proof of a building program necessitates some form of economic success, but the financial figures presented by Pseudo-Plutarch are problematic. Lastly, there is the common idea in many scholars of Lycurgus being an ardent anti-Macedonian, but, as has been shown, there is enough proof to bring this theory into question. Therefore, what is known about Lycurgus? Under the position of treasurer-general and using his elite status, Lycurgus was able to positively affect Athens. Whether this was a continuation of previous success or not, it was substantial and shows an economic increase in Athenian history, one that faltered and ended with his death.

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RESTAGING THE GAMES
EARLY CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM IN THE ROMAN ARENA

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Abstract: In the early centuries of the Common Era Christianity was persecuted intermittently by the Roman Empire as a small, anti-Roman sect of religious extremists. As such they were executed in the Roman Games, a ritual entertainment consisting of gladiator fights, wild beast hunts, and the execution of criminals. In this paper, I argue that Christian martyrs re-imagined the spectacle of the Roman Games to reinforce their own beliefs and identity instead of that of the Roman Empire as the Games were intended to. The Roman Games were designed to be a vehicle to instill and perpetuate Roman political, cultural, social, and religious values. It did this by condemning those who did not fit within or were actively opposed to the Roman Empire, which included Christians. However, by denying Roman authority Christians offered an alternative interpretation of the spectacle of the Games. In doing so they used the cultural vehicle of the Games to glorify Christian martyrs instead of the Roman Empire.

In the early centuries following its inception, Christianity was a minority sect struggling to survive in the large and sometimes hostile Roman Empire. The Roman Empire famously held as ritual entrainment gladiatorial fights, beast hunts, and ritualized executions of criminals in arenas and amphitheatres across the empire. Among those executed were Christian martyrs who would use the arena to create their own spectacle. In this paper I will argue that Christian martyrs re-imagined the stage of the Roman arena and the language thereof to celebrate and advance their own beliefs and identity through martyrdom. To explore this I will look predominantly at the martyrs Polycarp, Ignatius of Antioch, and Perpetua, each of whom was martyred in a Roman arena from the late first to early third century. The arena was used as a vehicle by the Romans to instill and perpetuate Roman culture and the power of Roman justice. It did this by exemplifying and propagating the political, religious, and social values of Roman culture. Christian martyrs made use of the cultural tool of the Roman games by re-imagining and inverting the ideology of the arena to deny the power of the Roman

Empire and exemplify the power of the Christian God and Christianity itself.

As a ritual spectacle of power, the Roman arena served as a vehicle to establish and instill Roman culture and control by celebrating the justice and glory of the empire. This was done by means of particular staging. The arena depicted the games as the enactment of the divine justice of the empire. Games were attended by high and low classes alike and were rare opportunities for ruler and ruled to see each other face to face.[1] The games were funded by wealthy politicians who gained popularity through their sponsorship, particularly when games were sponsored in honor of the emperor or imperial family.[2] In this way they served to demonstrate the political values and authority of Roman culture. Also the amphitheatre was a principal place for watching others and putting one's self on display.[3] As such, it functioned as a tool to create and enforce Roman identity. Combined with the spectacle of the games themselves, the arena produced in the people "knowledge of empire and knowledge of themselves as subjects of empire."[4] Furthermore, the games celebrated the justice of imperial authority and embodied the values of the empire. This celebration was enhanced by the festival nature of the games. The games were part of a communal time off where the community would come together to celebrate who they were and what they believed in. It was a time to be looked forward to and enjoyed, in short a holiday.[5] Likewise each part of the games showed the values, power, and glory of the empire. The animal hunts showed the wealth of empire and its power over nature. Gladiator fights celebrated military valour and the social superiority of the audience over those who fought. Finally the execution of criminals demonstrated the establishment of social order and divine justice.[6] The enactment of social

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[1] Leonard L. Thompson, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp: Death in the Roman Games," *The Journal of Religion* 82 (2002): 27, Accessed Feb.18/2016, Doi: 10.1086/490993

[2] Ibid, 28-29.

[3] Christopher A. Frilingos, *Spectacles of Empire: Monsters, Martyrs, and the Book of Revelation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 28-39

[4] Ibid, 30.

[5] Thompson, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp: Death in the Roman Games," 27-28

[6] Ibid, 31-3.

values was not limited to the stage either. Rather the architecture of the arena suggests that their seats would remind the viewers of their social position in the empire. The seating was further divided from the stage to create the sense of the political unity of the Roman hierarchy, for on the whole, the audience members were distinguished from the assumed criminality and brutality of those on stage.[7] In this way the arena created and instilled Roman political and cultural identity.

The arena also had a prominent religious dimension, which would bring traditional beliefs and stories of the Roman people alive through spectacle and give them present-day consequence. In the execution of criminals, the Romans would dress them in costumes and have them enact scenes from myth, as we see alluded to in the Perpetua account.[8] By seeing them enacted, myths were given reality for the Roman people. Not only were the stories made real but they were altered to speak to contemporary events.[9] The enactment of myths would blur the line between spectacle and reality, for people would truly die in these executions but do so also in the role of a mythic character. In this way, religious values and themes were made real and accessible to the Roman mind, and thus the spectacles promulgated Roman beliefs. In these performances the Roman authority played the role of editor and dramatist who transformed the body of the executed into the stage for Roman values and beliefs.[10] The Romans are the only people known in history to stage as entertainment spectacles where the performer was expected to die. Such sacrifices were part of a religious offering and ritual which fulfilled the will of the gods that Roman culture should thrive.[11] This was done mostly through execution of criminals as they composed most of the dead in the arena.[12] Exotic beasts and skilled gladiators were expensive investments and would not be eagerly killed.[13] Those who

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[7] Ibid, 37.

[8] J. Thomas Heffernan, *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 133.

[9] Thompson, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp," 50.

[10] Frilingos, *Spectacles of Empire*, 31.

[11] Gillian Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Accessed Feb. 28, 2016, http://lib.myilibrary.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/Open.aspx?id=74990, 45

[12] Frilingos, *Spectacles of Empire*, 32.

[13] Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society*, 45.

stepped into the arena crossed a symbolic line, and were no longer members of human society but rather a symbol upon which society would act out its ideology.[14]

In order to celebrate Roman social ideology, those who were executed in the arena were degraded and humiliated as criminals outside of and opposed to normal society. Christian martyrs were executed alongside murderers, insurgent slaves, and criminals of war.[15] However as an act of entertainment, there is a certain inherent degree of glory given to the performer. For instance, gladiators in the games were both praised for military virtue and condemned for their inferior social status and presumed criminality.[16] Roman officials would try to degrade the obstinacy of the Christian martyrs by associating them with gladiators willing to sell their lives for a bit of money. However the spectacle of gladiator fights was so important to Roman culture that this gave an honor to the martyrs, even as they were despised.[17] As such both the Roman official facilitating the games (usually a proconsul) and the martyr had a pre-set role to play, however the result was by no means guaranteed. Take for example the martyrdom of Polycarp. In this case, the proconsul had to face executing someone who, to him, would seem a foolish old man who was likely a member of the social elite. Therefore he did everything he could to make Polycarp repent and possibly lessen his sentence.[18] An individual like Polycarp could gain the glory of the gladiator for his bravery, however, as he was old and likely a socially influential man, it would be harder to associate him with the presumed criminality of the young brutish gladiator. It is possible that as many as 20,000 viewers were in attendance for the death of Polycarp.[19] However, for most of the audience, the event would have reinforced the idea that the Christian was an anti-Roman criminal, due to the fact that the audience had limited knowledge of true Christian beliefs and practices, only seeing Christians as madmen willing to die for a superstition.[20]

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[14]A. Elizabeth Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 108.

[15] Thompson, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp," 29.

[16] Ibid, 32-3.

[17] Frilingos, *Spectacles of Empire*, pp.27-28.

[18] Thompson, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp," 38.

[19] Ibid, 49.

[20] Ibid.

Such executions were meant as the ultimate degradation which served as a deterrent for breaking the law, but more importantly to reinforce the superiority of Roman society. The arena served as a vehicle of the Roman Empire to advance its own cultural superiority and condemn its enemies, one of which was Christianity.

The illegality of Christianity, which was enacted in the arena, was likely based around its rejection of Roman authority and values. The surface accusation against Christians was that they were atheists (*atheos*) for they denied the existence of Roman gods. The concern in the Roman mind was that *atheos* threatened the *pax deorum,* the Roman belief in a divinely appointed order for nature and human affairs. This divine order was maintained by the reverence of people to the gods and the authority of their divinely appointed delegates such as the Roman emperor. Within this mindset, Christians could be blamed for plagues and natural disasters. Inherent in this was the understanding that Christians denied the Roman political and social order which was appointed by the gods and in doing so defied Roman authority and culture.[21] Prosecution of Christianity therefore was often used as an attempt to bolster Roman culture and religion such as in 201 when Emperor Septimius Severus forbade conversion to Judaism or Christianity in order to strengthen his own imperial cult.[22]

The Roman concern for the illegality of Christianity is shown well in the letters of Pliny. Pliny makes plain that Christians were liable to the maximum penalty of the law depending on the discretion of the local proconsul.[23] Membership in a religious cult of this kind was illegal if the cult had practices which were illegal. Christians were accused by their opponents of cannibalism and incest. However Pliny recognised these accusations were unfounded and rather viewed the Christians as foolish zealots whose way of life was morally blameless.[24] These

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[21] Ibid, 44-46.

[22] J. W. van Henten and Friedrich Avemarie, *Martyrdom and Noble Death: Selected Texts from Graeco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian Antiquity* (Taylor & Francis, 2002), http://www.myilibrary.com?ID=33565, Accessed Feb. 28, 2016, 101.

[23] Pliny the Younger, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary*, Trans. A. N Sherwin-White (Oxford: Clarendon P. 1966), 695-696.

[24] Ibid, 696-697.

accusations came from a misunderstanding of the Eucharist ritual and overly kind greetings of fellow Christians as "brother," "sister," or "father."[25] Christians' only remaining crime therefore was their denial of Roman imperial religion. However, Pliny notes that most prosecutions of Christians seemed to be done by local authorities reacting to popular demand as opposed to being carried out by official inquisition.[26] This then begs the question why the Roman people despised Christians? Perhaps Pliny alludes to the answer when he comments that his main objection against Christians was their shear obstinacy to the Roman government.[27] This brings to mind such martyrs as Sanctus who when asked his name and citizenship refused to answer with anything else other than "I am a Christian."[28] Therefore the true crime of Christians amounts simply to their refusal to recognise Roman authority. Christianity therefore was seen as a harmful superstition and a cult. Rome and the Roman people saw them as a threat for they were a group who came together in a way that could not be regulated by Roman authority. Their lack of common religious grounds with mainstream Roman beliefs led them to be thought of as a secret society of conspiracy and one which denied Roman authority and society.[29]

This denial of Roman authority and culture led Christianity to invert the cultural vehicle of the arena and use it to promulgate the authority of the Christian God and the glory of Christianity. Christian martyrs were able to counteract the cultural effect of the arena by denying the Roman power to punish them and attributing their execution as a blessing from God. In this way Christians provided an alternative narrative to the Roman spectacle in which martyrs were triumphant.[30] This alternative narrative is best seen in Ignatius's *Letter to the Romans*. In this letter Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, on route to Rome where he will be fed to wild beasts at the games, writes to the Christian community in Rome to beg them not to try to save him. Ignatius describes himself as "a

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[25] Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society*, 19.
[26] Pliny the Younger, *The Letters of Pliny*, 697.
[27] Ibid, 699.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society*, 18-19.
[30] Ibid, 46.

prisoner of Christ" rather than of the Roman authorities.31 In this way he denies the Romans any power over him as they are but unknowing agents of divine will. Also he does not view martyrdom as a punishment but rather as his proper and right perfection as a Christian for it is the ultimate proof of his faith.32 Therefore he rejects the premise that the Romans are punishing him and instead views this as a blessing from God. He performs this inversion by using paradoxical language to describe his request. He says to the Christians in Rome that he "fears" their love and asks them to "spare" him by letting him be martyred.33 In this way he inverts the Roman understanding of his situation in a way that can only be understood by those who share his perspective. Instead, his martyrdom is seen as the thing of value given by God so that he hopes he may be "judged worthy to reach the final end."34 In this paradigm the Roman authorities are said to be like the wild beast that will martyr him: purely instrumental to a superior power, with no understanding of the power or circumstance that commands them.35 Ignatius also rejects the Roman political rule which he will overcome by becoming martyred. He describes how "I am still a slave; but if I suffer, I shall become a freedman of Jesus Christ, and I shall arise free in him."36 In this way he provides an alternative understanding of his situation which denies the political power over him that Rome is attempting to exercise. Ignatius first describes his martyrdom through the example of a pagan sacrifice: "Grant me nothing more than to be poured out as a libation for God while an altar is ready."37 However later he changes his metaphor to that of the Christian Eucharist: "I am the wheat of God, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found pure bread."38 By doing this he works with the symbols of past models to establish the validity of the present one, much in the same way as he uses

31 Saint Ignatius Bishop of Antioch, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, Trans. William R. Schoedel, and Helmut Koester, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 168.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid, 175, 178.
36 Ibid, 175.
37 Ibid, 171-172.
38 Ibid, 175.

the spectacle of the games to establish the glory of Christianity by denying the Roman power.

This rejection of Roman power is part of a larger Christian conception of martyrdom as a cosmic struggle between the visible and invisible. To reject the Roman spectacle, Christian doctrine taught that mere material appearances did not show the truth behind martyrdom. Rather the Christian should observe the invisible glory the martyr achieves. Ignatius in his *Letter to the Romans* asks them to love his true self and not merely his flesh.[39] He presents an almost Gnostic-like hatred of the material world of appearances.[40] For he stresses that he will only truly exist as a Christian when his material visual form has ceased to exist: "that not only may I be called a Christian but also found one; for if I am found one, I can also be called one and prove faithful then when I do not appear to the world. Nothing that appears is good."[41] It is clear that Ignatius believes that he will only truly exist as a Christian when he has been martyred and his visual form has ceased to be. This is part of the platonic Christian idea that being a Christian is intrinsic to one's very nature, which we see presented by other martyrs such as Perpetua.[42] In this understanding martyrdom is the perfection of one's existence in which one is taken up to heaven in glory.[43] Because of this, Christian beliefs can counteract the effects of the Roman spectacle, for the visual performance on the Romans stage does not address the true reality in which the martyr finds glory. As such Ignatius praises the role of inaction of the martyr, which he tells Christians in Rome to perform: "if you remain silent and let me be, I shall be a word of God, but if you love my flesh I shall again be a mere voice."[44] In this way he inverts the expectations of the arena and denies the Roman power over him, for by inaction is he fully given choice. He also points out that martyrdom offers an immaterial spectacle of God's word which is superior to any

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[39] Ibid, 170.

[40] Ibid, 182-183.

[41] Ibid, 170.

[42] Heffernan, *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*, 153.

[43] R. Candida Moss, *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 73.

[44] Ignatius, *Ignatius of Antioch*, Trans. Schoedel, etc. 170.

material spectacle which is only a mere voice.45 The idea of martyrdom as a cosmic spectacle is commented on by other early Christian authors such as Origen, who describes martyrdom as a spectacle involving the whole world, men and angels.46 Therefore, martyrdom accounts signal to their readers that the events occurring have multiple levels of meaning that must be understood. By doing this, Christianity used the stage of the arena to offer an alternative narrative to the spectacle the Romans were trying to advocate. Under this narrative the martyrs won immaterial divine glory, which fully perfected their existence as Christians.

Christians take the language of the arena and invert it, in order to present an alternative narrative in which the martyr is glorified. When the proconsul promised Polycarp freedom if Polycarp said "away with the godless" (intending Christians), Polycarp in turn waved his hands at the audience and said "away with the Godless."47 In the same way that Polycarp re-imagines this phrase, the language of the arena is used by Christians but inverted from its original meaning in order to praise the Christian martyrs whom the arena intended to condemn. This is seen in the writings of Clement of Alexandria, who, using imagery from St. Paul, describes the ideal Christian as an athlete in the stadium of the world, overcoming passions and rewarded by God.48 In this way, Christian martyrs incorporate the glory of the gladiator and the religious ritual of the games in order to celebrate the power and glory of their own religion over that of the Romans.

This imagery is prominent in the account of the martyrdom of Perpetua, who recounts that the night before her martyrdom she had a vision of herself fighting in the arena as a gladiator.49 This dream incorporates the language of the arena with Christian symbolism to use the cultural vehicle of the arena to advance Christian beliefs within the Roman setting. In her vision, she is led to the arena by a figure identified as the Deacon Pomponius, her religious leader, who, upon her arrival to the Arena, promises to always be with her.50 This figure will return in the

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45 Ibid. p.170-171

46 Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory*, 121.

47 Thompson, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp," 38-39.

48 Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory*, 117.

49 Heffernan, *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*, 129-130.

50 Ibid.

form of the Lanista. Pomponius represents a Christly psychcopomps.[51] His intervention shows the complete removal of the ritual from Roman control, as her call to the arena is attributed solely to God. Also, although the scene follows the Roman ritual of gladiator games, the condemnation of criminality is notably absent. Instead the scene praises the glory of Christianity through the martyr's victory. Upon arriving in the arena, Perpetua is stripped by young men who have come to aid her, upon which she discovers that she has become a man and is anointed with oil in preparation for the fight.[52] By this transformation, she becomes the male *miles Christi*, a fighter in the cosmic struggle on behalf of Christ. This figure adapts the pagan practice of the gladiator to show how the martyr is able to escape and overcome pre-set social structures.[53] In the place of the Roman authorities is the *Lanista* (translated gladiator trainer), a man taller than the amphitheatre holding an iron rod and branch of gold apples, which he offers her as a prize of victory.[54] Here the scene uses practices directly from the amphitheatre, such as naming the *Lanista* and the preparation of the fighter with oil, and thus makes direct use of the symbols of the arena.[55] However, we see in the dream power over the arena removed from Roman control and given to God, and the imagery of anointing the fighter with oil is given judo-Christian significance. Thus the vehicle of power, justice, and glory is taken up and re-invented by Christianity. In the arena Perpetua fights a foul Egyptian gladiator; he attacks her heels while she attacks his face and heels.[56] This is a notable mixture of historical details pertaining to gladiatorial fights and Christian symbolism of conflict with Satan (Genesis 3:15). In this way the language of the arena is appropriated by Christianity to glorify the martyr. Her victory has a transformative impact on the crowd, appropriating the power of the arena to create and instill influence to Christianity. She is victorious by being lifted up into the air and stomping her opponent's face into the ground.[57] This perhaps shows her transcending the material bounds of the arena's spectacle by

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[51] Ibid, 251-253.
[52] Ibid, 129-130.
[53]Ibid, 252-4.
[54] Ibid, 129-130.
[55] Ibid, 249.
[56] Ibid, 129-130.
[57] Ibid.

her victory. For, as she ascends to the *Lanista* to take her golden apple, he deviates from his Roman role to serve as the Christian minster and bless her.[58] Thus she transcends the ritual of Roman spectacle of the arena to that of Christianity. When she awakes, she now views her upcoming martyrdom as a fight not with a beast but with the devil—a fight where she is fated to win victory. In the final words of her personal account, she comments that another must write of her martyrdom itself. This shows that she is aware of the effects of her martyrdom as spectacle and as a literary tradition and writes with these effects in mind.[59] Therefore, in this account we see a conscious appropriation of language and symbolism of the cultural vehicle of the arena by martyrs to deny the power of Rome and create and instil the power of Christianity.

In conclusion, Christian martyrs appropriated the language and symbolism of the arena in order to achieve glory for Christianity. By inverting the symbol of the condemned criminal with that of the blessed martyr, they denied the Romans authority over them since the Romans were only seen as ignorant instruments of God. In this way, Christians used the arena, which had been intended as a tool to glorify the Roman Empire, and instead used it as a toll to glorify Christianity. Thus, Christian martyrs re-imagined the Roman arena to advance their own beliefs and identity. One consequence of this was that it helped to vilify the material world controlled by Roman persecution, and to advance the idea that the good would be rewarded in an afterlife with God. Because of this, the Roman spectacle did not create a deterrent for Christianity as it had hoped to do, but rather, helped to secure its survival despite its persecution.

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[58]Ibid, 252-3.
[59] Ibid, 250-251.

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CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE OF NICIAS
ON THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE

NICHOLAS ROSE

Abstract: Studies of the Peloponnesian War focus on the actions of Athens and Sparta, however the role of three key poleis – Corinth, Elis and Mantinea – exerted considerable influence on the two rivals. The Peace of Nicias reached in 421 BCE marked the end of the period of the Peloponnesian War known as the Archidamian War. However, the peace collapsed soon after its agreement because of the actions of Corinth, Elis and Mantinea, all on whom were allies of Sparta in the Peloponnesian League. This essay will explore why the failure of Sparta to recognize the war aims of Corinth, Elis and Mantinea caused the Peace of Nicias to be unsuccessful. Although from the time of the peace to the Battle of Mantinea in 418 BCE the three states challenged Sparta, their cohesion was unsustainable. Inadvertently, the actions taken by Mantinea, Elis and Corinth after the Peace of Nicias strengthened the Peloponnesian League for the remainder of the Peloponnesian War.

The Peace of Nicias between the Greek city-states of Athens and Sparta reached in 421 BCE; marked the end of the period of the Peloponnesian War known as the Archidamian War. Intended as a fifty-year peace between Athens and Sparta, the Peace of Nicias failed soon after its agreement. The consequences of the peace for Corinth, Elis and Mantinea and the subsequent actions taken by these allies in Sparta's Peloponnesian League were the fundamental reasons why the peace collapsed. Foremost, the tenacity of the war parties inside these states and inside the Peloponnesian League itself added to the unravelling of the Peace of Nicias. Of these states, the diplomatic actions of Corinth greatly undermined the peace initiatives undertaken by Athens and Sparta. The fifty-year alliance concluded between Athens and Sparta after the Peace served as a catalyst for Corinth, Elis and Mantinea to form what would come to be known as the Corinthian Coalition with Argos. These examples will illustrate the argument that the failure of Sparta to recognize the war aims of Corinth, Elis and Mantinea caused the Peace of Nicias to be unsuccessful. To further analyze this thesis, the direct actions taken by Corinth, Elis and Mantinea that contributed to the

failure of the Peace of Nicias will be explored. For the purpose of this essay, the failed peace will be defined as the inability of the above-mentioned three states and both the Athenians and Spartans to abide by the main articles of the Peace of Nicias.[1]

In order to understand the anger of Sparta's allies in the Peloponnesian League towards the Peace of Nicias, the mechanisms of the Peloponnesian League must be examined. By the time of the second Persian invasion of Greece under Xerxes in 480 BCE, the structure of the League had been in place for at least twenty years. According to Thucydides, the main difference between the Peloponnesian League of the Spartans and the Delian League of the Athenians was that the Spartans did not force tribute payments from their allies in the League but demanded that their allies establish oligarchies as their form of government in order to strengthen Sparta's role as hegemon.[2] In terms of the actual structure of the League, it was a number of offensive and defensive alliances between individual *poleis* and Sparta, where Spartan leadership was followed.[3] Additionally, each member pledged to have the same allies and enemies as Sparta and only the Spartans could summon a League congress to declare war or create a peace treaty.[4] Despite Sparta's seemingly dominant position as hegemon, there were a number of flaws in the structure of the Peloponnesian League. No mutual obligations were held between allies, disputes between League members were not bound to go to arbitration, and only rarely did members call directly on each other, but relied only on Sparta for assistance. The most glaring defect in the structure of the League was that members could even go to war with other members, making internal rivalry inherent in the relations between members.[5] However, the threat of Spartan military retaliation enforced the rule that secession from the

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[1] The main articles of the Peace of Nicias are found in Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 5.18-20.

[2] Ibid., 1.19.

[3] G.E.M. De Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London: Duckworth, 1972), 106.

[4] Paul Cartledge, "The Peloponnesian League in Thucydides." In *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War*, ed. Robert B. Strassler (Toronto: Free Press, 2008), 595.

[5] L.L. Brice, "Peloponnesian League." In *Greek Warfare: From the Battle of Marathon to the Conquests of Alexander the Great*, ed. L.L. Brice (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 119.

League was forbidden. Despite these flaws, city-states in the Peloponnese were still willing to join the League largely because of the expectation of Spartan military assistance and protection. Although internal strife within the Peloponnesian League did not manifest itself until the mid-430s BCE, it was evident that the Spartans had neglected potentially disastrous flaws in the structure of the League.

Before exploring the objectives of Mantinea, Elis and Corinth, the motives of Sparta for pursing an alliance with each of these states will be addressed. Each ally will be discussed in turn. In the case of Mantinea, the Mantineans had been allies of Sparta before the formal existence of the Peloponnesian League, as an alliance between the Spartans and Mantineans allowing travel from Laconia to the Isthmus of Corinth had been in place since the early sixth century BCE.[6] However, as part of this alliance, Mantinea was allowed to keep its political independence. As will be noted, Mantinea became a formal member of the Peloponnesian League in the 450s BCE. The Mantineans emerged as a loyal ally, albeit non-member, of the League during Xerxes' invasion of Greece, as they were part of the Peloponnesian contingent at Thermopylae.[7] Although the Mantineans always wanted to maintain their political autonomy, the Persian Wars displayed that they were willing to follow Spartan leadership in war. Thus, because of their geographical proximity and demonstrated willingness to fight alongside the Spartans, the Mantineans were a logical ally of the Spartans during the Peloponnesian War.

Unlike Mantinea, Elis was a regional power in the northwestern Peloponnese and was known throughout Greece for its control of Olympia and the Olympic sanctuary. With the size of their territory and power growing rapidly, the Eleans created an alliance with the Spartans, likely near the time of the second Messenian War in 685 BCE.[8] Similar to the first alliance between the Mantineans and the Spartans, this alliance with Sparta allowed Elis to keep its political independence and further enabled it to pursue its own regional *symmachy* (military alliance

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[6] M. Amit, *Great and Small Poleis: A Study in the Relations between the Great Powers and the Small Cities in Ancient Greece* (Brussels: Latomus, 1973), 130.
[7] Ibid., 131.
[8] Jim Capreedy, "A League within a League: The Preservation of the Elean Symmachy," *Classical World* 101, no. 4 (2008): 492.

network) and become hegemon of the northwestern Peloponnese at the time. By 550 BCE, Elis was one of the first members of the Peloponnesian League, but was unique in the fact that unlike any of the other early members of the League, it had its own regional *symmachy*.9 Similar to Mantinea, Elis was also an eager ally of Sparta during the Second Persian War, although both the Eleans and Mantineans arrived too late to participate in the Battle of Plataea. As the Spartans allowed them to pursue their own *symmachy* and because of the age of their alliance with Sparta, Elis was among Sparta's allies in the Peloponnesian League at the start of the Peloponnesian War.

> Of the three mentioned states, the strongest pre-war alliance
> was between the Corinthians and the Spartans. Since the early
> sixth century BCE with the removal of the tyranny at Corinth,
> an oligarchy would control the Corinthian government until
> the start of the fourth century BCE.10

Along with Elis, Corinth was one of the first members of the Peloponnesian League, with its first joint military expedition with the Spartans coming in 524 BCE against the tyrant of Samos, Polycrates (although the expedition was unsuccessful).11 Corinth was a vital ally for Sparta because its naval power challenged that of Athens and was complementary to the land power provided by the Spartan army. The Corinthians and Spartans proved the effectiveness of their alliance during the Second Persian Invasion of Greece, as they were the only city-states present at all five battles of the war. After the Persian Wars, Corinth became the wealthiest member of the Peloponnesian League through war spoils and maritime trade.12 The prosperity from maritime trade of mid-fifth century BCE Corinth placed the *polis* into direct economic competition with the Athenians that would culminate over control of the Ionian Sea coast of Ambracia in the 430s BCE. With naval and economic benefits from Corinth, the geographical benefits of the alliance with Mantinea, and the military alliance network of the Eleans, the three

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9 Ibid., 493.

10 Donald Kagan, "Corinthian Diplomacy after the Peace of Nicias," *The American Journal of Philology* 81, no. 3 (1960): 293.

11 John Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 BC* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986), 240.

12 Op.cit., 295.

states were proving to be immensely valuable for the Spartans before thePeloponnesian War.

Of the three Peloponnesian League members being analyzed, Mantinea was the closest to Sparta geographically. To properly analyze the actions taken by Mantinea after the Peace of Nicias, the role that the neighbouring village of Tegea had in Mantinean history must be considered because after losing a war against Sparta in the mid-sixth century BCE (that would mark the early beginnings of the Peloponnesian League), the Tegeans built walls around their village and concentrated most of their population inside the walls, which resulted in the Mantineans taking almost identical precautions.13   Similar to other states in the Peloponnese, before eventually joining the Peloponnesian League, Mantinea's primary concern was security from the Spartans and other neighbouring *poleis*.   To further worry the Mantineans, Tegea and Sparta had concluded an alliance after their war.14   However, the local rivalry between Mantinea and Tegea did not become apparent until 464 BCE as a result of the unrest created by the "Great Earthquake," in which Sparta and most of the Peloponnese was severely damaged.   Sparta's enemies in the Peloponnese used the opportunity to attack the Spartans.   The Mantineans took a calculated approach to the resulting chaos, as they did not aid the Spartans during the Arcadian revolt, which included Elis, but resolutely helped them suppress the helot revolt.15   The Tegeans correctly began to view the Mantineans with suspicion.   Regardless of the concerns of the Tegeans, in the 450s BCE Sparta and Mantinea became close allies to the point that Mantinea became a formal member of the Peloponnesian League.

With relations between Sparta and Mantinea seemingly well established, Mantinea was included in Sparta's Peloponnesian League army at the outset of the Peloponnesian War. In the first ten years of the war prior to the Peace of Nicias, the Mantineans participated in a number of Peloponnesian League campaigns, including the expedition led by the Spartan general Eurylochus in northwestern Greece.16   Throughout the Archidamian War, the Mantineans had captured a substantial amount of

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13 Amit, *Great and Small Poleis*, 125.

14 Ibid., 130.

15 Ibid., 133.

16 Ibid., 134.

territory in Arcadia and were starting to become one of the larger members of the League while proving their value to the Spartans. Thucydides claims that during the Athenian victory at the Battle of Olpae in 426 BCE, while most of the Peloponnesian League forces were "without discipline or order," the Mantineans "kept their ranks better than any in the army during the retreat."[17] By proving themselves on the battlefield in the early years of the war, the Mantineans displayed their loyalty to the Peloponnesian League. While the Mantineans continued to follow the direction of Sparta, concerns over the potential confiscation of their newly captured lands by the Spartans began to grow in the domestic politics of Mantinea. The domestic politics of Mantinea would drive the *polis* towards its eventual secession from the Peloponnesian League.

In 423 BCE, the constitution of Mantinea was reformed and the city-state became a democracy. Describing the alliance made between Mantinea and Argos in 421 BCE after the Peace of Nicias, Thucydides explains that the Mantineans were "glad" to make an alliance with Argos because it was "the historical enemy of the Spartans, and a sister democracy."[18] Likely introduced by the athlete-politician Nicodorus, the reforms had an immediate impact on how the Mantineans approached their alliance with Sparta, as the concerns over potential land confiscation by the Spartans became the central concern of the *polis*. Also, Mantinea and Elis were the only democracies in the Peloponnesian League. With its new political outlook, Mantinea went to war against Tegea in 423 BCE, as the Spartans could no longer control affairs in Arcadia because of the extent of the war, and the Mantineans were determined to continue their territorial expansion.[19] Unable to stop the internal war taking place in the League, one of the main reasons why the Spartans concluded the Peace of Nicias with the Athenians in 421 BCE was the conflict in the central Peloponnese instigated by Mantinea.[20] The Spartans themselves were also partially responsible for the actions of Mantinea. The structure of the League had allowed the war between the Mantineans and Tegeans because war between members was permitted. Additionally, the central war aim of the Mantineans of gaining new lands

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[17] Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 3.108.3.
[18] Ibid., 5.29.1.
[19] Amit, *Great and Small Poleis*, 148.
[20] Ibid.

was being neglected by Sparta.   Had the Spartans been willing to negotiate with the Mantineans over territorial expansion, the internal war within the Peloponnesian League between Mantinea and Tegea may not have occurred.

A similar incompatibility of an ally's war aims with those of Sparta is found in the latter's relations with Elis. Before the start of the Peloponnesian War, the primary concern of the Eleans was their *symmachy* in the northwestern Peloponnese. Consequently, the Eleans neglected their obligations to Sparta and instead took the measures they deemed necessary to secure their alliance network. The Spartans viewed the policy of Elis towards the Peloponnesian League as too passive, especially given the fact that Elis bordered northern Messenia, in which the population was predominantly helots, causing fears of a revolt against the Spartans and its potential exploitation by the Athenians.[21] Additionally, Elis' geographic position on the Crisaean Gulf benefited the naval forces of the Peloponnesian League and Elis was one of Sparta's key naval allies in the League. The Eleans' harbour at Kyllene served as a naval center for the Peloponnesian League from 431 to 425 BCE, with ships from allies being prepared and repaired there.[22] Kyllene served as a naval center until the naval battle of Pylos in 425 BCE when the Peloponnesian fleet was confiscated by the Athenians.[23] Despite the concerns of the Spartans, it was evident that Elis was a strategic and loyal member of the League during the Archidamian War. Although the Spartans permitted the Eleans to keep their *symmachy* for the first ten years of the war it was a clear point of division between the two allies.

In addition to the Eleans' *symmachy*, a second major point of division between Elis and Sparta was a dispute over the region of Lepreon. As a result of the Eleans aiding them during a war in the late sixth century BCE, the Lepreans paid an annual tribute to Elis that was disrupted (either by choice or by circumstances) during the first ten years of the Peloponnesian War.[24] By 422/421 BCE, Elis allowed the Spartans to serve as arbitrators in the dispute, but realizing that the Spartans would

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[21] Capreedy, "League within a League," 493.

[22] Caroline Falkner, "Sparta and Lepreon in the Archidamian War (Thuc. 5.31.2-5)," *Historia* 48, no. 4 (1999): 389.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Capreedy, "League within a League," 494.

likely rule in favour of the Lepreans, Elis launched an assault on Lepreon in an attempt to bring it under its control.25 Significantly, the Eleans were not in the wrong according to the structure of the Peloponnesian League, as disputes between League members were not bound to go to arbitration. Also, the Eleans were free to attack whomever they pleased according to the League structure. However, the Spartans proceeded in their role as arbitrators and ruled that Elis was guilty of aggression and that Lepreon was an independent *polis*.26 The Eleans neglected the ruling and continued their offensive until the Spartans placed a hoplite garrison in Lepreon.27 Thus, at the time of the Peace of Nicias in 421 BCE, Elis and Sparta were almost in open war. The dispute over Lepreon served as a proxy for the Eleans' true war aim: the preservation of their *symmachy*. By allowing Elis to grow its *symmachy* and neither accommodating it nor destroying it, the Spartans had stimulated the Eleans into questioning their alliance. Their ruling against the Eleans over Lepreon completed the alienation of Elis.

As previously noted, the strongest alliance between Sparta and the three Peloponnesian League members being analyzed was between the Spartans and the Corinthians. For Corinth, their war aim was simple: war with Athens at any cost. Consequently, many scholars point to the Corinthians as the driving force behind the entire Peloponnesian War. In three incidents prior to the outbreak of the war in 431 BCE, the hostility between Corinth and Athens grew and drew in members of the Peloponnesian League and the Athenians' Delian League. The first of these incidents occurred in 435 BCE, when the *polis* of Epidamnus, a Corcyrian colony (Corcyra itself an ex-colony of Corinth) situated in Illyria was suffering from *stasis*, in which the city's democrats were fighting the city's oligarchs.28 Once Corcyra rejected the democrats' appeal for aid, the democrats (after the advice of the Oracle of Delphi) asked the Corinthians and they obliged, resulting in Corcyra making an alliance with Epidamnus' oligarchs and an alliance with Athens. The situation in Corcyra culminated in 433 BCE at the naval battle of Sybota,

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25 Op.cit.

26 Op.cit., 495.

27 Ibid.

28 Paul A. Rahe, "The Peace of Nicias." In *The Making of Peace: Rulers, States, and the Aftermath of War*, eds. Jim Lacey and Williamson Murray (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 47.

when the Corcyrians and the Athenians defeated the Corinthians.[29] The intervention of the Athenians angered the Corinthians, as it was in violation of the Fifty Years Peace and they would likely have defeated the Corcyrians had the Athenians not intervened. Driven by their defeat at Sybota, the Corinthians brought their anger towards Athens to the Peloponnesian League and warned the Spartans that if they did not provide military support in the future, Corinth would search for a new alliance.[30] Two years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, Athens had created a significant division between Corinth and Sparta, opening the possibility that the Corinthians would leave the Peloponnesian League. For the Athenians, the strategy of exploiting poor relations between Sparta and alienated League members would prove to be beneficial after the Peace of Nicias and would become popularized by Alcibiades.

The second pre-war incident involving Corinth, Athens and Sparta also occurred in 433 BCE over the city-state of Potidaea, located in Chalcidice, another colony of Corinth. What made Potidaea unique was the fact that while it retained close ties with its mother-state Corinth, it was also a member of Athens' Delian League and occupied a key strategic location for the Athenians as it was near their colony of Amphipolis which provided lumber for the Athenian fleet.[31] Following the conflict over Corcyra, the Athenians began to view the Potidaeans as overly friendly with the Corinthians and presented them with an ultimatum: the Potidaeans were to remove their naval fortification walls and end their allegiance with Corinth.[32] The Potidaeans refused the demands of the Athenians and began looking for an ally powerful enough to protect them from the Athenians. After an appeal by the Corinthians at a Peloponnesian League congress, the Spartans provided a volunteer force, but not formal *Spartiate* hoplites.[33] In the resulting conflict, Athens launched a siege against Potidaea for two years, which did not end until 431 BCE (during the Peloponnesian War itself) when

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[29] Ibid., 49.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Lawrence A. Tritle, *A New History of the Peloponnesian War* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 27.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid., 28.

the Potidaeans surrendered to the Athenians.34 At a Peloponnesian League congress after the fall of Potidaea, the Corinthian delegation chastised the Spartans, declaring that "Time after time was our voice raised to warn you of the blows about to be dealt us by Athens, and time after time...you contented yourselves with suspecting the speakers."35 For the second time in two years, the League, and more specifically Sparta, had failed to protect an ally of Corinth from Athenian aggression. It was becoming evident that Corinth and Athens were heading towards war.

The final pre-war incident between the Corinthians and the Athenians occurred over the economic sanctions issued by the Athenians against Megara in 432 BCE known as the "Megarian Decrees." A member of the Peloponnesian League, Megara was located in between Corinth and Athens and was a vital transportation link connecting the harbours of Nisaia and Pagai across the Isthmus of Corinth. However, after the events at Sybota and Potidaea and especially after the Athenians accused the Megarians of farming on the Athenian border and harbouring Athenian slaves, Athens demanded that the Megarians leave the Peloponnesian League.36 After Megara rejected the demands of Athens, the Athenians issued the Megarian Decrees, which prohibited the Megarians from any economic activity in Delian League territory.37 Unlike the Battle of Sybota or the Siege of Potidaea, the display of Athenian aggression seen in the Megarian Decrees now contained an economic element. Furthermore, Athens was now directly interfering in the membership structure of the Peloponnesian League.

These three pre-war incidents involving Corinth and Athens forced Sparta to take action in early 431 BCE. After the Spartans and their allies in the Peloponnesian League voted for war, the Spartans sent an embassy to Athens that declared the Spartans' conditions for preventing conflict. Two of the three main conditions (the other being the release of Aegina) involved the Corinthians: ending the Siege of Potidaea and revoking the Megarian Decrees. The Athenians did not

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34 Victor Davis Hanson, *A War Like No Other: How the Athenians and Spartans Fought the Peloponnesian War* (New York: Random House, 2005), 31.

35 Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1.68.2.

36 Anton Powell, *Athens and Sparta: Constructing Greek Political and Social History from 478 BC* (London: Routledge, 1988), 117.

37 Ibid.

accept any of the conditions and that summer the Peloponnesian League army invaded Attica, marking the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The conflict that started between Corinth and Athens over Epidamnus in 435 BCE now encompassed all of Greece. The requests of the Corinthians that had been raised in numerous League congresses before the war now came to fruition. The Spartans had delayed going to war for four years, but the aggression of Athens towards Corinth and by extension smaller Peloponnesian League members, could no longer be overlooked.

During the Archidamian War, the broad Corinthian aim of war with Athens at any expense was satisfied. However, the war itself was devastating for Corinth. Athenian aggression towards Corinth near the Isthmus increased and the Athenians became emboldened to attack Corinthian interests throughout Greece. Kagan emphasizes:

> The Athenian occupation of Aegina and Potidea cut off [Corinthian] trade with the east... Athenian victories in the west and north, Phormio's naval triumph off Naupactus and the democratic success at Corcyra completely destroyed Corinthian trade with the west.[38]

The Athenians had successfully prevented Corinth from accessing its areas of trade, thereby crippling Corinthian economic power.[39] As the *polis* was a trading power, Corinthian morale was devastated by the first ten years of the war. Despite the economic hardships caused by the war, the Corinthians were eager participants in the Peloponnesian League as demonstrated by lending their naval power to the League fleet, with Corinth providing half of the total fleet.[40] However, the offensive power of Corinth was decimated in 425 BCE at the Battle of Pylos when most of its fleet was either destroyed or captured by the Athenians.[41] For the last four years of the Archidamian War the Corinthians were reduced to fighting a defensive war and keeping whatever territory they retained. Therefore, during the Peace of Nicias in 421 BCE, Corinth was faced with a challenge: either accept the Peace and lose most of its economic interests to Athens, or continue to fight Athens, regardless of the cost and

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[38] Kagan, "Corinthian Diplomacy," 292.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, 306.

[41] Ibid., 318.

its relationship with Sparta. The lack of support from the Spartans, both before and during the war, determined the course of the Corinthians. Without the support of Corinth, the Peace of Nicias was off to a poor start.

As has been discussed, neither Mantinea, nor Elis, nor Corinth supported the Peace of Nicias in 421 BCE. For the Spartans however, the Peace was desperately needed mainly because of the desire for the return of the 120 *Spartiatai* taken prisoner by the Athenians at the Battle of Sphacteria and because the Thirty Years Peace between themselves and Argos was soon to expire.[42] The Athenians were willing to make a peace in 421 BCE because of their defeat at the Battle of Amphipolis, in which the pro-war general and politician Cleon was killed. Cleon was replaced as the leading politician in Athens by Nicias, a conservative who favoured peace with Sparta.[43] Therefore, the political conditions in both Athens and Sparta were favorable for peace in March 421 BCE. According to Plutarch, the Spartans were willing to negotiate with Nicias because "of his general reputation for fairness, and especially because of the decency and humanity he had shown in easing the lot of the Spartans who had been captured at Pylos and kept in prison in Athens."[44] Ten officials from Athens and Sparta worked on the details, and a peace was eagerly concluded.[45] For the first time since 431 BCE, Athens and Sparta were not at war.

Once the terms of the Peace of Nicias were learnt by Sparta's allies in the Peloponnesian League, opposition grew rapidly.[46] During the vote at the League congress in Sparta to ratify the peace, Elis, Boeotia, Megara and Corinth all voted against it.[47] Each *polis* claimed a reason (not all legitimate) why they opposed the peace. While all the states that voted against the Peace of Nicias wanted a renewal of the war, the grievances of Elis and Corinth in particular are worth exploring for the purposes of this essay. For the Eleans, the main reason for their

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[42] Robin Seager, "After the Peace of Nicias: Diplomacy and Policy, 421-416 B.C.," *The Classical Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (1976): 249-50.

[43] Tritle, *Peloponnesian War*, 114.

[44] Plutarch, *Nicias*, 9.

[45] Op.cit., 115.

[46] Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 5.17.2.

[47] Seager, "After the Peace of Nicias," 250.

opposition to the peace was that, with an end to the conflict, the Spartans would return their focus to the Peloponnese, and in particular the dispute over Lepreon.[48] The continuation of the war was in Elis' best interest as it kept Sparta preoccupied. The Peace of Nicias was further evidence for the Eleans that the Spartans were not loyal allies and could potentially dismantle their power in the north-western Peloponnese.

The reception of the Peace of Nicias by the Corinthians was also one of hostility. One of the main grievances of the Corinthians was that two of their former settlements in north-western Greece, Anactorium and Sollium were given to the Acarnanians, an Athenian ally.[49] More significantly however, the peace gave Athens control over Chalcidice and the Athenians did not have to return any Corinthian ships captured at Pylos.[50] These acquisitions of Corinthian territorial interests and actual property by Athens were not opposed by Spartan officials. Thucydides wrote that the resistance to the Peace of Nicias was led by the Corinthians and that at the ratifying congress they and the other opposing members refused to adopt the peace "unless a fairer one than the present were agreed upon, and remaining firm in their determination were dismissed by the Spartans."[51] Sparta had been disloyal to the interests of the Corinthians. It was now evident that Corinth would have to leave the Peloponnesian League in order to confront the Athenians. With the Peace of Nicias in place, the Corinthians had no reason to trust the Spartans and especially the Athenians, as Nicias himself had attacked the Isthmus less than five years earlier.[52] Although a drastic one, the decision of the Corinthians to leave the League guaranteed that Sparta would no longer betray the former's interests and proved that despite its apparent strength, members could secede from the Peloponnesian League without fears of immediate military retaliation. The secession of Corinth would enable Mantinea and Elis also to leave the League.

Notwithstanding the opposition to the Peace of Nicias, Athens and Sparta made a separate alliance that was intended to be in effect for

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[48] Ibid.

[49] H.D. Westlake, "Corinth and the Argive Coalition," *The American Journal of Philology* 61, no. 4 (1940): 415.

[50] Op.cit.

[51] Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 5.22.1-2.

[52] Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, 320.

fifty years.53   The alliance was defensive in nature, with one of the main terms being that the Athenians would aid Sparta in the case of a helot revolt.54 The speed with which the Athens-Sparta alliance was concluded is evidence that the Corinthian-led opposition to the peace was viewed as a credible threat by both the Spartans and the Athenians. Diodorus Siculus wrote that the alliance was "formed without consultation with the allied cities. By this act they fell under suspicion of having formed an alliance for their private ends, with the purpose of enslaving the rest of the Greeks."55 The Corinthians responded by assuming a leadership position in the resistance to the Athenian-Spartan alliance. After the Athens-Sparta alliance was agreed to, a Corinthian delegation travelled to Argos and successfully formed an alliance with the Argives, which resulted in Corinth calling on other Peloponnesian League members that opposed the Peace of Nicias and the resulting Athens-Sparta alliance, to join them.56   The first *polis* to respond was Mantinea, which as noted earlier was also now a democracy like Argos and was motivated by concerns that Sparta would confiscate its recently conquered lands. The Mantineans also brought their smaller allies in Arcadia into the alliance, although they were fearful that with their alliance with the Athenians, the Spartans would attempt to neutralize Mantinean power in Arcadia.57 What would come to be known as the Corinthian Coalition (Argos, Corinth, Mantinea and Elis) was completed when ambassadors from Elis made an alliance first with the Corinthians, then travelled to Argos and formed an alliance with the Argives. With the formation of the Corinthian Coalition, the central and northern Peloponnese was controlled by city-states allied against Sparta.58   Thus, Elis' regional *symmachy* was protected. For Mantinea, Elis and Corinth, the Corinthian Coalition was an improvement upon the Peloponnesian League, as it permitted them to pursue their own interests with the support of the powerful city-state Argos that was willing to challenge the Spartans.

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53 Donald Kagan, *The Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian Expedition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 26.

54 Ibid.

55 Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 12.75.2.

56 R.A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid: From the end of the Bronze Age to the Roman occupation* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 118.

57 Ibid., 119.

58 Ibid.

Of the three ex-members of the Peloponnesian League, the most eager participant in the Corinthian Coalition was Mantinea. Theoretically, the Mantineans stood to benefit from the Corinthian Coalition because as a true defensive alliance, Argos, Corinth and Elis would come to its defense in the event of an attack by Sparta. However, the Spartans did not neglect the fact that Mantinea had seceded and Mantinea was the first former ally to be attacked by the Spartans after the Peace of Nicias because it was the weakest defensively.[59] The primary reason why the Mantineans joined the Corinthian Coalition, the benefit of allies in case of a Spartan attack, did not come to fruition as only the Argives came to their defense, and then only in a limited scope. Unwilling to fight the Spartans, the Argives defended Mantinea itself while the Mantineans were left to face the Peloponnesian League army on the battlefield at the Parrhasia in the summer of 421 BCE by themselves.[60] Predictably, the Mantineans were defeated in a route and the Argives returned home. In its first military test, the Corinthian Coalition did not rise to challenge Sparta and the Peloponnesian League. To make the situation worse for Mantinea, their fears of Spartan reprisal were proven to be correct as the Spartans forced them to abandon the lands they had captured during the Archidamian War.[61] The other Corinthian Coalition members, in particular Corinth and Elis, had failed the Mantineans. Although it had been formed partly because the Spartans did not represent their interests, in its first test, the members of the Corinthian Coalition had acted only in accordance with their own self-interest.

Despite their decisive victory over the Mantineans less than a year after the Peace of Nicias, Sparta did not make any efforts, diplomatically or militarily, to have Mantinea rejoin the Peloponnesian League. Fortunately for the Mantineans, the Corinthian Coalition was revitalized in early 420 BCE by the election of Alcibiades as *strategos* in Athens and his subsequent diplomatic manoeuvring inviting representatives from Argos, Mantinea and Elis to come to Athens.[62] Noticeably absent was Corinth, who despite a seemingly strong

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[59] Amit, *Great and Small Poleis*, 152.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] P.J. Rhodes, *Alcibiades* (South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Books Limited, 2011), 33.

opportunity to overthrown the Spartans in the Peloponnese, were steadfast in their unwillingness to make any sort of alliance with the Athenians. In Athens, Alcibiades had surpassed Nicias and was able to form an alliance with Argos, Mantinea and Elis, which inevitably meant war with Sparta in the near future, despite a Spartan offer of a stronger alliance and a continuation of the Peace of Nicias.[63] By joining the alliance with Athens, the Mantineans displayed that they were only loyal to their own interests. Their relationship with Athens would determine the actions Mantinea took for the remainder of the Peloponnesian War.

In the summer of 418 BCE, the political situation that had been developing in Greece since the Peace of Nicias reached a critical phase. Except for Mantinea and Elis, all the Peloponnesian League members that had opposed the Peace rejoined the League and returned as allies of Sparta, including the Corinthians who viewed Athens under the leadership of Alcibiades as particularly worrying.[64] Under the command of the Spartan king Agis, in July 418 BCE the reformed Peloponnesian League formed the largest Greek force ever assembled. The Quadruple Alliance (Argos, Athens, Mantinea and Elis) could not match its enemies in terms of manpower. In September 418 BCE, despite his best efforts to avoid a pitched battle, and almost reaching a peace with the Argives, Agis was forced by the Spartans to put down the Quadruple Alliance outside Mantinea once and for all.[65] The self-interest of each of the members of the Quadruple Alliance proved disastrous at the Battle of Mantinea, as the Athenians under the command of Alcibiades only provided 1,000 hoplites and 300 cavalry, and the Eleans arrived too late to participate in the battle. Amit concludes that the decisive Spartan victory at Mantinea in 418 BCE proved that "the Spartans were still invincible in any open field battle, and by their diplomacy gather[ed] around them the best army in Greece."[66] The hopes of the Mantineans ended with the defeat of the Quadruple Alliance at Mantinea. While the decision by Mantinea to leave the Peloponnesian League in 421 BCE seemed wise at the time, by 418 BCE the Mantineans had lost any hope of becoming a regional power in the central Peloponnese.

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[63] Ibid.
[64] Amit, *Great and Small Poleis*, 158.
[65] Ibid., 159.
[66] Ibid., 161.

A year after the Battle in Mantinea, in 417 BCE, the Mantineans concluded a peace treaty with Sparta that was intended to last for thirty years. In no position to argue, Mantinea surrendered what territory it had and its minor allies to the Spartans.[67] However, the Spartans had very little power to force the Mantineans back into the Peloponnesian League and the Mantineans did not rejoin the League during the Peloponnesian War. Nor did they abandon their alliance with Athens. Somewhat surprisingly, in 413 BCE the Mantineans sent a contingent of mercenaries to aid the Athenians at Syracuse, in large part because of their admiration for Alcibiades.[68] Mantinea never willingly returned to their position as an ally of Sparta. Once Mantinea adopted a democratic constitution in 423 BCE, it became politically impossible for Mantinea to continue as a member of the Peloponnesian League. Furthermore, the actions of Mantinea after the Peace of Nicias demonstrate that despite the "Spartan mirage" of military dominance, Sparta's control of the Peloponnesian League during the Peloponnesian War was quite tenuous, as evidenced by Mantinea never rejoining the League during the war.

Similar to the Mantineans, the Eleans seceded from the Peloponnesian League over the perceived aggression of the Athenians. Concerns over Lepreon motivated Elis to join the Corinthian Coalition. After the Spartans ruled them guilty of aggression, the Eleans sent ambassadors to Argos and Corinth, although it was not in their interest, as Sparta was willing to continue with diplomatic methods. However, Spartan policy towards Elis was dishonest, for despite their claims of diplomatic openness, the Spartans had settled in Lepreon the former helots (*Neodamodeis*) who served with Brasidas in Thrace.[69] For the Eleans, it was clear that the Spartans did not respect the former's right to its alliance network. As noted earlier, Elis joined the Corinthian Coalition after the Athens-Sparta alliance was announced and was prepared to launch a war against Sparta.[70] Additionally, the alliance gave the Eleans the best opportunity to protect their *symmachy*. By joining the Quadruple Alliance, Elis displayed a political determination that was not usually seen by a *polis* of its stature.

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[67] Ibid., 163.
[68] Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 7.57.9.
[69] Capreedy, "League within a League," 495.
[70] Ibid., 496.

By 420 BCE, the Eleans had become quite militant, as seen with their actions towards the Spartans at the Olympic Games. In control of the Games, the Eleans banned the Spartans from participating because they alleged that the Spartans had broken the sacred truce when they sent 1,000 hoplites into Lepreon.[71] In addition to the ban, the Eleans fined the Spartans 2,000 *minai* after they refused to return Lepreon to them.[72] Significantly, the Eleans were backed in the dispute by their allies in the Quadruple Alliance, with the Mantineans and Argives providing 1,000 hoplites each to enforce the Olympic ban, and the Athenians providing cavalry.[73] Although only a symbolic victory, the successful ban of the Spartans from the Olympics in 420 BCE was the first joint accomplishment conducted by the Quadruple Alliance. For the Eleans, it was their only major accomplishment in the alliance.

As previously noted, the Battle of Mantinea between the Quadruple Alliance and the Peloponnesian League occurred in September 418 BCE. The 3,000 hoplites Elis sent to Mantinea arrived too late to aid the Alliance forces in the battle.[74] In the fall of 418 BCE, the Eleans ended up in an identical position to the Mantineans, with their hopes of regional power in the northwestern Peloponnese ended. While the Eleans were able to continue to harass Sparta diplomatically for the remainder of the war, in 402 BCE the Spartans under Agis invaded Elis and destroyed the Elean *symmachy*.[75] Xenophon relates that the events at the Olympic Games of 420 BCE still angered the Spartans, and that "the ephors and the assembly resolved to teach the Eleians a lesson in how to behave moderately."[76] The Eleans were unsuccessful in trying to protect their *symmachy* from Sparta, thus their secession from the Peloponnesian League over the Peace of Nicias had actually damaged the *polis*. Moreover, theexpansion of the Elean *symmachy* was a legitimate challenge to Spartan control of Messenia during the Peloponnesian War, and could not be tolerated by Sparta.

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[71] James Roy, "Thucydides 5.49.1-50.4: the Quarrel between Elis and Sparta in 420 B.C., and Elis' Exploitation of Olympia," *Klio* 80, no.2 (1998): 360.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Capreedy, "League within a League," 497.
[74] Ibid., 499.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 3.2.23.

Unlike Mantinea and Elis, Corinth eventually returned to the Peloponnesian League after rejecting the Peace of Nicias in 421 BCE. However, immediately after the Peace and the Athens-Sparta alliance, the Corinthians were the leaders of the Peloponnesian League members who opposed the Peace. Of any League member, Corinth had suffered the most during the Archidamian War at the hands of the Athenians and both the Peace and the Athens-Sparta alliance were correctly viewed by the Corinthians as betrayals by the Spartans.[77] The threat of Corinth at the ratifying congress to take members with it turned out to be real. As noted earlier, the Corinthians and the Argives concluded a successful alliance and were quickly joined by Elis and Mantinea. Hostility towards Athens was the common interest among the three former League members, and in the case of Corinth, actually guided its course of action. For the Corinthians, their original aim of war with Athens at any cost was still at the forefront of their policy, and Argos seemed a capable replacement for Sparta as the leader of their alliance due to its geopolitical position in the Peloponnese.[78] Despite its eagerness to establish the Corinthian Coalition, there was reluctance on the part of Corinth to give the coalition any real power. While Argos, Elis and Mantinea all agreed to make the alliance offensive as well as defensive, Corinth chose not to include itself in the offensive clause on the grounds that it would appear as a declaration of war against the Spartans.[79] Although they were willing to risk war with Sparta, in the days after their refusal to accept the Peace of Nicias the Corinthians had been cautious in their posturing as not to alert the Spartans. For the Corinthians, the strategy of gathering allies who opposed the Peace in addition to supporting Argos was proving tobe ineffective, while the Spartans continued to consolidate their power with the Athenians.

Within a year of the formation of the Corinthian Coalition, it appeared that Corinthian resentment towards Sparta was starting to moderate, and its position was more restrained. What made the Corinthians reposition their stance in early 420 BCE was the alliance made between Argos and Athens through the work of Alcibiades, as it inadvertently achieved Corinth's objective of threatening the Spartans

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[77] Westlake, "Argive Coalition," 415.

[78] Ibid., 416.

[79] Ibid., 418.

with an Argive-Athenian alliance, thus allowing Corinth to publicly demand Sparta to return to open war against Athens.[80] Joining the Quadruple Alliance would serve no purpose for the Corinthians, as now they could appear as a sensible and loyal ally for the Spartans, as opposed to the Athenians who had joined Sparta's chief rival Argos.[81] The political turmoil caused by the Peace of Nicias allowed Corinth to resume the role it had taken since the end of the Second Persian War, of playing the two powerful city-states of Athens and Sparta off against each other in order to serve Corinthian interests. For three years, the Corinthians had attempted to force the Spartans into abandoning the Peace of Nicias without risking any offensive action against Sparta. By 418 BCE, it was evident that Corinth had mishandled its diplomacy since the Peace of Nicias.

From March 421 BCE to the Battle of Mantinea in September 418 BCE, Corinthian diplomacy was hampered by too many conflicting interests, resulting in an incoherent Corinthian policy towards the members of the Corinthian Coalition. As Corinth did not want to take an offensive position against Sparta and possibly engage in open war, it had forced itself into making diplomatic overtures with the members of the Corinthian Coalition that were only focused on defense, but these relations lacked substance. The inclusion of the Athenians into the Quadruple Alliance prevented the Corinthians from taking any action either against Sparta or Athens and they had to take measures to resist any further Athenian assaults under Alcibiades, either politically or militarily.[82] Corinth's diplomacy failed because of its hesitancy to risk offensive action against Sparta and by placing far too much trust in the Argives. By dogmatically pursuing the defeat of Athens and not adjusting their relations towards Sparta, the Corinthians pursued short-sighted diplomatic and military goals after the Peace of Nicias.

The factors that caused the Peace of Nicias to be unsuccessful were all facilitated by the failure of Sparta to recognize the war aims of Mantinea, Elis and Corinth. While the territorial growth of Mantinea was a legitimate concern for Spartan control of the Peloponnese, by confiscating all their conquered lands, Sparta drove the Mantineans

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[80] Kagan, "Corinthian Diplomacy," 306.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Westlake, "Argive Coalition," 420.

closer to the Athenians for the remainder of the Peloponnesian War. Elis' regional *symmachy* in the north-western Peloponnese could not threaten Sparta's Peloponnesian League, thus the Spartan threat to destroy it alienated the Eleans. And lastly, through making peace with Athens in 421 BCE, Sparta neglected the war aim of its strongest ally, Corinth. These decisions by the Spartans established the political conditions for the creation of the Corinthian Coalition that lasted through the states' decision to secede from the Peloponnesian League to the Battle of Mantinea in 418 BCE. When the Athenians allied themselves with Argos, the Corinthian Coalition collapsed as the Corinthians realized that it was impossible to be become an ally of the Athenians.

Therefore, the decisions by Mantinea, Elis and Corinth to secede from the Peloponnesian League largely benefited Sparta. For the Spartans, losing Mantinea and Elis to Athens meant that they did not have to worry about them causing dissent in the League, and the eventual return of the

Corinthians strengthened the Peloponnesian League military for the last fifteen years of the war. Thus, the actions taken by Mantinea, Elis and Corinth after the Peace of Nicias inadvertently strengthened the Peloponnesian League for the remainder of the war. This was an outcome unforeseen by Sparta or its three former principle allies.

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THE BULL AND THE BELL
COLLEEN DUNN

I am going to share a secret but swear an oath you'll never say
I snuck in to see the Rock-birth god at his granite hearth one day.

The moon had chased the sun to dusk when I crept out lamp in hand
to spy the secret *spelaeum* in the depths of hinterland.

I knew I wasn't welcome, swishing swirling skirts, no shield,
for I possess no manly charms and have no arms to wield!

The path was worn with soldiers' tracks through the orchard past the spring
and I stooped to scoop up cherries for an *invictus* offering.

The yawning entrance dark and damp caused my halting gait to falter
but down down I dipped on tippy toes toward the hallowed altar.

My flame was dim, the light did dance upon the jagged walls
and when it caught the great god's image I froze there quite enthralled.

I swept my lamp across his face, hand trembling, heartbeat raced
and I swear to you he turned his head and met my flickering gaze!

He pressed his knee to arching bull and deep in flesh jabbed knife,
the wound gave grain and spurted blood renewing earthly life!

Was that the sound of *pater's* bell that echoed in my ears,
or just the tune of tinkling tones, the falling of my tears?

Did the crescent back of *Luna taurus* inspire Mithras' feast?
Sol once more arisen shares sacred sacrifice of beast.

I do not claim to understand, confusion stirs me still,
but I was filled with awe and strength, the life-force of the bull.

I rinsed the cherries in the stream that Mithras drew from stone,
they glistened bull's blood ruby red as I retraced steps to home.

THE MANIFESTATION OF IMPERIAL IDEOLOGIES

MONUMENTS OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN AND PERSIAN EMPIRES

JONATHAN ROY

Abstract: This paper analyzes the North-West Palace at Nimrud and the Apadana staircase at Persepolis as calculated displays of Imperial Ideology by the kings who built them. The sources of social power in complex societies were economic, military, political, and ideological. This paper focuses on the fourth aspect. Controlling ideology in a complex society like an empire was one way that kings could better control their people. Ashurnasirpal II and Darius I both reigned at the heights of the Neo-Assyrian and Persian Empire's respectively. The methodology utilized by these kings in the construction of their monuments of ideology all work together to reinforce their rules. Aspects of location, size, and tailor-made programs at each monument are analyzed using architectural theories, such as Triggers' theory on conspicuous consumption, along with textual evidence from the sites to illustrate how these kings presented a coherent program of ideology to reinforce their rightful place as king. Furthermore, this paper attempts to situate the ideological identity making of Ashurnasirpal II and Darius I as one connected to the idea of kingship itself in the Near East. This link is one that goes back thousands of years into the Bronze Age and sets precedence that if all these kings shared a core piece of their ideology of rule, then the physical manifestations of their reigns would share similar aspects of ideological reinforcement as well.

Michael Mann describes the sources of social power as "multiple overlapping networks of power rather than a unitary coherent phenomenon".[1] He explains those powers as being economic, military, political and ideological. This paper will focus on the fourth aspect, ideology, in the context of a very complex society, an empire. Through ideology, an empire can maintain its control over the vast lands and the people it governs. If a strong image of power is presented, people will be more likely to remain obedient. The Northwest palace at Nimrud and the

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[1] Mann 1986, 2

Apadana at Persepolis are the physical manifestation of ideology for their empires by the kings who built them, Ashurnasirpal II and Darius I, kings of the Neo-Assyrian and Persian empires respectively. The kings who erected monuments built them to reinforce their ideologies and used them in a manner that aided to that effect. The context with which those monuments were used as well and the images presented on them were attempts at presenting a coherent program of imperial power by these kings to reinforce their rule. The following will discuss how these kings used their monuments' location, size, and tailor-made programs to present their ideologies and thus consolidate their powers as kings.

The primary evidence employed for studying imperial programs here is archaeological, specifically monumental architecture. The reason for this is that buildings can be used as a physical manifestation of a ruler's ideological program or agenda. DeMarrais et al. describe social power as the capacity to control and manage the labor and activities of a group to gain access to the benefits of social action.[2] Moore describes energetics by Abrams, which is an approach to looking at a monument and measuring the time invested in its construction.[3] In doing so, he treats architecture "as a dependent variable that passively reflects labour investment marshalled by social forces."[4] In the political context of an empire, which can encompass vast quantities of land on which many different peoples reside, a unified identity could be created by employing those diverse peoples (i.e., subjects) to work on a unified task. In doing so, people are united and group identities are forged.[5]

Two important variables of a building, cela Lynch is their imagebility, which alludes to what and how much is seen by people, and their legibility, which refers to the meaning(s) derived from the monument by those viewing it.[6] A ruler who utilizes these variables well can use them to present his/her own ideologies efficiently and effectively. One way of doing so is through the relative height of buildings within a cityscape. Higuchi argues that having to "look up" to

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[2] DeMarrais et al. 1996, 15.
[3] Abrams 1989, 52.
[4] Moore 1996, 15.
[5] Abrams 1989, 52.
[6] Lynch 1960, 2.

a building connotes the idea of paying respect or reverence.[7] Moreover, the effect of concavity makes the "view more majestic". A raised monument is more likely to invoke a sense of inferiority in regards to a persons' power relative to the king who commissioned its construction. Furthermore, as advanced by Segall et al. people who experience long uninterrupted horizontal planes tend to make errors of judgment in the horizontal-vertical illusion, thinking that the vertical line is longer than the horizontal line when they are actually of equal length.[8] Kings can manipulate this psychological phenomenon by raising their monuments on vast flat stretches of land, a place that is the only thing in view on the horizon as one approaches.

One of the most important theories utilized in this paper is the theory of "conspicuous consumption". Trigger defines the principle feature of monumental architecture as a scale and elaboration that far exceed the practical requirements that a building is intended to perform.[9] In essence, the wasting of considerable amounts of resources (materials and labor) just to promote an image of power, is in and of itself a method to portraying great power and social authority. The key to attaining social power is the materialization of ideology, monuments are a way to do this. It is a way to send larger messages to more people, because they are large and static objects that require many resources to construct. Other ways to manifest ideology is through ceremonies, writing systems and symbolic objects. All are manifestations that are present in the methods employed by the kings in their palaces.

To provide context to the discussion of Ashurnasirpall II's palace, a brief overview of the Neo-Assyrian Empire must be given. The Neo-Assyrian Empire is the third of its name to exist in the region and is dated from 911-612 BCE. The previous two incarnations of the empire existed in the Bronze age. It is important to note that the initial conquering of lands under Ashur-Dan II (934-912 BCE), the father of first king of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, were fought under the pretense of land reclamation for the Assyrians.[10] He campaigned in the north to the kingdom of Kadmuhu and to the south from the Zagros foothills to the

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[7] Higuchi 1983, 72.
[8] Segal et al. 1966, 83-97.
[9] Trigger 1990, 7.
[10] Kuhrt 1995, 478.

lower Zab to better consolidate the borders of this reborn empire. It was seen then as a return to peaceful times under the Assyrians. His son, Adad-nirari II (911-891 BCE), was the first king of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. He reaffirmed his father's actions by establishing supply points at key locations across their empire, and campaigned further to the north into Hurrian and Neo-Hittite lands, and to the south in Babylonia.[11] His son, Tukulti-Ninurta II (891-884 BCE), consolidated the gains made by his father.[12]

Ashurnasirpal II came to the throne in 883 BCE. The son of Tukulti-Ninurta II, and third king of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, his reign saw the largest expansion of Neo-Assyrian land. He campaigned in Anatolia and the Levant, displaced many peoples across his lands, kept friendly relations with Babylon, and reaffirmed the Assyrian empire as a regional super power by compelling neighboring states to give tribute and gifts.[13] Suddenly, the Neo-Assyrians were sovereigns of many different peoples again. The calculated construction of Ashurnasirpal II's Northwest palace at Nimrud is a way with which he could consolidate his empire's new power, by creating a monument that reflected his empire and ideology in microcosm.

Nimrud was the capital of Ashurnasirpal II during his reign. Located south of modern Aleppo in northern Iraq, Nimrud sits comfortably two miles to the west of the Tigris river, and is described by Mallowan as surrounded by "an undulating stretch of Assyrian pasture and downland".[14] Before arriving at Ashurnasirpal's palace, a calculated endeavor is made by him to distort the judgment of visitors to his capital. The plains surrounding Kalhu make for a very flat horizontal plane, which would then distort the horizontal-vertical illusion of visitors. Visitors would perceive the capitol city as vertically larger than what it was due to the lack of any other structures on the horizon. A manipulation employed by Ahsurnasirpal by erecting his monument on a vast stretch of land, this distortion begins to set in the mind of the beholder that their king is on an elevated station compared to them, and they have not even entered the city yet.

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[11] Ibid, 482.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid, 483-487.
[14] Mallowan 1966, 27.

Nimrud became a fortified city. A wall, spanning 7.5 km around the city measuring 17m in height, was built by Ashurnasirpal to guard his newly built palace and 9 temples.[15] The Northwest palace itself measured 200m on a North-South axis, and 120m on an East-West. The palace was at least two stories high.[16]Ashurnasirpal followed in that tradition with Nimrud, forcefully settling people at Kalhu and utilizing them as a workforce, some 47,000 strong, for his building projects.[17] That multinational workforce and its relation to Nimrud is another way Ashurnasirpal can be described as enforcing his ideology on his people. The theory of energetics looks at a monument and measures the time invested in its construction as a measure of a states' complexity. A project like this would have taken considerable time to finish is a variable that passively reflects the investment of energy into it by the social forces (displaced populaces) marshalled by Ashurnasirpal. The result of using that multi ethnic force is twofold. First it creates unity between the ruled populace and forms a group identity, due to the bonds created in the complex social groups created by merging his people together as one work force to build a monument for an extended period. Second, the massive marshaling of human labor is itself a message given by the king. The manipulation of nature and assembling of massive human labour for the construction of this grand monument is a waste of resources for the sake of expressing power. Expending such materials and labor, in a way that clearly exceeds utilitarian value, is a way a king can be viewed as more powerful because he has such a considerable resource base to pull from. It is conspicuous consumption in the meta sense. Ashurnasirpal promoted an image of power and social authority with his project. It is in the details of the palace however, that more evidence can be derived to illustrate how he presents his ideology.

The state apartments at the Northwest palace were the home and seat of governance of Ashurnasirpal II. Divided into four wings, each with its own function, with a central courtyard. The north wing, the first one comes upon when entering from the front, is the throne room. The

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[15] Ibid, 76.

[16] Building was one of the skills any great Near Eastern king required to count themselves among the rest. This is a tradition that goes back to the kings of Ur and Uruk in the bronze age as evidenced in many royal inscriptions that put forward their great building projects.

[17] Curtis and Reade 1995, 24.

east is the temple wing, where religious ceremony took place. The south held the royal apartments. The western suite was a sort of banqueting area.[18] It was in the throne-room and west suite that the Neo-Assyrian king presented a program of his imperial ideology to be viewed by his people (fig. 1). The throne room façade is the first architectural feature encountered upon entering the palace. There is no better first impression to give a visiting tributary than a massive, over-life sized, anthropomorphic statue (fig.2). These human headed winged lions (or bulls) would flank the entrances to the palace and were made of gypsum alabaster. These types of statues were guardian figures, associated with the divine. They were always placed at transitory spaces to protect the movement of people between rooms. They send a message that they are powerful guardians of a building owned by a powerful man. Due to their size, humans had to look up when close to them. Higuchi's theory regarding lifting your gaze up as being equitable to paying respect or reverence to an object is at play here. The associated cue of these sculptures is to enforce a sense of wonder and fear. The sense of wonder is derived because they are large well-designed figures associated with divine protection, thus insuring some sense of ease when inside the palace. The fear also stems from that same association of wonder; fear that should they somehow be a threat to the protected of the guardians, aka the King, they would become a target of this fearsome creature.

Along with the guardian figures, the throne-room façade has reliefs of people bearing tribute to the king. A standard Akkadian inscription on the reliefs articulates information about the king, paramount among which are his lengthy list of titles which include the "king of the four corners", a title whose lineage runs back millennia in the dynasties of the Near East.[19] This standard inscription would be copied onto other relief sculpture throughout the palace, repeating the achievements and attributes of the king. The sculpture is a literal reinforcement to the position visiting tributaries should associate themselves with when they came to pay tribute to their king. The reliefs offer a mirror to people, making sure they realize their duty and place regarding the king not just on an abstract level but in a literal form. Great pain was taken by the sculptures at Nimrud to represent the distinctions

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[18] Russel 1998, 665.
[19] Ibid, 657.

in garb between tributaries. Babylonians would be able to see true-to-life representations of themselves as would any other peoples who live under the yoke of Ashur.[20] These images represent those who are there to give gifts to a person who is above them not only in pictorial form, but also in reality. The guardian figures, reliefs, and the inscriptions on the reliefs, are the first line of presentation to any visitors to the palace. The legibility of this first contact point is designed for viewers to remember why they are here, who resides in the monument, and the relationship between the two.

The throne room was the supposed center of the empire. This suppostion is not one made by modern scholars but Ashurnasirpal II himself. he described his monument as "palace of all the wisdom of Kalhu."[21] By extension, the throne room is the center of the center as it is the place where he received royal embassies, tributaries, and governs in the public sense. The wall decorations add to the rooms supposed centrality. While themes depict the king hunting and performing his religious duties as representative of the gods, as any Near-Eastern king is expected to do, the central motif in the throne room are images of war.[22] The Neo-Assyrian's prided themselves on their conquering.[23] By presenting this essential tenet of Assyrian culture in the room most associated with the sovereignty, it reaffirms the king's position as the ruler of his dominated peoples.

The west suite acts as an extension of the throne room. Called the "Second House" by Russel, he presents a dilemma in identifying the function of the west suite as either the banqueting hall or apartments of the *sa biti sani* "men of the second house", who were servants of the king and attended him at feasts.[24] It is difficult to characterize the west suite as the lodging area of the men of the second house due to its public accessibility, being directly connected to the throne room via room F in figure 1. The private quarters of people, even servants to a king, should

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[20] Reade 1979, 334.

[21] Winter 1993, 12.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Their lust for conquest is one of the most likely causes of their downfall, because an empire cannot sustain itself by constantly expanding. The Neo-Assyrians were doomed to fall since it is one of their core ideologies.

[24] Russel 1998, 667.

be expected to have some level of privacy, not be directly connected to the most public room in the palace. Thus, the translation of men of the second house identifying the west suite as where they lived would be problematic and instead classifies the west suite as where the worked, making it the banquet hall. Identifying the west suite as the banquet hall is important because it provides a location for another important method for which Ashurnasirpal consolidated his power. The west suite also extends out into the central courtyard, allowing more space for guests at feasts, which, in turn, allows for more people to be on the receptive end of the king's generosity. Massive feasts, such as those thrown by Ashurnasirpal, are a way to indebt revelers to the king. By providing food on a grand scale, the king reaffirms his relationship to his people as a provider, reinforcing his position as benefactor to his people. Throwing massive feasts is also a method of conspicuous consumption, especially considering he Ashurnasirpal II held a feast with some 70,000 guests, as shown by the banquet stele.[25] There is no clear utilitarian function to feasting thousands of people at this point. It is a tremendous attempt at showcasing his wealth to his people by being able to provide meals to so many to celebrate the completion of his biggest act of conspicuous consumption. It is also during these feasts that Ashurnasirpal had the most opportune moment to show off his palace and the ideologies it presents to a great audience.

The Northwest palace at Nimrud is a calculated monument reflecting Ashurnasirpal II's empire. It facilitates the continuation of reinforcing the social place of himself and his people, and the relationship they have. By building it where he did, building it the way he did, decorating it the way he did, and using it the way he did, Ashurnasirpal II had created the reflection of his empire in microcosm. However, he was not the only Near-Eastern king to do so.

Cyrus II was the first king of the Persian Empire. In the span of 20 years he expanded his holdings in southwest Iran, Parsa, into an empire.[26] Campaigning in Media, Babylon, Urartu, Anatolia, and the Levant, Cyrus the Great took these lands and formed the Persian empire.

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[25] Chavalas 2010, 286.
[26] Brosius 2008, 8.

His son, Cambyses II, expanded the empire to include Cyprus and he marched into Egypt, claimed it, and, in turn, claimed Libya and Cyrene.[27]

Darius II came to the throne in 522 BCE. However, he was not the heir of Cambyses but the son of a satrap in Parthia. In a coup that took out the false brother of Cambyses II, Darius claimed kingship with the help of the Persian noble families. He then claimed descent from the father of Teispes, Achaemenes, who would have been the great-great grandfather of Cyrus II to situate himself in the family line of Cyrus the Great.[28] It is from that link that the Achaemenid dynasty derives its name.

Darius' first year was marked by nine rebellions, all of which he put down.[29] He reigned at the height of the Persian empire and spent all of his time consolidating his power over the nations his "forbears" conquered. He standardized gold mint, expanded infrastructure across the empire to facilitate faster movement, reorganized the satrapy system to curb local ruling powers, and initiated extensive rebuilding at Susa and Pasagardae. His main building project during his lifetime was Persepolis.

Located in southern Iran, in the province of Fars, the construction of Persepolis was the first effort at building in the area. Strabo and Arrian describe Persia as having three separate climatic regions.[30] A hot coastal region, temperate inter-mountain valleys and plains, and a cold mountain region, called *garmsir*, *sarhad*, and *sardsir* respectively. Persepolis was in the sarhad region. The region surrounding Persepolis is thus aptly named the Persepolis plain. It is an important identifier to give it, since the horizontal-vertical illusion would again come into play here. Being a raised structure on a flat horizon, Persepolis, in the minds of any visitors on the Imperial roads, would be distorted and seen as larger than what it was vertically. A grander image of the king is presented to arriving dignitaries before they even set foot in the city.

The Persians used the structure of Persepolis itself as a ceremonial palace. Its original concept did not have that function in mind

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[27] Ibid, 13.
[28] Ibid, 17.
[29] Ibid, 18.
[30] Sumner 1986, 17.

however, since it was initially conceived to be a fortress for Darius, as said by the king himself,

> And Darius King says: "As for the fact that (uk-ku) upon this place this fortress was built, formerly here a fortress had not been built. By the grace of Ahuramazda I built this fortress. And Ahuramazda was of such a mind, together with all the gods, that this fortress (should) be built. And (so) I built it. And I built it secure and beautiful and adequate, just as I was intending to..."[31]

This inscription found on the platform wall shows that not only was Persepolis' original intention military in nature, a lot of labor and material went into manipulating the landscape to begin construction. An act of conspicuous consumption, Darius' workforce terraformed a mountain side and created the raised Persepolis platform. This massive platform had 43 sides and is nearly 1.5 km in diameter. Darius' workforce formed the platform by moving giant rocks to form a base.[32] The act of wielding such power to manipulate nature itself in the construction of a monument is a tremendous waste of resources for the sake of displaying power.

The people who contributed to the construction of Persepolis, and thus by extension the Apadana, add to the image of royal power. Darius' inscriptions mention the far-flung nations that were home to his workers as a symbol of inclusivity. He says he is king of many lands, the proof of which lies in the fact that he mentions them in his royal literature to confirm his power over many peoples since they were made to work on Persepolis as shown in this inscription from a wall at Persepolis,

> Le roi Darius dit: "Avec la protection d'Ahuramazdā, ce sont ces pays qui ont fait ceci, qui se sont rassemblés ici: la Perse, la Médie et les autres pays d'autres langues, de montanges et de plaines, de ce côté-ci de la mer et de ce côté-là de la mer, et de ce côté-ci du desert et de ce côte-là du desert, comme je leur en avais donné l'ordre; tout ce que j'ai fait, je l'ai fait avec la protection

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[31] Schmidt 1953, 63

[32] Mousavi 1992, 208.

d'Ahurmazdā; qu'Ahurmazdā me protège, avec tous le dieux, moi et ce que j'aime.33

This inscription was in Babylonian, and its language points to the creation of social unison by the king. He says he involves peoples from across his empire, a large land whose borders stretch from the west coast of Anatolia, to India, North Africa, and to the Red Sea. He says that he gives them command, referencing their construction of Persepolis at his behest. The wording of the inscription somewhat contradicts the pervious one. One speaks of Darius himself building a fortress, the other of the diverse peoples employed by the king to build it. In truth, one is simply the extension of the other. By saying he built Persepolis, he in turn takes sole credit for constructing a great monument. By naming his workforce, the credit from the first inscription is multiplied because the implication is that he wielded power over others, and used them as a tool, an extension of himself, to build his monument. The addition of the last line calling for the protection of those he loves, which can be assumed to be the lands previously mentioned and their people, can be considered as thanks from the benevolent Persian ruler. The message to his people is that he appreciates them to the extent that he will mention their contributions, which serves to placate them. It also acts to reaffirm that he commands them, thus insuring they still know their place in the world vis-à-vis the king, and serves as a general message that Darius can muster an international workforce to transform nature itself for the sole purpose of displaying his power.

While it can be difficult to take messages from kings at face value, as they can be propagandist in nature, proof exists that there were more than just Persians working at Persepolis. Carvings at Persepolis, written by workers there testify to this. One such inscription is in Ionian Greek. It reads "πυθάρχό εἰμί", which means I am of Pytharchos. It was written in the quarries around Persepolis, by men who would have been stoneworkers during the reign of Darius.34 Since Ionia was under the control of the Persians, which would, therefore, be included in the listing of lands in the above inscription, the use of Ionic Greeks as workmen at Persepolis can be expected. This expectation is confirmed by this graffiti

33 Lecoq 1997, 230.
34 Roaf 1980, 70.

carving made by Pytharchos, one of Darius' many workers whom he so loved.

The main monument at Persepolis that encapsulates the display of the imperial ideology of Darius is the Apadana staircase. This staircase was situated on top of the Persepolis platform, to the right of the main entrance. The staircase itself led to the seat of the King under a roof supported by columns. The north side of the monument aptly encapsulates what the Persian Empire is and reaffirms its kings place in relation to his subjects. It displays the three major pieces of the empire, the nobles, the people, and the king. Beginning in that order, the nobles are on the left side of the relief staircase. Carved in an orderly fashion, the rows of nobles stand on ceremony for their king (Fig. 3). They are not drawn in a combative stance. They are simply attending their king. The force presented like so is a move on the king's part to remind his people of the power of his military, but not to invoke fear of being destroyed by it, but ease by being protected by it. They represent the order that the king provides to his land and people – a peace that he offers to his people.

The right side of the northern Apadana stair depicts gift bearers, from across the empire, carrying tribute to the king (Fig. 4). Their inclusion on the stair is to act as a reflection to what visitors to the palace are meant to do. They are there to revere their king and offer him wealth. Again, the carvers of the staircase observe very acute attention to detail by taking care to accurately draw the differences in garb and look in each individual gift giver. Those differences are a message of power, designed to provide you with an idea to just how many different nations are under Persian rule.

The fact that both sides of the stair depict people in procession draws the association between the act of gift giving with a religious connotation. By making a religious association, Darius incorporates himself into the psyche of his people on a spiritual level as well as a physical. Not only do the images aid in pronouncing this feeling, but the fact that the procession must climb a staircase, a form of elevation, reinforces the idea that should the people wish to come before their king, they must be invited to the center where he is depicted and by extension, rise the staircase to his actual position to give their gifts. This places the king not only on a metaphorical higher level than his people, but on a

physical level as well, thereby reinforcing his rightful position in the world as their superior.

Upon rising to the platform, guests are greeted with a multi-rowed columned hall and their king. This reception platform also acted as a tool of power for the king, in the sense of its design. A double row of columns leading to a central place, or in this case person, has something called the edge of the forest effect.[35] Humans are attracted to this effect, which, in turn, plays to the position of the king at the center of the structure. Entering the structure, what separates the exterior and the interior are a threshold of columns, which is important. Multi-rowed columned rooms do not have the central axis that a double columned room would. Lacking that central axis, viewers are more drawn to the architecture and marvel at it.[36] It is a tool of power incorporated by the king. By placing himself inside this particularly designed structure, the king associates himself with the display of power coming from the plan of the architecture. In turn, this association elevates the king in the eyes of the visitors.

The Apadana at Persepolis is a calculated display of power on the part of Darius I. Ascending to the throne at the height of the Persian empire thanks to the work of his predecessors, Darius needed to consolidate his power over his people. Building this monument at Persepolis was one way in which he could display his ideology to his people to confirm his right to rule over them.

Darius I and Ashurnasirpal II shared a common goal. They both sought to affirm their power by presenting their imperial ideology to their peoples. They are similar in that they employed monuments to do this. They differ in the content of the programs they illustrate. The Neo-Assyrians were a warlike people, always needing to expand and force themselves into positions of might over others. The reliefs of military conquest and subjugation at the North-West palace at Nimrud reflect that ideology which they present to scare their people into obedience. On the other hand, the Persians, while still reaching their height by means of conquest, elect to instead portray themselves as benefactors and keepers of peace for their people to ease the fear of their people and make them

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[35] Gopnik 2005 , 201.
[36] Ibid, 202.

feel more welcome under Persian rule. This ideology is characterized by the images of stability and peace depicted on the Apadana. Comparatively, a stretched-out hand is much more likely to be accepted than the threat of a fist.

Ashurnasirpal II, and by extension, the Achaemenid dynasty of Darius I, exist in a self-inducted lineage of kingship that goes back to the Bronze age. Near eastern kings regularly claimed titles like King of the Four Corners and the world, to associate themselves with the great kings of times gone by. This specific title goes back to the reign of Naram-Sin in the Old-Akkadian period.[37] That is a near 2,000 lifespan for a title, which, in turn, creates a lineage for Near Eastern kingship for all who claim it. This core title is the headliner of most texts that mention Ashurnasirpal II and Darius I. By claiming that title, they indivertibly induct themselves in an ideology of kingship that goes back thousands of years.

Ashurnasirpal II and Darius I's empires were differently organized entities, but the methods used to display their individual ideologies are the same and are a continuation of attempts previous Near Eastern kings to strengthen their rules. In a broader sense, any large state entity needs to control ideology, along with the military, economic, and political power in a nation to govern it properly. The Northwest palace at Nimrud and Apadana at Persepolis programs were calculated attempts at reaffirming their respective kings' places in their empires. Analyzing monuments that were built to reflect the empire for which it resides in can give scholars a glimpse into what the goals for their kings were. This method would especially be helpful in looking at the history of the Near East. For if the Neo-Assyrian and Persian empires built monuments to reflect their ideology, one that has links to those of others in the region throughout history, this same study can be applied to other Near Eastern states in the Bronze Age. It would confirm that not only has the memory of Near Eastern empires survived in what they wrote, but also in the monuments that they built.
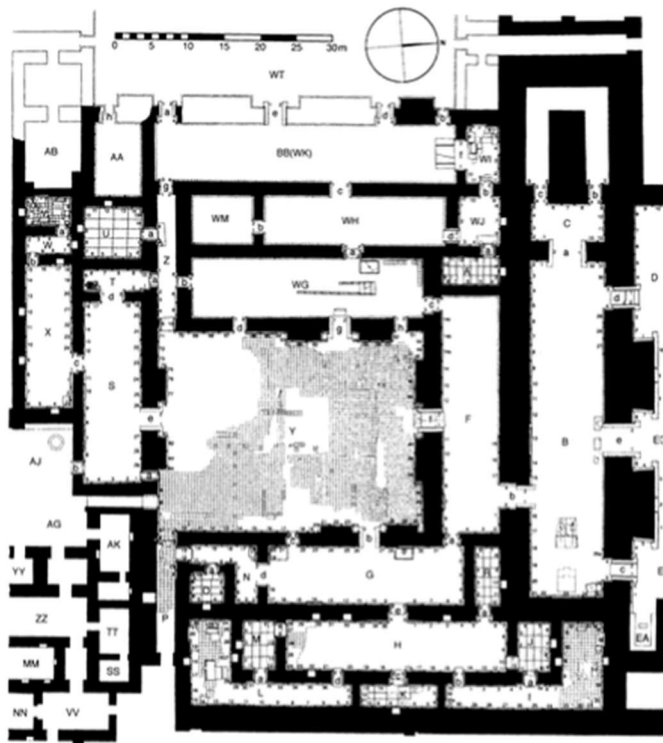
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[37] Chavalas 2010, 31.

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Figure 2. Statue which stood at NW Palace Throne-Room entrance (Benzel et al. 2010, 94).
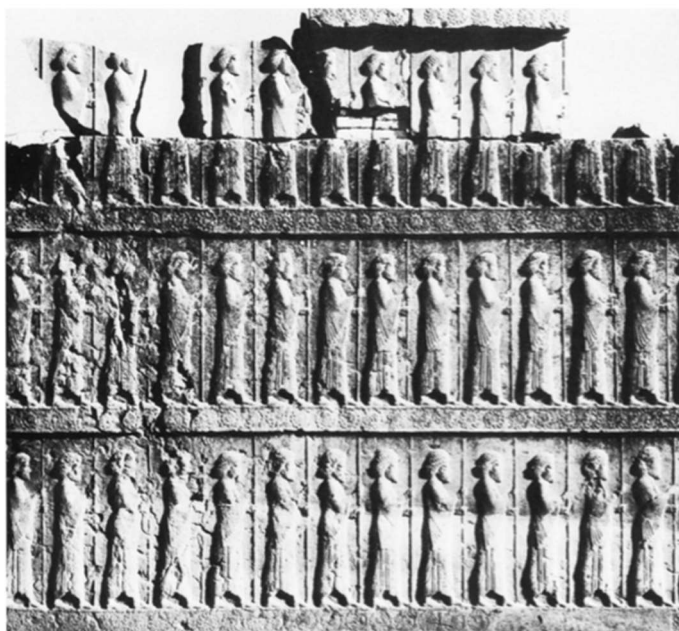

FIG. 5. Persepolis, Apadana north stair: nobles on wing A. (After Schmidt, *Persepolis* I pl. 58 left)

Figure 3. Relief of the left façade of the north side of the Apadana (Cool Root 1985, 25).

Figure 4. Relief from the right side of the north façade of the Apadana (Cool Root 1985, 25).

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A TECHNOLOGICAL SURVEY OF ANALOGUE COMPUTERS

SHAUN SARAZIN

Abstract: This paper examines analogue computers: mechanical devices that model a problem being solved; more specifically, it examines the technology inherent to the sundial, the astrolabe, and the Antikythera mechanism[1]. The information presented in this paper surveys technological innovation by studying these similar mechanisms; it also presents information regarding the mechanism's purpose and impact on society. It is useful to understand how these mechanisms operate because their innate technology exemplifies the innovation of the period. The knowledge gained from technology can explain how society lived and possibly reveal new areas for discovery. The goal of this paper is to show this innovation and demonstrate the benefits it affords society.

The Sundial

Any object that "marks the passage of time by means of the variation in length and/or direction of the shadow cast by sunlight" is considered a sundial[2]. Several categories of sundial have been found in ancient Egypt; their distinguishing feature solely defined by their shadow-catching surface. The shadow-receiving area of these sundials can be planar, curved, L-shaped, sloped, concave, or semicircular[3]; other miscellaneous types have been recorded as hybrid combining multiple different properties creating multi-function dials[4]. Their size varies as well depending on the end-use. Small dials, less than ten centimeters in diameter, are considered portable personal items[5] as opposed to the fixed

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[2] Symons, Sarah, and Himanshi Khurana. 2016. "A catalogue of Ancient Egyptian Sundials." *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 375.
[3] *Ibid.* 377
[4] *Ibid.* 379
[5] *Ibid.*

variety which surpass one foot on average[6]. Fixed dials "were carved from blocks of different kinds of calcareous stone (marble, limestone, tufa)"[7] and were placed in various locations throughout the city. Common locations included: courtyards, baths, temples, and public squares (i.e., places with a lot of human traffic).[8]

Greek and Roman sundials typically consist of the conical and spherical variety[9]. Their prominent attribute feature's a gnomon, a bronze or iron bar shaped like an elongated pyramid, it is fixed to the sundial's surface by lead filled mounting holes and aligned somewhere along the meridian line -- the imaginary line connecting the north and south poles.[10] The shadow-catching surface of the dial is marked with engraved hour lines and day curves[11]. When the shadow cast from the edge of the gnomon reaches one of the hour markings the time of day is known. Twelve-hour lines engraved in the surface of the dial mark the seasonal hours of daylight between sunrise and sunset. The length of the casted shadow varies as the seasons change; it is shortest during the winter solstice and longer in the summer solstice. The shadow of the gnomon's point indicates the different seasonal hours and traces a path marked by the day curves. In this fashion, Greek and Roman sundials double as a crude calendar.[12]

The sundial innovation resulted from observations made by early scientists that tracked the movement of the sun from sunrise to sunset. "The successful designer of dials would have to possess the talents of both a mathematician and an astronomer. As astronomer he considers the observable path of the sun on the celestial sphere. As mathematician he contrives to project that path onto a shadow receiving surface".[13] Hellenistic astronomers established that the earth's size is negligible when compared to its orbital path circling the sun. This implies that "the point of a gnomon on the surface of the earth may be considered as if it is

[6] Gibbs, Sharon Louise. 1972. Greek and Roman Sundials. Ann Arbor: ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 2.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.* 4

[9] *Ibid.* 2

[10] *Ibid.* 3

[11] *Ibid.* 2

[12] *Ibid.* 3

[13] *Ibid.* 9

at the center of the earth. It also implies that the horizon halves the universe and that the longest day of the year equals the longest night".[14] Using these principles, the shadow-catching surface of the sundial can be designed using plane trigonometry;[15] a branch of mathematics that examines the relationship between the sides and angles of a triangle.

Further innovation to the technology ensued as the science behind sundials evolved. Portable varieties appeared enhancing the capability of the dialer. These devices removed the latitude restrictions, which were inherent to fixed sundials because they allowed for continuous latitude adjustment. Portable dials maintained the same twelve-hour design as their fixed counterparts but were less accurate. The design embodied an approximation so "the time read on it is subject to a systematic error that varies with the time of day, the season of the year, and the observer's latitude".[16] Despite this slight drawback these devices made the task of telling time possible anywhere.

The sundial standardized timekeeping by marking the seasonal hours thus creating a unit of measure. In antiquity, the hour unit of measure was primarily employed by priests. They monitored time precisely because religious rituals depended on punctuality. Performing a ritual at the wrong moment risked angering the Gods which was unacceptable. "The hour was therefore, a meaningful unit of time".[17]

The Astrolabe

Several varieties of astrolabe have been recorded throughout history but the most prominent version was the "astrolabe planisphere, or, simply the planisphere".[18] This astrological instrument used by astronomers, astrologers, and surveyors measured inclination -- the slant or slope of a

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[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.* 12

[16] Wright, M T. 2000. "Greek and Roman Portable Sundials An Ancient Essay in Approximation." Archive for History of Exact Sciences 55 (2): 177-187. doi:10.1007/s004070000024, 177.

[17] Remijsen, Sofie. 2007. "The Postal Service and the Hour as a Unit of Time in Antiquity." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 56 (2): 127-140. http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/stable/25598384, 129.

[18] Latham, Marcia. 1917. "The Astrolabe." *The American Mathematical Monthly* (Mathematical Association of America) 24 (4): 162-168. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2973089. 162.

celestial body relative to one's present location. The instrument had many uses but primarily served to identify stars or planets; determine latitude, height, and distance; as well as indicate time. These functions also made the astrolabe an ideal navigational tool.

The astrolabe construction consists of a small brass or copper circular disk, called the "mater" or "mother."[19] It has scales engraved on both sides and ranges from four to seven inches in diameter. The mater represents the plane upon which the celestial sphere gets projected.[20] Its front surface is hollowed and receives three separate adjustable parts, which pivot around a brass center pin. The hollowed portion is called the moder and it stores the declination scale, the net and the latitude plates.[21] To complete the assembly an alidade attaches to the backside of the matter; this ruler also mounts to the center pin and is multi-purposed. It serves to sight celestial objects and measure altitude.

Concentric circles on the backside of the mater mark the "signs of the zodiac", the "months of the year", and sometimes the "letters of the church calendar."[22] The outermost circle is divided into single degrees numbered 0 to 90 from west to north and 90 to 0 from north to east. Moving inwards, the remaining circles indicate the "names and signs of the zodiac, each divided into 30 degrees"; and then "the names of the months and their division into days."[23] The day traces are engraved using the "curves of the unequal hours" principle.[24] A crosshair extends from the center of the circles marking the meridian line vertically and the east-west line horizontally. Since the observer views the circles from the back of the astrolabe, the east-west direction is mirrored and must be interpreted as such. In this condition, west corresponds to the viewer's right hand side and east corresponds to his left hand side.[25] Using these

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[19] Ibid. 164

[20] Ibid. 163

[21] Ionides, S A. 1904. "Description of an Astrolabe." *The Geographical Journal* 24 (4): 411-417. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1775947. 412.

[22] Latham, 164

[23] Ionides, 412

[24] Latham, 165

[25] Ibid. 164

parameters the position of the sun in the ecliptic can easily be found by aligning the alidade to the corresponding date.26

Inside the smallest circle on the backside we find the "geometric square" or "square of the shadows;"27 its purpose is to measure heights and distances28 read from the position of the alidade and is in itself a complete instrument. The vertical sides of the square, called "umbra versa", indicate height; whereas, the horizontal sides of the square, called "umbra recta", indicate distance.29 "The numbers on them closely correspond to the natural tangents and co-tangents of the angles read off by the alidade."30 The alidade also serves to make observations or determine altitudes using its hinged sights in conjunction with the astrolabe's thumb ring; a process akin to sighting with a rifle.31 The thumb ring attaches to the side of the astrolabe permitting it to be suspended vertically from the operator's right thumb.32 Looking through both sights on the alidade aligns the object allowing the user to read its altitude from the scale on the outermost ring.

The front of the astrolabe makes use of the latitude plates and the declination scale. The plates are engraved with three concentric circles representing stereographic projections of the equator and the tropics; each circle is centered at the North Pole, which is the physical center of the astrolabe. The latitude plates map its user's location geographically and also provide bearings for important celestial objects. These objects reside on a secondary plate called the "net" or "rete"; it maps the heavens by identifying twenty-seven stars "of the first or second magnitude"33 and sits on top of a latitude plate inside the moder. The net is not a solid plate; rather, it is an overlay made using "filigree" metal and arranged to connect the stars as they are seen in the sky.34 Longitude coordinates are read from the rim of the astrolabe using a ruler that rotates over the net; this same ruler contains a declination scale and measures latitude for a

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26 Ionides, 413
27 Latham, 165
28 Ionides, 413
29 Latham, 165
30 Ionides, 413
31 Latham, 164
32 Ibid. 164
33 Ionides, 413
34 Latham, 165

point on the latitude plate. With both of these astronomical coordinates the direction of said point on the celestial sphere can be determined.[35] Some additional traces on the latitude plate display the "twelve astrological houses" as well as the "circles of unequal or planetical hours". The first set of traces are meaningful when determining "astrological judgements" and the second indicate the twelve hour intervals between sunset and sunrise – a unit of measure commonly used in early times.[36]

Continuous improvements and adaptations to the astrolabe's design occurred throughout the centuries that follow; one such innovation is the mariner's astrolabe. Driven by a surge in world exploration during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[37] this device was solely purposed to "determining a solar, lunar, or stellar altitude" more precisely than its terrestrial variant -- the astrolabe planisphere.[38] It is also larger in diameter and heavier because it must "hang as steadily as possible in a wind on a moving vessel."[39] Altitude measurements rely on the alignment of the alidade sights. The measurement is therefore greatly affected by small adjustments of the alidade; a few degrees could mean large errors in distance. Knox-Johnston's experiments regarding the accuracy of the mariner's astrolabe showed that the average error in latitude is 13.63 nautical miles when compared to an estimated position and a position indicated by the Argos satellite (p.71). This error translates to 25 kilometers, so inaccuracies in altitude could spell tragedy in the open seas.

The innovation behind the astrolabe technology is based on the principles of stereographic projection and plane trigonometry. Stereographic projection maps a sphere onto a plane from a single projection point. For the astrolabe this means "the celestial sphere is projected from its South Pole onto the plane of the equator". The significance of stereographic

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[35] Ionides, 413

[36] Ibid. 414

[37] Knox-Johnston, Robin. 2013. "Practical Assessment of the Accuracy of the." *The Mariner's Mirror* 99 (1): 67-71. doi:10.1080/00253359.2013.766999. 67

[38] North, J D. 1990. "Book Review: The Mariner's Astrolabe, the Mariner's Astroblabe." *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 21 (3): 298-300. doi:https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1177/002182869002100306. 299.

[39] Ibid. 299

projection is that it preserves the angular distances for any object that gets projected. These distances can then be measured using a scale calibrated from the same projection process.[40] When determining heights and distances the astrolabe applies the principles of plane trigonometry; triangles are formed between the surveyor and the sighted object. Suspending the astrolabe vertically with the alidade fixed along the diagonal of the geometric square creates a triangle whose height and distance can easily be calculated.[41] "The design of an astrolabe is a simple problem of descriptive geometry."[42]

The many practical uses of the astrolabe made it essential to society dating back to the time of Ptolemy (A.D. 150)[43] and as far forward as the eighteenth century.[44] In early times its principle use was astronomy "and by about A.D. 800 it had achieved a high degree of accuracy" making the device extremely important when "calculating prayer times and finding the direction of the Mecca".[45] It continued in practical use until "superseded by the quadrant, or sextant, and the logarithm tables at the beginning of the eighteenth century."[46]

The Antikythera Mechanism

Valerios Staïs, curator of the National Archaeological museum in Athens, described the Antikythera mechanism as "ancient clockwork"[47] – "a mechanical device used to make measurements or perform calculations"[48]. Its largest fragment is shaped like a book with a large and medium sized gear mounted to its top. The other side contains several smaller gears, cogwheels, and a square peg; a flat sheet of bronze in the bottom right-hand corner reveals an illegible Greek inscription. A second smaller fragment also presented a flat bronze sheet with another

[40] Neugebauer, O. 1949. "The Early History of the Astrolabe. Studies in Ancient Astronomy IX." *History of Science Society* (The University of Chicago Press) 40 (3): 240-256. http://www.jstor.org/stable/227240. 241.

[41] Latham, 167

[42] Neugebauer, 241

[43] Ibid. 240

[44] Ionides, 411

[45] Knox-Johnston, 67

[46] Ionides, 411

[47] Marchant, Jo. 2009. *Decoding the Heavens.* Cambridge: Da Capo Press. 38

[48] Ibid. 40

engraved inscription. This fragment's backside was divided into a series of concentric circles "which may have served as guides for a rotating pointer."[49]

Starting in 1903, several scholarly publications surfaced about the Antikythera mechanism; research from deciphering the inscriptions led scientists to believe the device was a mechanical astrolabe: a computer that calculated the position of the sun and the stars in the sky. In 1907, Albert Rehm, an expert on ancient inscriptions, re-classified the Antikythera mechanism as a planetarium. He discovered the word "Pachon" which is "the Greek form of a month name in the ancient Egyptian calendar."[50] His thesis proposed that a handle on the side of the Antikythera device turned its gears which simulated the motion of the known planets at that time.

Derek De Solla Price, a specialist in the history of astronomical instruments, believed the Antikythera led to advancements in technology "that ultimately enabled the scientific and industrial revolutions."[51] In the summer of 1958 he began studying the Antikythera mechanism, applying his knowledge of ancient instrumentation attempting to expose the secrets of the Antikythera device once and for all. With help from a Greek epigrapher, George Stamires, Price read the inscriptions on the Antikythera mechanism, which revealed its purpose as a Greco-Egyptian calendar called a "parapegma". The Greeks used this type of calendar in the fifth century and it marked the "passing of the seasons, as well as providing invaluable information for farming and navigation."[52] The device was a "calendar computer that calculated the movements of the Sun and Moon as seen from Earth, in order to track the days and months of the year and, through the parapegma text, to predict the corresponding positions of the stars."[53] Michael Wright (Curator of mechanical engineering at the Science Museum in London) and Allan G. Bromley (Astrophysicist at the University of Sydney in Australia) built on Price's research and discovered an implementation of an epicyclic gear whose purpose was to model the varying motion of the moon.

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[49] Ibid. 39
[50] Ibid. 54
[51] Ibid. 107
[52] Ibid. 113
[53] Ibid. 149

In October 2005, the Athens museum discovered another fragment of the Antikythera mechanism; it was "a substantial piece of the lower back dial."[54] Another researcher, Tony Freeth, and his team were able to conclude that Wright's lunar model was correct; however, he was only partially right. The newly discovered fragment was the key, it "was used for eclipse prediction."[55] Translating the glyphs from the inscriptions supported Freeth's hypothesis. The Antikythera was a "calendar computer"[56] that modelled the "Exeligmos period"; a period where "eclipses repeat in almost exactly the same pattern."[57] The Antikythera mechanism not only modelled circular motion but also elliptical motion. It accounted for lunar wobble and speed variations caused by elliptical orbits. Winding the handle on the Antikythera mechanism allowed its user to "see everything about the sky at any chosen moment."[58]

Researchers continue to discover technologies built into the Antikythera mechanism design. Daryn Lehoux, Department of Classics at Queen's University in Canada, recounts one such discovery. He explains that the "sets of concentric dial circles" on the front of the mechanism "were in fact two continuous spirals carrying indicator needles;"[59] these needles tracked "a nineteen-year lunar calendar cycle and an eighteen-year eclipse cycle."[60] Originally the sets of concentric dial circles were thought to be a "parapegma", "a type of calendar used by the Greeks from the fifth century" that "correlated repeating astronomical events."[61]

The impact this mechanism had on society is not known, but Agamemnon Tselikas, now the Director for the Center for History and Palaeography believed it was a luxury item built for a "wealthy non-specialist owner."[62] His work deciphering the characters on the mechanism translated to a list of operating instructions, which are much

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[54] Ibid. 211
[55] Ibid. 246
[56] Ibid. 251
[57] Ibid. 250
[58] Ibid. 259
[59] Lehoux, Daryn. 2013. "Ancient Science in a Digital Age." *The History of Science Society* (The University of Chicago Press) 104 (1): 111-118. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/669892. 112.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Marchant, 113
[62] Marchant, 244

too detailed and would never be required by a scientist or specialist working in the field.63 If this is true, it is unlikely that a replica of this technology was created thus the impact to society is moot and open for debate.

Conclusion

Each of the astronomical instruments described in this paper share the same theoretical principles but elaborate and refine the science behind their technology over the course of time. The sundial tracks the movement of the sun from sunrise to sunset projecting its orbital path onto a plane. Using the principles of plane trigonometry the craftsman traces day curves divided into twelve equal hours representing the position of the sun in the ecliptic. As the sun travels the ecliptic it casts a shadow on the sundial's surface creating the measure of time. This same principle is apparent in the astrolabe and the Antikythera mechanism. Both devices track the sun in the ecliptic; they apply the same principles of stereographic projection and plane trigonometry just in an innovative way, which lends them to different applications. The astrolabe allows its user to determine the position of the sun in the ecliptic as well as to predict its position by aligning the alidade to a specific date in time. In this case the device enhances the measure of time by including a feature of bi-directionality; not only can the user track the sun, but he can also predict its location for a specific day projected in time. In a similar fashion, the Antikythera mechanism performs the same action of bi-directionality; however, it does so by means of calculation. In this way the process of tracking time is more accurate. Each revolution of the gear train changes the mechanical model, which changes the location of the sun in the ecliptic. The gear train simulates the movement of the sun by calculating its path in the ecliptic. In addition, the model can predict the sun's path both forwards and backwards in time; an innovation not possible with the sundial or the astrolabe.

Even within the sundial and astrolabe categories we find technological innovation. Each device was adapted thus extending their capability. Sundials were made portable by overcoming the latitude restrictions imposed by geographic location. Similarly, the mariner's astrolabe demonstrates innovation by improving the altitude inaccuracies

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63 Ibid.

generated by a moving vessel. These innovations in technology refined the science thus benefiting society.

The inspiration for writing this paper came from reading Jo Marchant's book *Decoding the heavens a 2,000-year-old computer—and the century-long search to discover its secrets.* The book introduces the reader to the Antikythera mechanism, a calendar computer that modelled the Exeligmos period.[64] The book chronicles the work of scientists Derek De Solla Price, Michael Wright, and Tony Freeth. Their combined efforts resulted in a century-long search for knowledge unraveling the technology inherent to the Antikythera mechanism. The significance of their work changed society's perception of ancient Greek Scientists by accrediting them with superior mathematical skill.[65] Price, Wright, and Freeth's success in decoding the Antikythera mechanism demonstrated reliance on technology and scientific method. Their knowledge culminated because of innovations in technology which eventually helped reveal the intricate operation of the Antikythera device.[66] Technological innovation serves as a tool that advances science which benefits and improves society; it progresses knowledge and shapes the future, a notion demonstrated by Price, Wright and Freeth.

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[64] My earlier research on the Antikythera mechanism provides evidence to support this fact. The Exeligmos period comprises 54 years and 33 days, it is used to predict solar and lunar eclipses that repeat thus exhibiting similar properties as seen in the previous Exeligmos cycle. Citations from Jo Marchant's *Decoding the heavens* are available in my book report; or refer to Chapter 9 – A Stunning Idea p.250 in Marchant's book.

[65] Historians stereotyped Greek scientists as skilled artists and philosophers. They were not known for being practically minded. Citations from Jo Marchant's *Decoding the heavens* are available in my book report; or refer to Chapter 4 – Rewriting History p.107 in Marchant's book.

[66] All three scientists used a form of X-Ray imaging, with the exception of Freeth who also used light mapping technology. The image resolution improved as technology evolved which ultimately resulted in greater discoveries. Refer to my book report for more detail.

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