

The Oxford Companion to
CLASSICAL
CIVILIZATION

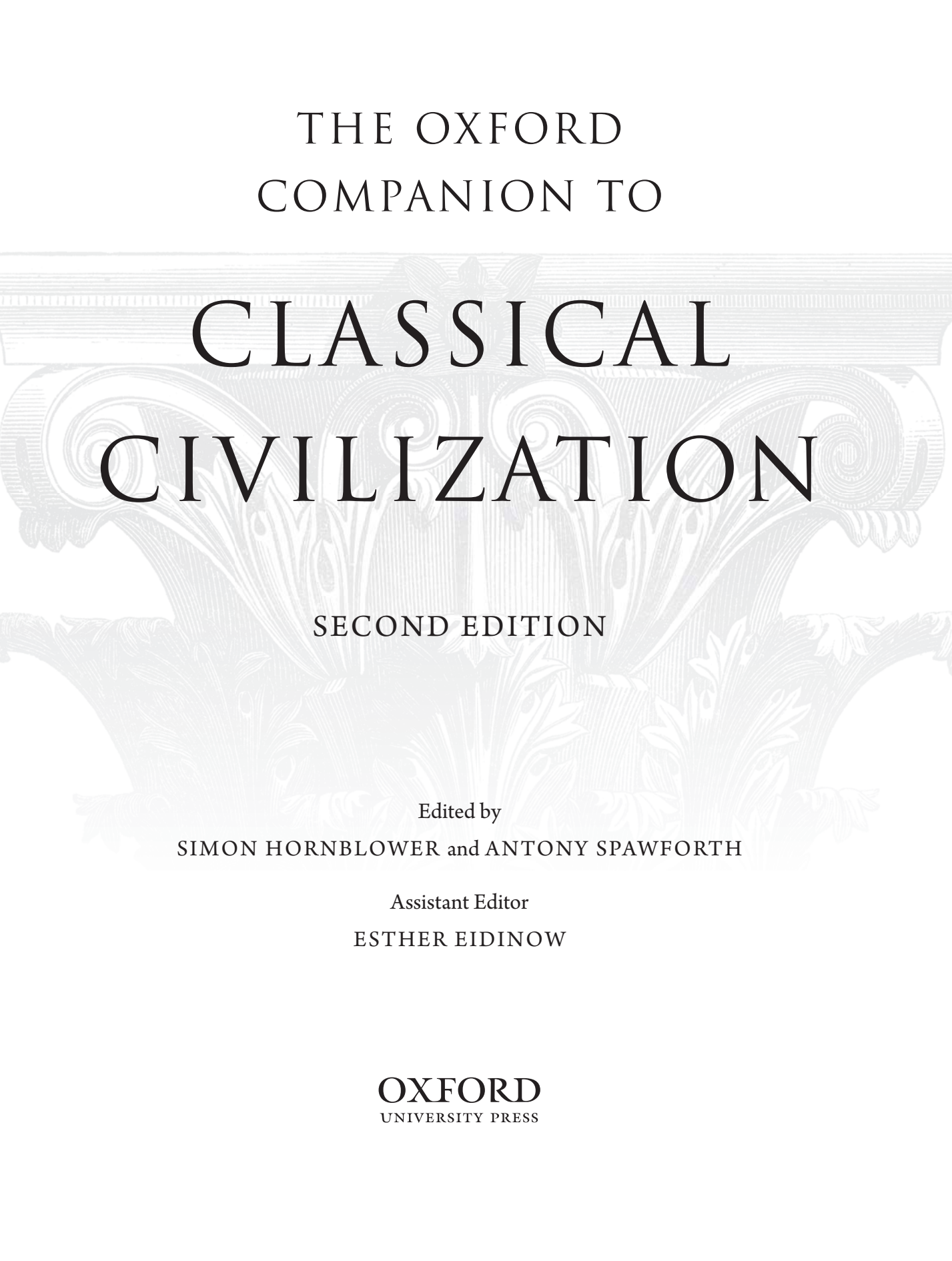
Edited by
SIMON HORNBLOWER & ANTONY SPAWFORTH

Assistant Editor ESTHER EIDINOW

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO
CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION



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THE OXFORD
COMPANION TO
CLASSICAL
CIVILIZATION

SECOND EDITION

Edited by

SIMON HORNBLLOWER and ANTONY SPAWFORTH

Assistant Editor

ESTHER EIDINOW

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This new *Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization* is an up-to-date and authoritative, but handily sized, encyclopaedia about the civilizations of Greece and Rome and their more or less immediate neighbours. The contributors number just over 300 of the world's most distinguished classical scholars. The aim of the *Companion* is to make available to an even wider readership the essential material from the very successful third (1996) edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (OCD³), but in a cheaper and less weighty format. We have achieved the shorter length by omitting entries which we thought too technical or recondite for the readership we envisage, and by removing the specialist bibliographies attached to particular entries, adding instead a select general bibliography at the back of the book. We have *not*, however, shortened individual entries in any other way (except that we have retained only the general, introductory section of the long OCD³ entry on 'music'; the *Companion* entry thus becomes 'music in Greek and Roman life'). Readers can therefore be assured that all the expert material from OCD³ included in this *Companion* is undiluted and unabridged. Naturally, however, it has been edited so as to achieve internal consistency: the copious cross-references which were such a feature of OCD³ have either been adapted so that they refer to material elsewhere in the *Companion* or replaced by explanations,

where the cross-reference was to a technical term which no longer has its own entry.

A notable feature of the *Companion* is its many illustrations, which we hope succeed in adding a further dimension which will interest and stimulate readers to a fuller understanding of life in the ancient world. Here we are indebted to Professor Brian Sparkes, who made the initial selection of pictures and provided a great deal of further help to the picture researcher. Our policy on illustration has been not just to cover archaeological entries (sites, places, and so on) but as far as possible to reflect all the different scholarly areas represented in the book, underlining the great breadth of the *Companion* text and of its parent volume.

At the Press we pay tribute to the enthusiasm and support of the commissioning editor, Michael Cox. We were enormously fortunate in that Pam Coote, in-house editor for OCD³, performed the same job for this volume with her usual diligence, sympathy, and wisdom. We are also grateful for the expertise of, respectively, Tom Chandler (copy-editor), Sandra Assersohn (picture-research), Kim Richardson (maps and chronology), and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (for assistance with the thematic listing of entries).

SIMON HORNBLOWER
ANTONY SPAWFORTH
1998

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of the *Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization* (*OCCC*) contained a wide-ranging selection of expert entries from the third edition (1996) of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (*OCD*³), simplified on principles described in the Preface to the First Edition. This second edition of the Companion (*OCCC*₂) repeats both the general format and the same selection, but these entries are now taken from the fourth edition (2012) of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (*OCD*⁴), for which all entries in *OCD*³ were scrutinized and, if necessary, updated, either by their original authors, or by a new reviser chosen by us as editors of *OCD*⁴.

In addition, *OCCC*₂ contains an essential selection from the new and completely replaced entries commis-

sioned by us for *OCD*⁴ (see List of New and Replacement Entries in the Second Edition).

On practicalities, we have retained and expanded the List of Abbreviations (pp. xix–xxvii) and updated the Select Bibliography (p. 866).

We would like to express our thanks to the OUP team, and especially to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for vital help with the editing.

ESTHER EIDINOW
SIMON HORNBLOWER
ANTONY SPAWFORTH

2014

LIST OF NEW AND REPLACEMENT ENTRIES IN THE SECOND EDITION

All existing entries from the first edition of OCCC included in this volume have been checked and where necessary updated by the original author, an area advisor, or one of the editors. In addition this second edition of OCCC includes 50 new or entirely rewritten entries as listed here:

aetiology	heresy
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Carian language	Luwian
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circumcision	masculinity
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court	migration
creolization	nature
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diagrams	personification
emotions	popular culture
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epideictic	prostitution, secular (male)
epigram, Latin	religions, ancient, cognitive anthropology of
epinician poetry	sabbath
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gender	Socratic dialogues
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RJAW R. J. A. Wilson

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BZ Bernhard Zimmermann

THEMATIC LISTING OF ENTRIES

All entries in the book are listed here according to broad subject areas. Many entries relate to more than one subject and accordingly appear under more than one heading.

HISTORY

Greek prehistory, history, & politics

agrarian laws and policy
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armies, Greek and Hellenistic
Asia Minor
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booty
bribery, Greek
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Carthage
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Macedonia
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migration
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 anthologies, Latin
 biography, Roman
 Catullus
 Cicero
 closure
 comedy, Latin

elegiac poetry, Latin
 encomium/enkōmion
 Ennius, Quintus
 epic
 epigram, Latin
 fantastic literature
 Gellius, Aulus
 genre
 Horace
 Juvenal
 literary criticism in antiquity
 Livy
 Lucan
 Lucretius
 lyric poetry
 Martial
 Naevius, Gnaeus
 narrative, narration
 novel, Latin
 Odysseus
 Ovid
 pastoral poetry, Latin
 Petronius Arbiter
 Pliny the Elder
 Pliny the Younger
 Propertius, Sextus
 reception
 rhetoric, Latin
 satire
 scholarship, ancient
 Seneca
 Silius Italicus
 Statius, Publius Papinius
 Suetonius
 Tacitus
 Tibullus, Albius
 topos
 tragedy, Latin
 translation
 Valerius Flaccus
 Varro
 Vindolanda tablets
 Virgil

Linguistics

bilingualism
 Carian language
 Greek language
 Latin language
 Luwian
 Macedonian language

Scholarship & education

archives
 books, Greek and Roman
 education, Greek
 education, Roman
 film
 libraries
 literacy
 literary criticism in antiquity
 literary theory and classical studies

maps
 mythology
 narrative, narration
 opera
 popular culture
 reception
 records and record-keeping, attitudes to
 scholarship, ancient
 scholarship, history of classical
 translation

PHILOSOPHY & RELIGION

Philosophy

abortion
 Academy
 aetiology
 age
 animals, attitudes to
 Apollonius of Tyana
 Aristotle
 art, ancient attitudes to
 astrology
 astronomy
 atomism
 Cicero
 colour, ancient perceptions of
 conversion
 corruption
 Cynics
 death, attitudes to
 dreams
 ecology (Greek and Roman)
 economic theory (Greek)
 ecstasy
 emotions
 Epicurus
 ethics
 experiment
 freedom in the ancient world
 Hellenistic philosophy
 intolerance, intellectual and religious
 Isocrates
 Marxism and classical antiquity
 materiality
 nature
 personification
 philosophers and politics
 Plato
 Plutarch
 political theory
 pollution, the Greek concept of
 Presocratic philosophers
 Pythagoras, Pythagoreanism
 reciprocity (Greece)
 religions, ancient, cognitive anthropology of
 senses, ancient conceptions of
 sin
 Socrates

Socratic dialogues
sophists
soul
Stoicism
suicide
supplication, Greek
vivisection
warfare, attitudes to
wealth, attitudes to
Xenophon

Greek myth & religion
Achilles
Agamemnon
Aias (1–2)
Amazons
Aeneas
Aphrodite
Apollo
Ares
Artemis
Asclepius
Athena
athletics
belief
books, sacred and cultic
Brauron
cakes
Centaur
curses
dance (reception)
dancing
dead, disposal of
Delphi
Delphic oracle
Demeter
Dionysus
earthquakes
Egyptian deities
Electra
Eleusis
Eros
games
ghosts
Giants
Hades
Hector
Helios
Hephaestus
Hera
Heracles
Hermes
immortality
initiation
intolerance, intellectual and religious
maenads
magic
Medea
Muses
mysteries
mythology
Nemrut Dağ

Nike
Odysseus
Oedipus
olive
Olympia
oracles
Orpheus
Pan
Persephone/Kore
personification
Plato
pollution, the Greek concept of
Poseidon
prayer
priests (Greek and Roman)
prostitution, sacred
pygmies
religion, Greek
ritual
ruler-cult
sacred laws
sacrifice, Greek
sanctuaries
satyrs and silens
sin
sphinx
temple
Theseus
Zeus

**Roman mythology
& religion**

Aeneas
Bacchanalia
belief
books, sacred and cultic
Clarus
curses
Cybele
dead, disposal of
Diana
dreams
earthquakes
Egyptian deities
ghosts
intolerance, intellectual and religious
Janus
Juno
Jupiter
magic
Mars
Mercury
Minerva
miracles
Mithras
mysteries
mythology
Neptune
oracles
personification
prayer
priests (Greek and Roman)

religion, Roman
ritual
Romulus and Remus
ruler-cult
sacrifice, Roman
sanctuaries
sin
temple
Venus
Vesta, Vestals
Vulcan

Jewish & Christian studies

abortion
Acts of the Apostles
anti-Semitism
Augustine, St
chastity
Christianity
circumcision
conversion
Dead Sea Scrolls
Eusebius
heresy
Jews
Josephus
Maccabees
Masada
Paul, St
pilgrimage, Christian
prayer
religion, Jewish
Sabbath
Sadducees
Samaritans
sin
synagogue

**SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY &
MATERIAL CULTURE**

Science & technology

abortion
agricultural implements
agricultural writers
agriculture, Greek
agriculture, Roman
alcoholism
anatomy and physiology
animals, knowledge about
anthropology
aqueducts
Aristotle
armies, Greek and Hellenistic
armies, Roman
arms and armour
artillery
artisans and craftsmen
astrology
astronomy
body

books, Greek and Roman
botany
breast-feeding
centuriation
childbirth
climate
contraception
cookery
diagrams
diolkos
disease
earthquakes
ecology (Greek and Roman)
elephants
experiment
famine
fishing
food and drink
gardens
gems
geography
glass
gynaecology
ivory
madness
maps
mathematics
medicine
mineralogy
mines and mining
navies
navigation
olive
pastoralism, Greek
pastoralism, Roman
physics
plague
Pliny the Elder
Pytheas
roads
sanitation
technology
textile production
timber
time-reckoning
transport, wheeled
trireme
villa
vivisection
water
wine (Greek and Roman)

**Material culture, art,
& architecture**
agora
amphitheatres
aqueducts
Ara Pacis
archaeology, classical
archaeology, underwater
architecture
arms and armour
art, ancient attitudes to

art, funerary, Greek	Ostia	Africa, Roman	Masada
art, funerary, Roman	Paestum	Alexandria	Mediterranean
art, Jewish	painting, Greek	Antioch	Nemrut Dağ
baths	painting, Roman	Aphrodisias	Nicopolis
catacombs, Jewish	Pompeii	Asia, Roman province	Olympia
circus	portraiture, Greek	Asia Minor	Ostia
coinage, Greek	portraiture, Roman	Athens (topography)	Paestum
coinage, Roman	pottery, Greek	Babylonia	Palmyra
creolization	pottery, Roman	Bactria	Parthia
Colosseum	Riace warriors	Britain, Roman	Peloponnese
Delos	roads	Byzantium	Pergamum
Delphi	sculpture, Greek	Carthage	Persepolis
Etruscans	sculpture, Roman	Cyprus	Persia
Forma urbis	Seven Wonders of the ancient world	Cyrene	Pompeii
forum Romanum	stadium	Delos	Rhamnus
gardens	temple	Delphi	Rhodes
gems	textile production	Egypt	Rome (topography)
Herculaneum	theatres (Greek and Roman), structure	Ephesus	Samos
houses, Greek	timber	Gaul (Cisalpine)	Sicily
houses, Italian	trophies	Gaul (Transalpine)	Spain
imagery	urbanism	Greece (geography)	Sparta
ivory	villa	Herculaneum	Syracuse
Lefkandi	Vitruvius	Icaros	Syria
libraries	wall of Hadrian	India	Thessaly
Mausoleum at Halicarnassus		Italy	Troy
Minoan civilization		Lefkandi	wall of Hadrian
mosaic		Lesbos	Xanthus
Mycenaean civilization	Places	Libya	
Notitia Dignitatum	Aegae	Londinium	
Olympia	Africa (Libya), exploration	Macedonia	

ABBREVIATIONS

A. GENERAL

abr.	abridged/abridgement	g.	gram/s	no.	number
adesp.	adespota	Ger.	German	NT	New Testament
Aeol.	Aeolic	Gk.	Greek	Ol.	Olympiad
Akkad.	Akkadian	ha.	hectare/s	OP	Old Persian
app.	appendix	Hebr.	Hebrew	orig.	original (e.g. Ger./Fr. orig. [edn.]
app. crit.	apparatus criticus	hyp.	hypothesis	OT	Old Testament
Att.	Attic	<i>i.a.</i>	<i>inter alia</i>	oz.	ounce/s
b.	born	ibid.	ibidem, in the same work	p.a.	per annum
bibliog.	bibliography	IE	Indo-European	plur.	plural
bk.	book	in.	inch/es	pref.	preface
c.	<i>circa</i>	introd.	introduction	<i>Proc.</i>	<i>Proceedings</i>
cent.	century	Ion.	Ionic	ps.-	pseudo-
cm.	centimetre/s	It.	Italian	pt.	part
comm.	commentary	kg.	kilogram/s	pub.	published
d.	died	km.	kilometre/s	ref.	reference
Dor.	Doric	L.	Linnaeus	repr.	reprint, reprinted
end	at/nr. end	l, ll.	line, lines	rev.	revised/revised by
ed.	editor, edited by	Lat.	Latin	schol.	scholiast or scholia
edn.	edition	lb.	pound/s	ser.	series
Eng.	English	lit.	literally	Skt.	Sanskrit
esp.	especially	m.	metre/s	Suppl.	Supplement
f, ff.	and following	mi.	mile/s	T	<i>testimonium</i> (i.e. piece of ancient evidence about an author)
fem.	feminine	ml.	millilitre/s	trans.	translation, translated by
fig.	figure	mod.	modern	v., vv.	verse, verses
fl.	floruit	MS(S)	manuscript(s)	yd.	yard
Fr.	French	Mt.	Mount		
fr.	fragment	n., nn.	note, notes		
ft.	foot/feet	n.d.	no date		

B. AUTHORS AND BOOKS

Note [--] names of authors or works in square brackets indicate false or doubtful attributions. A small number above the line indicates the number of an edition.

AA	see Syme, AA	Cho.	<i>Choephoroe</i>
AAA	<i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i>	Eum.	<i>Eumenides</i>
ABC	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> (1975)	Pers.	<i>Persae</i>
AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> , published in <i>Revue Archéologique</i> and separately (1888-)	PV	<i>Prometheus Vincitus</i>
Ael.	Aelianus	Sept.	<i>Septem Contra Thebas</i>
VH	<i>Varia Historia</i>	Supp.	<i>Supplices</i>
Aen.	<i>Aeneid</i>	Aeschin.	Aeschines
Aen. Tact.	Aeneas Tacticus	In Ctes.	<i>Against Ctesiphon</i>
Aesch.	Aeschylus	In Tim.	<i>Against Timarchus</i>
Ag.	<i>Agamemnon</i>	AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
		AJPhil.	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
		AK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>

Alc.	Alcaeus	Arr.	Arrian
Alcm.	Alcman	<i>Anab.</i>	<i>Anabasis</i>
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus	ARV ²	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , 2nd edn. (1963)
Anac.	Anacreon	ASAA	<i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente</i>
Andoc.	Andocides	Asc.	Asconius
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (1972–)	<i>Mil.</i>	Commentary on Cicero, <i>Pro Milone</i>
<i>Ant. Class.</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>	Ath.	Athenaeus
<i>Ant. Lib.</i>	Antoninus Liberalis	<i>Athenaeum</i>	<i>Athenaeum</i> (Pavia), NS (1923–)
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	<i>Ath. pol.</i>	<i>Athēnaiōn politeia</i> (Aristotelian); see also Xen. for 'Old Oligarch' i.e. Ps.-Xen. <i>Ath. Pol.</i>
APF	see Davies, <i>APF</i>	ATL	B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, <i>The Athenian Tribute Lists</i> 1–4 (1939–53)
Apollod.	Apollodorus mythographus	August.	Augustine
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>	<i>De civ. D.</i>	<i>De civitate Dei</i>
<i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitome</i>	<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
App.	Appian	Austin	M. M. Austin, <i>The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest</i> , 2nd edn. (2006)
<i>B Civ.</i>	<i>Bella civilia</i>	Bacchyl.	Bacchylides (ed. B. Snell and H. Maehler, 1970)
<i>Pun.</i>	<i>Libykē</i>	Bagnall and Derow	R. S. Bagnall and P. Derow, <i>Greek Historical Documents: The Hellenistic Period</i> (1981)
<i>Syr.</i>	<i>Saunitikē</i>	BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
Apul.	Apuleius	BCHP	I. L. Finkel and R. J. van der Spek, <i>Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period</i> http://www.livius.org/babylonia.html
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>	BÉ	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , pub. in <i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	Beazley, <i>ABV</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase Painters</i> (1956)
Ap. Rhod.	Apollonius of Rhodes	ARV ²	<i>Attic Red-figure Vase Painters</i> , 2nd edn. (1963)
<i>Argon.</i>	<i>Argonautica</i>	BGU	<i>Berliner Griechische Urkunden (Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin)</i>
Ar.	Aristophanes	BHisp.	<i>Bellum Hispaniense</i>
<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Acharnenses</i>	BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i> , London
<i>Av.</i>	<i>Aves</i>	BM	British Museum
<i>Eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiazusae</i>	Broughton, <i>MRR</i>	T. R. S. Broughton, <i>The Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i> (1951–2); Suppl. (1986: supersedes Suppl. 1960)
<i>Eq.</i>	<i>Equites</i>	BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i> (1895–)
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysistrata</i>	Budé	Collection des Univ. de France, publiée sous le patronage de l'Assoc. Guillaume Budé
<i>Nub.</i>	<i>Nubes</i>	Burkert, <i>GR</i>	W. Burkert, trans. J. Raffan, <i>Greek Religion</i> (1985)
<i>Plut.</i>	<i>Plutus</i>	Burkert, <i>HN</i>	W. Burkert, trans. P. Bing, <i>Homo Necans</i> (1983)
<i>Ran.</i>	<i>Ranae</i>	Caes.	Caesar
<i>Thesm.</i>	<i>Thesmophoriazusae</i>	<i>B Civ.</i>	<i>Bellum Civile</i>
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespaie</i>	<i>B Gall.</i>	<i>Bellum Gallicum</i>
<i>Arch. Anz.</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger in Jahrbuch des [kaiserlichen] deutschen archäologischen Instituts (JDAI)</i>	CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 2nd edn. (1961– ; 1st edn. 1923–39)
Achil.	Archilochus	Callim.	Callimachus
Arist.	Aristotle	<i>Aet.</i>	<i>Aetia</i>
[<i>Ath. Pol.</i>]	<i>Athēnaiōn politeia</i>	<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>Cael.</i>	<i>De Caelo</i>	<i>Hymn 3</i>	<i>Hymn to Artemis</i>
<i>De an.</i>	<i>De anima</i>	<i>Hymn 4</i>	<i>Hymn to Delos</i>
<i>Eth. Eud.</i>	<i>Ethica Eudemia</i>	<i>Hymn 5</i>	<i>Hymn to Athena</i>
<i>Eth. Nic.</i>	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>	<i>Hymn 6</i>	<i>Hymn to Demeter</i>
<i>Gen. an.</i>	<i>De generatione animalium</i>		
<i>Gen. corr.</i>	<i>De generatione et corruptione</i>		
<i>Hist. an.</i>	<i>Historia animalium</i>		
[<i>Lin. ins.</i>]	<i>De lineis insecabilibus</i>		
<i>Metaph.</i>	<i>Metaphysica</i>		
<i>Mete.</i>	<i>Meteorologica</i>		
[<i>Oec.</i>]	<i>Oeconomica</i>		
<i>Part. an.</i>	<i>De partibus animalium</i>		
<i>Ph.</i>	<i>Physica</i>		
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetica</i>		
<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Politica</i>		
[<i>Pr.</i>]	<i>Problemata</i>		
<i>Rh.</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i>		
<i>Sens.</i>	<i>De sensu</i>		
<i>Top.</i>	<i>Topica</i>		
Aristid. Or.	Aristides, <i>Orationes</i>		
Aristid. Quint.	Aristides Quintilianus		
Aristox.	Aristoxenus		
<i>Fr. hist.</i>	<i>Fragmenta historica</i>		

Cato, <i>Agr.</i>	Cato, <i>De agricultura</i> or <i>De re rustica</i>	Collingwood–Wright, R. G. Collingwood, R. P. Wright, and others, <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> (1965–)
Orig.	<i>Origines</i>	RIB
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio	Columella, <i>Rust.</i>
Cassiod.	Cassiodorus	<i>Columella, De re rustica</i>
Var.	<i>Variae</i>	Cook, <i>Zeus</i>
Catull.	Catullus	A. B. Cook, <i>Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion</i> , vol. 1 (1914), 2 (1925), 3 (1940)
CCAG	<i>Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum</i> , ed. F. Cumont and others 9 vols. (1983–9)	CPhil.
CEG	P. A. Hansen, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , 2 vols. (1983–9)	<i>Classical Philology</i>
Celsus, <i>Med.</i>	Celsus, <i>De medicina</i>	Courtney, <i>FLP</i>
Charisius, <i>Gramm.</i>	Charisius, <i>Ars grammatica</i>	E. Courtney, <i>The Fragmentary Latin Poets</i> (1993)
Chiron	<i>Chiron: Mitteilungen de Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>	CQ
Chron. Pasch.	<i>Chronicon Paschale</i>	CR
CIA	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i> (1825–)	CR Acad. Inscr.
Cic.	Cicero (Marcus Tullius)	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i>
Acad.	<i>Academicae quaestiones</i>	<i>Bollettino del Centro internazionale per lo studio dei papiri ercolanesi</i>
Acad. post.	<i>Academica posteriora</i> (= Plasberg, Bk. 4)	Cron. <i>Erc.</i>
Att.	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>	Curt.
Balb.	<i>Pro Balbo</i>	Q. Curtius Rufus
Brut.	<i>Brutus</i> or <i>De Claris Oratoribus</i>	Davies, <i>APF</i>
Cael.	<i>Pro Caelio</i>	J. K. Davies, <i>Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 BC</i> (1971)
Deiot.	<i>Pro rege Deiotaro</i>	Davies, <i>EGF</i>
De or.	<i>De oratore</i>	M. Davies, <i>Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> (1988)
Div.	<i>De divinatione</i>	PMGF
Dom.	<i>De domo sua</i>	<i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> (1991)
Fam.	<i>Epistulae ad familiares</i>	DB
Fin.	<i>De finibus</i>	Inscription of Darius I at Bisutun
Flac.	<i>Pro Flacco</i>	Def. tab. Wünsch
Font.	<i>Pro Fonteio</i>	R. Wünsch, <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> (= IG 3/3) (1897)
Har. resp.	<i>De haruspicum responso</i>	Dem.
Leg.	<i>De legibus</i>	Demosthenes
Leg. agr.	<i>De lege agraria</i>	<i>De cor.</i>
Mur.	<i>Pro Murena</i>	<i>De corona</i>
Nat. D.	<i>De natura deorum</i>	<i>Epit.</i>
Off.	<i>De officiis</i>	<i>Epitaphius</i>
Orat.	<i>Orator ad M. Brutum</i>	<i>Meid.</i>
Planc.	<i>Pro Plancio</i>	<i>Against Meidias</i>
Q Fr.	<i>Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem</i>	Democr.
Rep.	<i>De republica</i>	Democritus
Rosc. Am.	<i>Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino</i>	Dessau, <i>ILS</i>
Scaur.	<i>Pro Scauro</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (1892–1916)
Sest.	<i>Pro Sestio</i>	DFA ³
Sull.	<i>Pro Sulla</i>	A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, rev. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, <i>Dramatic Festivals of Athens</i> , 3rd edn. (1988)
Top.	<i>Topica</i>	Dig.
Tusc.	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>	<i>Digesta</i>
Verr.	<i>In Verrem</i>	Din.
CIJ	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum</i> , ed. J.-B. Frey (1936–52)	Dinarchus
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (1863–)	Dio Cass.
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>	Dio Chrys.
Clem. Al.	Clemens Alexandrinus	Or.
Protr.	<i>Protrepticus</i>	Diod. Sic.
Strom.	<i>Stromateis</i>	Diodorus Siculus
Cod. Iust.	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>	Diog. Laert.
Cod. Theod.	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>	Diogenes Laertius
		Dion. Hal.
		Dionysius Halicarnassensis
		Ant. Rom.
		<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>
		Comp.
		<i>De compositione verborum</i>
		De imit.
		<i>De imitatione</i>
		Isoc.
		<i>De Isocrate</i>
		Lys.
		<i>De Lysia</i>
		Pomp.
		<i>Epistula ad Pompeium</i>
		Rhet.
		<i>Ars rhetorica</i>
		Thuc.
		<i>De Thucydide</i>
		Dion. Thrax
		Dionysius Thrax
		DK
		H. Diels and W. Kranz, <i>Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 6th edn. (1952)
		Donat.
		Aelius Donatus
		Vit. Verg.
		<i>Vita Vergilii</i>
		Dumézil, ARR
		G. Dumézil, <i>Archaic Roman Religion</i> (1987; Fr. orig. 1974)
		EJ
		V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, <i>Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius</i> , 2nd edn. (1976)
		Enn. Ann.
		Ennius, <i>Annales</i>
		Entretiens Hardt
		Fondation Hardt, <i>Essais sur l'antiquité classique</i> (1952–)

Epicurus	Epicurus	<i>Gloss. Lat.</i>	see Lindsay
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	GLP	see Page, GLP
<i>Ep. Hdt.</i>	<i>Epistula ad Herodotum</i>	Gnomon	<i>Gnomon, Kritische Zeitschrift für d. gesamte klassische Altertumswiss.</i>
<i>Ep. Men.</i>	<i>Epistula ad Menoecum</i>		A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, <i>The Greek Anthology: Garland of Philip and some Contemporary Epigrams</i> , 2 vols. (1968)
<i>Ep. Pyth.</i>	<i>Epistula ad Pythoclem</i>	Gow–Page, GP	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, <i>The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams</i> , 2 vols. (1965)
<i>Sent. Vat.</i>	<i>Vatican Sayings, = Gnomologium Vaticanum</i>		A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Scholfield, <i>Nicander: the Poems and Poetical Fragments</i> (1953)
	<i>Ratae sententiae</i>		see Keil
RS			<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
Eratosth.	Eratosthenes	Gow–Page, HE	W. Peek, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften 1: Grab-Epigramme</i> (1955)
<i>Etym. Magn.</i>	<i>Etymologicum Magnum</i>		Harpocration
Eup.	Eupolis		<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
Eur.	Euripides	Gow–Scholfield	A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, <i>A Historical Commentary on Thucydides</i> , 5 vols. (1945–81)
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcestis</i>		Herodotus
<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Andromache</i>		<i>Hellenica Oxyrhynchia</i>
<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchae</i>	<i>Gramm. Lat.</i>	Heraclides Ponticus
<i>Cyc.</i>	<i>Cyclops</i>	GRBS	Hermogenes
<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>	GVI	<i>Progymnasmata</i>
<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecuba</i>		Herodas
<i>HF</i>	<i>Hercules furens</i>	Harp.	Hesiod
<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hippolytus</i>	<i>Harv. Stud.</i>	<i>Opera et Dies</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Iphigenia Aulidensis</i>		<i>Theogonia</i>
<i>IT</i>	<i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>	HCT	<i>Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea</i>		Hippocrates
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orestes</i>		<i>De aera, aquis, locis</i>
<i>Rhes.</i>	<i>Rhesus</i>	Hdt.	<i>De artibus</i>
<i>Supp.</i>	<i>Supplices</i>	<i>Hell. Oxy.</i>	<i>On Diseases</i>
Euseb.	Eusebius	Heraclid. Pont.	<i>De mulierum affectibus</i>
<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronica</i>	Hermog.	<i>De natura muliebri</i>
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	<i>Prog.</i>	<i>De virginibus morbis</i>
<i>Praep. evang.</i>	<i>Praeparatio evangelica</i>	Herod.	<i>De vetere medicina</i>
<i>Vit. Const.</i>	<i>Vita Constantini</i>	Hes.	Hippolytus
Eust.	Eustathius	<i>Op.</i>	<i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i>
<i>Prooem. ad Pind.</i>	<i>Eustathii prooemium commentariorum Pindaricorum</i> , ed. F. W. Schneidewin (1837)	<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Historia, Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte</i>
		<i>Hesp.</i>	Homer
Eutocius, <i>In Arch. circ. dim.</i>	Eutocius, <i>In Archimedis circuli dimensionem</i>	Hippoc.	<i>Iliad</i>
		<i>Aer.</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
Farnell, <i>Cults</i>	L. R. Farnell, <i>The Cults of the Greek States</i> (1896–1909)	<i>Art.</i>	Homeric Hymn to Demeter
Farnell, <i>Hero-Cults</i>	L. R. Farnell, <i>Greek Hero-Cults and Ideas of Immortality</i> (1921)	<i>Morb.</i>	Horace
Festus, <i>Gloss. Lat.</i>	W. M. Lindsay's second edn. of Festus in his <i>Glossaria Latina</i> , vol. 4	<i>Mul.</i>	<i>Ars poetica</i>
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (1923–)	<i>Nat. mul.</i>	<i>Carmina or Odes</i>
FIRA	see Riccobono, FIRA	<i>Virg.</i>	<i>Carmen saeculare</i>
Firm. Mat.	Firmicus Maternus	VM	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Err. prof. rel.</i>	<i>De errore profanarum religionum</i>	Hippol.	<i>Epodi</i>
FLP	see Courtney, FLP	<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Satirae or Sermones</i>
Fornara	C.W. Fornara (ed.), <i>Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War</i> , 2nd edn.: <i>Translated Documents of Greece and Rome</i> 1 (1983)	<i>Hist.</i>	S. Hornblower, <i>Commentary on Thucydides</i> 1: Books 1–3 (1991); 2: Books 4–5.24 (1996); 3: Books 5.26–8.109 (2008)
FPG	F. W. A. Mullach, <i>Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum</i> (1860–81)	Hom.	
Frontin.	Frontinus	<i>Il.</i>	
<i>Str.</i>	<i>Strategemata</i>	<i>Od.</i>	
G&R	<i>Greece and Rome</i> , NS (1954 / 5–)	Hom. Hymn Dem.	
Gai. <i>Inst.</i>	Gaius, <i>Institutiones</i>	Hor.	
Gal.	Galen	<i>Ars P.</i>	
Gantz, <i>EGM</i>	T. Gantz, <i>Early Greek Myth</i> (1993)	<i>Carm.</i>	
Gell.	Aulus Gellius	<i>Carm. saec.</i>	
NA	<i>Noctes Atticae</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	
		<i>Epod.</i>	
		<i>Sat.</i>	
		Hornblower, <i>Comm. on Thuc.</i>	

HR	<i>History of Religions</i>	Just. <i>Epit.</i>	Justinus, <i>Epitome</i> (of Trogus)
HRRel.	see under Peter	Juv.	Juvenal
Hsch.	Hesychius	KA	see Kassel–Austin
Hyg.	Hyginus	Kassel–Austin, PCG	R. Kassel and C. Austin, <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , vol. 1 (1983), 2 (1991)
<i>Fab.</i>	<i>Fabulae</i>	Keil, <i>Gramm. Lat.</i>	H. Keil, <i>Grammatici Latini</i> , 8 vols. (1855–1923; repr. 1961)
<i>Hymn. Hom. Ap.</i>	<i>Hymnus Homericus ad Apollinem</i>	Kern	O. Kern
<i>Hymn. Hom. Cer.</i>	<i>Hymnus Homericus ad Cererem</i>	<i>Orph. frag.</i>	<i>Orphica Fragmenta</i> (1922)
<i>Hymn. Hom. Merc.</i>	<i>Hymnus Homericus ad Mercurium</i>	Kirk–Raven–Schofield,	G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, and M. Schofield,
<i>Hymn. Hom. Ven.</i>	<i>Hymnus Homericus ad Venerem</i>	<i>The Presocratic</i>	<i>The Presocratic Philosophers</i> 2nd edn. (1983)
<i>Hymn. Orph.</i>	<i>Hymni Orphici</i>	Kühn	K. G. Kühn, <i>Medicorum Graecorum Opera</i>
Hyp.	Hyperides	Latte, RR	K. Latte, <i>Römische Religionsgeschichte</i> (1960)
<i>Lyc.</i>	<i>For Lycophron</i>	LCM	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
IACP	M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen (eds.), <i>An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis</i> (2004)	LGPN 1, 3A, 3B, 4	P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> 1 (1987), 3A (1997), 3B (2000), 4 (2005)
lamb1.	lamblichus	LGPN 2	M. Osborne and S. Byrne (eds.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> 2 (1994)
VP	<i>Vita Pythagorae</i>	LGPN 5	T. Corsten (ed.) <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> 5A (2010)
IE	Indo-European	LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> (1981–)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (1873–)	Lindsay, <i>Gloss. Lat.</i>	W. M. Lindsay, <i>Glossaria Latina</i> (1930)
ILabraunda	J. Crampa (ed.), <i>Labraunda Swedish Excavations and Researches</i> 3 (1 and 2): <i>The Greek Inscriptions</i> (1969 and 1972)	Livy, <i>Epit.</i>	Livy, <i>Epitomae Periochae</i>
Il.	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Per.</i>	<i>Periochae</i>
ILLRP	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> , ed. A. Degraess, vol. 1 ² (1965), 2 (1963)	Lobeck, <i>Aglaoph.</i>	C. A. Lobeck, <i>Aglaophamus</i> (1829)
ILS	see Dessau	Loeb	Loeb Classical Library
IMagn.	O. Kern (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> (1900)	[Longinus], <i>Subl.</i>	[Longinus], <i>On the Sublime</i>
IMylasa	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Mylasa</i> (2 vols., 1987–8)	LP	E. Lobel and D. L. Page, <i>Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta</i> (1955)
<i>Inscr. Ital.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> (1931/2–)	LSAG	see Jeffery, LSAG
Isae.	Isaeus	LSAM	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> (1955)
ISestos	J. Krauss, <i>Die Inschriften von Sestos und der Thrakischen Chersones</i> (1980)	LSCG	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (1969)
Isid.	Isidorus	LSS	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques: Supplément</i> (1962)
<i>Etym.</i>	<i>Etymologiae</i>	Luc.	Lucan
Isoc.	Isocrates	Lucian	
<i>Antid.</i>	<i>Antidosis</i>	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander</i>
<i>Bus.</i>	<i>Busiris</i>	<i>Catapl.</i>	<i>Cataplus</i>
<i>Paneg.</i>	<i>Panegyricus</i>	<i>Dial. meret.</i>	<i>Dialogi meretricii</i>
IVO	<i>Inschriften von Olympia</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold (1896)	<i>Hermot.</i>	<i>Hermotimus</i>
JACT	Joint Association of Classical Teachers	<i>Hist. conscr.</i>	<i>Quomodo historia conscribenda sit</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Classical Studies</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Adversus indoctum</i>
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des [kaiserlich] deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i> (1886–) (contains <i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>)	<i>Macr.</i>	<i>Macrobii</i>
Jeffery, LSAG	L. Jeffery, <i>Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> , 2 nd edn., rev. A. Johnston (1990)	<i>Philops.</i>	<i>Philopsudes</i>
Jer.	Jerome	Lucil.	Lucilius
<i>Ab Abr.</i>	<i>Ab Abraham</i> , the chronological reckoning from the first year of Abraham followed in Jerome's translation and enlargement of Eusebius' Chronicle	Lucr.	Lucretius
<i>De vir. ill.</i>	<i>De viris illustribus</i>	LXX	Septuagint
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>	Lycoph.	Lycophron
Joseph.	Josephus	Lycurg.	Lycurgus
AJ	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>	Lys.	Lysias
Ap.	<i>Contra Apionem</i>	Macrob.	Macrobius
BJ	<i>Bellum Judaicum</i>	<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturnalia</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>	Malcovati, ORF	H. Malcovati, <i>Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta</i> (2nd edn. 1955; 4 th edn. 1976)
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>	Marcellin.	Marcellinus
Julian.	Julianus imperator	<i>Marm. Par.</i>	<i>Marmor Parium</i> (IG 12 (5), 444)
Or.	<i>Orationes</i>	Mart.	Martial
		<i>Spect.</i>	<i>Spectacula</i>

Marx	F. Marx, <i>C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae</i> (1904–5)	PColon.	<i>Kölner Papyri</i> (1976–)
M. Aur. Med.	Marcus Aurelius, <i>Meditations</i>	PCPS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
MDAI	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>	PEleph.	<i>Elephantine Papyri</i> (1907)
Men.	Menander	Peripl. M. Rubri.	<i>Periplus Maris Rubri</i>
Dys.	<i>Dyskolos</i>	Peter, HRRel.	H. Peter, <i>Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae</i> , vol. 1 ² (1914), 2 (1906)
Men. Rhet.	Menander Rhetor	Petron.	Petronius
MH	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>	Sat.	<i>Satyrica</i>
Migne, PG	Migne, <i>Patrologiae Cursus, series Graeca</i>	Pf.	R. Pfeiffer
PL	<i>Patrologiae Cursus, series Latina</i>	PG	see Migne
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> , rev. edn. (1988)	PGM	K. Preisendanz and others (eds.), <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , 2 vols., 2 nd edn. (1973–4)
Mon. Anc.	<i>Monumentum Ancyranum</i>	Pherec.	Pherecydes
MRR	see Broughton, MRR	PHib.	<i>Hibeh Papyri</i> (1906–55)
Muson.	Musonius Rufus	Philo	Philo Judaeus
M–W	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica</i> (1967)	CW	Edition of Philo Judaeus by L. Cohn and P. Wendland (1896–1916)
Nauck	see TGF	Leg.	<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
Nauck/Snell	see TGF	Philoch.	<i>Philolochorus</i>
Nep.	Nepos	Philol.	<i>Philologus</i>
Att.	<i>Atticus</i>	Philostr.	Philostratus
Nic.	Nicander	Imag.	<i>Imagines</i>
Alex.	<i>Alexipharmaca</i>	VA	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>
Nilsson, Feste	M. P. Nilsson, <i>Griechische Feste v. religiöser Bedeutung m. Ausschluss d. attischen</i> (1906)	VS	<i>Vitae sophistarum</i>
Non.	Nonius	Phot.	Photius
OCD ¹	M. Cary and others (eds.), <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 1st edn. (1949)	Bibl.	<i>Bibliotheca</i>
OCD ²	N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (eds.), <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 2nd edn. (1970)	Pind.	Pindar (ed. B. Snell and H. Maehler, 1987–8)
OCD ³	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3rd edn. revised (2003)	Isthm.	<i>Isthmian Odes</i>
OCD ⁴	S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow (eds.), <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 4th edn. (2012)	Nem.	<i>Nemean Odes</i>
Od.	<i>Odyssey</i>	Ol.	<i>Olympian Odes</i>
OGI	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i>	Pae.	<i>Paeanes</i>
Or.	<i>Oratio</i>	Pyth.	<i>Pythian Odes</i>
ORF and ORF ⁴	see Malcovati, ORF	PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II, III, 1st edn. by E. Klebs and H. Dessau (1897–8); 2nd edn. by E. Groag, A. Stein, and others (1933–)</i>
Orph.	Orphica	PL	see Migne
frs.	see Kern	Pl.	Plato
Ov.	Ovid	Alc.	<i>Alcibiades</i>
Am.	<i>Amores</i>	Ap.	<i>Apologia</i>
Ars am.	<i>Ars amatoria</i>	Chrm.	<i>Charmides</i>
Fast.	<i>Fasti</i>	Cra.	<i>Cratylus</i>
Her.	<i>Heroides</i>	Euthyd.	<i>Euthydemus</i>
Ib.	<i>Ibis</i>	Grg.	<i>Gorgias</i>
Medic.	<i>Medicamina faciei</i>	[Hipparch.]	<i>Hipparchus</i>
Met.	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	Hp. mai.	<i>Hippias maior</i>
Pont.	<i>Epistulae ex Ponto</i>	Leg.	<i>Leges</i>
Rem. am.	<i>Remedia amoris</i>	Phd.	<i>Phaedo</i>
Tr.	<i>Tristia</i>	Phdr.	<i>Phaedrus</i>
Page, FGE	D. L. Page, <i>Further Greek Epigrams</i> (1981)	Plt.	<i>Politicus</i>
GLP	<i>Greek Literary Papyri</i> (Loeb, 1942)	Prt.	<i>Protagoras</i>
PMG	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (1962)	Resp.	<i>Respublica</i>
SLG	<i>Supplementum lyricis graecis</i> (1974)	Soph.	<i>Sophista</i>
P. Antinoop.	<i>Antinoopolis Papyri</i> (1950–67)	Symp.	<i>Symposium</i>
Parker, Miasma	R. Parker, <i>Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion</i> (1983)	Tht.	<i>Theaetetus</i>
Polytheism	<i>Polytheism and Society at Athens</i> (2005)	Ti.	<i>Timaeus</i>
Paus.	Pausanias	Plaut.	Plautus
P Berol.	<i>Berlin Papyri</i>	Amph.	<i>Amphitruo</i>
PCG	see Kassel–Austin	Mil.	<i>Miles gloriosus</i>
		Mostell.	<i>Mostellaria</i>
		Plin.	Pliny (the Elder)
		HN	<i>Naturalis historia</i>
		Plin.	Pliny (the Younger)

Ep.	<i>Epistulae</i>	Preisendanz	see PGM
Pan.	<i>Panegyricus</i>	Prisc. Inst.	Priscian, <i>Institutio de arte grammatica</i>
PLM Vollmer/	<i>Poetae Latini Minores</i> ed. Vollmer, 1 (1909)	Proc. Brit. Acad.	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i> (1903–)
Morel	emendavit Morel ³ (1935)	Procop.	Procopius
PLRE	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> 1, ed. A. H. M. Jones and others (1970); 2 and 3, ed. J. R. Martindale (1980–92)	Goth.	<i>De bello Gothico</i>
Plut.	Plutarch	Prop.	Propertius
Mor.	<i>Moralia</i>	Prudent.	Prudentius
Amat.	<i>Amatorius</i>	C. Symm.	<i>Contra Symmachum</i>
De Alex. fort.	<i>De fortuna Alexandri</i>	Perist.	<i>Peristephanon</i>
De Is. et Os.	<i>De Iside et Osiride</i>	PSI	<i>Papiri Greci e Latini, Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto</i> (1912–)
De exil.	<i>De exilio</i>	PTeb.	<i>Tebtunis Papyri</i> (1902–76)
[De mus.]	<i>De musica</i>	Ptol.	Ptolemaeus mathematicus
De Pyth. or.	<i>De Pythiae oraculis</i>	Geog.	<i>Geographia</i>
De sera	<i>De sera numinis vindicta</i>	Harm.	<i>Harmonica</i>
Prae. coniug.	<i>Praecepta coniugalia</i>	Tetr.	<i>Tetrabiblos</i>
Prae. ger. reip.	<i>Praecepta gerendae reipublicae</i>	PVindob.	<i>Papyrus Vindobonensis</i>
Vit.	<i>Vitae Parallelae</i>	PVS	<i>Proceedings of the Vergil Society</i>
Alex.	<i>Alexander</i>	PW	see Pöhlmann and West
Ant.	<i>Antonius</i>	Quint.	Quintilian
Arat.	<i>Aratus</i>	Inst.	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>
Arist.	<i>Aristides</i>	Radke, Götter	G. Radke, <i>Die Götter Altitaliens</i> (1960; 2nd edn. 1979)
Caes	<i>Caesar</i>	Radt	see TrGF
Cat. Mai., Min.	<i>Cato Maior, Minor</i>	RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (1893–)
Cic.	<i>Cicero</i>	Rev. Arch.	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
Cim.	<i>Cimon</i>	RG	see <i>Mon. Anc.</i>
Cleom.	<i>Cleomenes</i>	Rhet.	see Spengel
Crass.	<i>Crassus</i>	Rh. Mus.	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i> (1827–), NS (1942–)
Eum.	<i>Eumenes</i>	Rhodes, CAAP	P. J. Rhodes, <i>A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia</i> (1981; new edn. 1993)
Lyc.	<i>Lycurgus</i>	RIB	see Collingwood–Wright
Mar.	<i>Marius</i>	Riccobono, FIRA	S. Riccobono, <i>Fontes Iuris Romani AnteIustiniani</i> (1941)
Nic.	<i>Nicias</i>	Richardson, Topog.	L. Richardson, <i>A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome</i> (1992)
Num.	<i>Numa</i>	Dict. Ancient Rome	
Pel.	<i>Pelopidas</i>	RK	see Wissowa
Per.	<i>Pericles</i>	RO	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC</i> (2003; revised edn. 2007)
Phil.	<i>Philopoemen</i>	Roscher, Lex.	W. H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexikon d. griechischen u. römischen Mythologie</i> (1884–1937)
Pomp.	<i>Pompeius</i>	RRR	M. H. Crawford, <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> (1974)
Rom.	<i>Romulus</i>	RSC	<i>Rivista di Studi Classici</i> , Turin
Sol.	<i>Solon</i>	Sall.	Sallust
Sull.	<i>Sulla</i>	Cat.	<i>Bellum Catilinae or De Catilinae coniuratione</i>
Them.	<i>Themistocles</i>	Hist.	<i>Historiae</i>
Thes.	<i>Theseus</i>	Iug.	<i>Bellum Iugurthinum</i>
Tim.	<i>Timoleon</i>	schol.	scholiast or scholia
X orat.	<i>Vitae decem oratorum</i>	Schol. Bern.	<i>Scholia Bernensia ad Vergilii bucolica et georgica</i> , ed. Hagen (1867)
PMG	see Page, PMG	Schol. Flor. Callim.	<i>Scholia Florentina in Callimachum</i>
PMGF	see Davies, PMGF	SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (1923–)
PMich.	<i>Michigan Papyri</i> (1931–)	Semon.	Semonides
PMur	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan</i> , 1–6 (1955–77)	Sen.	Seneca (the Elder)
Pöhlmann and West	<i>Documents</i> E. Pöhlmann and M. L. West, <i>Documents of Ancient Greek Music</i> (2001)	Controv.	<i>Controversiae</i>
Poll.	Pollux	Suas.	<i>Suasoriae</i>
Onom.	<i>Onomasticon</i>	Sen.	Seneca (the Younger)
Polyaenus, Strat.	<i>Polyaenus, Strategemata</i>		
Polyb.	<i>Polybius</i>		
Porph.	<i>Porphyry</i>		
Abst.	<i>De abstinentia</i>		
De antr. nymph.	<i>De antro nympharum</i>		
Plot.	<i>Vita Plotini</i>		
Powell, Coll. Alex.	U. Powell, <i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> (1925)		
POxy.	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> (1898–)		
praef.	<i>praefatio</i>		

Ben.	<i>De beneficiis</i>	Dom.	Domitianus
Clem.	<i>De clementia</i>	Galb.	Galba
Ep.	<i>Epistulae</i>	Gram. et rhet.	<i>De grammaticis et rhetoribus</i>
QNat.	<i>Quaestiones naturales</i>	Illustr.	<i>De viris illustribus</i>
Serv.	Servius	Iul.	Divus Iulius
Praef.	<i>Praefatio</i>	Ner.	Nero
Sext. Emp.	Sextus Empiricus	Poet.	<i>De Poetis</i>
Math.	<i>Adversus Mathematicos</i>	Rel. Reiff.	<i>Reliquiae, ed. Reifferscheid</i>
Pyr.	<i>Outlines of Pyrrhonism</i>	Rhet.	<i>De rhetoribus</i>
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae	Tib.	Tiberius
Alex. Sev.	<i>Alexander Severus</i>	Tit.	Divus Titus
Ant. Pius	Antoninus Pius	Vesp.	Divus Vespasianus
Hadr.	Hadrian	Vit.	Vitellius
Heliogab.	Heliogabalus	Vita Hor.	<i>Vita Horatii</i>
M. Ant.	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (<i>Caracalla</i>)	Suppl. Hell.	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (eds.), <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> , Texte und Kommentare no. 11 (1983)
Marc.	Marcus	Suppl. Mag.	R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini (eds.), <i>Supplementum Magicum</i> , Papyrologica Coloniensia 16/1–2, 2 vols. (1989–91)
Prob.	Probus	SVF	H. von Arnim, <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> (1903–)
Sherk, Augustus	R. E. Sherk, <i>Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus</i> , Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 4 (1984)	Syll. ³	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn. (1915–24)
Sherk, Hadrian	<i>The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian</i> , Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 6 (1988)	Syme	R. Syme
Simon.	Simonides	AA	<i>The Augustan Aristocracy</i> (1986)
Simpl.	Simplicius	Rom. Rev.	<i>The Roman Revolution</i> (1939)
in Phys.	<i>in Aristotelis de Physica Commentarii</i>	RP	<i>Roman Papers</i> , 7 vols. (1979–91)
SLG	see Page	Tac.	Tacitus
Smallwood,	E. M. Smallwood, <i>Documents illustrating the</i>	Agr.	<i>Agricola</i>
Docs... Nerva	<i>Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian</i> (1966)	Ann.	<i>Annales</i>
Docs... Gaius	<i>Documents illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero</i> (1967)	Dial.	<i>Dialogus de oratoribus</i>
Snell–Maehler	see Bacchyl. And Pind.	Germ.	<i>Germania</i>
Snell/Mannicht	see TrGF	Hist.	<i>Historiae</i>
/Radt		TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
Soph.	Sophocles	Ter.	Terence
Aj.	<i>Ajax</i>	Ad.	<i>Adelphoe</i>
Ant.	<i>Antigone</i>	An.	<i>Andria</i>
El.	<i>Electra</i>	Eun.	<i>Eunuchus</i>
OC	<i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	Haut.	<i>H(e)autontimorumenos</i>
OT	<i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>	Hec.	<i>Hecyra</i>
Phil.	<i>Philoctetes</i>	Phorm.	<i>Phormio</i>
Trach.	<i>Trachiniae</i>	Tert.	Tertullian
Sor. Gyn.	Soranus, <i>Gynaecia</i>	De spect.	<i>De spectaculis</i>
Spengel, Rhet.	L. Spengel, <i>Rhetores Graeci</i> , 3 vols.: 1/1 (1885), 2 (1854), 3 (1856)	Teubner	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (1849–)
Spengel–Hammer	C. Hammer, <i>Rhetores Graeci ex recognitione Leonardi Spengel</i> (1894): 2nd edn. of vol. 1/2 of Spengel, <i>Rhet.</i>	TGF	A. Nauck, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 2nd edn. (1889); Suppl. by B. Snell (1964)
Stat.	Stattius	Them. Or.	Themistius, <i>Orationes</i>
Achil.	<i>Achilleis</i>	Theoc.	Theocritus
Silv.	<i>Silvae</i>	Id.	<i>Idylls</i>
Theb.	<i>Thebais</i>	Theophr.	Theophrastus
Steph. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantius or Byzantinus	Caus. pl.	<i>De causis plantarum</i>
Stith Thompson	Stith Thompson, <i>Motif-Index of Folk-Literature</i> , 6 vols. in <i>Indiana University Studies</i> , 96–7, 100–1, 105–6, 108, 110–12; also published as FF Communication 106–9, 116–17 (1932–6)	Char.	<i>Characteres</i>
Stob.	Stobaeus	Hist. pl.	<i>Historia plantarum</i>
Flor.	<i>Anthologion</i>	Sens.	<i>De sensibus</i>
Suda	Greek lexicon formerly known as <i>Suidas</i>	Theopomp.	Theopompus Historicus
Suet.	Suetonius	Thgn.	Theognis
Aug.	<i>Divus Augustus</i>	Thuc.	Thucydides
Calig.	<i>Gaius Caligula</i>	Tib.	Tibullus
Claud.	<i>Divus Claudius</i>	TrGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt (eds.), <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 6 vols. (1971–2004), vol. 1 ² (1986)

Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus	Xen.	Xenophon
Varro, <i>Ling.</i>	Varro, <i>De lingua Latina</i>	<i>An.</i>	<i>Anabasis</i>
<i>Rust.</i>	<i>De re rustica</i>	<i>Cyn.</i>	<i>Cynegeticus</i>
Vell. Pat.	Velleius Paterculus	<i>Cyr.</i>	<i>Cyropaedia</i>
Verg.	Virgil	<i>Hell.</i>	<i>Hellenica</i>
<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>	<i>Hier.</i>	<i>Hiero</i>
<i>Catal.</i>	<i>Catalepton</i>	<i>Lac.</i>	<i>Respublica Lacedaemoniorum</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogues</i>	<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memorabilia</i>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Georgics</i>	<i>Oec.</i>	<i>Oeconomicus</i>
Vit. Ar.	Vita Aristophanis, ed. F. Dübner, <i>Scholια Graeca in Aristophanem</i> (1846), <i>Prolegomena</i> 11	<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
Vitr.	Vitruvius	<i>Vect.</i>	<i>De vectigalibus</i>
<i>De arch.</i>	<i>De architectura</i>	XPf	Inscription of Xerxes I at Persepolis (so-called 'Harem Inscription')
W	see West, GLP and IE ²	XPh	Inscription of Xerxes I at Persepolis (so-called 'Daiva Inscription')
Walbank, HCP	F. W. Walbank, <i>A Historical Commentary on Polybius</i> , 3 vols. (1957–79)	YCIS	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
West, GLP	M. L. West, <i>Greek Lyric Poetry</i> (1993)	Ziolkowski, <i>Temples</i>	A. Ziolkowski, <i>The Temples of Mid-Republican Rome and their Historical Context</i> (1993)
IE ²	<i>Iambi et Elegi</i> , 2nd edn. (1989)	Zonar.	Zonaras
Wissowa, RK	G. Wissowa, <i>Religion und Kultus d. Römer</i> , 2nd edn. (1912)	ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

This book is designed for easy use but the following notes may be helpful to the reader.

Chronological span The period covered is from the middle of the second millennium BC to the 6th century AD, with the main concentration of coverage focused on 800 BC to AD 300. For a brief outline, see the Chronology on pp. 860–865.

Alphabetical arrangement Entries are arranged in letter-by-letter alphabetical order of their headwords, which are shown in bold type.

Names In all cases the forms of names used are those that are the most familiar. Thus, Roman individuals of the Republican and imperial periods (up to about AD 275) are listed under their surname (*cognomen*) rather than the family name (*nomen*). For example, Cicero is listed under C rather than under his family name of Tullius, and the great general Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus is listed under the familiar form ‘Scipio Africanus’, rather than under his family name of Cornelius. Similarly, Roman emperors, who often had long names, are listed under their usual short form, such as Nero, and the full name follows in parentheses.

In antiquity, the Latin alphabet did not contain the letter J and only in medieval times were many Roman names, such as Iulius, written with a J. In this book, we have retained the ‘I’ spellings except for those names which occur as headwords, which the reader would naturally look for under J.

Note that the Roman forename (*praenomen*) Gaius is conventionally abbreviated C. (not G.) and similarly Gnaeus is abbreviated Cn. not Gn.

Greek names are normally spelt in their more familiar Latinized or Anglicized forms (that is, ‘Pericles’ not ‘Perikles’).

Transliteration of Greek Except where its use was thought essential to the subject-matter or context of the entry, Greek has been transliterated, with long vowels indicated by macrons (ō,ē).

Cross-references An asterisk (*) in front of a word in the text signals a cross-reference to a related entry which may be interesting to look up. Similarly, ‘see’ or ‘see also’ followed by a headword in SMALL CAPITALS is used to cross-refer when the precise form of headword to which the reader is being pointed does not occur naturally in the text.

Thematic listing of entries The list of entries under major topics at the front of the book (see pp. xiv–xviii) offers another means of access to the material, in that it allows the reader to see at a glance all the entries relating to a particular subject—such as women’s studies or Greek mythology—without needing to know the precise entries to look up.

References to classical texts and commentaries are given in abbreviated form in the entries, for the benefit of classics students and others who may wish to follow them up. Details of these sources are given in full in the list of abbreviations at the front of the book (pp. xix–xxvii).

Contributors’ initials are given at the end of each entry, and a key to these initials is provided on pp. xi–xiii.

A

abortion was controversial in antiquity. Doctors taking the Hippocratic Oath (*see* MEDICINE, § 1.5) swore not to administer abortifacients, but other Hippocratic texts suggest that prostitutes (*see* PROSTITUTION, SECULAR) often employed abortion. A *Lysias fragment suggests that abortion was a crime in Athens against the husband, if his wife was pregnant when he died, since his unborn child could have claimed the estate. Greek temple inscriptions show that abortion made a woman impure for 40 days (*see* POLLUTION).

The Stoics (*see* STOICISM) believed that the foetus resembled a plant and only became an animal at birth when it started breathing. This attitude made abortion acceptable. Roman jurisprudence maintained that the foetus was not autonomous from the mother's body. There is no evidence for laws against abortion during the Roman republic. It was common during the early Roman empire (e.g. *Ov. Am.* 2. 14), and was practised for many reasons, e.g. for family limitation, in case of *adultery, or because of a desire to maintain physical beauty. Soranus (*Gynaecology* 1. 59–65, Eng. trans. 1956) distinguished deliberate from spontaneous abortion, and abortion from *contraception. He accepted abortion if the woman's life was in danger. Galen and Dioscorides mention many plant products used, either orally or by vaginal suppository, to provoke abortions. Some plants, e.g. aristolochia and squirting cucumber, can indeed have such effects. Mechanical methods were also used.

The emperors *Septimius Severus and *Caracalla towards AD 211 introduced the first definite ban on abortion in Rome as a crime against the rights of parents, and punished it with temporary exile. The spread of *Christianity changed attitudes. The *Teachings of the Apostles*, the first Christian document to mention abortion, condemned it, as did the *Letter of Barnabas*, Tertullian, and many later writers. Christians regarded abortion, once the foetus was fully formed (40 days after conception), as murder of a living being.

JRS

Academy, public *gymnasium at Athens, sacred to the hero Academus, north-west of the Dipylon gate. It gave its name to the school founded there by *Plato in the early 4th cent. and maintained by an unbroken line of successors until the 1st cent. BC. The school's private property was never there, but, at least during the 4th cent., at Plato's nearby house.

The Early Academy is the phase of doctrinal Platonism under Plato himself (d. 347) and his successors Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemon, and Crates.

The 'New Academy' is the phase, from c.269 to the early or mid-1st cent. BC (its further subdivision, *Sext. Emp. Pyr.* 1. 220, is a later imposition), in which the school, initially under Arcesilaus, interpreted true Platonism as scepticism. Dialectical criticism of doctrines, usually Stoic, was orchestrated to demonstrate *akatalēpsia*, the impossibility of knowledge, resulting in *epochē*, suspension of judgement. Carneades, its most influential head (mid-2nd cent.), was a systematic critic of all doctrines. His successors disagreed about his true intentions: Clitomachus (scholarch c.128–c.110) regarded his arguments as still promoting *epochē*, but Metrodorus of Stratonicea and Philon of Larissa (possibly the last scholarch, c.110–c.79) considered their intent doctrinal, albeit fallibilist, with the 'convincing' (*pithanon*) an adequate basis for both action and philosophical judgement. *Cicero's main philosophical works reflect his allegiance to the Philonian Academy.

In 87 BC, when the Academics were refugees from Athens, Philon was openly challenged by his disciple Antiochus of Ascalon, whose 'Old Academy' claimed to return to the doctrines of the 'ancients', meaning especially Plato and *Aristotle. Thereafter the Academy as an institution disintegrated (whether Antiochus ever became scholarch is uncertain), although the title 'Academic' lived on (cf. PLUTARCH).

DNS

Achilles, son of Peleus and Thetis; greatest of the Greek heroes in the Trojan War; central character of *Homer's *Iliad*.





His name may be of Mycenaean Greek origin, meaning 'a grief to the army'. If so, the destructive Wrath of Achilles, which forms the subject of the *Iliad*, must have been central to his mythical existence from the first.

In Homer he is king of Phthia, or 'Hellas and Phthia', in southern Thessaly, and his people are the Myrmidons. As described at *Il.* 2. 681–5 the size of his kingdom, and of his contingent in the Trojan expedition (50 ships), is not outstanding. But in terms of martial prowess, which is the measure of excellence for a Homeric hero, Achilles' status as 'best of the Achaeans' is unquestioned. We are reminded of his absolute supremacy throughout the poem, even during those long stretches for which he is absent from the battlefield.

His character is complex. In many ways he carries the savage ethical code of the Homeric hero to its ultimate and terrifying conclusion. When *Agamemnon steals his concubine Briseis in *Il.* 1, his anger at the insult to his personal honour is natural and approved by gods and men; but he carries this anger beyond any normal limit when he refuses an offer of immense compensation in *Il.* 9. Again, when he finally re-enters the war (*Il.* 19) after the death of his friend Patroclus, his ruthless massacre of Trojans, culminating in the killing of *Hector (*Il.* 22), expresses a 'heroic' desire for revenge; but this too is taken beyond normal bounds by his contemptuous maltreatment of Hector's dead body (*Il.* 22. 395–404, 24. 14–22).

But what makes Achilles remarkable is the way in which his extreme expression of the 'heroic code' is combined with a unique degree of insight and self-knowledge. Unlike Hector, for instance, Achilles knows well that he is soon to die. In his great speech at *Il.* 9. 308–429 he calls the entire code into question, saying that he would rather live quietly at home than pursue glory in the Trojan War; but it is his 'heroic' rage against Agamemnon that has brought him to this point. In his encounter with Lycaon at *Il.* 21. 34–135, his sense of common mortality (the fact that Patroclus has died and Achilles himself will die) is a reason, not for sparing his suppliant, but for killing him in cold blood. Finally at *Il.* 24, when Priam begs him to release Hector's body, it is human feeling, as well as the gods' command, that makes him yield (507–70); but even then he accepts a ransom, and his anger still threatens to break out afresh (568–70, 584–6).

Later writers seldom treated the subject-matter of the *Iliad* (though *Aeschylus did so, devoting a probable trilogy to the events of *Il.* 16–24 and portraying Achilles and Patroclus as lovers: fr. 134a). But they did provide

many further details of Achilles' career, often derived from other epics such as the *Cypria* and *Aethiopis*. As a boy he was brought up by the wise *Centaur Chiron on Mt. Pelion. Later his mother Thetis, knowing that he would be killed if he joined the expedition to Troy, hid him at the court of King Lycomedes on Scyros, disguised as a girl (this episode is treated in the unfinished *Achilleis* of *Statius). There he fell in love with the king's daughter Deidamia, who bore him a son, Neoptolemus. *Odysseus discovered his identity by trickery (the subject of *Euripides' lost *Scyrians*) and he joined the Greek army at Aulis, where he was involved in the story of Iphigenia (see EURIPIDES' *Iphigenia at Aulis*). On the way to Troy he wounded Telephus. His exploits at Troy included the ambush and killing of Priam's son Troilus. After the events of the *Iliad* he killed two allies of the Trojans: the *Amazon queen Penthesilea and the Ethiopian king Memnon. Finally he was himself killed by Paris and *Apollo (as predicted at *Il.* 22. 358–60). Then, by a tradition dating back to the *Aethiopis*, Thetis translated him to a blessed existence on the White Island (mod. Insula Şerpilor, Ostriv Zmiyinyy) in the Euxine Sea, where some say that he is accompanied by Helen (but Ibycus, fr. 10 Page, curiously has him married in Elysium to Medea). All this contradicts *Od.* 11. 467–540, 24. 15–98, where his shade is in the Underworld.

The fight over his body, and his funeral, are described at *Od.* 24. 36–94. His famous arms (described at *Il.* 18. 478–613) were then given to Odysseus (see SOPHOCLES' *Ajax*). After the fall of Troy his ghost demanded the sacrifice of Polyxena (see Euripides' *Hecuba*).

The 'Achilles heel' is a late addition to the story, at least to judge from our literary sources: allusions at Hyg. *Fab.* 107 and Stat. *Achil.* 1. 134, 269, 480 but no full account until Servius and 'Lactantius Placidus' (though vase paintings showing an arrow directed at Achilles' foot suggest that some version was known much earlier). By this account Thetis sought to make the infant Achilles invulnerable by dipping him in the Styx, but omitted to dip the ankle (rather than the heel) by which she held him, and it was there that he received his death-wound. An alternative story, from the *Aegimius* (Hes. fr. 300 M-W), was that Thetis had earlier children by Peleus and placed them in boiling water to test whether they were immortal, but, as the results proved negative, Peleus prevented her from performing the experiment on Achilles.

Several episodes from his life, including the ambush of Troilus and the killing of Penthesilea, were popular with vase-painters (see POTTERY, GREEK). Also popular, in the

Achilles An Athenian clay water jar (late 6th cent. BC) depicts the vengeful Achilles about to drag Hector's body behind his chariot—an example of the excessive behaviour which distinguishes his portrayal in *Homer. The Antiope Group. Place of Manufacture: Athens. Ceramic, Black Figure. Height (to mouth): 50 cm (19 11/16 in.); diameter (of mouth): 26.1 cm (10 1/4 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William Francis Warden Fund 63.473. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

later 6th cent., but with no known literary precedent, was a game of draughts (*see* GAMES) between Achilles and *Aias: a treatment by Execias (Vatican 16757 = ABV 145 = LIMC Achilleus 397, c.535–530 BC) is justly famous. In the 5th cent. he often appears as a beardless youth, for example on the name-vase of the Achilles-Painter (Vatican 16571 = ARV² 987 = LIMC Achilleus 907, c.450 BC), showing him alone as an ideal of male beauty.

Achilles had a tomb at Sigeum, where *Alexander the Great, among others, paid homage, and received cult honours in many places, in particular at Olbia and other sites on the north shore of the Black Sea (the region of the White Island, where he had a temple). This was more than a hero-cult as (in Roman times at least) he was honoured as a god, with the title Pontarches, Lord of the (Black) Sea (*Alcaeus, fr. 354 L-P, addresses him as Lord of Scythia). The origin of this cult and its connection with the human Achilles of myth and epic are matters of debate.

ALB

Actium (*see* ◀ Map 1, Ab ▶), a flat sandy promontory at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf, forming part of the territory of Anactorium, as well as the NW extremity of Acarnania. A cult of Apollo was located here as early as the 6th cent. BC to judge from the torsos of two archaic *kouroi* found on the cape in 1867. At this time, or soon thereafter, a temple stood on a low hill near the tip of the promontory where games were celebrated in honour of the god as late as the end of the 3rd cent. BC. In 31 BC the cape was the site of Mark *Antony's camp, and gave its name to the naval battle, fought just outside the gulf, in which he was defeated by Octavian (2 September). A few years later, when Octavian founded *Nicopolis on the opposite (northern) side of the strait, he took care to enlarge Apollo's sanctuary at Actium by rebuilding the old temple and adding a monumental naval trophy (not to be confused with the naval trophy he dedicated at Nicopolis). In ship-sheds constructed in the sacred grove at the base of the hill, he dedicated a set of ten captured warships, one from each of the ten classes that had fought in the battle (Strabo 7. 7. 6). Although the ships and their ship-sheds were gone (destroyed by fire) by the time Strabo composed his account, recent excavations have located the site where the *kouroi* were found in 1867 and have confirmed the location of the temple, obscured for many years. Octavian also revitalized the old Actian Games by transferring them to a new venue outside Nicopolis. The quinquennial games, called Actia, were modelled on the Olympian festival, and were later imitated by several other Greek cities (*see* GAMES). An Actian 'era' was established, whose initial date is variously placed between 30 and 28 BC.

WMM

Acts of the Apostles The second of two volumes which continues the story of the rise and spread of *Christianity begun in the gospel of Luke. Its textual history poses peculiar interpretative problems as it is extant in two versions, the longer in Codex Bezae. Its narrative starts with Jesus' ascension in Jerusalem and ends with Paul preaching in Rome, where he had been taken after his appeal to Caesar (i.e. the emperor). The focus of the material on the earliest Jerusalem church around Peter and, later in the book, on the Christian career of Paul shows the concern of the author to relate the Jewish and Gentile missions and to demonstrate their basic unity. Only occasional glimpses are offered of the conflict in early Christianity which is evident in the Pauline corpus (e.g. Acts 6: 1 and 15). Acts has for a long time been a cause of great controversy between those who maintain the substantial authenticity of its historical account (while allowing for its apologetic interests) and those who see the document as a work of skilful narrative propaganda whose historical value is negligible. Knowledge of contemporary Graeco-Roman institutions should not mask the difficulties in accepting the historicity of Acts, a particular problem being the reconciliation of the accounts of Paul's career in Acts, Galatians 1 & 2, and the Corinthian correspondence. The references to Paul's theology indicate a markedly different set of ideas from what we find in the letters to the Romans and Galatians. For this and other reasons Acts has proved to be disappointing to the historian of Christian origins as a source for early Christian history. The history of the Jerusalem church after the start of the Pauline mission is only touched on in so far as it helps the author explain Paul's career as apostle to the Gentiles. Whereas Luke's gospel portrays Jesus as a Palestinian prophet with a controversial, indeed subversive, message for Jewish society, there is little in Acts (apart from the idealized accounts of the common life of the Jerusalem church) of that radicalism. The antagonism to *Jews and the sympathetic account of Roman officials evident in the gospel of Luke is continued in Acts, and a conciliatory attitude towards Rome has been suggested. Jews in Acts are regarded as responsible for the harassment of nascent Christianity, though there are occasional glimpses of more openness to Judaism elsewhere in the book than the concluding verses would indicate.

Various suggestions have been made with regard to its (and the related gospel of Luke's) purpose. These have included an apologia for Christianity to the Roman state, an explanation for the delay of the Parousia (Second Coming) by stressing the role of the church in the divine purpose, an essay in anti-Jewish polemic, and a defence of Paul when his case was heard in Rome. Like his contemporary *Josephus

the author of Acts seeks to demonstrate that divine providence is at work, though for the latter there is nothing in the emergence of a strange Jewish messianic movement to contradict the Jewish tradition, since it is rather the inevitable continuation of it. CCR

adoption

Greek

Greeks counted on their heirs for support in old *age, and for continuation of their *oikoi* (families) and tending of their tombs after death. But high mortality ensured that many had no surviving children. Adoption was a common recourse, probably encouraged by the great variation in fertility characteristic of populations with unreliable means of *contraception. The fullest accounts can be provided for Gortyn and *Athens in the Classical period.

The law code of Gortyn apparently modifies prior practice. It permits an adult male to adopt anyone he chooses, including someone without full membership in the community, even if he already has legitimate children; however, the inheritance of those adopted in such circumstances is less than it would be if they were themselves natural children. Adoptive fathers are to announce the adoption to a citizen assembly and make a stipulated payment to their *hetaireia* (in this context, a kind of kinship group analogous to the phratry); they may also publicly disavow the adoption, and compensate those adopted with a set sum. Neither women nor minors may adopt.

At Athens, we hear of three forms of adoption, differing chiefly in the manner in which those adopted entered into their inheritance. These involved living parties (*inter vivos*), a will (testamentary adoption, said to have been introduced by *Solon), or the provision of an heir for a man already deceased. (Such posthumous adoptions did not require the prior agreement of the adoptive father.) As at Gortyn, only adult male citizens could adopt. However, Athenians' freedom of action was more limited: they could adopt only in the absence of legitimate sons, and then no one other than (male) citizens. Magistrates could not adopt or be adopted until their accounts had been rendered; those who were *atimoi* (subject to civic disability) could not be adopted. In addition, adopted sons could not themselves adopt in some or all cases. But fathers with daughters only could adopt; they might also marry their daughters to their adopted sons. In practice, adopters tended to choose adults, as these were more likely to survive and (according to the orators) had already given good evidence of their character, and sons were preferred to daughters. Those

adopted would often have inherited anyway by the laws governing intestacy; adoptions of others were likely to be challenged by closer kin. Their claims might be furthered by the belief, apparent in other contexts as well, that adoption did not generally forge links of loyalty and intimacy equal to those of blood (e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 9. 878 a; Dem. *Epit.* 4). Adoptions by will could also be attacked on the legal grounds that the adopter had acted when mad or senile, under the influence of drugs, illness, or a woman, or under coercion. Adopted children severed their connections with their natural fathers, though not their mothers. They could return to their *oikos* of birth if they left a natural son as heir to their adoptive *oikos*.

Adoption at Athens has often been viewed in the context of the community's concern for the survival of individual *oikoi*, a concern thought to be reflected in the responsibilities of the eponymous archon (a magistrate). Other Greek *poleis* (see POLIS) provide parallels: the role of the kings in adoptions at *Sparta (Hdt. 6. 57), the tradition that Philolaus, the lawgiver of Thebes, used adoption to maintain the number of *klēroi*, 'inheritable estates' (Arist. *Pol.* 2. 1274^b5). However, recent scholarship tends toward contrary conclusions: the *polis* was not concerned to maintain separate *oikoi* through adoption, though individuals certainly were; adoption was essentially a private matter, regulated by the phratries and demes (subgroups of the citizen body) into which adopted children were introduced, in which the archon took no initiative; heirs had no legal obligation to continue an *oikos* through posthumous adoption. Furthermore, arguments (based on the disappearance of testamentary adoption) that continuation of the *oikos* ceased to be a goal of adoption after the 4th cent. probably read too much into the silence of our literary sources.

Almost all our evidence from adoption in the Hellenistic and Roman periods comes from numerous inscriptions from throughout the Greek world, especially Rhodes. These reveal a bewildering inconsistency in terminology, even within the same community, perhaps attesting to differences in formal procedures and consequences now unclear. They also indicate that Greeks might change their names on adoption. MG

Roman

Adoptio is a legal act by which a Roman citizen enters another family and comes under the *patria potestas* (paternal authority) of its chief. Since only a *paterfamilias* (usually father or grandfather) could adopt, women could not (except in later law by imperial grant). When the adopted person, male or female, was previously in the paternal power of another, the act was *adoptio*; when a male who was not in paternal power but himself the head

of a family, it was *adrogatio*. Women could not be adrogated. Both acts involved a *deminutio capitis minima*, a reduction of legal status.

Adrogatio fused two families, for with the adoptee (*adrogatus*) all under his power (*potestas, manus*) and his property pass into the family of the adopter (*adrogator*). In early times *adrogatio* was publicly validated by a vote of the curiate assembly, preceded (since it extinguished a family and its cult) by an investigation by the pontiffs; by the time of Cicero, 30 lictors represented the *curiae*. Since the assembly met only in Rome, *adrogatio* could take place only there, until (by Diocletian's time at latest) imperial rescript replaced the vote.

Adoptio of a person in power (of any age) was a more private act performed before a praetor or governor. Its form was the same as that of emancipation (*emancipatio*, the release of a child from power), except that after the third sale the buyer did not free the child but collusively claimed that he/she was in his power. Under Justinian, these formalities were replaced by a declaration before a magistrate.

The effect of both *adoptio* and *adrogatio* was to place the adopted person for all legal purposes in the same position as if he/she had been a natural child in the power of the adopter. The adoptee took the adopter's name and rank and acquired rights of succession in his new family, losing those held in the old family. 'Adoption imitates nature' (*Inst. Iust.* 1. 11. 4), so an adoptive relationship barred marriage and the adopter had to be older than the adoptee (a rule allegedly flouted by the adoption of Publius *Clodius Pulcher). Bachelors and men physically incapable of reproduction (except if they had been castrated) could adopt. Adoption could be reversed by emancipation.

Adoption (of both kinds), since it created paternal power and continued the agnatic family, was originally the prerogative of men only. Adoption by women, 'to console them for the loss of children', was allowed by later emperors, as was adrogation of women: this shows a new conception. Safeguards grew up, especially for young children and their property.

Since adoption destroyed the adoptee's succession rights in the old family and a subsequent emancipation would destroy rights in the new family, Justinian drastically changed *adoptio* to allow the adoptee to retain rights in the old family, except where the adopter was a close relative, e.g. maternal grandfather.

The testamentary adoptions recorded in non-legal sources in the late republic and Principate apparently created only an obligation (from which the praetor could give dispensation) to take the testator's name. So Titus Pomponius *Atticus inherited from his mother's brother

Caecilius and became formally Q. Caecilius Q. f. Pomponianus Atticus (Cic. Att. 3. 20); the future emperor Ser. Sulpicius Galba for some time bore a name taken from the family of his stepmother, Livia Ocellina: L. Livius Ocella (Suet. Galba. 3–4). Caesar's adoption of his great-nephew C. Octavius (see AUGUSTUS) was ratified by a posthumous *adrogatio*.

Adoption of adult men was a convenient recourse for childless aristocrats and for emperors in need of successors.

AB/BN/SMT

adultery

Greek

At Athens, a law (attributed to Draco or *Solon) allowed a man who killed another he found in the sexual act with his wife, mother, sister, daughter, or concubine held for the purpose of bearing free children, to plead justifiable homicide; such adulterers might also be held for ransom. It is probable that there was also a *graphē* (legal suit) against adulterers, possible that those caught in the act were delivered to the 'Eleven' for summary execution or trial. Adulterous wives had to be divorced, and were excluded from public sacrifices. As for unmarried women, Solon supposedly permitted a *kurios* ('controller', male representative at law) to sell a daughter or sister into slavery if he discovered she was not a virgin. No instances are known, however, and indeed some husbands too probably preferred to respond (or not) to adultery without recourse to the law, so avoiding public dishonour. Many states are said to have allowed adulterers to be killed with impunity (Xen. *Hiero* 3. 3). But the law code of Gortyn envisages adulterers paying ransoms, varying with the status of the parties and the setting of the acts, and pecuniary penalties are stipulated in some marriage contracts from Hellenistic Egypt. Punishments in other (mostly later) communities stress public humiliation. Laws at both Athens and Gortyn provided protection against entrapment and false accusations. There was allegedly no Lycurgan (see LYCURGUS) law against adultery at Sparta, a tradition informed by the custom by which Spartans could share their wives with fellow citizens for procreative purposes (see MARRIAGE LAW (Greek)).

MG

Roman

Roman tradition ascribed to fathers and husbands great severity in punishing illicit sexual behaviour by daughters or wives. Such misconduct was *stuprum* in married or unmarried women, an offence against chastity (*pudicitia*); *adulterium* described sexual intercourse between a married woman and a man other than her husband. Until the legislation of Augustus, regulation was chiefly in the

hands of the family: adultery probably always justified divorce; a family council might advise the *paterfamilias* (husband or father in whose power the woman was) on this and other sanctions, possibly including execution. The immediate killing of adulterers/adulteresses taken in the act was defensible (morally and in court) but probably not legally prescribed. Other physical violence against the adulterer is a literary commonplace. Adultery in the late republic, like the seduction or rape of an unmarried woman, entitled the father or husband to sue the man for damages (for *iniuria*, insult) and not only to divorce the wife but to retain part of her dowry. Magistrates occasionally proceeded against adulterers/adulteresses.

*Augustus, in the Julian law on repression of adulteries (*lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis vel sim*, Dig. 48. 5), passed apparently shortly after the marriage law of 18 BC, made illicit sexual intercourse (extramarital intercourse by and with a respectable free woman) a crime, to be tried by a special court under a praetor (in practice, often the senate). The law detailed restricted circumstances in which homicide by father or husband was justifiable. The normal judicial penalty for adulterers was *relegatio* (banishment) to different islands, and partial confiscation of property and dowry (one half). The husband with clear evidence had to divorce or be liable to a charge of procuring (*lenocinium*; penalties similar). On divorce, husband or father might bring an accusation within 60 days, or anyone within the next four months. A woman might not be accused while married.

Penalties were increased by Christian emperors. *Constantine I introduced the death penalty (which Justinian confirmed (see JUSTINIAN'S CODIFICATION)), but allowed only the husband or the wife's relatives to prosecute.

Adultery by the husband was not *adulterium* (unless his partner was a married woman), but his intercourse with a respectable unmarried woman (or male) constituted *stuprum* and in the 5th cent. AD (*Cod. Iust.* 5. 17. 8) his adultery in the matrimonial home or with a married woman entitled his wife to divorce him without incurring the penalties then imposed for unjustified divorce (see MARRIAGE LAW (Roman)).

AB/BN/SMT

Aegae (Vergina) in northern Pieria (see ◀ Map 1, Ba ▶), overlooking the coastal plain of Macedonia. Founded by the first of the Temenid kings and thereafter the site of their tombs, it has been made famous by Manolis Andronikos, who excavated a pre-Temenid cemetery of tumuli and then, in 1977, three royal tombs of the 4th cent. BC. Two were intact. The frescos, the offerings in gold, silver, ivory, and bronze, and the weapons were of the highest artistic quality. Tomb II was almost certainly that of *Philip II (for an alternative view, that Philip

Arrhidæus was buried here, see E. Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus* (1990), 256 ff.). Earlier and later burials have also been found. Theatre, palace, and acropolis stand above the cemetery area. Excavations continue. NGLH

Aeneas, character in literature and mythology, son of Anchises and the goddess Aphrodite. In the *Iliad* he is a prominent Trojan leader, belonging to the younger branch of the royal house (13. 460–1, 20. 179–83, 230–41), and has important duels with Diomedes (5. 239 ff.) and *Achilles (20. 153 ff.), from both of which he is rescued by divine intervention. His piety towards the gods is stressed (20. 298–9, 347–8), and *Poseidon prophesies that he and his children will rule over the Trojans (20. 307–8).

This future beyond the *Iliad* is reflected in the version in the lost epic *Iliu Persis* ('Fall of Troy') that Aeneas and his family left Troy before its fall to retreat to Mt. Ida, which led later to accusations of his treachery (e.g. *Origo gentis Romanae* 9. 2–3). The departure of Aeneas from Troy is widely recorded, and the image of Aeneas' pious carrying of his father Anchises on his shoulders in the retreat is common in Greek vases of the 6th cent. BC found in Etruria, and occurs in 5th- and 4th-cent. Attic literature (Soph. fr. 373 Radt, Xen. *Cyn.* 1. 15). The further story of Aeneas' voyage to Italy may have existed as early as the 6th or 5th cent. BC (Stesichorus fr. 205 Davies; Hellanicus, *FGrH* 4 F 84), but seems well established by the 3rd cent. (Timaeus, *FGrH* 566 F 59). Following recent excavations at Lavinium, claims have been made for hero-cult of Aeneas there as early as the 4th cent. BC, but these must remain unproven; it is not easy to link this with other attestations of cult for Aeneas as Jupiter Indiges (e.g. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 64. 5; Livy 1. 2. 6).

The list of Aeneas' westward wanderings towards Italy is already long and contradictory by the 1st cent. BC (cf. Dion. Hal. 1. 44–64), including cities and cults supposedly named after him in Thrace, Chalcidice, Epirus, and Sicily, and visits to Delos and Crete. A visit to Carthage, possibly involving a meeting with Dido, is certainly part of the itinerary by the time of *Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* (3rd cent. BC), where it is seen as an ancestral cause of the enmity between Rome and *Carthage. As Rome confronted a Greek-speaking Mediterranean world in the 3rd cent. BC, it found it politically and culturally useful to claim as its founder Aeneas, famous through his appearance in Homer but also an enemy of the Greeks; a particular stimulus was the invasion of Italy by Pyrrhus of Epirus (280 BC), who claimed descent from Achilles and saw Rome as a second Troy (Paus. 1. 12. 2). In consequence, Roman poets (e.g. Ennius), historians

(e.g. Cato (Censorius)), and antiquarians (e.g. Varro) stressed the Trojan origins of Rome; considerations of chronology eventually led to the view that Aeneas founded not Rome but a preceding city, Lavinium, and that Rome's eponymous founder Romulus was his distant descendant.

*Virgil's version of the Aeneas-legend in the *Aeneid* aims at literary coherence rather than antiquarian accuracy. Aeneas' wanderings, apart from the stay at Carthage, are compressed into a single book (*Aeneid* 3); his war in Latium is the subject of the second half of the poem, and he appears there and at other times to have some a typological link with *Augustus (cf. *Aen.* 8. 680 and 10. 261), who claimed him as ancestor (1. 286–8). The Virgilian Aeneas' central traits of pietas and martial courage continue his Homeric character, but he is also a projection of the ideal patriotic Roman, subordinating personal goals to national interest. And yet he never renounces his human vulnerability; he is in despair in his first appearance in the poem (1. 92 ff.), he is deeply affected by love for Dido (4. 395, 6. 455), and the poem ends not with his triumphant apotheosis, anticipated earlier (1. 259–60, 12. 794–5), but with his emotional killing of Turnus in a moment of passion.

The success of the *Aeneid* meant that few innovations were made in the Aeneas-legend by later writers; subsequent Aeneas-narratives are clearly crafted from existing materials, principally Virgil (e.g. *Ov. Met.* 13. 623–14. 608, *Origo gentis Romanae* 9. 2–15. 4). SJHA

Aeneas Tacticus, probably the Stymphalian general of the Arcadian League in 367 BC (*Xen. Hell.* 7. 3. 1); anyway the earliest(-surviving) and most historically interesting of the ancient military writers (*tactici*). Of several treatises only his *Siegecraft* (*Polioretica*) is extant, internally datable to the mid-4th cent. via the clustering of contemporary illustrations of its precepts (and linguistically important for its embryo form of the *koinē*, i.e. standard Greek). Concerned more with defence against than prosecution of siege-warfare, it offers unique insights into the stresses of life in small communities with warfare and revolution constantly threatening. DW

Aeschines (c.397–c.322 BC), Athenian orator whose exchanges with *Demosthenes in the courts in 343 and 330 provide a large part of the evidence for the relations of Athens and Macedon in the 340s and the 330s. His origins were sufficiently obscure to allow Demosthenes' invention full play. He probably did not receive the usual formal training in rhetoric, but after hoplite service of some distinction in the 360s and early 350s, and a period as an actor, he embarked on a public career as a supporter first briefly of Aristophon and then of Eubulus, during

whose supervision of the city's finances Aeschines' brother, Aphobetus, was a theoretic commissioner (responsible for distribution of grants for attendance at festivals). In 347/6 both Aeschines and Demosthenes were members of the Council of 500 and their disagreements led to sixteen years of enmity. Early in 346 (though many have dated the affair to 348/7) when alarming news reached Athens of the extension of Macedonian influence to Arcadia, Eubulus supported by Aeschines took the lead in urging Athens to protest to Arcadia and to seek to organize a Common Peace, which would provide for common action against aggressors and so make it unnecessary for any state to seek Macedonian help. Aeschines was sent on an embassy to Megalopolis where he sought to dissuade the assembly of the Arcadians from dealings with *Philip II. Whether through the indifference of the Greek states or through the new threat to Greece caused by the refusal of the Phocian tyrant, Phalaecus, to permit access to Thermopylae, the key-point for the defence of Greece, the initiative of Eubulus and Aeschines proved abortive. An embassy of ten, including Aeschines and Demosthenes, was hastily sent to negotiate peace terms with Philip. Their return to the city was closely followed by a Macedonian embassy, and on the 18th and 19th of the month Elaphebolion, when the peace was debated and voted, Aeschines played a notable if ineffectual part. Demosthenes, realizing that peace was essential and that the only form of peace which Philip would accept was a plain alliance with Athens and her allies of the Second Athenian Confederacy, made himself responsible for getting the decree of Philocrates passed: Aeschines strove without success for a Common Peace open to all the Greeks. The ten ambassadors then set off again to secure Philip's oath to the treaty which he did not render until his forces were in position to attack Phocis. When the ambassadors returned with this alarming news, it was decided in the Council to recommend an expedition to save Phocis, but by the 16th of the month Skirophorion, when the people met, it was known that Philip had occupied Thermopylae; Demosthenes' proposal was not even read out and he was himself shouted down. Aeschines then made a speech, which Demosthenes chose to regard as proof that Aeschines had been won over by Macedonian bribery. The truth was probably far different; since Phocis could not be saved, Aeschines sought to reconcile the Athenians to the fact by reporting vague suggestions of Macedonian proposals for central Greece which were very much what Athens was seeking.

From that day Demosthenes was implacably opposed to Aeschines as well as determined to destroy the Peace, while Aeschines was gradually won over to support it and seek its extension into a Common Peace. In 346/5

Demosthenes with the support of Timarchus began a prosecution of Aeschines for his part in the peace negotiations; Aeschines replied by charging Timarchus with breach of the law forbidding those whose misconduct was notorious from addressing the assembly; the *Against Timarchus* was successful and Demosthenes was forced to recognize that the time was not ripe to attack Aeschines. By mid-343 the mood of Athens had clearly begun to change; early in the year Philocrates had been successfully prosecuted by *Hyperides and in the *De falsa legatione* Demosthenes attacked Aeschines, the advocate of merely amending a discredited peace, as if he had been the orator really responsible in 346 for Athens' accepting the Peace. Aeschines replied in a speech of the same title and, supported by Eubulus and Phocion, was narrowly acquitted. Aeschines continued to have some influence in the assembly, and in 340/39 was sent as one of Athens' representatives to the Amphictionic Council (*see DELPHI*), on which occasion he appears to have displayed a serious lack of judgement in relation to the affairs of central Greece: at a time when the war against Philip had recommenced and there was a clear need to avoid exacerbating the divisions of Greece, Aeschines replied to Locrian charges against Athens with such a vigorous attack on the conduct of the Amphissians that hostilities began and Philip was the more easily able to intervene.

Aeschines was a member of the embassy sent to negotiate with Philip after the battle of Chaeronea, but from then on he withdrew from politics only to re-emerge on two occasions when circumstances seemed favourable for an attack on Demosthenes. The first was in early 336 when Ctesiphon proposed that Demosthenes should be crowned in the theatre at the Dionysia for the excellence of his services to the city: earlier Demosthenes had been similarly honoured without protest but, at a time when Demosthenes' gloomy predictions after Chaeronea seemed mocked by the opening of the Macedonian invasion of Persia, Aeschines indicted the decree under the *graphē paranomōn* (law against unconstitutional proposals). However, the murder of Philip made the future too uncertain for Aeschines to be confident of success, and he decided not to proceed with the indictment for the moment. In 330 after the defeat of Persia at Gaugamela and the failure of Agis III's revolt, which Demosthenes had chosen not to support, Athens was in almost complete isolation with no prospect of liberation from Macedon, and Aeschines thought the moment suitable for him to proceed with his prosecution of Ctesiphon. In the *Against Ctesiphon*, after adducing minor, if perhaps valid, legalistic considerations concerning the details of the original decree, he reviewed the career of Demosthenes, somewhat selectively, and sought to show that

Demosthenes was unworthy of the crown. In the *De corona* Demosthenes replied with all the devastating effect that his great rhetorical gifts could command, and Aeschines failed to secure the necessary fifth of the jury's votes to save him from a fine and the limitation of the right to prosecute. He chose to retire from Athens to Rhodes, where he taught rhetoric.

The supremacy of Demosthenes as an orator has to a large extent beguiled posterity into the opinion that he alone fully appreciated the menace of Macedon and correctly diagnosed the causes of Philip's success, and Aeschines has been represented as an opportunist with little judgement and less principle. In fact, there was no obvious way of saving Athens and Greece, and it is probable that Aeschines no less than Demosthenes sought to maintain his city's power and independence.

Speeches

The only genuine speeches of Aeschines known to the critics of the Roman period were the three that we have: a fourth, concerning Delos, was rejected by Caecilius. Aeschines was a man of dignified presence and fine voice, who deprecated the use of extravagant gestures by an orator, preferring a statuesque pose. Proud of his education, he displays it by frequent quotation of poetry. In the use of historical argument he cannot compare with Demosthenes, but in a battle of wits he more than holds his own. His vocabulary is simple but effective, though occasional obscurities may be found in his sentences. Ancient critics ranked him lower than he deserves; the fact is that he was not aiming at literary perfection; his object was to produce a powerful effect on his audiences, and he was justified by the result. GLC

Aeschylus (*see following page*)

aetiology in religion and mythology refers to an explanation, normally in narrative form (hence 'aetiological myth'), of a practice, epithet, monument, or similar. Typically such explanations elucidate something known in the contemporary world by reference to an event in the mythical past; they are thus related to the traditions of first inventors and are quite often found in connection with etymologies. Comparative evidence suggests that many aetiologies in the ancient world will have been of popular origin, while others could derive from the priestly traditions of individual cults, but it is very likely also that some literary aetiologies represent authorial inventions rather than pre-existing accounts. Aetiological accounts are frequent in classical literature. Implicit in a few Homeric passages (e.g. the tombs of Sarpedon [*Il.* 16.666–83] and Phrontis [*Od.* 3.278–85]), they are seen in more developed form in *Hesiod,

[*continued on p. 13*]

AESCHYLUS

Aeschylus, Athenian tragic dramatist.

Life (?525/4–456/5 BC)

Aeschylus was probably born at *Eleusis in 525/4 BC (*Marm. Par.*). He fought at the battle of Marathon (*Marm. Par.*; *Vita* 4, 11) and probably at Salamis (Ion of Chios, *FGrH* 392 F 7). His first tragic production was in 499 (*Suda* α 357 with π 2230), his first victory in 484 (*Marm. Par.*); thereafter he may have been almost invariably victorious, especially after the death of Phrynichus c.473 (he gained thirteen victories altogether, *Vita* 13). Of his surviving plays, *Persians* was produced in 472 (his *chorēgos* being the young *Pericles) and *Seven against Thebes* in 467. *Suppliants*, part of a production which won first prize over *Sophocles (*POxy.* 2256. 3), is probably later than *Seven* (despite the predominant role of the chorus and other features once thought to prove it very early); its exact date is uncertain. The *Oresteia* (comprising *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi* ('Women Bearing Drink-offerings'), and *Eumenides*, with the lost satyr-play *Proteus*) was Aeschylus' last production in Athens, in 458. He had already visited Sicily once, possibly twice, at the invitation of Hieron of Syracuse, composing *Women of Aetna* in honour of Hieron's newly founded city of Aetna (*Vita* 9) and producing *Persians* at Syracuse (ibid. 18; Eratosth. in schol. Ar. *Frogs* 1028); after the production of the *Oresteia* he went there again, dying at Gela in 456/5. *Prometheus Bound*, if by Aeschylus (see below), may have been composed in Sicily and produced posthumously. His epitaph (*Vita* 11) makes no reference to his art, only to his prowess displayed at Marathon; this estimate of what was most important in Aeschylus' life—to have been a loyal and courageous citizen of a free Athens—can hardly be that of the Geloans and will reflect his own death-bed wishes (cf. Paus. 1. 14. 5) or those of his family.

Two sons of Aeschylus themselves became dramatists, Euphorion (who also restaged many of his father's plays) and Euaeon. A nephew, Philocles, was the founder of a dynasty of tragedians that lasted over a century.

Works

(°denotes a known satyr-play). Aeschylus' total output is variously stated at between 70 and 90 plays. Seven plays have survived via medieval manuscripts, of which *Prometheus Bound* is of disputed authenticity (it was possibly composed by Euphorion and produced by him as Aeschylus' work). In addition there survive substantial papyrus fragments of °*Netfishers* (*Diktyoukoi*) and °*Spectators at the Isthmian Games* (*Theōroi* or *Isthmiastai*).

Many of Aeschylus' productions were connected 'tetralogies', comprising three tragedies presenting successive episodes of a single story (a 'trilogy') followed by a satyr-play based on part of the same or a related myth. This seems to have been common practice in his day, though the production of 472 (*Phineus*, *Persians*, *Glaucus of Potniae* and °*Prometheus the Fire-kindler*) is an exception. Four tetralogies are securely attested: (1) the *Oresteia* (see above); (2) *Laius*, *Oedipus*, *Seven against Thebes*, °*Sphinx*; (3) *Suppliants*, *Egyptians*, *Danaids*, °*Amymone*; (4) a *Lycurgeia* comprising *Edonians*, *Bassarids*, *Young Men* (*Neaniskoi*) and °*Lycurgus*. At least six other tetralogies can be reconstructed with a fair degree of probability: (5) *Myrmidons*, *Nereids*, *Phrygians*, and perhaps *Chamber-makers* (*Thalamopoioi*), based on *Iliad* 16–24; (6) *Ghost-Raisers* (*Psychagōgoi*), *Penelope*, *Bone-Gatherers* (*Ostologoi*), °*Circe*, based on the *Odyssey* but apparently with an innovative ending; (7) *The Award of the Arms* (*Hoplōn Krisis*), *Thracian Women*, *Women of Salamis* (satyr-play unknown), centring on the death of Ajax; (8) *Semele*, *Wool-Carders* (*Xantriai*), *Pentheus*, and perhaps °*The Nurses of Dionysus*, on the birth of Dionysus and his conflict with Pentheus (cf. Euripides' *Bacchae*); (9) *Eleusinians*, *Women* (?) of *Argos*, *Epigoni*, and perhaps °*Nemea*, on the recovery of the bodies of the Seven against Thebes and their sons' war of revenge; (10) *Lemnian Women*, *Hypsipyle*, *Cabeiri*, *Argo*, on the story of Hypsipyle and Jason. In some cases two tragedies seem to be connected but no third related one can be confidently identified: (11) *Memnon* and *The Weighing of Souls* (*Psychostasia*), based on the cyclic *Aethiopis*; (12) *Prometheus Bound* and *Prometheus Unbound* (if, as is likely, the title *Prometheus the Fire-bearer* (*Pyrphoros*) is no more than a (superior) alternative name for *Prometheus the Fire-kindler* (*Pyrkaeus*)); (13) *Phorcides* and *Polydectes* (with °*Netfishers*), with Perseus as hero; (14) *Mysians* and *Telephus*.

Aeschylean plays not mentioned above include *Archer-Nymphs* (*Toxotides*), on the death of Actaeon; *Athamas*; *Atalanta*; *Callisto*; *Carians* or *Europa*; °*Cercyon*; *Children of Heracles*; *Cretan Women* (on the story of Polyidus); *Daughters of the Sun* (*Heliades*); *The Escort* (*Propompoi*); *Glaucus the Sea-god*; °*Heralds* (*Kērykes*); *Iphigenia*; *Ixion*; °*The Lion*; *Niobe*; °*Oreithyia*; *Palamedes*; *Perrhaebian Women* (whose central character was Ixion); *Philoctetes* (see Dio Chrys. Or. 52); *Priestesses* (*Hiereiai*); °*Sisyphus the Runaway*; and *Sisyphus the Stone-roller*.

Technique

Aeschylus was the most innovative and imaginative of Greek dramatists. His extant plays, though covering a period of only fifteen years, show a great and evolving variety in structure and presentation.

The three earlier plays (*Persians*, *Seven*, and *Suppliants*) are designed for a theatre without a *skēnē* (a tent or hut forming a background for plays: see THEATRES (GREEK AND ROMAN), STRUCTURE) but containing a mound or elevation (tomb of Darius, Theban acropolis, Argive sanctuary, the two latter with cult-images on them). There are two actors only; the main interactions are less between character and character than between character and chorus (often expressed in 'epirrhematic' form, i.e. dialogue between singing chorus and speaking actor), and in two cases the chorus open the play in marching anapaests. There is a wide variety of structural patterns, some of them (like *Sept.* 375–676, with its seven pairs of speeches punctuated by short choral stanzas) probably unique experiments, but all built round the basic framework of a series of episodes framed by entries and exits and separated by choral songs. The pace of the action is usually rather slow.

By 458 the dramatist had available to him a *skēnē* and probably an *ekkyklēma* (wheeled platform) and *mēchanē* (crane) also, as well as a third actor. Aeschylus makes imaginative, and once again very varied, use of the new opportunities. After composing the first half of *Agamemnon* entirely in his old style (with no actor–actor dialogue whatever), he centres the play on a verbal trial of strength between *Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, meanwhile keeping Cassandra long silent and then making her narrate Agamemnon's death prophetically before it happens. The house and its entrance are firmly controlled throughout by the 'watchdog' Clytemnestra. In the second half of *Choephoroi* the action increasingly accelerates as the climax approaches, and then abruptly slows as Clytemnestra for a time staves off her doom with brilliant verbal fencing. In *Eumenides* a series of short scenes, full of surprises and changes of location, and including a trial-scene with some virtuoso four-sided dialogue, leads to a conclusion mainly in the old epirrhematic mode for one actor and chorus (with a second chorus at the very end).

Aeschylus' plots tend to be characterized, not by abrupt changes of direction (*peripeteiai*), but by a build-up of tension and expectation towards a climax anticipated by the audience if not by the dramatis personae. He was quite capable of contriving *peripeteiai* when he wished, as witness *Seven against Thebes* where the whole action pivots on Eteocles' discovery that he has unwittingly brought about a combat between himself and his brother and thus fulfilled his father's curse; the trilogy form, however, encourages sharp changes of direction and mood between plays rather than within them.

In general the central interest in Aeschylean drama is in situation and event rather than in character. Even quite major figures in a play (like Pelasgus or Orestes) can be almost without distinctive character traits: if their situation gives them effectively no choice how to act, their personal qualities are irrelevant and are ignored. On the other hand, characters who make (or have previously made) decisions vitally affecting the action, when alternative choices were possible, are portrayed as far as is necessary for illuminating these decisions: Eteocles is usually calm and rational but can be carried away by strong emotions, Agamemnon is one who values prestige above all other considerations. The character most fully drawn is Clytemnestra, because the plot requires her to be a unique individual, 'a woman with a man's mind'. In the *Oresteia* several minor characters are drawn with marked vividness, less perhaps for their own sake than to focus special attention on what they have to say.

For similar reasons, Aeschylean choruses nearly always have a strong and distinctive personality. Their words are often of the utmost importance in drawing attention to the deeper principles underlying events (even when they do not themselves fully understand these principles or their implications) and, together with their music and dance, in establishing the mood and theme of a whole play. The women of *Seven*, dominated almost throughout by fear, contrast sharply with the Danaids, utterly determined in their rejection of marriage and coercing Pelasgus by a cool threat of suicide; the Argive elders of *Agamemnon*, enunciators of profound moral principles, yet unable to understand how these principles doom Agamemnon to death, share a trilogy with the Erinyes, hellish bloodsuckers, yet also divine embodiments of these same principles. Aeschylus' choruses often have a substantial influence on the action; the Danaids and the Erinyes are virtually the protagonists of their plays, the women's panic in *Seven* causes Eteocles' promise to fight in person, while in *Choephoroi* it is the chorus who ensure that Aegisthus is delivered unguarded into Orestes' hands. Sometimes a chorus will surprise the audience near the end of a play (as when the Argive elders defy Aegisthus); it is a distinctly Aeschylean touch in *Prometheus Bound* when the hitherto submissive Oceanids resolve to stay with Prometheus despite Hermes' warning of apocalyptic destruction impending.

Aeschylus' lyric style is smooth and flexible, and generally easier of immediate comprehension than that of *Pindar or Sophocles, provided the listener was attuned to a vocabulary that tended towards the archaic and the Homeric. In iambic dialogue, where he had fewer models to follow, he sometimes seems stiff compared with Sophocles or Euripides, though he can also create an impression of everyday speech through informal grammar and phraseology.

He excels at devising patterns of language and imagery, elaborating them down to minute detail, and sustaining them all through a play or a trilogy.

Patterns of metre (and presumably of music) are likewise designed on a trilogic scale; in the *Oresteia*, ode after ode ponders the workings of justice in syncopated iambics and lekythia, with variations and deviations to suit particular contexts (epic-like dactyls for the departure of the expedition to Troy, ionics for Helen's voyage and her welcome by the Trojans). Aeschylus' lyrics are mostly simple and perspicuous in structure, here too resembling *Alcman or *Stesichorus more than Pindar or Sophocles. He makes extensive use of marching anapaests as preludes to (and occasionally substitutes for) choral odes, and also in quasi-epirrhematic alternation with lyrics. The regular speech-verse is the iambic trimeter, but the trochaic tetrameter (characteristic of early tragedy according to Arist. *Poet.* 1449a22) appears in *Persians* and *Agamemnon*.

Aeschylus is consistently bold and imaginative in exploiting the visual aspects of drama. The contrast between the sumptuous dress of Atossa at her first, carriage-borne entry and the return of Xerxes alone and in rags; the chaotic entry of the chorus in *Seven*; the African-looking, exotically dressed Danaids and their confrontation with brutal Egyptian soldiers; the purple cloth over which Agamemnon walks to his death, and the display of his corpse in the bath with Cassandra beside him and Clytemnestra 'standing where I struck' (a scene virtually repeated in *Choephoroi* with a different killer and different victims); the Erinyes presented anthropomorphically on stage (probably for the first time), yet tracking Orestes like hounds by the scent of blood; the procession that ends the *Oresteia*, modelled on that at the Great Panathenaea—these are far from exhausting the memorable visual images in only six or seven plays, quite apart from numerous careful touches of detail (e.g. at the end of *Agamemnon* where Aegisthus, that 'woman' of a man, alone of those on stage has neither weapon nor staff in his right hand).

Thought

Aeschylus, like all truly tragic writers, is well aware of, and vividly presents, the terrible suffering, often hard to justify in human terms, of which life is full; nevertheless he also believes strongly in the ultimate justice of the gods. In his surviving work (leaving aside *Prometheus*), all human suffering is clearly traceable, directly or indirectly, to an origin in some evil or foolish action—Xerxes' ill-advised decision to attempt the conquest of Greece; Laius' defiance of an oracular warning to remain childless; the attempt by the sons of Aegyptus to force the Danaids to be their wives; the adultery of Thyestes with Atreus' wife; the abduction of Helen by Paris. The consequences of these actions, however, while always bringing disaster to the actors, never end with them, but spread to involve their descendants and ultimately a whole community; some of these indirect victims have incurred more or less guilt on their own account, but many are completely innocent. In some of Aeschylus' dramas, like *Persians* or the Theban trilogy, the action descends steadily towards a nadir of misery at the end. In the *Oresteia*, however, presumably also in the Odyssean trilogy, and not improbably in the Danaid trilogy, it proves to be possible to draw a line under the record of suffering and reach a settlement that promises a better future; each time a key element in the final stages is the substitution of persuasion for violence, as when in the *Oresteia* a chain of retaliatory murders is ended by the judicial trial of Orestes, and the spirits of violent revenge, the Erinyes, are persuaded to accept an honoured dwelling in Athens.

In dramas of the darker type described above, the gods are stern and implacable, and mortals often find themselves helpless prisoners of their own or others' past decisions; though they may still have considerable freedom to choose how to face their fate (compare the clear-sighted courage of Pelasgus or Cassandra with Xerxes or Agamemnon). Elsewhere, especially perhaps in Aeschylus' latest work, a different concept of divinity may appear. In the *Oresteia* ethical advance on earth, as the virtuous Electra and an Orestes with no base motive succeed the myopic Agamemnon and the monstrous Clytemnestra, is presently answered by ethical advance on Olympus as the amoral gods of *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroi* turn in *Eumenides* into responsible and even loving (*Eum.* 911, 999) protectors of deserving mortals. Something similar may well have happened in the Prometheus plays.

Aeschylus is intensely interested in the community life of the *polis*, and all his surviving genuine works have strong political aspects. He seems to be a strong supporter of democracy (a word whose elements first appear together in the phrase *dēmou kratousa cheir* 'the sovereign hand of the people', *Supp.* 604) and of Athens' wars of the early 450s, while recognizing the overriding importance of avoiding civil conflict by conciliating rival interests (*Eum.* 858–66, 976–87). To later generations, who from time to time continued to see his plays (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 10), Aeschylus, who may have come of age in the year of *Cleisthenes' reforms and whose death coincided with the peak of Athenian power, was (as in Aristophanes' *Frogs*) the poet of Athens' greatness, of the generation of Marathon where he had lived what to him was the supreme day of his life. See also TRAGEDY, GREEK.

notably in the story of Prometheus' attempt to deceive *Zeus, explaining the unequal division of sacrificial meat between gods and humans. *Tragedy, with its interest in the relationship between past and present, is fond of aetiology, and many of *Euripides' final scenes include an aetiology in the form of a command or prophecy. But it is *Callimachus whose *Aitia* ('Causes'), though surviving only in fragments, is perhaps the most famous literary exemplification. In consequence of Callimachus' influence, few Roman poets avoid aetiologies, but they are especially prominent in *Propertius 4 and *Ovid's *Fasti*. See MYTHOLOGY. EAT/AJSS

Africa (Libya), exploration Africa was distinguished from Asia as the third continent by c.500 BC, with the Nile, later usually the Red Sea, as divider; but its interior and, even at the most extended period of knowledge, its coasts south of Cape Delgado on the east and Cape Yubi on the west, remained substantially unknown, locations of marvels and geographical features uncertainly identifiable (Ptol. *Geog.* 4). Some believed it circumnavigable (Hdt. 4. 42) and triangular in shape (Strabo 17. 3. 1), but no circumnavigation is satisfactorily attested, and there are modern scholars who think it impracticable for ancient ships; pure theorizing could account for the traditions. An inconsistent belief in a land bridge from Africa to Asia in fact prevailed (Ptol. 7. 3. 6).

In Egypt, and to some extent in Cyrenaica, Greeks could supplement autopsy with local information; cf. Herodotus on the Nile valley (2. 29–31), the inland route therefrom, via oases, possibly to the Atlas (4. 181–3), and a Libyan foray perhaps reaching the Niger, more probably Chad (not the Nile as he supposed; 2. 32–3). Extended knowledge of the Red Sea and NE coasts came from *Alexander the Great's Indian expedition, more under Ptolemaic rule in Egypt, and still more in Roman times as a result of increasing trade with India (see especially, *Peripl. M. Rubr.*; Ptol. *Geog.* 4). Penetration up the Nile valley was furthered under Augustus by the campaign of Gaius Petronius against the Ethiopians (Strabo 17. 1. 54) and an investigative mission which probably reached southern Nubia in Nero's reign (Sen. *QNat.* 5. 8. 3–5); but it was checked by swamps; the geographer Ptolemy, however, recorded lakes sighted by a sailor driven off course near Zanzibar, which he took to be the source of the Nile (*Geog.* 1. 9; presumably Victoria and Albert Nyanza) and had also heard of the Mountain of the Moon whose snows fed them (*Geog.* 4. 8. 2; perhaps Mt. Kilimanjaro).

In the north-west, local knowledge, both of the coastal hinterland and of the west coast, may have been less readily available before the fall of Carthage. What became

known then was soon supplemented by Roman exploration, often undertaken for military purposes. Already in 146 BC Scipio Aemilianus had despatched *Polybius with a fleet down the west coast (Plin. *HN* 5. 9, 10). Later landmarks were the Jugurthine War (but Sallust's account is disappointing); campaigns by Lucius Cornelius Balbus under Augustus and Valerius Festus under Vespasian against the Garamantes in the Fezzan (Plin. *HN* 5. 36–8), and by Suetonius Paulinus under Claudius in the Atlas mountains (ibid. 5. 14–15); investigative missions, probably under Domitian, attributed to Iulius Maternus and Septimius Flaccus (perhaps identical events), from Tripolitania via the Garamantes, possibly to Chad (Ptol. *Geog.* 1. 8. 4).

Archaeological evidence, constantly accruing, is not always easy to interpret since artefacts might penetrate further than travellers in the packs of native traders and raiders; but a scatter of recently reported inscriptions may suggest Mediterranean contacts further south than expected, e.g. in the Fezzan, the Hoggar mountains of Algeria, the Canaries, while the announcement of Roman pottery found on Zanzibar accords with the literary record. See GEOGRAPHY; MAPS. JMR

Africa, Roman (see ◀Map 4, Ad▶) The Punic Wars made Rome heir to the Carthaginian empire. In 146 BC she left most territory in the hands of Masinissa's descendants, but formed a new province (Africa) in the most fertile part. This covered about 13,000 sq. km. (5,000 sq. mi.) of north and central Tunisia, north-east of a boundary line (the *fossa regia*, 'the royal ditch') from Thabraca to Hadrumetum; it was governed by a praetor from Utica. Except for Utica and six other towns of Phoenician origin which had supported Rome rather than Carthage in the Punic Wars, most of the land became *ager publicus* (see AGRARIAN LAWS AND POLICY). Although the attempt by Gaius *Gracchus to found a Roman colony at Carthage failed, Roman and Italian traders and farmers settled in the province in large numbers, and many of Gaius *Marius' veterans settled west of the *fossa regia*. After the battle of Thapsus in 46 BC *Caesar added to the existing province (thenceforth called Africa Vetus, 'Old Africa') the Numidian territory of Juba I (Africa Nova, 'New Africa'). Caesar's colonial foundations in Africa included Clupea, Curubis, and Neapolis, and his intention to colonize Carthage afresh was carried out by Octavian. A substantial territory in Numidia based on Cirta was given to Caesar's supporter Publius Sittius.

Under Augustus, after various boundary changes, the united province, now called Africa Proconsularis, extended from Arae Philaenorum, on the western edge of Cyrenaica, to the river Ampsagas (Rhummel) in eastern

Algeria. At least eleven colonies were founded in Proconsularis, in addition to the thirteen colonies settled on the coast of Mauretania (the rest of which was ruled by the client king Juba II). Africa Proconsularis was governed from Carthage by a proconsul, who (unusually for the governor of a province not controlled by the emperor) also commanded the Legio III Augusta, then stationed at Ammaedara. Under Gaius command of the legion was handed over to an imperial legate who became responsible for the government of Numidia and the frontier districts. The provincialization of North Africa was completed by Claudius with the creation of two provinces in Mauretania. Resistance to Roman rule on the fringes of the Sahara and in the mountainous regions such as the Kabylie and Aurès was no more than sporadic, and for over three centuries the whole area from Cyrenaica to the Atlantic was protected by only a single legion and auxiliaries. The southern frontier ran approximately from Arae Philaenorum through Cydamus (Gadhamès), Nefta, Vescera (Biskra), and Auzia (Aumale) to the Atlantic south of Volubilis.

Urban life in North Africa was of pre-Roman origin, both Punic and (under Punic influence) Numidian. In spite of the destruction of Carthage, a number of towns of Phoenician or Carthaginian origin survived on the coast, such as Hadrumetum and Lepcis Magna; further west, Icosium (Algiers), Iol (Caesarea), Tingis, and Lixus appear to have been pre-Roman settlements of some size. In a few places Carthaginian language and institutions survived into the 2nd cent. AD, as inscriptions demonstrate; spoken Punic lasted much longer and was still being used, at least in rural areas, in *Augustine's day (*Ep.* 66. 108. 14, 209. 3). Over large areas of the interior the influence of Carthaginian civilization on the indigenous tribes was profound, especially in central Tunisia and in the region of Cirta where Numidian kings had encouraged it. Under Roman control, however, urbanization occurred on a vastly increased scale, and refounded Carthage became the largest city in the western empire after Rome (see URBANISM (Roman)). Over 600 communities ranked as separate *civitates* (citizen communities), of which a large number in due course obtained the rank of *municipium* or *colonia*. The area of densest urbanization was around Carthage and the Bagradas valley, where some of the towns were only a dozen miles apart. Some, like Ammaedara and Theveste, were established on the sites of early legionary fortresses; Lambaesis grew out of the settlement outside the final fortress chosen for Legio III Augusta; others, like Timgad and Diana Veteranorum, were settled as colonies for retired legionaries. Roman **equites* of African origin are known from the mid-1st cent. AD, soon followed by senators. During the

2nd cent. African senators (the best known being the orator Cornelius Fronto) formed the largest western provincial group. The influence of Africans reached its height under *Septimius Severus, who was born at Lepcis Magna.

The wealth of Africa was proverbial throughout the Roman period, and consisted largely of agricultural products. Of these corn was certainly the most important and with Egypt Africa replaced Sicily as Italy's major supplier during the empire (see FOOD SUPPLY (Roman)). The Bagradas valley and the region around Cirta and Sitifis were productive corn-growing districts, but polyculture throughout North Africa was common. Especially from the 2nd cent. *olive-growing and the production of oil for export became an increasingly important part of the African economy, especially in the drier regions of Proconsularis, around Cillium and Sufetula in central Tunisia, and near Thysdrus and Sullethum in eastern Tunisia, as well as further west in Numidia and Mauretania. *Wine was also exported from Tripolitania, Proconsularis, and Mauretania, although on a much smaller scale. The maintenance of irrigation systems, some clearly of pre-Roman origin, and the efficient collection and conservation of what little rainwater there was, were essential to successful cultivation. Africa was famed as a place where large estates in the hands of a few men were commonplace, the largest landowner being the emperor, but there were plenty of medium-sized estates as well, the majority of them owned not by Italians but by prosperous members of the Romano-African urban élite, whose wealth was so conspicuously displayed in the showy public monuments they paid for in their home towns. Our knowledge of the administration of imperial estates, and the relationship between tenants (*coloni*) and lessees (*conductores*), is best known from a series of 2nd- and early 3rd-century inscriptions from the Bagradas valley. Other exports from Africa included fish-pickle (*garum*), especially from Proconsularis (see FISHING); marble, especially the prized yellow *marmor Numidicum* from Simithus; wood, especially the citrus-wood for furniture making from Mauretania (see TIMBER); dyes, for which the island of Mogador off western Morocco was famous; an orange-red pottery ('African red slip-ware'), which despite its simplicity gained a Mediterranean-wide export market at the zenith of its production in the 4th and 5th cents. (See POTTERY, ROMAN); and wild animals destined for *amphitheatres in Italy and elsewhere, including lions, leopards, and elephants, the capture of which is featured on a number of African mosaics (e. g. from Hippo Regius and Carthage). The arts flourished, with several vigorous local schools of sculptors working in both limestone and marble, while *mosaic workshops (*officinae*),

in response to the demand for elaborate polychrome figured mosaics in both private houses and public buildings such as baths, adopted from the second quarter of the 2nd cent. onwards an original and creative approach to mosaic design which by the 4th cent. had left its influence on mosaic floors in Italy and several other provinces as well.

During the 3rd cent. the African provinces continued to prosper, and suffered less from imperial usurpations than most provinces of the Roman west; the failure of Gordian I had, however, serious repercussions. Christianity established itself more firmly than in any other western province, first in the cities, but making rapid strides in Numidia after c.200. The works of Tertullian and Cyprian were of considerable importance in the development of Latin Christianity.

In *Diocletian's administrative changes, the provinces of Tripolitania, Byzacena, Numidia, Mauretania Sitifensis, and Mauretania Caesariensis formed the diocese of Africa, Africa Proconsularis being strictly outside the diocesan system, and Mauretania Tingitana forming part of the diocese of Spain. The military forces of the area were put under a count of Africa (*comes Africae*), and the frontier was divided into districts each under a *praepositus limitis* (frontier commander), a system unique in the empire (see LIMES).

Throughout the 4th and early 5th cent., North Africa was affected by serious divisions among Christians; the Donatists, condemned as schismatics by imperial legislation from Constantine onwards, were particularly strong in rural areas of Numidia and Mauretania, where social discontent was growing and where central government's authority was increasingly in decline. Nevertheless the area remained prosperous in comparison with the devastated provinces of northern Europe, and the collapse of Africa to the Vandals (Carthage was captured in 439) was a grievous blow, not least for the corn supply. The invaders found Africa easy prey, since the defensive system was designed for policing work and the suppression of sporadic tribal revolts rather than full-scale invasion. WNW/BHW/RJAW

after-life See ART, FUNERARY, GREEK; ART, FUNERARY, ROMAN; DEAD, DISPOSAL OF; DEATH, ATTITUDES TO; HADES.

Agamemnon, in mythology son of Atreus (or, occasionally, of Atreus' son Pleisthenes), brother of Menelaus, and husband of Clytemnestra; king of Mycenae, or Argos, and, in Homer, commander-in-chief of the Greek expedition against Troy, taking with him 100 ships, the largest single contingent (*Il.* 2. 569–80). He had a son, Orestes, and three daughters, Chrysothemis, Laodice,

Iphianassa (*Il.* 9.145); Iphigenia, whom Homer does not mention, seems to be a later substitution for Iphianassa, as does *Electra for Laodice (Xanthus, fr. 700 PMG).

Homer depicts Agamemnon as a man of personal valour, but lacking resolution and easily discouraged. His quarrel with *Achilles, who withdrew in anger and hurt pride from battle when Agamemnon took away his concubine Briseis, supplies the mainspring of the *Iliad's* action, with Achilles' refusal to fight leading to tragedy. The *Odyssey* (1. 35 ff., 4. 512 ff., 11. 405 ff., 24. 96 f.) tells how, on Agamemnon's return home, Aegisthus, Clytemnestra's lover, treacherously set on him and his men at a banquet and killed them all, Clytemnestra also killing his Trojan captive Cassandra, daughter of Priam. Eight years later Orestes came from Athens and avenged his father's murder (1. 304 ff.). This whole story became a favourite one among later authors, who retold it with various elaborations and changes. Aeschylus, for instance, makes Clytemnestra a powerful and awe-inspiring female who, quite alone, kills Agamemnon after she has pinioned him in a robe while he is unarmed in his bath (*Ag.* 1379–98).

The epic *Cypria* is the earliest evidence of the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia. Agamemnon caught a stag, then boasted that he was a better huntsman than *Artemis, whereupon the offended goddess held the Greek fleet wind-bound at Aulis. Calchas told them to appease her by sacrificing Iphigenia, whom they sent for on the pretext of marriage to Achilles. Here the guilt for the killing seems to be laid on the Greeks in general; moreover Iphigenia was snatched away and made immortal by Artemis, who left a deer on the altar in her place (as in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*). But again matters are very different in Aeschylus, where Iphigenia is simply a child, dead, and Agamemnon himself her killer, for which Clytemnestra never forgave him.

In historic times Agamemnon had a cult at Laconia, Tarentum, Clazomenae, and Chaeronea: see Farnell, *Hero-Cults* 321 and n. 55; also Mycenae. Agamemnon appears occasionally in art from the 7th cent. BC in a variety of scenes, mostly relating to the war at Troy: see O. Touchefeu and I. Krauskopf, *LIMC* 1/1. 256–77; also A. J. N. W. Prag, *The Oresteia: Iconographic and Narrative Tradition* (1985). Agamemnon in Homer: O. Taplin in C. Pelling (ed.), *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature* (1990). HJR/JRM

age The division of life into age-groups was prominently adhered to in antiquity, though there was considerable disagreement as to their precise identification. The Pythagorean philosophers (see PYTHAGORAS) identified four (*Diod. Sic.* 10. 9. 5), whereas Hippocratic writers (see MEDICINE § 4) acknowledged seven ages of man, each

seven years in length (Poll. 2. 4). Since adult society was primarily organized on a two-generational principle, a threefold division probably served most practical purposes, namely *pais*, *neos*, and *gerōn* in Greek, *puer*, *iuuenis*, and *senex* in Latin. Mental ability was judged to be strictly a function of ageing, as indicated by the fact that there were minimum age qualifications for administrative and executive posts. So an Athenian councillor had to be 30 years old, as, probably, did a Spartan ephor (see also AGE CLASSES). Similarly the Roman *cursus honorum* or ladder of office prescribed minimum ages for all magistracies. Belief in the magical power inherent in certain numbers, notably seven and three, meant that certain ages were believed fraught with danger. *Augustus is said to have expressed considerable relief 'at having survived my climacteric, the sixty-third year' (Gell. NA 15. 7. 3). Censorinus' *De die natali* (*On Birthdays*) provides an invaluable compilation of information about age terminology, etc.

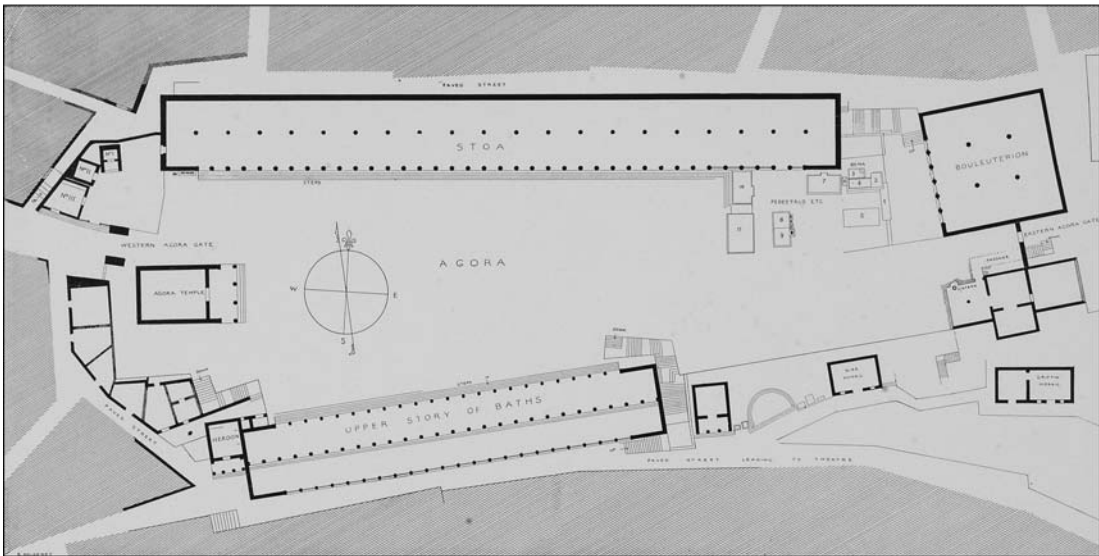
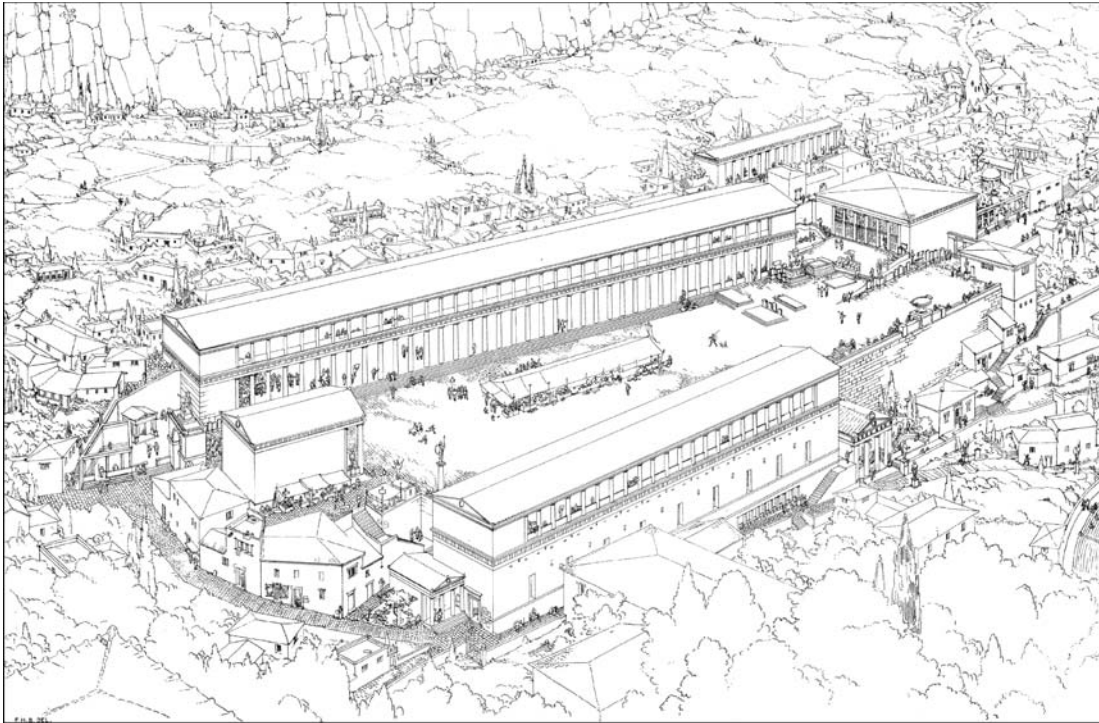
There is little evidence with which to estimate the age structure of the population of ancient Rome, and even less that of ancient Greece because Greek funerary monuments, unlike Roman ones, rarely record age at death except in the case of extreme youth and extreme longevity. What follows must therefore be treated with extreme caution, as must any such model. There were relatively few elderly people in the sense in which we understand the word 'elderly', and a much larger proportion of adolescents and young. It is estimated that in Rome 'more than a quarter of all live-born Roman babies died within their first year of life' (K. Hopkins, *Population Studies* (1966), 246–64). About one-third of the children who survived infancy were dead by the age of 10. Upper-class females in their early teens tended to marry males who were at least ten years older. In Rome, however, the legal age for marriage was 12 and 14 for females and males respectively (see MARRIAGE LAW). Sepulchral inscriptions, no doubt biased in favour of the upper classes, suggest that in the Roman world the median age of death was 34 years for wives and 46.5 for husbands. The study of skeletal remains from Classical Athens has produced comparable results, viz. 35 for women and 44 for men. Life expectancy was appreciably lower for *women at all social levels, largely because of the debilitating and often lethal effects of *childbirth. Probably less than one per cent of the population attained the age of 80 and anyone who did so was judged remarkable, as [*Lucian's] catalogue of octogenarians in *Macrobii* suggests. Notwithstanding the brevity of human life, threescore years and ten still constituted the proper quota of years (cf. Solon 27. 17 f. West, *IE*²). Maximum life-span, i.e. about 100 years, appears to have been the same in antiquity as it is today. Old age is commonly described as hateful and de-

testable in classical literature (though cf. Cic. *De senectute*) and many lives would have been characterized by increasing incapacitation and loss of mobility from the beginning of the third decade onwards. (The study of skeletal remains at the Romano-British cemetery at Cirencester indicates that 80 per cent of the population suffered from osteoarthritis). Particularly disadvantaged and scorned were spinsters and widows. Certain races had a reputation for extreme longevity, notably the long-lived Ethiopians, whose life-span was put at 120 years. Many Greeks and Romans would only have had an approximate notion of their exact age in years, as the expression *P(lus) M(inus)* 'more or less', which is frequently found on Roman tombstones, indicates. See POPULATION, ROMAN. RJSJG

age classes A method of social and political organization in *Sparta and *Crete in the Classical period. Traces of analogous institutions in other Greek states permit the hypothesis that age-class systems played an important role in the development of the *polis throughout the Greek world in earlier periods. In the Spartan *agōgē* (educational system) boys were removed from their parents at the age of 7 and allocated in annual age classes (*bouai*, 'herds') to tutors who were responsible for their upbringing. At 12 the boys entered pederastic relationships with young adults (e.g. King Agesilaus II and *Lysander, the future general). The *krypteia*, a head-hunting ritual with a police function, occurred at initiation into adulthood, after which all members of each age class married simultaneously. Age-class control of marriage, along with segregation of the sexes until the age of 30, probably had important demographic consequences linked to Sparta's manpower problems. Completion of the various stages of the system, which also provided the basis for military organization, conferred political rights and duties. In old age some individuals obtained considerable political power through membership of the *gerousia* (council of elders). JRS

agōnes See GAMES.

agora Greek term for an area where people gather together, most particularly for the political functions of the *polis, normally sited centrally in cities (as at Priene), or at least central to the street lines where the actual centre may be occupied by other features (such as the Acropolis at Athens); the area was sacred, and could be treated like a *temenos* or sacred precinct. In unplanned cities its shape depends on the nature of the available site, irregular at Athens, on low-lying ground bordered by rising land to west (the Kolonos Agoraios) and south (the slopes of the Acropolis). In planned cities the required number of blocks in the regular grid plan are allocated, giving a



agora Restored view and plan of the agora (2nd cent. BC) at Assos, a Greek city in NW *Asia Minor. The combination of religious and political buildings with a market and public amenities was typical of the Greek agora. Both views The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford (1705 c.21)

strictly rectangular shape. (See URBANISM (Greek and Hellenistic).)

Architecturally, the agora need be no more than the space defined by marker stones rather than buildings, as, originally, at Athens. When spectacular buildings develop for the various functions of the agora, they are placed along the boundary, which they help to define, rather than in the agora space. These include lawcourts, offices, and meeting-places for officials (and the formal feasting which was part of their office). These may be integrated with extended porticoes—stoas—and it is these that come to dominate the architecture of the agora, often with long lines of rooms behind them, though not infrequently as colonnades pure and simple. Such colonnades, extended along the boundaries, define the agora more obviously than marker stones and are normal in the developed (and particularly the planned) agoras of the 4th cent. BC and the Hellenistic period.

In unplanned agoras, streets normally run through the open area; thus the 'Panathenaic Way' enters the Athenian agora at its north-west corner, and leaves at the south-east. As the buildings on the borders develop, the agora tends more and more to be closed off, streets being diverted to pass outside the surrounding stoas, with perhaps one main street being allowed through (though by Roman times this may have to pass through formal, and closable, gateways).

The central area of the agora was the locality for special monuments and dedications, statue groups such as the Tyrannicides (the killers of Hipparchus, the son of *Pisistratus) at Athens, the line of exedrae at Priene. So long as the space was needed for crowds (all those voting in an *ostracism at Athens, as an extreme example) it had to remain open; it was only with the restricted political life of Greek cities in the Roman period that it might include large buildings such as the odeum of Agrippa at Athens. See ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY). RAT

agrarian laws and policy Allocation of land by the community is attested in the Greek world at the times of new city foundations (colonies; see COLONIZATION, GREEK), and when land was annexed (cleruchies). There is also some evidence for legislation restricting the disposal of allotments by sale or inheritance, in order to maintain the original land-units which sustained the households. On the other hand, there developed strong resistance to the notion of redividing the city's territory so as to change the proportions of private landholdings: a promise not to propose anything of the kind was included in the oath of the Athenian jurymen. See also SPARTA.

At Rome agrarian legislation played a large part in the history of the republic and the struggles between the

aristocracy and the *plebs. It is hard to know how far we should trust the evidence about the early republic, since often the details of the narratives in *Livy and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus seem to have been elaborated in the light of late-republican experience. However, we can be confident that there were laws about land and it is highly probable that they were connected, as Roman tradition maintained, with plebeian discontent. Legislation arose originally from annexation of land after Roman military expansion. It thus concerned land which was the public territory of the Roman people (*ager publicus*), not land belonging to private individuals (private land remained free from interference by the community except where it could be shown that a public right existed over it, such as access to a water supply). One type of law established new cities (colonies) with their associated land, a second assigned new allotments in a wide tract of territory, such as those in the Sabina and the *ager Gallicus* in Picenum, a third (*de modo agrorum*) did not positively assign land to anyone but restricted the exploitation at will of unassigned public land by reference to area occupied or number of beasts grazed. The first known law of the last type, the *lex Licinia* of 367 BC, was probably a response to the opportunities created by the acquisition of all the land of Veii. During the middle republic, when Italy and *Cisalpine Gaul were gradually subjected to Roman power, land demands were satisfied by new allocations. However, in the late 2nd cent. BC, with a rising number of landless and a shortage of new land available for distribution in the peninsula, the Gracchi (see GRACCHUS, GAIUS; GRACCHUS, TIBERTUS) passed laws which sought to recover what was still technically public land from wealthy men who were exploiting it illegally to excess, and to redistribute it to the poor. This was regarded by wealthy landholders as a radical and subversive move. Nevertheless the Gracchan programme was largely completed and such redistribution seems to have remained part of agrarian policy until the death of Marcus Livius Drusus (*tribune of the plebs 91 BC), though settlements were also made in territory acquired by conquest abroad (we know of land-assignment in Africa, the Balearics, Corsica, Greece, and Gaul, both Cisalpine and Transalpine). The Social and Civil Wars followed by *Sulla's proscriptions led *de facto* to great changes in landholding in Italy, which favoured the greater landholders against the peasants (see SOCIAL WARS). Some attempt was made to return to Gracchan policies in the late republic (Publius Servilius Rullus' bill, *Caesar's legislation of 59 BC), but the chief means of public acquisition of land in Italy now had to be purchase from private individuals. The proscriptions by the triumvirs (see AUGUSTUS) after Caesar's murder made land available for distribution to their

soldiers, but Augustus returned to purchase in order to secure land for his veterans after Actium. AWL

agricultural implements

Greek

The *technology of Greek *agriculture was simple, and apparently underwent little development. Breaking up the ground, which was fundamental to sowing, weed-control, and preservation of moisture, was achieved by simple symmetrical ploughs, which did not turn the soil, or by mattock and hoe. Ploughs and mattocks occasionally appear on vases and the (all wood) plough is described at length in Hesiod (*Op.* 427 ff.). Cereals were reaped with a curved sickle, and vines and olives pruned with an implement which is scarcely distinguishable.

The processing of crops required more sophisticated equipment. Threshing cereals required a stone floor on which the grain was threshed by animal hoofs or perhaps animal-drawn sledges, the runners of which may have been toughened by the addition of obsidian flakes; winnowing was by basket and shovel. Pressing grapes could be done by human feet in a basket, vat, or stone press-bed,

but olives had to be crushed (*see* OLIVE). The earliest (archaeological) evidence for an olive mill is late 5th cent. BC; it is not clear how olives were crushed before that time. An Archaic Attic vase shows an olive press which exploits leverage and counterweights, and vessels specially constructed to facilitate the separation of oil and water survive from the late bronze age. Screw presses seem to be a Hellenistic innovation. RGO

Roman

Roman agricultural implements comprised slaves (*see* SLAVERY), animals, and tools (Varro, *Rust.* 1. 17. 1). Only the third category is reviewed here. The essential similarity between the inventories in *Cato the Elder (*Agr.* 10, 11) and Palladius (1. 42) some 600 years later indicates technological stability or stagnation, depending on one's point of view. (This very stability has enabled researchers working in Mediterranean areas little affected by mechanized agriculture to interpret with some security the growing archaeological evidence, the ancient representations in art, and the Roman agricultural writers.) Yet while innovations such as the Gallic reaping machine (Pliny, *HN* 18. 296; Palladius, 7. 2. 2–4) were rare, improvements



agricultural implements Iron tools (sickles, pruning knife, hoe, spade-sheath, and plough coulter) from Roman Britain. The widespread availability of such tools to ordinary farmers was one of the achievements of Roman *trade and *technology. © The Trustees of the British Museum

in design were common. Examples include: in arable cultivation, the plough (e.g. Pliny, *HN* 18. 171–2) and threshing sledge (Varro, *Rust.* 1. 52. 2); and, in arboriculture, the vine-dresser's knife, trench-measuring devices (Columella, *Rust.* 4. 2. 5, 3. 13. 11), and wine- and oil-presses (Pliny, *HN* 18. 317). Different varieties of basic tools existed (e.g. twelve types of *falx*) due to regional custom (cf. Varro, *Rust.* 1. 50. 1–3), agricultural conservatism despite the introduction of new designs, and the needs of diverse soils and crops. While a *villa estate might keep different varieties of each basic implement for specialized uses (e.g. Varro, *Rust.* 1. 22. 5), the subsistence cultivator would fully exploit one multi-purpose implement. Such was the *rastrum*, thought to characterize peasant agriculture (Virgil *Aen.* 9. 607–8), which was used for clearing rough land, for turnip cultivation, and for breaking up clods of earth left after ploughing (Columella, *Rust.* 3. 11. 3, 2. 10. 23; Pliny, *HN* 18. 180). While some improved designs resulted from the desire for elevated production, implements like the reaping machine, the long-handled scythe, and, perhaps, the harrow, developed as a result of labour shortage (Pliny *HN* 18. 296, 261, 180). Wooden equipment might be home-made, but metal and stone implements were purchased, thus stimulating the local economy (Cato, *Agr.* 22. 3–4, 135; Varro, *Rust.* 1. 22). See AGRICULTURE, ROMAN; TECHNOLOGY. MSSP

agricultural writers Agricultural manuals, written by practising landowners, flourished at Rome from *Cato the Elder (c.160 BC) to Palladius (c.mid 5th cent. AD), enjoying higher status than other technical literature. Greece had produced notable works (*Varro knew more than 50, *Rust.* 1. 1. 8–11), but written mostly from a philosophical or scientific viewpoint; and an influential (non-extant) Punic work by Mago had been translated into both Greek and Latin (Varro *ibid.*; Columella *Rust.* 1. 1. 13). Agriculture, as gradually defined and systematized (earlier Greek, Punic, and Roman writers had wandered off the topic: Varro *Rust.* 1. 2. 13), embraced, in Varro's work (c.37 BC), arable cultivation, livestock, arboriculture, market gardens, luxury foods, slave management, and villa construction. A century later, Columella doubted whether one man could know it all (*Rust.* 1. *praef.* 21; 5. 1. 1), and, from the early empire onwards, specialized works appeared, such as Iulius Atticus' monograph on vines (Columella *Rust.* 1. 1. 15). While Varro criticized the Greek writer Theophrastus for excessive theory (*Rust.* 1. 5. 2), modern scholars in their turn have doubted the practicality of the Roman writers. Recent rural archaeology has given grounds for greater confidence. The excavated *villa at Settefinestre in Etruria has substantiated in remarkable detail the recommendations

of Varro and Columella, as has the discovery of a large vineyard at *Pompeii. But the agricultural writers describe not just one ideal type of estate. Crop by crop they discuss a variety of methods of cultivation, according to species, soil, topography, and custom—a regional diversity confirmed by archaeological survey. See also AGRICULTURE, ROMAN. MSSP

agriculture, Greek The agriculture of Greece in the historical period shared the basic cultigens and techniques of most of the other contemporary civilizations of the Mediterranean. Life was sustained by barley and wheat, sown mostly in the autumn as field crops dependent on rainfall between autumn and spring. Hulled barley (two- and six-row) and hulled wheat (emmer and einkorn), introduced to the Aegean from the near east in the neolithic period, remained important crops. Naked wheats, especially tetraploid, durum wheat, evolved in the first millennium BC, but hexaploid bread wheat, better in colder climates, was imported from the north shores of the Black Sea. Cultivation with a simple wooden plough (*ard*), sometimes tipped with iron, to break up the surface of the soil for receiving seeds in autumn, is treated as normal by ancient sources but recently doubts have arisen as to whether smallholders could produce enough to feed a pair of plough-oxen in addition to their own households. For them hand cultivation by spade and hoe must have been common (see AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS).

The practice of leaving half the land in uncultivated fallow is also regarded as normal by our sources while repeated ploughing of the fallow was desirable. But again, smallholders may have been forced to risk long-term depletion of the soil by resting much less than half their land each year. Some leguminous field crops (broad beans and various lentils (pulses)) were known in Mycenaean times and in *Homer. By the 4th cent. BC they were recommended as partial alternatives to fallow (either as crops in their own right or as green manure to be ploughed under); it is not clear how early or how widely they were employed in rotation with wheat and barley. The moisture and soil requirements of wheat made it an often unreliable crop in the Greek *climate. Barley, somewhat less nutritious and much less esteemed, was probably grown more widely. Frequent local crop failures required supplementation through trade with less affected neighbours or over longer distances. While it is unlikely that overseas settlements of the 8th and 7th cents. BC had as a prime goal assistance to the grain supply of the mother cities, once established in Magna Graecia and *Sicily or, later, on the northern Black (Euxine) Sea coast and its approaches, the existence of surpluses in the new settlements at times of shortage in

the old lessened the chances of famine and set in motion rhythms of trade with far-reaching consequences. How early the larger Greek towns came to depend on imported grain is disputed. Some have seen Athenian colonies on the Hellespont in the later 6th cent. as established on the route of the city's grain supply but for Athens explicit evidence comes only in the late 5th cent. Meanwhile by c.470 BC the Ionian city of Teos included interference with the city's grain supply among the targets of public curses (ML 30; Fornara, no. 63).

Other crops, chiefly olives, grapes, and the vegetables and fruits grown in irrigated gardens (*kēpoi*), supplemented the largely cereal diet. *Olive oil and *wine also permitted *trade, not least for the acquisition of grain in times of shortage. Greek settlement was rarely at elevations or latitudes too cold for the olive. Since the trees matured slowly (in ten to fifteen years), they were planted for long-term benefits and not in large numbers everywhere. Olive cultivation was not demanding once young trees had been established and no longer needed irrigation, but harvesting and, with only primitive *technology (though improved in the 4th cent. BC and again in Roman times), oil production required much labour. By contrast, vines grew fast and demanded much hard work from the start.

For the Greeks improvement of agricultural property meant, after the creation of suitable plots of land, investment in trees and vines together with the necessary equipment, including store-rooms and containers for storing and shipping oil and wine. However, interplanting of cereals, pulses, vines, and trees in a single plot, or polyculture using separate plots, were probably always more common than specialization in a single crop.

Animal husbandry on a small scale (plough-oxen and mules, donkeys as pack animals, some sheep, goats, and pigs) probably had a place on all but the smallest properties. Larger herds were moved to mountain pastures in the summer (so-called transhumance; see PASTORALISM, GREEK). The value of manuring was appreciated and organic wastes were collected conscientiously from settlements and applied especially to trees and vines. But the amount available in the absence of lush pastures and large numbers of cattle close to the farms limited its effect.

Nowhere in old Greece did the geography and the nature of the agriculture favour large, unitary estates farmed by a large labour-force, though properties increased in size in Hellenistic and especially Roman times. The wealthy usually owned several parcels of land whose environmental diversity may have been advantageous. Poorer farmers were more limited. The particular agricultural regimes in use varied with local social and economic conditions as well as with geography. *Thessaly's extensive good grain land was long controlled by a small upper

class and farmed by a large population of serfs, as were Laconia and Messenia, less suited to grains but probably slow to develop crops for trading. The islands of Chios and Corcyra had rich estates concentrating on vines and olives and cultivated by unusually large numbers of slaves (see SLAVERY).

Attica up to the Peloponnesian War was also known for its fine country houses, a measure of rural prosperity (Thuc. 2. 65. 2). Its relatively large landless (or inadequately landed) population were not primarily farm labourers, and significant use of slave labour by the top three property classes is indicated. But for all except the rich, hired or slave labour only supplemented that of the landowner and his family.

The range of possibilities open to the Greek farmer for increasing production were restricted and most required additional labour. Intensity and efficiency of agricultural production were neither uniform nor static, nor independent of social and economic factors, even if the ideal of self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) was prevalent and other relevant concepts were largely unexamined. The agricultural information in *Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, informative for us, was no doubt banal. But beginning in the 4th cent. BC an extensive technical literature developed (cf. references in Theophrastus' botanical writings) which was used by Roman writers (see AGRICULTURAL WRITERS) but is almost entirely lost to us. MHJ

agriculture, Roman By modern standards Roman agriculture was technically simple, average yields were low, transport was difficult and costly, and storage was inefficient. This limited urbanization (and hence 'industrialization') obliged the bulk of the population to live and work on the land. Nevertheless, in the late republic and earlier Principate agriculture and urbanization (see URBANISM (Roman)) developed together to levels probably not again matched until the late 18th cent. Roman agriculture broadly fits the ahistoric pattern which is commonly seen as characteristic of the Mediterranean region: based on the triad of cereals, vines (see WINE) and *olives, at the mercy of a semi-arid *climate with low and unreliable rainfall, and dominated by small farms practising a polyculture aimed principally at self-sufficiency and safety. But two factors—the geophysical diversity of Italy (let alone of Rome's provinces), and the effects of political and social developments—led to historically important variations between areas and across time in the organization and practice of agriculture. Since the 1950s there has been an enormous growth in archaeological research—surface survey of rural areas, excavations of farmsteads, study of the ancient environment (through pollen, seeds, bones)—which is taking our knowledge

and understanding of Roman agriculture far beyond what could be discovered from the evidence of the literary sources.

In archaic Rome the land seems to have been controlled by the élite, and the majority of Romans were dependant labourers (*nexi*). The concept of private ownership of land (*ager privatus*) had probably developed by the late 6th cent. BC, and by the later 4th cent. Rome had become a state of citizen-smallholders. The political aim behind this development was the creation of a large conscript army of smallholders who could afford to arm themselves (the *assidui*); as this army defeated Rome's Italian neighbours the Roman state annexed tracts of their territories which were often distributed in small plots to create more *assidui*, although some was left as nominally 'public' land (*ager publicus*) and appears to have been dominated by the élite who now used enslaved enemies as their main agricultural workforce. This cycle of conquest, annexation, and settlement continued, almost without interruption, into the early 2nd cent. BC, and settlement schemes, albeit thereafter using confiscated land, continued into the early Principate. The face of Italy was changed: forests were cleared and drainage schemes undertaken, as in south Etruria and in the Po valley; the territories of the ubiquitous Roman colonies were divided into small farms of similar size by rectangular grids of ditches, banks, and roads (*centuriation) which are often still traceable today; these examples and the obligation on most of Rome's Italian allies to supply infantry on the Roman model encouraged the wider diffusion of this pattern of peasant smallholding.

Rome's massive overseas expansion in the 2nd and 1st cent. BC boosted agricultural developments which had already begun in the 3rd cent. The large and long-serving armies of conquest required huge supplies of grain, wine, wool, and leather, the Celtic aristocracy under and beyond Roman rule enthusiastically adopted wine-drinking as a mark of status, and the city of Rome swelled as the capital of an empire and the centre for conspicuous consumption and display by its increasingly wealthy leaders. The boom in demand for agricultural produce, and the continuous supply of cheap slave labour, encouraged the élite to expand their landholdings and to invest in market-oriented production. A significant differentiation between larger and smaller farms emerges in the archaeological record, and also regional patterns of types of agriculture. While in southern Italy relatively extensive forms of agriculture, that is cereal cultivation using chain-gangs of slaves and large-scale stockbreeding with seasonal movement between upland summer pastures and winter stations in the coastal plains (transhumance), were probably predominant, central western Italy (the

semicircle around Rome and her main ports) was dominated by the so-called '*villa system', that is intensive production on medium-sized estates (around 25 to 75 ha.; 60 to 180 acres) of wine, olive oil, and other cash crops, including wheat, vegetables, fruit (*see* FOOD AND DRINK), and also small game and poultry, with a permanent nucleus of skilled slave labour topped up at seasonal peaks with casual labour hired from the free rural poor. These forms of agriculture flourished into the 2nd cent. AD with some reorientation: consumption by the frontier-based armies of the Principate and the Celtic aristocracy was increasingly met by the development of local Roman-influenced agricultural production, but the growth of Rome and general urbanization of Italy in the Augustan period greatly increased domestic demand in Italy. Roman estate owners showed considerable interest in technical and technological improvements, such as experimentation with and selection of particular plant varieties and breeds of animal, the development of more efficient presses and of viticultural techniques in general, concern with the productive deployment and control of labour, and, arguably, a generally 'economically rational' attitude to exploitation of their landholdings (*see* TECHNOLOGY). A technical literature of estate management emerged, drawing on Carthaginian and Hellenistic predecessors, which is represented to us principally by the manuals of *Cato the Elder, *Varro, and Columella (*see* AGRICULTURAL WRITERS).

The development of this estate agriculture put pressure on the peasant smallholders, although military needs led to some dramatic and bitterly opposed attempts to revive an independent peasantry in central Italy, notably the Gracchan programme (*see* GRACCHUS, GAIUS; GRACCHUS, TIBERIUS) of the later 2nd cent. and the settlement schemes for veterans in the 1st cent. BC. The decline of the peasantry should not be exaggerated: excavated small farms show that some peasants too produced for and profited from the same markets as the large estates, and in hillier areas and the Po (Padus) valley the peasantry remained strong. But as the Roman army became mercenary and then, under Augustus, professional and more cosmopolitan, the political will to maintain an independent peasantry in Italy gradually evaporated, and it seems that peasants increasingly became tenants rather than owners of small farms. The problems of the 3rd cent. AD reduced the inflow of imperial revenues to Rome and Italy, and as the level of urbanization and demand for agricultural produce declined, so did intensive farming. Large estates were becoming more concentrated in the hands of fewer noble families (and the Church), and the legal standing of the poor declined further. The result was a tendency, not general but widespread, to move to more

extensive agriculture based on the labour of tied tenants (*coloni*), although paradoxically this was the period in which Roman-influenced estate agriculture flourished most in some of the less troubled provinces, notably Britain and Egypt. See AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS; PASTORALISM, ROMAN. DWR

Agrippa (Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa), the lifelong friend and supporter of *Augustus, was born in 64, 63, or even 62 BC of obscure but probably well-to-do family (he neglected his undistinguished family name). He accompanied Octavius (the future Octavian and Augustus) to Rome from Apollonia after *Caesar's murder, helped him to raise a private army, prosecuted Cassius in the court set up by Quintus Pedius in 43, and was prominent in the war against Lucius Antonius (*Pietas*). After being *tribune of the plebs in 43 or a little later, and so entering the *senate, he was urban praetor in 40. As governor of Gaul in 38 he suppressed a rebellion in Aquitania, led a punitive expedition across the Rhine, and either now or in 20 settled the Ubii on the left bank. As consul (37) he fitted out and trained a new fleet for Octavian's war against Sextus Pompeius, converting the lacus Avernus near Cumae into a harbour (*portus Iulius*) for the purpose, and in 36 won two decisive naval engagements at Mylae and Naulochus, where his improved grapnel was highly effective. In 35–34 he took part in the Illyrian War. Although an ex-consul he held the aedileship in 33, contributing greatly to Octavian's popularity. In 31 his vigorous naval operations were the primary cause of Mark *Antony's defeat; at *Actium he commanded the left wing. He next (31–29), with Maecenas, managed affairs in Italy in Octavian's absence. On Octavian's return he helped carry out a purge of the senate and a census (29–8) and he held second and third consulships in the crucial years 28 and 27. In 23 Augustus, ill and embroiled in political controversy, handed him his signet-ring, conferring an unofficial status (most importantly in the eyes of the armies) that would have meant his supremacy if Augustus had died. He was entrusted with a mission in the eastern half of the empire, probably with proconsular power, which he carried out from Mytilene. The claim that rivalry with Augustus' nephew Marcus Claudius Marcellus had sent him into virtual exile cannot be substantiated. More likely it was a constitutional crisis, with Agrippa put in easy reach of the armies of the Balkans and Syria if Augustus' position were undermined or his life threatened. He was recalled in 21 to represent Augustus in Rome; in 20 he proceeded to Gaul and in 19 to Spain where he quelled the Cantabri. In 18 he was given tribunician power (see TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS) for five years, a power held otherwise only by Augustus, and his *imperium was renewed for the same period. In 13 his

tribunician power was renewed for five more years, and his *imperium* apparently made superior to that of all other holders, like that of Augustus (the extent and development of Agrippa's powers, outlined in the fragmentary papyrus (*Kölner Pap.* 1 (1976), 10 = EJ 366) that contains part of Augustus' funerary elogium on him, remains controversial). As a *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* or member of a college whose job it was to look after certain ritual texts (from before 37) he assisted in the celebration of the Secular Games in 17. His second mission to the east (17/16–13) is notable for the establishment of Polemon of Pontus in the Bosphoran kingdom, the settlement of veterans at Berytus and Helipolis, and his friendship with Herod and benevolent treatment of the *Jews. Early in 12 he went to Pannonia where there was a danger of revolt, but fell ill on his return and died about the end of March. After a public funeral he was buried in the mausoleum of Augustus.

Agrippa's wealth was spent freely in the service of the Roman people and the empire, winning him lasting popularity. He restored the sewers of Rome and reorganized the water supply, constructing two new *aqueducts (*Iulia*, 33 BC, and *Virgo*, 19 BC), and a network of distribution installations. *Virgo* fed Rome's first public *baths, close to his Pantheon, and the expanded *Saepta Iulia* (26 BC), all in a huge recreational area. He also built a granary (*horrea Agrippiana*) behind the Forum (*forum Romanum) and a new bridge over the Tiber. Constructions in the provinces included buildings at Nemausus (mod. Nîmes) and a road system radiating from Lugdunum (mod. Lyons). By his will Augustus received the greater part of his property, including the Thracian Chersonese (*Gallipoli*); he also made generous bequests to the people of Rome.

He wrote an autobiography (now lost) and a geographical commentary (also lost, but used by *Strabo and *Pliny the Elder) from which a map of the empire was constructed, to be displayed after his death on the porticus Vipsania (see MAPS).

Agrippa was married three times: in 37 to Caecilia Attica, in 28 to Augustus' niece the elder Marcella, whom he divorced in 21 to marry Augustus' daughter *Julia. The first two wives produced daughters, Attica's including Vipsania Agrippina, the first wife of the later emperor *Tiberius, Marcella's the Vipsania who married Publius Quinctilius Varus. Julia had three sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, who were adopted by Augustus in 17, and Agrippa Postumus; and two daughters, Julia the Younger and the Younger *Agrippina; through her he was grandfather and great-grandfather respectively of the emperors *Gaius and *Nero.

Agrippa, portrayed as upright, simple, and modest, a man who subordinated his ambitions to those of Augustus, was by 12 BC a partner nearly equal in power.

Refusing three *triumphs (19 BC onwards) and failing even to report his Spanish successes inhibited private men from applying and contributed to the end of such triumphs. Like his advocacy of public display of works of art (he was a noted collector), it went against the interests of the ruling class, who boycotted his funeral games. To Augustus he may sometimes have been an embarrassment.

GWR/TJC/BML

Agrippina, Iulia Agrippina, 'the Younger Agrippina' (AD 15–59), eldest daughter of *Germanicus and Vipsania Agrippina ('the Elder Agrippina'), was born on 6 November AD 15 at Ara Ubiorum. In 28 she was betrothed to Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, to whom she bore one son, the later emperor *Nero, in 37. During the principate of her brother *Gaius (37–41) her name, like those of her sisters, was coupled with the emperor's in vows and oaths; but when she was discovered at Mogontiacum late in 39 to be involved in the conspiracy of Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, she was sent into banishment. She was recalled by her uncle *Claudius, who married her in 49. Aided by Marcus Antonius Pallas, the younger *Seneca, and Sextus Afranius Burrus, she

quickly achieved her ambitious purpose. Receiving for herself the title Augusta, she persuaded Claudius to adopt Nero as guardian of his own son Britannicus. She was generally believed to have poisoned Claudius, to make room for Nero (54). In the first years of Nero's rule she was almost co-regent with him but, after Pallas had fallen in 55 and Burrus and Seneca turned against her, she lost her power. In March 59 she was murdered at Baiae by a freedman, Anicetus, acting on Nero's instructions. She wrote an autobiography.

JPB/AJSS

Ai Khanoum (see ◀ Map 2a, Cb ▶), Greek Hellenistic city excavated (1965–78) by the French archaeological delegation in Afghanistan, is situated in the eastern part of *Bactria, at the junction of the river Oxus (mod. Amu Darya) and a tributary of the left bank, the Kokcha river, at the frontier between Afghanistan and the former Soviet Union. The Greek name of the city is uncertain. It seems to have been built as a fortified frontier town, to guard against the nomadic tribes to the north and the mountain peoples to the east (the Badakhshan range). It was founded, commanding a fertile plain, by the end of the 4th cent. or in the early 3rd cent. BC, in an area where



Ai Khanoum Exedra (recess with benches) in the *gymnasium at Ai Khanoum—a witness to the *Hellenism of this outpost of Hellenistic *colonization in modern Afghanistan. Dr. P. Bernard

there had been earlier settlement, as indicated by an irrigation system and an Achaemenid fortress. Ai Khanoum passed from Seleucid control to that of the so-called Indo-Bactrian kings, certainly by the reign of *Eucratides I (c.172–155 BC) of Bactria. In c. the mid-2nd cent. BC it was destroyed by invasions from the Saca tribes. The buildings discovered include administrative quarters, a *temenos* (sacred precinct), a *gymnasium, a theatre, several rich private dwellings, a citadel where a garrison was installed, a palace built on the Persian style, and two temples built to Mesopotamian plan and decorated in Mesopotamian style. The site was surrounded by vast, impressive fortifications. SS-W

Aias (Lat. Aiax, Eng. Ajax) (1) Son of Telamon, king of Salamis, hence Aias Telamonius, and also known as the Great(er) Ajax. He brought twelve ships from Salamis to Troy (*Il.* 2. 557). In the *Iliad* he is of enormous (*pelōrios*) size, head and shoulders above the rest (3. 226–9), and the greatest of the Greek warriors after *Achilles (2. 768–9). His stock epithet is 'bulwark (*herkos*) of the Achaeans', and his characteristic weapon a huge shield of seven-fold ox-hide. He clearly has the better of *Hector in a duel (7. 181–305) after which the heroes exchange gifts, Aias giving Hector a sword-belt in return for a sword; and he is at his memorable best when with unshakeable courage he defends the Greek wall and then the ships (see esp. 15. 676–88, 727–46, 16. 101–11). He is also a member of the Embassy to Achilles, when he gives a brief but effective appeal to Achilles on friendship's grounds (9. 624–42). At Patroclus' funeral games he draws a wrestling match with *Odysseus, strength against cunning (23. 708–39).

The lost epic *Aethiopsis* told how after Achilles' death Aias carried his body off the field of battle while Odysseus kept back the Trojans (cf. *Od.* 5. 309 f.). Another such epic, the *Little Iliad* told how the arms of Achilles were then adjudged to Odysseus instead of Aias, who went mad with anger, killed the herds of the Greeks, believing them to be the Greek leaders, and then committed suicide. *Sophocles dramatizes these later events in his *Ajax*, but at the end of the play Aias is taken to an honourable burial, in marked contrast to his treatment in the *Little Iliad* (fr. 3 Davies) where he is denied the customary burial honours (see J. R. March, *BICS* 1991–2, 1–36). In the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus is in Hades, he meets the shade of Aias who, in anger at his loss of Achilles' arms, refuses to speak and stalks away in magnificent silence (11. 543–64).

In the Hesiodic *Great Ehoiai* (fr. 250 M–W) and thence in Pindar (*Isthm.* 6. 35 ff.) *Heracles visits Telamon and, standing on the lion-skin, prays that his new-born son may be as stout (*arrēktos*) as the skin; *Zeus, in answer, sends an eagle, *aetos*, and hence the baby is named Aias.

From this develops the story (Lycoph. 455 ff.; cf. Aesch. *Thracian Women*, fr. 83 Radt) that Aias was invulnerable save at one point, where the skin had not touched him when (in this version) he was wrapped in it. It was later said that when he killed himself his blood flowed on the ground and there sprang up the iris (*hyakinthos*) which also commemorates the death of Hyacinthus; hence the markings on its petals recall the hero's name (*Aias*—*aiai*, see *Ov. Met.* 13. 394 ff.). Aias had a cult in Salamis, Attica, Megara (?), the Troad, and Byzantium: see L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* (1921), 305 ff. and n. 58.

Scenes from Aias' life popular in art, some from the 7th cent. BC, are combats with Hector and others, dicing with Achilles, lifting Achilles' body, the argument and voting about Achilles' arms, and (an especial favourite) his suicide: see O. Touchefeu, *LIMC* 1/1. 312–36; Gantz, *EGM* 629–35.

(2) Son of Oileus or Ileus, the Locrian chieftain. In Homer Aias leads the Locrian contingent to Troy with 40 ships (*Il.* 2. 527 ff.). He is 'much lesser' than Telamonian Aias (hence often called the Lesser Aias), quick-footed, and often paired with his great namesake as a brave fighter. He can, however, be an unpleasant character, on occasion grossly rude (23. 473 ff.), hated by *Athena (*Od.* 4. 502), and finally drowned by *Poseidon for blasphemy against the gods while scrambling ashore after shipwreck (*Od.* 4. 499–511).

In the *Iliu Persis* he dragged Cassandra away from the statue of Athena to rape her, and in so doing loosened the statue from its plinth. This is a favourite scene in Archaic and Classical art: see O. Touchefeu, *LIMC* 1/1. 339–49; Gantz, *EGM* 651–5. In historic times the Locrians sent two virgins annually to serve in the temple of Athena at Ilium in expiation of this crime, the Locrians maintaining that this penalty was imposed for 1,000 years. HJR/JRM

Ajax See AIAS.

Alcaeus, lyric poet, of Mytilene on Lesbos. Probably born c.625–620 BC, since he was old enough to participate in the struggle against Athens for Sigeum in the Troad in the last decade of the century in which Pittacus distinguished himself (fr. 428; *Hdt.* 5. 95; *Diog. Laert.* 1. 74; *Strabo* 13. 1. 38). Lesbian politics at this period were violent and confused. The ruling dynasty, the Penthilidae, who traced their descent from Orestes, were weakened and finally overthrown by two successive coups (*Arist. Pol.* 1311^b26, 29). Power passed to a tyrant named Melanchrus, who was overthrown by a faction headed by Pittacus and Alcaeus' brothers c.612–609 (*Suda*, entry under *Pittakos*; *Diog. Laert.* 1. 74); Alcaeus (perhaps too young—fr. 75) was not involved (*Diog. Laert.* 1. 74). A new tyrant, Myrsilus, emerged, who was opposed unsuccessfully by a faction of exiles including Pittacus and Alcaeus (frs. 129,

114); Pittacus subsequently allied himself with Myrsilus, while his former comrades continued the struggle in exile (frs. 129, 70). After Myrsilus' death the people elected Pittacus *aisymmētēs* (dictator) to ward off Alcaeus' faction (frs. 70, 348; Arist. *Pol.* 1285^a35 ff.). Internal divisions within the faction contributed to its failure to oust Pittacus (fr. 70). Pittacus' marriage alliance with the Pentilidae probably belongs to this period (fr. 70), as may Alcaeus' journey to Egypt and his brother Antimenidas' service abroad (frs. 432, 350). An ancient critic (*POxy.* 2506. 98) indicates at least three periods of exile. Alcaeus' poetry is full of attacks on and abuse of Pittacus, for perjury and faithlessness, low birth (probably false), drunkenness, unbridled ambition, and physical defects (frs. 72, 129, 348; Diog. Laert. 1. 81). Popular opinion was with Pittacus, as in general is that of posterity. The tradition that Pittacus subsequently pardoned Alcaeus (Diog. Laert. 1. 76) is suspect.

Alcaeus' poetry was divided by the Alexandrians into at least ten books. It was monodic, and was composed in a variety of lyric metres in two- or four-line stanzas, including the alcaic stanza, named after him. The dialect is predominantly Lesbian vernacular, but epicisms are admitted. His range is rivalled only by *Archilochus in the Archaic period. He dealt with politics, war, wine, love, hymns to the gods, moralizing, and myth (though possibly both moralizing and myth were always subordinated to specific contexts). There is considerable variety in the treatment of each theme. Politics may be dealt with through personal abuse or the grandeur of myth and ritual or both (frs. 72, 129, 298; Diog. Laert. 1. 81); the invitation to drink may be supported by myth (fr. 38A) or the imperatives of the weather (frs. 338, 347). He is open to a range of influences. In his use of lyric for abuse he blurs the difference between lyric and iambus. His hymns are influenced by the rhapsodic tradition. Fr. 347 recasts a passage of *Hesiod in lyric form. He has a vivid descriptive power and an impressive vigour, particularly in his arresting openings; his control of form and mood (the developed contrasts of frs. 42 and 338, the changes of mood and register in fr. 129, the extended metaphor of storm for civil strife in fr. 326, the accelerating tempo of the list in fr. 140) is often underrated. He was popular at Attic *symposia and a favourite with *Horace (*Carm.* 1. 32. 5 ff., 2. 13. 26 ff.).

CC

Alcibiades (451/0–404/3 BC), son of Cleinias, Athenian general and politician. Brought up in the household of his guardian *Pericles, he became the pupil and intimate friend of *Socrates. A flamboyant aristocrat, he competed in politics with the new-style demagogues, and his ambitious imperialism drew Athens into a

coalition with Argos and other enemies of *Sparta. This policy, half-heartedly supported by the Athenians, was largely discredited by the Spartan victory at Mantinea (418). Though Alcibiades temporarily allied with *Nicias to avoid *ostracism, the two were normally adversaries and rivals, and when Alcibiades sponsored the plan for a major Sicilian expedition, Nicias unsuccessfully opposed it. Both were appointed, together with Lamachus, to command this expedition (415). After the mutilation of the herms (see HERMES), Alcibiades had been accused of involvement in other religious scandals, and soon after the fleet reached Sicily he was recalled for trial. He escaped, however, to Sparta, where he encouraged the Spartans to send a general to Syracuse, and to establish a permanent Spartan post at Decelea in Attica (which was eventually done in 413).

In 412 he was involved in Sparta's decision to concentrate on the Aegean rather than the Hellespont, but he soon lost the confidence of the Spartans and fled to the Persian satrap Tissaphernes. He tried to secure his return to Athens by obtaining the support of Persia and bringing about an oligarchic revolution, but the negotiations with Persia were unsuccessful. The Athenian fleet at *Samos appointed him general, and for several years he skilfully directed operations in the Hellespont, winning a brilliant victory at Cyzicus in 410. On returning to Athens in 407 he was cleared of the religious charges hanging over him and was appointed to an extraordinary command; but when a subordinate was defeated by *Lysander at Notium (406) he withdrew to Thrace, and his approach to the Athenians before Aegospotami was rebuffed (405). After he had taken refuge with the Persian Pharnabazus, he was murdered in Phrygia through the influence of the Thirty Tyrants and Lysander.

Alcibiades was a competent military leader and a master of intrigue, but his personal ambition and the excesses of his private life aroused the distrust of the Athenians, and he was not given the chance to show whether his ambitious policies, carried out under his leadership, could bring about success.

HDW/PJR

Alcman, lyric poet, active in the mid- to late 7th cent. BC in *Sparta. His birthplace was disputed. Some believed him a Laconian, while a number of ancient authors made him a Lydian (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 18, 19, 709; Ael. *VH* 12. 50; *Suda*, entry under *Alkman*, *POxy.* 2389, 2506, 3542; Vell. *Pat.* 1. 18. 2); the latter version (derived from fr. 16) was further embroidered to make him a freed slave (Heraclid. *Pont. Excerpt. Polit.* 9). The *Suda* credits him with six books of lyric songs (*melē*); a group called 'Diving women'/'Swimming women' (*kolymbōsai*), of which no certain trace survives, may have made up one of these or a seventh book. The lyric songs,

mostly choral, included maiden-songs (*parthenia*), which were probably arranged into two books by Alexandrian scholars (Steph. Byz. entry under *Erusichē*). We also hear of hymns and wedding-songs (*hymenaioi*). The *Suda* credits him with love-poetry, and fragments with erotic content survive (58, 59a).

The most important surviving works are fragments of two maiden-songs found on papyri. The first (fr. 1) shows many features of the developed choral lyric: a myth (1–35), gnomic moralizing (36 ff.), and (probable but not certain, since the opening is lost) framing reference to the present occasion. An account of the death of the sons of Hippocoön is followed by a gnomic transition (36 ff.) on divine punishment and mortal limitation. The rest of the fragment is devoted to praise of two females who play a major role in the ritual (Hagesichora and Agido) and description (with humorous self-deprecation) of the chorus. The song was performed at dawn (41 f., 60 ff.). The identity of the goddess honoured (87, *Aōtis*, lit. ‘the goddess at the dawn’) is unclear (conjectures include Helen, *Artemis Orthia, Phoebe daughter of Leucippus), likewise the nature of the festival, though many scholars detect a reference to a rival choir (60 ff.); there is uncertainty about the details of the myth and its relevance to the occasion. The second (fr. 3), more fragmentary, poem also concentrates on the actions of the leading figure (Astymeloisa). Both poems share a richness of sensuous imagery and a pronounced homoerotic tenor. There is an evident taste for puns, and a proliferation of proper names, many of significance only to the original audience. Alongside this parochiality we find a taste for the distant and exotic (1. 59, 100; cf. frs. 90, 148 ff.). Together the two songs show a gaiety and humour not usually associated with Sparta. Some other fragments come from maiden-songs (16, 26, 29, 38, 59b, 60), but many defy classification. Alcman’s descriptive power is shown in an account of the sleep of nature (fr. 89, context unknown). Mythic narrative is attested by a number of fragments (e.g. fr. 69 Niobe; fr. 77 addressed to Paris; fr. 69 the stone of Tantalus; fr. 80 *Odysseus and Circe). The dialect is west Greek with intermittent epic and aeolic forms; specifically Laconian features are few and some are certainly later intruders into the text. The poetry had achieved classic status by the late 5th cent. (Ar. *Lys.* 1247 ff.). CC

alcoholism

Greece

The ancient Greeks were unfamiliar with modern concepts of alcoholism, but they were well aware of self-destructive drinking and the effects of habitual drunkenness. In the *Odyssey*, *Homer makes a speaker

note that wine is a bane to those who drink it excessively, and identify overindulgence as the cause of the *Centaur Eurytion’s vile behaviour (21. 293–8). In *Hades, Homer’s Elpenor admits that heavy drinking was a key factor in his fatal plunge from Circe’s roof (*Od.* 11. 61). *Pythagoras is credited with the dictum that drinking to achieve drunkenness is a training-ground for madness, and he advises drunkards to take an unflinching look at their inebriate behaviour if they wish to alter it (Stob. *Flor.* 3. 18. 23, 33). In the *Republic*, *Plato writes about men who welcome any excuse to drink whatever wine is available (475a). *Aristotle’s treatise *On Drunkenness* has been lost, but his extant works confirm an abiding interest in wine’s pernicious effects. *Plutarch’s *Moralia* deplores the vicious cycle exhibited by habitual drunkards who seek wine in the morning to remedy their hangovers, noting that wine not only reveals the character but can alter it as well (127f, 799b–c). The value of abstention was recognized by the ancient Greeks, and Athenaeus devotes considerable attention to water drinkers in *The Deipnosophists* (2. 44b–f); abstainers, however, were rare in Greek antiquity. Athenaeus and Aelian discuss those groups—the Macedonians, for example—who drank with heroic intensity. Cleomenes I, *Alcibiades, *Philip II of Macedon, *Alexander the Great, Dionysius II, and Demetrius Poliorcetes can be counted among the most renowned toppers of the ancient Greek world. In classical antiquity, however, allegations of intemperance often serve as vehicles for character assassination; thus, each case must be considered on its own merits.

Rome

The ancient Romans were as interested in the harmful effects of excessive drinking and chronic intoxication as their Greek counterparts. In *On the Nature of Things*, *Lucretius writes that wine’s fury disturbs the soul, debilitates the body, and provokes quarrels (3. 476–83). The younger *Seneca warns that habitual drunkenness so weakens the mind that its consequences are felt long after the drinking has stopped (*Ep.* 83. 26). He notes that some men become so tolerant of wine that even though they are inebriated they appear to be sober (*Ep.* 83. 11). Seneca also suggests that drunkenness tends to disclose and magnify character defects (*Ep.* 83. 19–20). In his *Naturalis historia*, *Pliny the Elder finds irony in the fact that men spend hard-earned money on something that can damage the mind and cause madness (14. 137). Like the Greeks, Pliny comments on truth in wine (*in vino veritas*), but emphasizes that the truths therein revealed are often better left unspoken (*HN* 14. 141). Seneca’s and Pliny’s descriptions of the psychological and physical effects of chronic intoxication presage modern observations: memory loss, identity confusion,

narcissistic self-indulgence, antisocial behaviour, impaired speech and vision, distended stomach, halitosis, quivering, vertigo, insomnia, and early death (Sen. *Ep.* 83. 21, 95. 16; Plin. *HN* 14. 142). *Sulla, *Cato the Younger, Marcus Tullius Cicero (son of the famous orator), Mark *Antony, *Julia (daughter of Augustus), and the emperors *Tiberius, *Claudius, Vitellius, and *Commodus are among the prominent Romans accused of notorious tippling.

The alcoholic beverage of choice for both the ancient Greeks and Romans was *wine, customarily diluted with water, except perhaps in the case of the Macedonians who were reputed to drink their wine *akratos*, or unmixed. Distilled spirits, such as brandy and whisky, had not yet been invented, and beer was looked upon as a swinish potation better left to barbarians. JMO'B/BLR

Alexander the Great (see facing page)

Alexandria (see ◀ Map 2, Bb ▶) was founded by *Alexander the Great in 331 BC when he took *Egypt from the Persians. It was developed principally by the first two Ptolemies, who made it the capital of their kingdom and the main Mediterranean port of Egypt (see PTOLEMY I; PTOLEMY II). It was founded as a theoretically auton-

mous city (**polis*) of the traditional Greek type, modelled in several respects on Athens: it had an exclusive hereditary citizenship organized by demes (local districts; see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN), probably with an assembly (*ekklēsia*), council (*boulē*), and annually elected magistrates, it had its own territory, restricted to citizen-owners and exempt from direct royal taxation, its own coinage, and its own laws. Its founding citizens were recruited from all over the Greek world; there were also numerous non-citizen residents of Egyptian and other ethnic origin, including a large Jewish community which acquired special privileges though not full citizenship. Alexandria soon became one of the largest and grandest cities of the Mediterranean world, famed for the monumental magnificence of its two main intersecting streets, its palace-quarter with the tomb of Alexander and the Museum and *library, its Serapeum (see EGYPTIAN DEITIES), *gymnasium, and Pharos, the lighthouse at the entrance to its two capacious artificial harbours. As a royal capital Alexandria could not be a normal *polis*: its coinage and, probably, its laws were used throughout Egypt; in the course of the dynastic struggles of the later Ptolemies, in which its citizens naturally took a

[continued on p. 32]



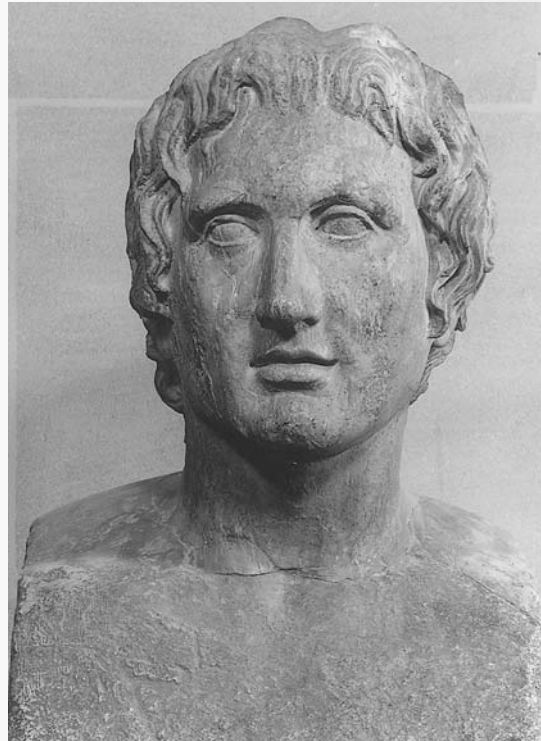
Alexandria A late-antique school at Alexandria. The lecturer's seat is visible at the centre of the U-shaped lecture-hall. Alexandria retained its eminence as an intellectual centre throughout Roman times. A. K. Bowman

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander the Great (Alexander III of Macedon), 356–323 BC, son of *Philip II and Olympias.

1. As crown prince he was taught by *Aristotle (from 342); he was his father's deputy in Macedon (340) and fought with distinction at the battle of Chaeronea (338). Philip's last marriage created a serious rift, but a formal reconciliation had been effected by the time of his death (autumn 336), and Alexander was proclaimed king against a background of dynastic intrigue, in which his rivals (notably Amyntas, son of Perdiccas, and the faction of Attalus) were eliminated. A show of force in southern Greece saw him acknowledged Philip's successor as *hēgemōn* of the League of Corinth; and in 335, when the Thebans took advantage of his absence campaigning on the Danube and rebelled, he destroyed the city and enslaved the survivors. The exemplary punishment enabled him to leave the Greek world under the supervision of Antipater with little fear of revolt, while he turned to the war of revenge against Persia.

2. In early 334 Alexander led his grand army across the Hellespont. In all some 43,000 foot and 5,500 horse (including the expeditionary force under Parmenion), it was the most formidable array ever to leave Greek soil. The Macedonians were its indispensable nucleus. The infantry phalanx, c.15,000 strong and armed with the fearsome six-metre (19½-foot) pike (*sarisa*), comprised a guard corps (hypaspists) and six regionally levied battalions (*taxeis*); and the cavalry, originally 1,800 strong, was also divided into regional squadrons (*ilai*). In pitched battle the phalanx, in massed formation, was practically unbreakable on level ground, and Alexander was able to generate a cavalry charge from the flank which had decisive momentum. The men of the hypaspists, usually supplemented by Agrianian javelinmen and the corps of archers, were deployed in rapid-moving columns along with the cavalry, and were an irresistible combination in mountain warfare. These units were far superior to any they encountered (except arguably the armoured cavalry of *Bactria), and, supplemented by a large reserve of secondary troops (Thracians, Illyrians, and the hoplites of the Corinthian League), they gave Alexander an overwhelming military advantage.



Alexander the Great This Roman copy (the 'Azara' herm, 2nd cent. AD) of a lost Greek original probably reflects the god-like image of Alexander created by his favourite sculptor, Lysippos. © RMN-Grand Palais (Louvre Museum) / Hervé Lewandowski

3. Alexander's superiority was immediately asserted at the Granicus (334), where a composite satrapal army was outmanœuvred and its large mercenary phalanx exterminated. That allowed him to march directly to occupy Sardis, *Ephesus, and Miletus. The most serious threat came from a superior Persian fleet, which sustained the stubborn defence of Halicarnassus, and Alexander took the gamble of demobilizing his own fleet and abandoning the coast. He moved east via Lycia, Pamphylia, and Phrygia (where he 'cut' the Gordian knot, fulfilling a presage of empire), and largely ignored a major Persian counter-offensive in the Aegean, which—fortunately for him—the Great King (Darius III) crippled by withdrawing a large segment of the fleet to swell his royal army (summer 333). Alexander made Cilicia his base for the critical campaign and lured the vast Persian army into the narrow coastal plain south of Issus, where its numbers were ineffective. He disrupted the front line with his standard cavalry charge from the right and gradually forced the entire Persian army into panic retreat. This overwhelming victory (c. November 333) gave him control of the near east as far as the Euphrates. There was some resistance, notably at Tyre and Gaza, which he crushed in exemplary fashion, preferring protracted and costly sieges (seven months at Tyre) to diplomacy and negotiation. All challenges were met directly, whatever the human cost.

4. After a winter (332/1) in Egypt, which was surrendered peacefully, he invaded Mesopotamia and won his crowning victory at Gaugamela (1 October 331). Darius' forces were outmanœuvred again, on chosen ground and unrestricted plain; Alexander sacrificed his left wing, leaving it to be enveloped while he extended the enemy line to the right, created a gap and drove inwards at the head of his cavalry. Again a general rout ensued, and Mesopotamia in turn lay open to him. Babylon and Susa fell without resistance, and he forced the Persian Gates against determined opposition to occupy the heartland of Persis (winter 331/0). At *Persepolis he acquired the accumulated financial reserves of the Persian empire and incinerated its great palace during (it would seem) an orgiastic *symposium, subsequently representing it as the final act of the war of revenge. That in effect came during the summer of 330 when Darius fled from his last refuge at Ecbatana, to be murdered by his closest entourage (led by Bessus, satrap of Bactria). Alexander honoured his rival's body and closed the war by discharging his Hellenic troops *en masse*.

5. A new challenge arose when Bessus, who had withdrawn to his satrapy, proclaimed himself King of Kings under the regnal name Artaxerxes V. He appointed counter-satraps in central Asia and fomented revolt. Alexander left his satraps to cope with the insurgency, while he moved in a great swathe through Areia, Drangiana, and Arachosia (east Iran and west Afghanistan) and crossed the Hindu Kush to invade Bactria (spring 329). Bessus was soon gone, arrested in his turn by his nobles and surrendered to Alexander for exemplary punishment. Shortly afterwards, when Alexander reached the north-eastern limit of the empire (the Syr-Darya), a new uprising began in Sogdiana (Uzbekistan), rapidly spreading south to Bactria. One of Alexander's (non-Macedonian) columns was ambushed by the insurgents' nomad auxiliaries west of Marakanda (Samarkand), a military and moral reverse which impressed the need for slow, systematic pacification. The conquest of the area fortress by fortress witnessed deliberate massacre, enslavement, and transplantation of recalcitrant populations, and, when the revolt ended (spring 327), the north-eastern satrapies were left exhausted under a large garrison of mercenaries and a network of new city foundations, in which a Hellenic military élite was supported by a native agrarian workforce—the invariable model for the dozens of Alexandrias he founded in the eastern empire.

6. From Bactria Alexander moved into *India at the invitation of the local dynasts of the Kabul valley and Punjab. He was nothing loath to reaffirm the traditional Achaemenid claims to the Indus lands. Resistance was treated as rebellion, and his progress through Bajaur and Swat was marked by massacre and destruction, as in Sogdiana. Even the remote rock-fortress of Aornus (Pir-sar) was reduced by siege at the cost of prodigious hardship, to demonstrate that there was no escape from his dominion. The spring of 326 saw him at Taxila, east of the Indus, poised for a campaign against Porus, who held the Jhelum (Hydaspes) against him. After a series of diversionary manœuvres he crossed the river under cover of a spring thunderstorm and defeated Porus, whose war elephants could not compensate for his cavalry inferiority. The victory was commemorated in two city foundations (Bucephala and Nicaea), and a remarkable issue of silver decadrachms depicts Alexander (crowned by victory) in combat with Porus and his elephant. Alexander continued eastwards, crossing the rivers of the Punjab in the face of an increasing monsoonal deluge, until his troops' patience was exhausted. They refused to cross the Hyphasis (Beas) and invade the Ganges river system, and Alexander reluctantly acceded. A river fleet (commissioned in the summer) was ready at the Hydaspes by November 325, and the army proceeded by land and water to the southern Ocean. The journey was marked by a singularly vicious campaign against the Malli, unprovoked except for their failure to offer submission, and Alexander's impetuosity cost him a debilitating chest wound. Further south the kingdoms of Sambus and Musicanus were visited with fire and slaughter when their allegiance wavered, and, as he approached his base in the Indus delta (Patalene), the natives fled in terror (July 325).

7. Alexander now returned to the west, deputing Nearchus to take his fleet across the southern coastline while he led the main army through the Gedrosian desert (Makran), in emulation—so Nearchus claimed—of *Cyrus the Great and Semiramis. The horrors of heat and famine which ensued were considerable, but perhaps exaggerated in the sources, which attest no great loss of life among the Macedonian army. Reunited with the fleet in Carmania (c. December 325), he returned to Persepolis and Susa (March 324), where some 80 of his staff joined him in taking wives from the Persian nobility. For the next year there was a lull in campaigning (except for a punitive expedition against the Cos-saeans of the Zagros), but there were grandiose preparations in the Levant, where he commissioned a war fleet allegedly 1,000 strong, some of which was conveyed to Babylon in summer of 323. The first stage of conquest was certainly the Persian Gulf and Arabian littoral, which Alexander intended to conquer and colonize, but the sources, in particular the memoranda (*hypomnēmata*) reported by *Diodorus Siculus, refer to projects of conquest in the western Mediterranean aimed at Carthage and southern Italy—and plans are even alleged of a circumnavigation of Africa. The reality is perhaps beyond verification, but it is likely enough that Alexander conceived no practical limit to his empire.

8. Alexander's monarchy was absolute. From the outset he regarded Asia Minor as liberated territory only in so far as he displaced the Persians, and he announced the fact of possession by imposing his own satraps upon the erstwhile Persian provinces. By 332 he regarded himself as the proper ruler of the Persian empire, and after Gaugamela he was acclaimed king of Asia. From 330 his status was displayed in his court dress, which combined the traditional Macedonian hat (*kausia*) and cloak with the Persian diadem, tunic, and girdle. He used Persian court ceremonial and promoted Persian nobles, but there is no evidence of a formal 'policy of fusion' with Persians and Macedonians assimilated into a single ruling class. Except for a brief moment at Opis the Macedonians were entrenched in a position of superiority. The Susa marriages would indeed give rise to a mixed offspring (as would the liaisons of his soldiers with native women), but in both cases the ultimate aim was probably to counter the regional and family loyalties which had been the curse of both Persian and Macedonian monarchs. At another level he had cut across the traditional regional basis of his army and introduced Iranians even to the élite Companion cavalry. There was to be a single loyalty—to the crown.

9. Alexander naturally experienced opposition in various forms. His Macedonian troops proved increasingly reluctant to be enticed into further conquest. He gave way once, at the Hyphasis, but at Opis (324) he confronted their contumacious demands for repatriation with summary executions and a devastating threat to man his army exclusively from Persians. He had deliberately made his Macedonians dispensable and demonstrated the fact. The same ruthlessness marked his reaction to opposition at court. He isolated and struck down Parmenion because of his resistance to imperial expansion, and the adolescent pages, who seriously threatened his life for reasons which are obscure (but probably based on antipathy to the new absolutism), were tortured and stoned to death. Insubordination was as intolerable as conspiracy. Alexander's return to the west in 325/4 witnessed a spate of executions of satraps who had exceeded their authority or arrogated power (e.g. Astaspes in Carmania, Orxines in Persis). Misgovernment as such was a secondary consideration, as is shown by his remarkable offer of pardon to Cleomenes. Relations with the Greek world became increasingly strained. At first the machinery of the Corinthian League was effective; and the challenge by Agis III had limited support and was quickly crushed (? spring 330). But Alexander undermined the provisions of the league by his Exiles' Decree (324), which threatened Athens' possession of *Samos and gave almost every city the problem of repatriating long-term exiles. The last year of his reign was punctuated by tense and heated diplomacy, and his death was the catalyst for general war in southern Greece.

10. Given Alexander's uncompromising claims to sovereignty it can be readily understood how he came to conceive himself divine. A Heraclid by lineage, he believed himself the descendant of *Heracles, Perseus, and (ultimately) *Zeus, and by 331 he had begun to represent himself as the direct son of Zeus, with dual paternity comparable to that of Heracles. He was reinforced in his belief by his pilgrimage (in 331) to the oracle of Ammon (recognized as a manifestation of Zeus at Siwa), and thereafter styled himself son of Zeus Ammon. But divine sonship was not divinity, and by 327, after conquest had followed conquest, Alexander was encouraged (particularly in the liberated atmosphere of the symposium) to believe that his achievements deserved apotheosis at least as much as Heracles'. *Proskynēsis*, the hierarchical prostration of inferior to superior, was *de rigueur* at the Persian court, but Alexander attempted to extend it to Macedonians and Greeks, for whom the gesture was an act of worship. The experiment failed, thanks to the resistance of Callisthenes, but the concept remained, and there is an anecdotal (but probable) tradition that he wrote to the cities of Greece in 324, suggesting that it would be appropriate for divine honours to be voted him along with a hero-cult for his deceased favourite, Hephaestion. Cults were certainly established, predominantly in Asia Minor, and persisted long after his death, eclipsing the largely ephemeral worship of his successors.

11. Portraits of Alexander tend to follow the model created by his favourite sculptor, Lysippus, who perpetuated the leftward inclination of his neck and the famous *anastolē* (hair thrown back from a central parting). His profile, first illustrated on the 'Alexander sarcophagus' (311), appears repeatedly on coins, most strikingly on the commemorative tetradrachms of *Lysimachus. His personality is far more elusive, thanks to the tendency in antiquity to adduce him as a moral example of good or evil and the propensity of moderns to endue him with the qualities they would admire in themselves. His reputation for invincibility, which he studiously fostered, has been a source of fascination (notably for *Pompey, *Trajan, and Napoleon), mostly for ill. The process began when he died (10 June 323) after a ten-day illness (which contemporaries ascribed to poison), and the marshals who sought to emulate him rapidly dismembered his empire.

ABB

prominent part, Alexandria was, it seems, punished with the loss of its *ekklēsia* and *boulē*, and its magistrates became more like royal officials. These struggles also ignited the notorious antagonism between the 'Greek' citizen-body and the Jewish community, which continued to flare up in the Roman period (see JEWS).

When Egypt came under Roman rule the citizens of Alexandria retained most of their surviving privileges; they were also used extensively in the new administration of the province, and only they, in Egypt, could acquire Roman *citizenship. Despite several appeals to the Julio-Claudian emperors, Alexandria only regained a *boulē* in AD 200/1 when *Septimius Severus granted councils to all the cities of Egypt; this development, and the universal grant of Roman citizenship in AD 212, undermined Alexandria's political primacy in Egypt, but not her Mediterranean-wide economic and cultural importance. With over 500,000 inhabitants, Alexandria was the second city of the Roman empire; it was also the main port of the eastern Mediterranean for state and private shipping, straddling the luxury trade between India and Rome. Fine public and private buildings continued to be erected, and the arts and crafts and intellectual pursuits flourished: notable were glassware manufacture (see GLASS) and *medicine. In the 3rd cent. AD the reputed see of St Mark the evangelist became one of the main centres of the Christian church, revitalizing Alexandria's claims to intellectual, artistic, political, and economic prominence within and beyond Egypt.

DWR

Amazons, mythical race of female warriors. The name was popularly understood as 'breastless' (*maza*, 'breast') and the story told that they 'pinched out' or 'cauterized' the right breast so as not to impede their javelin-throwing (Apollod. 2. 5. 8, Strabo 11. 5. 1). No real etymology is known.

Epic

Amazons exist in order to be fought, and ultimately defeated, by men in an Amazonomachy ('Amazon-battle').

Already in the *Iliad* we hear of Bellerophon killing them in Lycia (6. 186), their defeat at the river Sangarios (near Pessinus, 3. 189), and a tomb of Myrrhine outside Troy (2. 814; cf. Strabo 12. 8. 6). In Arctinus' *Aethiopsis* their Thracian queen, Penthesilea 'daughter of Ares', arrives to help the Trojans, but *Achilles kills her (and Thersites for alleging Achilles loved her). *Heracles' ninth labour was to fetch the girdle of the Amazon queen, Hippolyte, which resulted in another Amazonomachy (Apollod. 4. 16). *Theseus joined Heracles and as a result had to defeat an Amazon invasion of Attica, a story told in a late 6th-cent. BC *Theseid* (story in Plut. *Thes.* 26).

Cult/commemoration

Amazon tombs are frequent in central Greece, presumably because of local Amazonomachy myths. They are found at Megara (Paus. 1. 41. 7), *Athens (Paus. 1. 2. 1), Chaeronea and Chalcis—as well as in *Thessaly at Scotussa and Cynoscephalae (Plut. *Thes.* 27). There was an Amazoneum (shrine of Amazons, implying tombs and cult) at Chalcis and Athens. At Athens there were annual sacrifices to the Amazons on the day before the Thesea. Many Asia Minor settlements were founded by Amazons: Amastris, Sinope, Cyme, Pitana, Priene, Mytilene (Lesbos), *Ephesus, Smyrna, Myrina (Diod. Sic. 3. 55. 6, Strabo 11. 5. 4). At Ephesus Hippolyte and her Amazons set up a *bretas* (old wooden statue) of Artemis and established an annual circular dance with weapons and shields (Callim. *Hymn* 3. 110; Pind. fr. 174 Snell–Maehler), as performed in historical times by maidens.

Ethnography

Amazons, appropriately for a group inverting normal Greek rules, live at the edge of the world. Their usual homeland is next to a river Thermodon in the city of Themiscyra in remote Pontic Asia Minor (Aesch. *PV* 723–5, Pherec. *FGrH* 3 F 15). Real Amazons would need men for procreation. *Diodorus Siculus' Amazons at the Thermodon cripple their male children (2. 45), but his



Amazons Athenian ceramic bowl showing a trousered Amazon rider attacking a fallen Greek, c.470 BC. The theme was popular in Greek art, especially after the Persian Wars, when Amazons were compared with Persians, another 'womanly' foe from the east. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource / Scala, Florence

second set, in Libya (3. 53–4), have house husbands to whom they return (like Greek males) after their period of military service. In Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Alexander Romance* (2. 25), they keep men across a river. It is part of the mythologizing of *Alexander the Great that stories were quick to surface that he had met Amazons and threatened (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 13; Plut. *Alex.* 46) or pleased (Diod. Sic. 17. 77) their queen.

Matriarchy and message

Especially since J. J. Bachofen's *Mutterrecht* (1859), Amazons have been used as evidence for an actual matriarchy in prehistoric times. This has seemed an attractive counter to modern male prejudices, but mistakes the nature of myth. Women warriors and hunters are quite frequent in myth and folk tale (Stith Thompson F 565) and inversely reflect the actual distribution of roles between

the sexes. It may be that such inversion in Greece goes back to rituals of the initiation of maidens (cf. Ephesus) and youths (cf. the Thesea), where the definition of gender roles is at issue.

Art

Amazonomachies and genre studies of Amazons are represented copiously in art from the late 7th cent. on, propelled by their special importance at Athens. *LIMC* catalogues 819 items. KD

Ammianus Marcellinus (c.AD 330–95), the last great Latin historian of the Roman empire, was born at Syrian *Antioch. His early entry, c.350, into the élite corps of *protectores domestici* may indicate family connections with the imperial service at Antioch, in which case an early acquaintance with the Latin language could be inferred, as well as the Greek which formed the base of his literary

education. Assigned by Constantius II to the personal staff of the general Ursicinus, Ammianus saw service in north Italy, Gaul, and Germany (the early campaigns of *Julian), Illyricum and Mesopotamia. It was here, in the siege and capture by the Persians of Amida (mod. Diarbakir) in 359, that the first phase of Ammianus' military career came to an end. He escaped from the city, but Ursicinus was dismissed from office in the aftermath of its fall. Ammianus seems to have returned to Antioch, but subsequently participated in the disastrous Persian campaign of Julian (363). In later years he travelled—to the Black Sea and Egypt, southern Greece, possibly to a Thracian battlefield from the Gothic invasions of 376–8—before he came to Rome in the mid-380s. It was here that he completed his history. The work is composed in 31 books, of which the first thirteen, covering the period from Nerva to 353, seem from the nature of a reference to them by the grammarian Priscian already to have been lost by the early 6th cent. The earlier of the lost books were apparently not very full or original, but the scale of the narrative enlarged as Ammianus approached his own day. The surviving books describe in great detail the events and personalities of Ammianus' active lifetime through a period of just 25 years, covering the reigns of Constantius II and Julian (353–63), the brief tenure of Jovian (363–4), the joint reigns of Valentinian I (364–75) and Valens (364–78), and the usurpation of Procopius (366). The culmination of the work is the Gothic invasions of 376–8 and the battle of Adrianople (9 August 378) at which Valens was killed. The period from 378 to the time of publication is alluded to only in passing references which are, however, of value in judging the date of composition of the work; the latest datable events referred to are of 390 and 391, and the history was probably completed very soon after this.

In the earlier books, narrating his service under Ursicinus, Ammianus' own experiences form a major element, and events are largely seen through the often biased eyes of his patron; with their vivid narrative of sometimes very detailed events and the subjectivity of their judgements, these books have seemed to readers to resemble personal memoir rather than formal history. Despite his own participation—which was at a less privileged level than his experiences with Ursicinus—his narrative of the Persian campaign of Julian is less personally involved, relying sometimes on written sources, and the books on Valentinian and Valens are less detailed, and despite moments of intense involvement, not focused on the author's own experiences. The centrepiece of the history was the government, first in Gaul as Caesar and then in the east as sole Augustus, of Julian the Apostate. Ammianus deeply admired Julian, particularly for

his military and administrative abilities. He was openly critical of other aspects of Julian's regime, not least his religious policies.

Himself a pagan of a more traditional cast, Ammianus disliked Julian's intolerance, and was hostile to the emperor's devotion to excessive sacrifice, and of his submission to the influence of philosophers who, in the end with disastrous results, indulged Julian's interest in Neoplatonic techniques of divination. The extent to which Ammianus was himself a polemical writer is debated. He did not adopt the openly ideological stance against *Christianity taken by his younger contemporary Eunapius (whose work he seems to have used from time to time). He is however scathing, in satirical fashion, about the ostentation of the bishops of Rome, criticizes those of *Alexandria for their ambition, and ironically refers to the failure of Christianity to live up to its 'pure and simple' professions.

Ammianus' elaborate, individual, and often very intense style is notable for its strong pictorial sense and for its ability to portray character, in which it displays the influence of physiognomical writing and exploits often very vivid comparisons of human character with that of wild beasts. It contains many passages, especially of military narrative, in which individuals are shown at close quarters and in situations of personal stress and great danger. It is influenced too by the language of *satire, as when Ammianus denounces the behaviour of the nobility and common people of Rome, or the behaviour of lawyers. The subject-matter is wide, and the history contains many geographical and ethnographical digressions (describing the non-Roman as well as the Roman worlds), as well as scientific and antiquarian excursions, in which the author's Greek culture is acknowledged, sometimes with quotations of Greek words in which Ammianus refers to Greek as his 'own' first language. The sources for the lost books are not known, except that Ammianus' back-references do not indicate the large-scale use of Greek sources that would have been possible for him, and there are occasional traces of the lost Latin history known as 'Enmann's *Kaisergeschichte*' which can be seen in other Latin writers of the period such as Aurelius Victor and Eutropius. For the contemporary period, Ammianus' narrative was based on personal knowledge and the accounts of eyewitnesses—those 'versati in medio' referred to in the preface of book 15; some of these, such as the eunuch Eutherius and the senator Praetextatus can be convincingly identified. Ammianus does not mention the orator Symmachus, and was certainly not the anonymous historian addressed by Symmachus in *Epistolae* 9. 110. In general, his affinities with Roman 'senatorial' circles have been much exaggerated by historians.

Ammianus' work, justly admired by Gibbon, is a classic of Latin historiography, though whether the influence of *Tacitus is more than formal (it would explain the starting-point at the reign of Nerva) is debated. The influence of *Sallust is indicated from time to time, but the most persuasive literary influence is clearly that of *Cicero, whose writings are constantly referred and alluded to. Greek authors, like *Herodotus, *Thucydides, and *Polybius, are acknowledged at suitable moments but do not seem otherwise to have exercised any real influence upon Ammianus' manner. *Homer and *Virgil are effectively used to give epic scale and colour to the narrative. Affinities with contemporary Latin prose writers are not obvious or extensive; the most obvious, both as to style and content, is perhaps the imperial legislation collected in the Theodosian Code—a comparison by which Ammianus, a lover of settled government and respect for institutions, might not have been offended. See HISTORIOGRAPHY, ROMAN.

JFMA

amphitheatres The earliest surviving permanent amphitheatres are found in Campania, the well-preserved example at *Pompeii, called *spectacula* by its builders (*CIL* 10. 852), being the only closely datable example (c.80 BC). At Rome, although gladiatorial games were held in the *forum Romanum from an early date with spectators accommodated in temporary wooden stands, the first permanent building was erected by Titus Statilius Taurus in the Campus Martius only in 29 BC. Nero built a much larger wooden structure there, destroyed by the fire of AD 64. Rome finally gained a permanent, monumental amphitheatre with the *Colosseum. Amphitheatres are common in the western provinces from the late republic but are rarer in the east, where from the 2nd cent. AD onwards many *theatres were instead adapted for this purpose. The use of gladiatorial techniques for training the Roman army led to small amphitheatres also becoming a normal adjunct of military *camps, the earliest surviving examples being Augustan. These and many of the minor amphitheatres in the provinces were cut into the natural rock or formed from simple earth mounds; wooden structures also continued to be built (*Tac. Ann.* 4. 62). The earliest masonry arenas such as Pompeii and Mérida (8 BC) had retaining walls to support earth mounds; self-contained monumental masonry structures (e.g. Arles (Arelate), El Djem), combining radial and annular vaulted passages to solve problems of access and circulation for large numbers of spectators, mainly appear under the inspiration of the Colosseum. The amphitheatre should be distinguished from the *ludus* or gladiators' training-school, generally having much less seating and a proportionately larger arena. See GLADIATORS.

IAR/JD

Anacreon, lyric poet, native of Teos. Little is known of his life. Born perhaps c.575–570 (Eusebius gives his *floruit* as 536/5), he probably joined in the foundation of Abdera in Thrace by the Teans fleeing before the threat of the Persian general Harpagus in 545 (Strabo 14. 1. 30; Aristox. fr. 12 Wehrli, Hdt 1. 168). He joined the court of Polycrates, tyrant of *Samos (Hdt 3. 121), the most illustrious Greek of the day; *Strabo claims that his 'whole poetry is full of mention of Polycrates' (14. 1. 16), though there is no reference in surviving fragments. Tradition made Anacreon and Polycrates rivals for the love of a Thracian boy, Smerdies, whose hair Polycrates cut off in a fit of jealousy (Stob. 4. 21. 24; Ath. 12. 540e; Ael. *VH* 9. 4); this may be false inference from Anacreon's poetry. After the murder of Polycrates by the Persian satrap Oroetes he joined the Pisistratid court at Athens (see *PISISTRATUS*); allegedly Hipparchus sent a warship to fetch him ([Pl.] *Hipparch.* 228c). According to Plato (*Chrm.* 157e) he praised the family of Critias (grandfather of the oligarch Critias), whose lover he was (schol. Aesch. *PV* 128). After Hipparchus' murder he may have gone to Thessaly (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 136, 142, if correctly attributed). The fragments suggest that he lived to old age, though the figure of 85 years ([Lucian] *Macr.* 26) cannot be verified. The tradition that he died by choking on a grape (Val. Max. 9. 12) displays the mythopoeia typical of ancient *biography.

He composed in elegiac distichs, iambic and trochaic rhythms, lyric stanzas consisting of glyconics with pherecratean clausula, and ionics (including a form with anacrusis named Anacreontic after him). The dialect is Ionic vernacular with some epicisms. The range of what survives is narrow. Wine and love (both homosexual and heterosexual) figure prominently. His control of form produces an appearance of effortlessness. Many poems have an epigrammatic quality. Words are positioned with great effect, as in fr. 357, a prayer to *Dionysus, with the play on the beloved's name and closing revelation that this is a love poem; 358 with the contrast between the fluent first and staccato second half reflecting the move from enchantment to rejection; 395 with its closing word-play; and 360 with the closing image of the beloved boy as charioteer of the poet's soul. Striking images for love abound (396, 398, 413). Delicacy, wit, paradox, irony, and self-mockery are prominent, as in 417, addressed to a coy girl, represented as a reluctant filly, 347 which laments the loss of a boy's hair in mock-epic terms, the bathos of 359, the idea of riotous decorum in 356a. He also produced biting abuse in the iambic tradition (346, 372, 388). Later sources ascribe maiden-songs to him (Ath. 13. 600d); a possible fragment survives (501). His work was edited by the Alexandrians into at least six books. His wit inspired a corpus of frivolous imitations in and after the Hellenistic



amphitheatres The amphitheatre and (background) theatre at Arelate (Arles), in S. Gaul (late 1st cent. AD). In the Roman west the amphitheatre was the usual setting for gladiatorial and wild-beast shows; in the east *theatres were adapted instead. Fototeca dell'Unione Internazionale, American Academy in Rome

period, the *Anacreontea*, which until the 19th cent. were believed to be his work. CC

anatomy and physiology

I

The examination of the parts of the body, their forms, location, nature, function, and interrelations (to adapt the list provided by Aulus Cornelius Celsus in the proem to book 1 of the *De medicina*)—whether through dissection (*anatomia*, the title of several ancient medical works, and of a lost work by *Aristotle) or as part of more abstract speculation about natural causes (*physiologia*)—was a concern not only for doctors. Physiology did not have the restricted range it has today; in antiquity it covered all kinds of speculative investigation into nature—in areas ranging from the search for the *soul and its physical location in the body to the explanation of organic processes in animals and plants. This means that ancient medical writers often paid close attention to the work of those whom we might regard today as having quite different concerns. Much early Greek cosmology, for example, was concerned (directly or indirectly) with problems surrounding the nature and origins of life, and the relations between the macroscopic structures of the universe and the microscopic structures of the body. Several Presocratic philosophers of nature advanced speculative models to explain physiological and pathological processes in terms of the transformation and balanced arrangement of one or more types of principal matter which they believed to constitute the universe as a whole. (Ideas of balance and imbalance, democracy and tyranny, symmetry and asymmetry can be seen shaping many different areas of Greek thought, cosmological, political, and physiological.) The influence, both positive and negative, of early cosmological models on Hippocratic physiological theories was often profound—so much so that the author of the Hippocratic treatise *On Ancient Medicine* directed a strong attack on those doctors who borrowed unverifiable hypotheses from the philosophers (see MEDICINE § 4).

Modern critics of Greek medicine—particularly those with scientific or medical backgrounds themselves—are often struck by the lack of agreement (even amongst ancient specialists) over the description of the human body's internal structures. And it is true that even in the Hippocratic corpus there is no single, dominant anatomical or physiological treatise. In fact there is little unambiguous, early evidence for dissection as an investigative tool either in the study of anatomy or in the development of physiological theories. It does seem surprising to find Aristotle noting towards the end of the 4th cent. (after

the bulk of the Hippocratic treatises were written) that 'the internal parts of the body, especially those of man, are unknown. We must as a result refer to the parts of other creatures with a nature similar to that of humans' (HA 494^b). Even Galen several hundred years later was still relying on dissections of the Barbary ape for his knowledge of some aspects of human anatomy—yet Galen himself was struck by the lack of interest in anatomy amongst the earliest Greek doctors.

The reasons for this state of affairs (which seemed as surprising to many later Greek medical authorities as it does to some of us today) are extremely complex and this article aims merely at summary and general description. Galen's explanation was simple: The earliest doctors treated medicine as a craft, and medical knowledge was handed down from father to son. There seemed little point in writing down information which could more readily be obtained by direct inquiry. In contrast, conventional modern explanations of the situation have tended to focus on the widespread ancient taboos against dissection—especially human dissection—which persisted throughout antiquity. Such taboos there certainly were, however surprising this may seem in societies which otherwise tolerated the murder of men and women in the name of public entertainment. In spite of evidence that the dissection of animals played an increasingly important role in the study of human medicine after Aristotle, it is not at all easy to assess the status of the early, pre-Aristotelian evidence.

While it is widely believed that early in the 5th cent. BC Alcmaeon of Croton pursued anatomical studies of animals, there is little agreement (modern or ancient) as to just how far he went. Later ancient witnesses attribute to him pioneering work on the anatomy of the eye and its communication with the brain, the ear, the nasal passages, and the embryo, and more controversially the blood-vascular system (DK 24 A 5–18). As none of his own work survives intact, we are hardly in a position to judge just how far his research was based on autopsy, let alone its general motivations. The judgement of the early evidence is further complicated by the problem of the lack of technical anatomical vocabulary. Much apparently technical information may have been more or less common knowledge. At Aristophanes' *Frogs* 134 for instance, the comic Dionysus fears that by jumping off a tall building he will 'destroy two rissole wrappers of his brain'; should this metaphor have occurred in a medical treatise, we might immediately assume that it displayed more or less specialized autoptic experience of the brain. In fact it is not until Hellenistic times that a detailed anatomical vocabulary develops in earnest, and even then it grows by naming parts of the body through analogy with

familiar external objects. This is the procedure which had already been advocated by the author of the Hippocratic treatise *On Ancient Medicine* (22) to aid the comprehension of the functions of internal parts, of which he had only the vaguest idea: 'It is necessary to learn about [internal structures] from external ones which are evident to us,' he notes. The problem of anatomical nomenclature, its poverty and the lack of standardization was still so serious in the 2nd cent. AD that Rufus of Ephesus and Galen himself devoted several treatises specifically to this subject.

Acute observations of physiological processes such as respiration, sensation, digestion, and excretion, were often incorporated into highly speculative theories without these observations themselves being the subject of practical verification. It seems that traditional anatomical models could also take on authoritative status in some quarters. Scenes of wounding in the Homeric epics point to the existence of traditional models to describe the internal structure of the body which became part of the furniture for some medical writers. For instance, *Il.* 13. 545–9: 'Antilochus watched Thoon as he turned around, and then rushed at him, thrusting. He severed the whole vein (*phleps*) which runs right up the back to the neck—he severed the whole of it. Thoon fell back and lay in the dust, stretching out both his hands to his friends.' In some cases it was a long time before this kind of literary tradition was displaced by the results of autopsy. A much later ancient commentator on this Homeric passage noted that 'here the poet is an anatomist. He refers to the so-called "hollow vein" [*koilē phleps*, the Greek term for the *vena cava*] which runs from the right of the spine, from the liver, passes over the diaphragm to the heart and from there to the neck.' Homer is a special case, of course, and the non-medical writers often preserve important observations which were never taken up at all. The phenomenon of contagion, for example, described by *Thucydides in his account of the great *plague at Athens in 430 BC (2. 47), and hinted at in the first choral ode of Sophocles' *Oedipus*, was not examined in detail by the very doctors who Thucydides tells us were the first to suffer.

II

Much early work on the structure of the body focused on the skeleton and the vascular system. One of the earliest surviving accounts of the way in which parts communicate with each other is preserved by Aristotle; it is striking for the few signs it shows of close acquaintance with the physical appearance of the structures it describes. Aristotle reports (*HA* 512^a4 ff.) that Diogenes of Apollonia in the 5th cent. had posited a blood-vascular system of ducts (*phlebes*) distributed throughout the body, divided into

two independent networks each serving one side of the body. The network on the right originated in the liver, and was probably called *hēpatitis*, while that on the left, *splēnitis*, came from the spleen. It is likely that surface anatomy (especially in connection with parts like the neck where internal structures stand out) played a part in the establishment of models such as this one; perhaps experience derived from the practice of therapeutic measures such as venesection was also relevant. Most significant, perhaps, is the underlying assumption here that the bilateral symmetry exhibited by the body externally should in some way be reflected internally.

Vessels, pores, and ducts, visible and theoretical, figure prominently in many ancient physiological theories. It is not clear from Aristotle's account of Diogenes exactly what the vessels carried, nor what function his model played in his physiological theory. One late doxographical source (Aëtius, DK 64 A 29) reports that they carried air. (Air was known to be necessary to life and vital for the functioning of the senses; it was not known until much later, of course, exactly what happened to inspired air. A large group of ancient theorists, many of them still active in Galen's day, believed that inspired air (*pneuma*) passes from the lungs via the heart into the arteries.) Diogenes' 'ducts' probably carried a variety of fluids around the body, including air. Diogenes may or may not have been a doctor himself; certainly he was a cosmologist, and it seems likely that his physiological and anatomical work was related to his cosmology, and in particular to his idea that air has some kind of elemental status, and is to be associated with the cognitive faculties in animals.

Aristotle mentions two other similar early models of internal anatomical structures; one he attributes to the otherwise unknown Syennesis of Cyprus, and the other to Polybus, supposed by many to have been the son-in-law of Hippocrates. An account similar to that of Polybus appears in the Hippocratic treatise *On the Nature of Man* (ch. 11); it might be noted that the surviving Hippocratic accounts of vascular anatomy are not as a rule as detailed as these three cited by Aristotle. (Although as exceptions, one should note the little-known Hippocratic treatises *On the Nature of Bones*, *On Anatomy*, *On Fleshes*, and the later (4th-cent.) work *On the Heart*.)

Along with early work on the anatomy of the vascular system comes speculation about the seat of cognition, and the ways in which the senses communicate with each other and the so-called 'command centre' of the body. Some early authorities, including in all probability Alcmaeon of Croton, Diogenes of Apollonia, and by implication the author of the Hippocratic *Sacred Disease*, argued for the brain's primary role here, but *Plato moved the command centre to the heart (*Ti.* 70a ff.), followed by

Aristotle and Diocles of Carystus. The debate continued until Galen reasserted the very early primacy of the liver in the 2nd cent. AD.

In the Hippocratic writings, then, pathological commentary and physiological theory tend to be more detailed than empirical knowledge of internal anatomy. The author of *Sacred Disease*, famous for the argument that epilepsy has a natural cause, offers a convenient example of the priority of theory, even in cases where autopsy is brought to the fore. He insists that epilepsy has its origin in the brain; assuming that the human brain is fundamentally the same as the brain in all other animals, he describes the examination of the brain of a similarly afflicted goat. 'On opening the head', he claims, 'the brain will be found to be wet, full of fluid and foul-smelling—persuasive proof that the disease and not a deity is causing the harm.' Adherents of humoral theories similarly tended to locate the source of the humours in specific organs which seemed a priori to be appropriate. Typically for many Hippocratic authors, bile comes from the liver and phlegm from the head. External examination of the state of the most prominent vessels which allowed the communication of these fluids through the body could be an important part of a general assessment of the state of the body.

III

With *Aristotle, there is much stronger evidence that physiological theory can be related to empirical investigation. (Some modern scholars hold that Aristotle may even have dissected a human embryo, but the evidence (HA 583^b14) is inconclusive. It seems unlikely, on balance, that Aristotle dissected human subjects.) In the first book of the treatise *On the Parts of Animals*, Aristotle stresses the importance of autopsy as a preliminary to theory, however disagreeable this may be. In the *History of Animals*, he went on to provide detailed, observationally based accounts of the vascular system and the internal geography of the body, and a whole range of physiological theories explaining digestion, respiration, etc. in the treatises which make up the so-called *Parva naturalia* (see ANIMALS, KNOWLEDGE ABOUT § II).

IV

After Aristotle, it seems that more and more doctors began to employ animal dissection—including *vivisection—but human dissection probably remained the exception and not the rule. Diocles of Carystus (credited by Galen with having composed the first anatomical handbook (fr. 23 Wellmann)) made important observations about the anatomy of the womb (fr. 27 Wellmann). Praxagoras of Cos is traditionally credited with drawing the distinction be-

tween veins and arteries, and doing important work on neural anatomy. As the teacher of Herophilus of Chalcidion, Praxagoras stands at the beginning of one of the most fruitful periods of anatomical investigation in the history of medicine. Herophilus' and Erasistratus' work in dissection—notably human dissection—led to a dramatic development of anatomical knowledge. Celsus reports that they were given condemned criminals and performed vivisections on them; although the evidence for this has been questioned in some quarters, most modern scholars seem to accept its plausibility, and, at the very least, it seems likely that Herophilus was one of the first physicians to make systematic use of human dissection. He made important discoveries about the anatomy of the eye, the male and female reproductive systems, and the blood-vascular system. Most famous perhaps was his work on the nerves; it seems likely that he was the first to discern them, and perhaps the first to make the distinction between motor and sensory nerves.

In Hellenistic physiological theory we find the marriage of physics and anatomy developing in many ways. Erasistratus, credited by Galen with new anatomical work on the structure of the heart and the blood-vascular system, developed a theory which explained the origins of the body in terms of agglomerations of an elemental complex of vein, artery, and nerve. Asclepiades of Bithynia seems to have taken this type of idea further, reducing the body's component parts to elementary corpuscles and pores whose constant motion accounted for the change and unpredictability of physiological and pathological phenomena. The Asclepiadean theory, with its insistence that health and disease—indeed all physiological processes—can be understood in terms of the proper movement of these corpuscles in the pores, had the effect of dampening commitment to anatomical investigation amongst his many intellectual progeny. But not all; although the Methodists argued that the study of anatomy was rather beside the point, given their insistence that all the doctor needed to know about disease could be learned from the phenomenal presentation of two or three morbid states in the body, Soranus of Ephesus made a considerable contribution to female anatomy in his *Gynaecology*. At the beginning of this work, Soranus notes that 'since we are now about to pass to the section on gynaecological hygiene, it will first be necessary to explain the nature of the female parts. Some of this can be learned directly, some from dissection. And since dissection, although useless, is nevertheless studied for the sake of profound learning, we shall also teach what has been discovered by it' (1. 2. 5, trans. O. Temkin). There follows a remarkably detailed account of the anatomy of the female reproductive system (see GYNAECOLOGY).

Not all doctors placed anatomy at the service of physiology. Another group, active from the 2nd cent. BC onwards, associated themselves more or less directly with a current in Pyrrhonian scepticism, and marshalled powerful arguments against the value of physiological speculation in the practice of medicine. Pointing to the kinds of disagreements amongst dogmatic exponents of medical theories which had so frustrated even the Hippocratic author of *On Ancient Medicine*, it was argued that experience was the only true teacher in medicine. Medical empiricism placed restrictions on the amount of research it was sensible for a doctor to pursue given the futility of theory-building, although anatomical investigation of accident victims remained—as it always had been—a valid way of gathering knowledge.

V

Galen's very importance as anatomist and physiologist makes any detailed treatment here quite impossible, and any summary treatment would be misleading. Best simply to quote Galen's own advice to the intending student of his anatomical and physiological theories, adapted from his work *On the Order of his Own Books*. '...*On Bones, for Beginners*. This is the first part of the course of anatomy;...then...approach the *Anatomical Administrations*. This work teaches the parts revealed in anatomy, their size, position shaping, interrelations, appearance, and similarities with each other. The man who is experienced in the observation of these things through anatomy will then go on to learn about their activities—their natural activities, written about in three books of comment entitled *On the Natural Faculties*. The faculties of the soul, as they are called, are dealt with in several other works, of which *On the Anatomy of the Dead* [lost] comes first, and then two books *On the Anatomy of the Living* [lost], and besides these, two more *On Anatomical Disagreements* [lost]. Next after these come three books *On the Motion of the Abdomen and the Lungs* [lost], two *On the Causes of Respiration*, and four books *On the Voice*. In the same category comes the work *On the Movement of the Muscles*. I have set out my investigations into the "ruling part", and all the other inquiries into physical and psychical activities in a number of books which I wrote *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*. Next comes the specialized work *On the Seed*, and then *On the Anatomy of Hippocrates*. The treatise *On the Usefulness of the Parts* follows on all these.

"The material origins of the generation of all things in existence lie in the four elements, which are naturally mixed completely with one another, and which act on one another. This is proved in the first book of *On [Medical] Names*, and in *On the Elements according to Hippoc-*

rates. I do not cover everything relating to the proof of the elements in this little book, but only those features of it which were used by Hippocrates. For the most complete account of the science of the elements of the body the reader is referred to what I said in book 13 of *On Demonstration* [lost], and in books 5 and 6 of *On the Doctrines of Asclepiades* [lost]... Three books of comments *On Mixtures* follow the work *On the Elements according to Hippocrates*, and after these the treatise *On the Faculties of Simple Drugs*, followed by the treatise *On Compound Drugs*. In the first books the mixtures present in animals are discussed along with the special features of each, and in the third book the discussion is about the mixture of drugs. If you like, whether after two or after three books, you may read about the *Best Constitution of the Body* [lost], *On the Good State of Being*, and *On Anomalous Bad Temperament*, in that order...'

Galen's own work, and his summary of his predecessors' work, played the dominant role in preserving ancient anatomical and physiological knowledge for the Middle Ages and Renaissance. See MEDICINE. JTV

Andocides (c.440–c.390 BC), a member of a distinguished aristocratic family, whose grandfather had been one of the ten Athenian envoys who negotiated the Thirty Years Peace of 446. In 415, shortly before the great expedition to Sicily was due to depart, the Athenians were greatly dismayed one morning to discover that in the night the statues of *Hermes around the city had been mutilated: Hermes being the god of travellers, this act was presumably intended to affect the progress of the expedition, but it was also taken, curiously, as a sign that the democracy itself was in danger. In the subsequent accusations the young Andocides and his associates in a club (*hetaireia*), which was probably suspected of oligarchic tendencies, were named as having shared both in the mutilations of these herms and in the profanation of the Eleusinian mysteries (see DEMETER; ELEUSIS), and were arrested. Andocides, to secure immunity and, as he claimed, to save his father, confessed to a share in the mutilations and gave an account of the whole affair which, though it may have been far from the truth, was readily accepted by the Athenians. This secured his release, but shortly afterwards, when the decree of Isotimides, aimed at him especially, forbade those who had confessed to an act of impiety to enter temples or the *Agora, Andocides preferred to leave the city and began to trade as a merchant, in which role he developed connections all over the Aegean and in Sicily and Italy. In 411, seeking to restore himself to favour at Athens, he provided oars at cost price to the fleet in Samos, and shortly afterwards returned to Athens to plead for the removal of the limita-

tion on his rights. Unfortunately for him, the revolution of the Four Hundred (see ATHENS (HISTORY)) had just installed in power the very class of citizens whom his confession had affected, and he was put into prison and maltreated. Released, perhaps at the fall of the Four Hundred, he returned to his trading, in the course of which he was for a while imprisoned by Evagoras, the king of Cyprus. At some time after the re-establishment of the democracy in 410, he returned to the city to renew his plea (the speech *De reditu* belongs to this occasion) but he was again unsuccessful. Returning finally under the amnesty of 403, he resumed full participation in public life, and in 400 (or 399) successfully defended himself in the *De mysteriis* against an attempt to have him treated as still subject to the decree of Isotimides: the sixth speech of the Lysian corpus (see LYSIAS), *Against Andocides*, was delivered by one of his accusers. In 392/1 he was one of the Athenian envoys sent to Sparta to discuss the making of peace, and on his return in the debate in the assembly he delivered the *De pace* urging acceptance of the proffered terms, which were in fact very similar to those of the King's Peace of 387/386. The Athenians, however, rejected the peace, and Andocides and the other envoys were prosecuted by the young Callistratus. Andocides anticipated condemnation by retiring into exile, and we hear no more of him.

Speeches

In addition to the three speeches mentioned above, there is a fourth speech, *Against Alcibiades*, preserved under his name, which purports to be concerned with an *ostracism in 415; most scholars regard this as a forgery. Fragments of four other speeches are preserved.

Greek and Roman critics discovered in Andocides faults which, according to their canons, were serious; and admittedly the faults are there. He sometimes carries the use of parenthesis to absurd extremes; he cannot keep to one point at a time; his style is so loose that the argument is hard to follow. On the other hand, this inconsequential method of expression is at times effective, giving the impression of an eagerness which outruns premeditated art. He possessed a natural gift of expression, a fine flow of words, and a good narrative style. He was not a professional rhetorician, and if he neglected scholastic rules, it can at least be claimed for him that he was successful on his own unconventional lines. GLC

animals, attitudes to This was the subject of a huge debate among the philosophers. Already in the 6th and 5th cents. BC *Pythagoras and Empedocles had attacked the killing or maltreatment of animals, partly on the grounds that transmigration made us literally akin to

them. But vegetarianism was made difficult by the mutual interconnections between religious sacrifice and meat-eating. Justice was treated as a gift of God to benefit humans, not animals, both by *Hesiod and in the myth ascribed to Protagoras in *Plato's *Protagoras*. Little was conceded by Democritus' extending considerations of criminal justice to dangerous animals.

The decisive step, however, was taken not by the Presocratics, but by *Aristotle, who denied reason and belief to animals. Compensatingly, he allowed them a rich perceptual life, which he carefully disentangled from reliance on reason or belief. In ethics, he surprisingly combined the view that animals can be praised and blamed for their voluntary acts with the view that we owe them no justice, because we have nothing in common, and can conduct a just war against them. Aristotle's successor Theophrastus, disagreed. We are, in an extended sense, akin (*oikeioi*) even in reasonings, and killing non-dangerous animals is unjust.

The Epicureans and Stoics (see EPICURUS; STOICISM) sided with Aristotle in denying reason to animals, and hence justice. Only *Plutarch was to ask 'why not kindness, if not justice?' The Epicurean rationale, clearest in Hermarchus, is that justice is owed only where there is a contract, hence only among rational agents, *pace* Democritus. The Stoics denied that animals, as non-rational, could be treated as belonging (*oikeiōsis*: lit. a welcoming into the household)—and that despite the prevalence of animal pets. Hence justice could not be extended to them. Unlike Aristotle, they denied animals memory, emotion, foresight, intention, and voluntary acts.

From then on, the philosophical debate turned on animal rationality. Animal pain and terror were seldom cited before Porphyry. Pythagoras and Apuleius exploited them only in the case of humans transformed into animals. Outside philosophy, attitudes were sometimes broader. The Athenians punished a man for flaying a ram alive. When *Pompey staged a slaughter of elephants, the public was more concerned for the terrified elephants, the Stoic *Seneca for the loss of human life. The philosophers' praise of animals is sometimes only to downgrade humans (the *Cynics) or glorify the Creator (*Augustine), while vegetarianism was often based merely on ascetic or medical grounds.

The chief defenders of animals, in response to the Stoics, were the Neopythagoreans and certain Platonists. Defences are recorded in Philon *De animalibus* and Origen *Against Celsus*. Plutarch's *Moralia* contains three treatises in defence. But by far the most important work is Porphyry's *On Abstinence from Animal Food*. Of its four books, the first records the case against animals, but forbids meat on ascetic grounds; the second rejects

animal sacrifice; the third claims rationality and justice for animals; the fourth is an anthropology of vegetarian nations. But Porphyry's probable pupil Iamblichus felt it necessary to reinstate sacrifice. To defend this, he reinterpreted Pythagoras' and Plato's belief in transmigration of human souls into animals, the first as excluding sacrificial animals, the second as metaphorical. He denied a rational soul to animals, and his pupil Theodore insisted that human souls could act on animals only by remote control, not by genuine transmigration.

The western Christian tradition was fatefully influenced by Augustine who ignored the pro-animal side of this debate and backed the Stoic ground for killing animals, thus departing from such predecessors as Arnobius and Lactantius, who had allowed animals rationality.

Given the extensive use of animals in antiquity, it would have been as hard to give up killing them as to give up slaves, and one of the justifications offered was that civilization would break down.

See also ANIMALS, KNOWLEDGE ABOUT; ELEPHANTS; SACRIFICE, GREEK; SACRIFICE, ROMAN. RRKS

animals, knowledge about

I

Animals are the mirror of nature, claimed *Epicurus (quoted in Cic. *Fin.* 2. 32), echoing a view widely held in different ways throughout antiquity. But others added that animals mirror culture as well; Greek and Roman writing and thinking about animals was as often ethical as what we might call scientific in character. Hardly surprisingly, the archaeological record provides ample evidence that animals were closely observed by artists, and further evidence for the ancient study of animals comes from early medical observations about the role of animals and animal products in human regimen. Yet the term *zōologia* seems not to occur in any surviving classical work, and the earliest English uses of 'zoology' refer more often than not to the study of the medicinal uses of animal products.

In the Homeric epics, animals exemplify many types of human qualities. Lions are brave, deer are prone to flight, bees swarm like crowds of people, dogs tread the treacherous path between loyalty and servility. (The story of Odysseus' dog, who died of joy on recognizing the scent of his long-lost master, was regarded by the later medical Empiricists as a miracle of diagnosis.) A great many similar examples can be found in the early Greek lyric poets. In the late 7th cent. BC, Semonides of Amorgos wrote a poem comparing animals with different types of women; the only good woman is like a bee, the best of a terrible collection. Specific qualities

retain their associations with specific animals. *Herodotus' story of Arion's rescue from pirates by a dolphin stands at the head of a long line of similar tales about these intelligent and compassionate creatures. Much later, *Plutarch marvelled at the society of ants in their anthills, and in a series of treatises (including the *De solertia animalium*, *De esu carniū*, and *Bruta animalia ratione uti*) considered the problems of whether animals have souls and the capacity for reason, and feeling. (The debate about the minds of animals, the morality of killing them for sport and food, or even using them as beasts of burden, was a lively one.) If Plutarch allowed animals some degree of intellect, the opposing view that animals possessed vitality (*anima*) without rationality (*animus*) was perhaps dominant; thus man and animals were kept apart. The ethical, metaphorical, use of animals to explain the organization of human society reaches its fullest expression in the anecdotal zoology of Aelian, which was composed in the time of Hadrian, in the Aesopic collection of fables, and ultimately in the medieval bestiaries.

Animals were also organized physically. The Romans in particular collected animals from all over the world in zoos and menageries, often preserving monstrous creatures from unnatural births as aids to divination.

Early philosophers of nature were not innocent of these ethical concerns. There was a considerable amount of cross-fertilization between what we might call ethical (or psychological) and 'scientific' zoology; *Aristotle for instance makes frequent observations about the social behaviour of animals in the *Historia animalium*, and throughout the zoological works he cites poets, dramatists, and historians as well as less 'high' literary sources. Yet the question of the physiological origins of animal life was, of course, a central concern for many Presocratic cosmologists, and fragments survive of a number of biological theories. Amongst the earliest surviving accounts is that of Anaximander, who is reported to have claimed that living creatures were generated in moisture, perhaps slime, protected by thorny bark, and that they grew drier and more self-supporting with age. Animals are soon able to sustain themselves, he claimed, but man alone, born initially inside some kind of fish, lacks self-sufficiency and needs prolonged nursing. Anaximander's account is notable for the importance it accords the animal's environment in its development. In Empedocles' theory on the other hand, blood, bones, and flesh arose out of combinations of the elements. They then formed solitary limbs which wandered the earth in search of other parts with which to combine. The evidence for Empedocles refers to monstrous creatures, men with the faces of oxen, and oxen with the faces of men, which lived during the

early stages of the development of man (see ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY; ANTHROPOLOGY).

Early evidence for the systematic study of animal physiology is sparse, and signs of attempts at zoological taxonomy still more so. In one well-known early case, the author of the Hippocratic treatise *On Regimen 2* organizes the (mainly edible) animals which concern him into land, sea, and air creatures (2. 46–8), with further subdivisions on the basis of whether they are wild or domestic (see MEDICINE §4). Medical writers continued to preserve and amplify observations about the dietary and pharmaceutical properties of animals and animal products including hair, urine, and excrement.

Non-medical authors had their own interests. *Plato is particularly associated with the use of a method (variously applied) which involved the progressive division of objects into typical pairs. Setting up patterns based on pairs of opposed *differentiae*, he might divide animals into ‘walking’ or ‘aquatic’, and aquatic in turn into ‘winged’ and ‘water-dwelling’, and so on. It is not at all clear how far Plato developed this way of thinking in the direction of animal taxonomy, and the main Platonic texts (*Soph.* 220a–b, *Plt.* 264d, *Leg.* 823b) offer far from consistent examples of the uses to which division might be put. On the other hand, Aristotle seems to have Plato’s method of division in mind at several points where he is himself apparently dealing with the problems of animal classification (e.g. in *Top.* 6). Plato’s successor as head of the Academy, Speusippus, is credited in a few fragments with having written a work *On Similarities*, in which animals with similar appearances may have been grouped together (see *Ath.* 105b). Speusippus is also credited with some new coinages in which some scholars see signs of taxonomical concerns—the word *malakostraka*, for instance, to describe soft-shelled creatures is particularly associated with him. On balance, however, very little is known about Speusippus, and the motivations behind Plato’s method of division are certainly not linked primarily to zoological taxonomy.

II

The earliest surviving systematic studies of the physical nature of animals are those of Aristotle—many would insist that no one in antiquity after Aristotle rivalled the breadth and depth of his interests. The biological treatises account for well over 20 per cent of the surviving Aristotelian corpus, and lists of Aristotle’s works preserved by Diogenes Laertius and Hesychius suggest that there is much more that has not survived. In spite of the amount of material, there is little agreement today even about the aims of Aristotle’s zoological investigations. It is probably fair to say—though some are reluctant to go even this

far—that he was the first to devise a detailed zoological taxonomy and that this formed an important part of his general study of the *physics of the sublunary sphere. (His pupil Theophrastus carried this work further, applying Aristotelian methods to botany.)

In his famous exhortation to the study of animals (*De partibus animalium* 1. 5), Aristotle speaks of the low status enjoyed by the enterprise—some philosophers, he says, considered the subject-matter trivial or even disagreeable—but he maintains that the study of even the meanest of creatures is worth while if only because the means to discover their beauty, form, and purpose are close at hand. Modern disagreement about the nature of Aristotle’s zoological enterprise is due in part to the difficulty of arranging the relevant treatises in a clear chronological sequence. (In particular, it is very difficult to decide exactly when most of Aristotle’s empirical research was done. Some scholars feel that much must have been done during his stay on the island of Lesbos, in his middle years; others argue that the practical investigation was done late in life, after he had laid the theoretical foundations of his philosophy.) Aristotle himself would have us approach his work on animals as an example of his scientific method in action and in this briefest of summaries it is convenient to follow, albeit cautiously, Aristotle’s own plan.

In the treatises which make up the so-called *Organon* (in particular, the *Posterior Analytics*), Aristotle set out the goals of scientific inquiry. He stressed the importance of firm, logically tested scientific knowledge, and elaborated the deductive apparatus for its achievement. In practice, Aristotle’s method meant that he could begin an investigation into animals, for example, by collecting the relevant material—observations, information from others, along with the results of a preliminary assessment of these data, all of which go to make up what he calls the ‘phenomena’, together with the opinions of earlier authorities. Not all the phenomena are the result of autopsy—Aristotle himself acknowledges debts to all kinds of people, and *Pliny the Elder noted that with the help of *Alexander the Great, Aristotle was able to order thousands of fowlers, fishermen, beekeepers, hunters, and herdsmen to inform him about every creature they encountered (*HN* 8. 44). None the less, Aristotle’s commitment to personal, autoptic research, often through dissection, must not be forgotten.

The results of the first step in Aristotle’s zoological investigation are set out in the *Historia animalium* (‘Researches into Animals’). The range covered is extraordinary—the lives, breeding habits, and structure of some 540 different genera. Modern students of the Life Sciences tend to highlight certain areas of practical

research in which Aristotle was ultimately deemed by modern standards to have been particularly successful. The following (traditional) list is far from complete. (a) Investigations of the developing chick, the classic embryological subject ever since. (b) Detailed descriptions of the habits and development of octopuses and squids. (c) Anatomical accounts of the four-chambered stomach of ruminants, of the complex relations of the ducts, vessels, and organs in the mammalian generative system, and of the mammalian character of porpoises, dolphins, and whales, all unsurpassed until the 17th cent. (d) Accounts of exceptional modes of development of fish, among them a dog-fish (*Mustelus laevis*), the young of which is linked to the womb by a navel cord and placenta much as in a mammal. The accuracy of Aristotle's observations was only confirmed a century ago.

Such a huge amount of raw material needed to be organized in some provisional way; listing the 'differences' between animals, Aristotle arranged his evidence in the *Historia animalium* under preliminary headings. He drew a broad distinction, for example, between bloodless and blooded creatures. Bloodless animals (of which he enumerates around 120 altogether) are of four main types, usually rendered in the following way: cephalopods (*malakia*), crustacea (*malakostraka*), testacea (*ostrakoderma*), and insects (*entoma*). Blooded animals include man, viviparous quadrupeds and cetacea, oviparous quadrupeds and animals without feet, birds, and fish. This is seen in itself as an exercise in taxonomy by many modern scholars, but while taxonomy is certainly implicit throughout the work, Aristotle himself seems quite clear about his own goals. At *Hist. an.* 1. 1–6, he offers a list of very broad genera into which animals can be placed, but does not explain the list, remarking at 1. 6 that his talk of animal genera at this stage in the inquiry is a 'kind of sample of the range of subjects and attributes which we will need to think about. We will go into these problems in detail later on.'

In the *De partibus animalium* ('On the Parts of Animals') problems of division are addressed in detail, as are other theoretical questions about the relative importance of the various causal factors which all need to be understood if an animal's existence is to be properly explained. In general, Aristotle advocates investigating the attributes common to a group of animals, then explaining their existence ultimately in terms of their purpose (the Final Cause). He also includes accounts of the matter from which they come (the Material Cause), the process which led to their generation (the Efficient Cause), and their shape (the Formal Cause). The parts of animals are divided into those whose division yields a part which can be called by the same name as the whole—flesh, hair,

bone, blood, marrow, milk, cartilage, etc.—sometimes called *homoiomeria* or 'uniform' parts (dealt with especially at *Hist. an.* 3. 2–17, and *Part. an.* 2. 1–9), and those whose division yields something with a different name—hands for instance, whose parts cannot be called 'hands', faces, skeletal structures, the internal organs, and so on. These are the *anhomoiomeria* or 'non-uniform' parts, and they are chiefly described and their functions discussed at *Hist. an.* 1. 7–14, 2. 8–12, 3. 1–11, and *Part. an.* 2–4. Concentrating attention exclusively on these characteristics as a prelude to explanation is not enough, and Aristotle criticizes certain of his predecessors for privileging the matter of an animal, and the material aspects of its generation, over its *raison d'être*. Empedocles, for example, is criticized for explaining the articulation of the spine in man by arguing that the foetus is twisted in the womb. Aristotle on the other hand argued that the vertebrae exist because they existed in the father, because they allow movement, and because without them the offspring could not become a man. Aristotelian explanation in zoology is dominated by questions of purpose and function.

Aristotle's licence to study the biological world was bought partially by insisting that the kind of reality which Plato would only allow his perfect Forms exists in the forms of things around us. While the Creator of Plato's physical world strives to copy the Forms with varying degrees of success, Aristotle argued that the good of a particular animal, or part of an animal, is explicable in terms of that animal's contribution to its own survival, or the survival of its species. This does not lead to inflexibility; some things may be necessarily so without any obvious purpose—the colour of one's eyes, the existence of breasts in men, and so on—but Aristotelian teleological explanation can deal even with them as instances of natural necessity. (The discussion of so-called 'inessential characteristics' occupies much of *De generatione animalium* 5).

At the beginning of book two of the *Parts of Animals*, then, Aristotle is able to say, 'I have set forth the parts out of which each of the animals is composed, and their number, in the *Researches into Animals*. Now I must examine the causes by which each animal has the nature it does, leaving aside what was said in the *Researches*.' In the following three books, Aristotle proceeds to develop his classification, and in particular his ideas about how different groups and subgroups can be practically distinguished. The language Aristotle uses to describe these different groups and types varies somewhat. Terms like *genos* ('kind') and *eidōs* (often translated 'species') are to some extent context-relative, even if the Aristotelian species are themselves fixed and unchanging.

Problems related to the origins and means of animal locomotion are investigated in the *De motu animalium* ('On the Movement of Animals') and the *De incessu animalium* ('On the Progression of Animals'). But how does the soul move the body? What is the ultimate source of movement? Aristotle elaborates his ideas about the 'unmoved mover' in many different contexts, but the specific problems raised here lead into the detailed investigation presented in the *De anima* ('On the Soul'). Physiological and psychological problems—the nature of respiration, life and death, dreams, perception, etc.—are investigated in the nine short treatises which make up the *Parva naturalia*.

The temptation to portray Aristotle as a proto-Linnaeus, held back only by his speculative understanding of physiological processes, has proved a very strong one. Others are so keen to resist this temptation that they seek quite different motivations behind the zoology. They argue that Aristotle's central concern in gathering all the biological data is to test practically the theoretical and logical devices he developed in the *Organon*. It seems more reasonable to tread a middle path, which allows a proper appreciation of the striking amount of highly detailed, empirical research of great quality which is preserved in the Aristotelian zoological treatises, whilst also keeping in mind the role of Aristotle's conception of science and scientific method in guiding his eyes.

III

Zoological research of the type pursued by Aristotle seems subsequently to have been pursued with little commitment, although there is evidence to suggest that Diocles of Carystus performed animal dissections. Where botanical research (see BOTANY) often yielded important benefits in areas such as pharmacy, the pure study of animals attracted remarkably few students, and later, non-ethical, work on animals tends either to be practical—for example, in the form of anatomical studies for doctors who were fundamentally concerned with humans but unable to dissect them freely—or related to sport. There survive a number of prose and verse works on hunting, shooting, and *fishing in the style of *Xenophon's *Cynegetica*, or the hexameter poetry of Oppian. There also survives a considerable corpus of veterinary writings in both Greek and Latin.

Pliny's *Natural History* contains the most extensive collection of zoological and botanical material after Aristotle and Theophrastus. In fact, much of it comes ultimately from Aristotle and Theophrastus, although the material is not organized according to the same kinds of principles. Pliny begins his (often anecdotal) account of animals with those that live on land (book 8). First comes

the elephant, a creature which possesses a variety of human characteristics, or qualities that closely resemble them, including language, memory, sense of honour, and piety. Pliny evinces a romantic sympathy for many creatures; he relates the story of a literate elephant who was able to trace in Greek on the sand 'I, the elephant, wrote this' (8. 6). Creatures in the sea form the subject of book 9; birds and insects are dealt with in book 11, which ends with an enumeration of creatures notable for their small size. Animals, for Pliny, have their own worlds, their own societies, their own discoveries, which they make by accident, lacking the *ratio*—power of reasoning—necessary to solve their problems by deliberation. It might reasonably be said that this was the animal world which antiquity handed on to the Middle Ages. JTV

anthologies, Latin Modern usage distinguishes the anthology, consisting of self-contained or detached texts from a specific corpus with little or no intervention by the compiler, from the miscellany, in which an author flits from subject to subject, using other writers to make points, and the epitome, an abridgement of a single work, or works on the same subject, privileging content over style. In antiquity, however, both terminology and concepts are fluid: a great variety of names for works of mixed subject-matter is attested by Aulus *Gellius, *NA* praef. 6–9, though not all these works would nowadays count as either miscellanies or anthologies.

The metaphor of picking flowers from a meadow is widespread, giving rise to the titles *Leimōn* and *Pratum*, used respectively by *Cicero (as *Limon*) and *Suetonius for miscellanies, and *Florida*, used by Apuleius for an anthology of the best passages from his speeches. Republican writers from *Ennius on called their miscellaneous writings *saturae* (see SATIRE); Horace's friend Iulius Florus compiled an anthology of these pieces under the same title, possibly adding some of his own. The Greek loanword *epitome* was used, likewise Latin *breviarium* (not *abbreviatio* till the Middle Ages), but the boundary between anthology and epitome is porous: Justin presents his *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus as a 'small body of flowers' (*breve... florum corpusculum*), and neither leaves his excerpts untouched nor rewrites them wholesale.

Some anthologies began as private collections that might be used in education or shared with friends: Cicero asked *Atticus for whatever he had on the nymph Amalthea, to whom he had built a shrine, and promised to send him 'something from my own writings' once it was ready (*Att.* 1. 16. 18); Calvus sent *Catullus (poem 14) selections from bad poets as a booby-present for Saturnalia; Marcus *Aurelius asked Fronto for excerpts from *Lucretius or Ennius (*M. Ant. Imp.* 4. 1. 3). The extant

collection of speeches and letters from Sallust's *Histories* may be classed as an anthology. There is evidence that *Propertius was anthologized; whether Gellius in *NA* 19.7 was using an anthology of early Latin epigrams is uncertain. A collection of recent poems known as the *Epigrammata Bobiensia* survives (with some later accretions) from the 5th cent. AD.

Collections of authors' *sententiae* were popular: Phaedrus (3. epil. 33–5) has such a line from Ennius imprinted on his memory from childhood. Those from (or attributed to) Publilius Syrus have survived as a Latin counterpart to the Menandrian *Monosticha*.

The anthology was adapted to Christian use in Cyprian's collection of scriptural texts entitled *Testimonia*; in the 5th cent., two anthologies were made of *Augustine's works. In the Middle Ages, the florilegium (a Latin translation of 'anthology') is a well-represented form: it may draw on classical and Christian literature at large, only a few authors, or even a single one; extracts may be verbatim quotations of independent textual value, or brief snippets wrenched out of context and distorted in both wording and sense. Like modern dictionaries of quotations, anthologies might be arranged either by source or by subject.

The so-called *Anthologia Latina* is a modern creation with a modern name sporadically used by editors of poetic selections, but bestowed by Alexander Riese on his edition (continued by other hands, 1869–1926) of all minor Latin poems from manuscripts (mostly themselves anthologies) and inscriptions; it is nowadays confined to the manuscript pieces, many of them late antique (especially from Vandal Africa) but including poems by classical authors and Renaissance forgeries. LAH-S

anthropology It is probably misleading, though not entirely inappropriate, to use this word to describe the ancient study of man and society. Misleading, because anthropology did not really exist as the kind of discrete discipline it is today. What follows here is a very brief summary of some central anthropological themes from antiquity, gathered from a variety of sources and contexts, ethical, scientific, and literary.

The Greeks and Romans developed a range of ideas about their own identity and the identity of others; about the nature of human societies, their history, and organization. It is well known that many Greeks designated non-Greek speakers '*barbarian',—after the Greek verb for 'babble'—and language of course remained an important index of racial and cultural difference. (*Herodotus' *History* introduced many Greeks to foreigners and their customs for the first time: Hdt. 4. 183 notes that the Egyptian Troglodytae 'squeak like bats'; elsewhere,

e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 1050, Hdt. 2. 57, Theoc. *Id.* 15. 87 ff., etc., strange tongues are likened to the language of birds.) Language served equally to differentiate Greek-speaking groups—the various Greek dialects had their own distinctive written as well as spoken forms. But thought was also given by poets, philosophers, doctors, and others to defining what it is to be human (an *anthrōpos*), what separates mankind from animals and gods, men from women, men and women from children, and so on. Amongst many possible examples, one might mention the use of animal similes and metaphors in the Homeric epics (see HOMER) as aids to understanding human behaviour, Semonides' misogynistic poem attributing various animal characteristics to different kinds of women (see ANIMALS, KNOWLEDGE ABOUT), the Hesiodic *Works and Days* (see HESIOD) where man is distinguished from brute beasts through his possession of justice, and medical works concerned with issues such as the physiological difference between male and female, and the validity of using the study of animal physiology and anatomy to illuminate the human body (see ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY; MEDICINE). To develop only the last point, many medical theories were formulated against a background of the assumed inferiority of the female sex. The natural world of *Aristotle—to take just one example—has man as opposed both to woman and mankind firmly placed in the centre; several hundred years later, the Methodist physician Soranus in his *Gynaecology* was still investigating the implications for the study of pathology of his belief that there are diseases specific to *women (see GYNAECOLOGY).

Moreover, there was widespread and sustained interest throughout Graeco-Roman antiquity in explaining the progress and evolution of human—not just Greek—civilization, language, culture, and behaviour. Modern scholars have tended to condense the variety of ancient models of human history into two broad lines of argument. One line is represented most clearly by the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, and argues nostalgically that human society declined from an ancient 'golden age' through other ages of increasing metallic baseness to the present. The 'golden age' type of model is especially common in poetry (both Latin and Greek) from *Pindar to *Juvenal and beyond. The other type of argument has it that civilization gradually progressed through the discovery of technological, political, and linguistic benefits. A fragment of the Presocratic philosopher Xenophanes offers a convenient illustration of this type of position: 'The Gods did not show everything to mortals from the beginning, but through investigation mortals have discovered over time what is better' (DK 21 B 18). On this view, man has some control over his progress.

Two distinct threads have in turn been discerned in this developmental model of human society. One, which has something in common with an influential strain of ancient empiricism, is represented ultimately by *Lucretius (especially book 5 of *On the Nature of the Universe*), *Diodorus Siculus, *Vitruvius, and parts of *Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 7, and its origins are thought by many to lie with Democritus of Abdera. This group tends to the view that accidental discoveries like that of fire, the use of metals, links between diet and health, and so on provided the impetus for most major changes in society. On the second thread, the teleological view is taken that mankind's weakness in the face of a hostile world led to the development of essential means of protection. This 'challenge and response' model is associated with Protagoras (in Plato's dialogue of that name), with *Plato himself (who mapped out the ideal way forward in the *Republic*), *Aristotle, and to some extent the Stoic Posidonius of Apamea.

Behind this apparently straightforward dichotomous summary there lies much that is not at all straightforward. For a start, there was no single, orthodox 'Myth of the Golden Age' in which life for mankind becomes progressively worse with time. (Note, for example, the highly elaborate myth of ages set before the young Socrates at Pl. *Plt.* 269c–d.) Baser metallic ages, even in Hesiod, still have their good points, and Hesiod's golden age is apparently devoid of normal humans altogether—only godlike creatures remote and free from toil and grief (*Op.* 110–20). And the Roman encyclopaedist Aulus Cornelius Celsus held (*On Medicine* 1, proem 1) that in the distant past medicine was only necessary for the treatment of wounds and other injuries because men lived virtuous and moderate lives. Yet the development of medicine, he suggests, has gone a long way towards counteracting the effects of the decline in moral standards.

Generalization, then, is difficult. Certain philosophical models which allow that human society is capable of improvement often insist that this improvement is dependent on men embracing the appropriate philosophical way of life. (This is as true of Epicureans (see EPICURUS) like Lucretius as it is of Plato.) Moreover, it should be added that even those who saw social institutions and the arts constantly progressing had no place for progress on the part of nature herself—say, by suggesting that animal species too might be in a state of constant development. On the contrary, philosophers and natural scientists from Anaximander to *Aristotle and beyond seem to have held that the successful adaptation of animals to their environment was simply the result of one-off changes in their form. See RACE. JTV

Antigonus Gonatas (c.320–239 BC), king of Macedonia (c.277/6–239 BC), son of Demetrius Poliorcetes ('the Besieger') and Phila. (The meaning of his nickname 'Gonatas' is unknown.) He served under his father in Greece in 292, commanded his possessions there from 287, and took the royal title on Demetrius' death in 282, though he failed to gain Macedonia until 277/6. Before then his military ability won widespread recognition, not only in Macedonia, through a major victory near Lysimacheia in 277 over Celts who had overrun Macedonia and Thrace. Cassandrea still resisted him for ten months but his dynastic alliance with Antiochus I, whose sister Phila he married, ended Seleucid competition. Pyrrhus occupied western Macedonia and Thessaly in 274 but his death in 272 removed this threat. In Greece Demetrius' old naval bases—Piraeus, Chalcis, Corinth, and Demetrias—guaranteed Antigonus' influence, and although an alliance led by Athens and Sparta and supported by *Ptolemy II Philadelphus tried to eject the Macedonians (in the 'Chremonidean War' of c.267–261), Athens finally had to capitulate. Subsequently Antigonus, in alliance with Antiochus II, took the offensive in Ptolemy's preserve, the SE Aegean—a naval victory near Cos (perhaps 254) caused a modest spread of Macedonian influence which was reinforced by Antigonus' son Demetrius marrying Antiochus II's sister Stratonice. In Greece Antigonus became notorious for controlling cities by supporting tyrants, a practice which saved garrison troops but provoked serious local opposition, especially in the Peloponnese, where the Achaean Confederacy exploited dissatisfaction to extend its influence, even taking Corinth in 243. Nevertheless Demetrias, Chalcis, and the Piraeus remained Macedonian. In Macedonia Antigonus seems to have aimed at restoring the court tradition of *Philip II. In particular his own intellectual interests, fostered in his youth in southern Greece, led to frequent visits to Pella by historians, poets, and philosophers. The larger cities of the kingdom—at least Amphipolis, Pella, Cassandrea, and Thessalonica—encouraged by the stable conditions, acquired some limited rights of self-government, which were widely recognized before Antigonus' death. Antigonus also helped establish his dynasty by regulating the succession. His son Demetrius played a major part, from the 260s onwards, both in military and civil capacities; some historians even think he used the royal title in Antigonus' last years. Antigonus' long period of rule—37 years—and cautious policies provided a desperately needed consolidation for Macedonia. Characteristic for his later reputation is his reported comment, even if not authentic, that kingship is honourable servitude. RME

Antigonus the One-eyed (Monophthalmos) (c.382–301 BC), Macedonian noble, was prominent under *Philip II and governed Greater Phrygia for *Alexander the Great (334–323). Victorious in three battles over Persian refugees from Issus (332), he remained unchallenged in his satrapy until he fell foul of the regent Perdiccas whom he denounced to Antipater in Macedon (322), unleashing the First Coalition War. For his services he was given command of the campaign against Eumenes of Cardia and the remnants of the Perdiccan factions. In 319 he defeated both groups spectacularly, and Antipater's death, on the heels of his victories, encouraged him in his supremacist ambitions. He supported Cassander against the regent Polyperchon, and took the war against Eumenes (Polyperchon's appointee as royal general) into central Asia. The victory at Gabiene (316) gave him control of territory from the Hindu Kush to the Aegean, but his success brought immediate war with his erstwhile allies: Cassander, *Lysimachus and *Ptolemy I (315). The 'Peace of the Dynasts' (summer 311) briefly ratified the status quo, but it was a dead letter from the first. *Seleucus I invaded Babylon in 311 with Ptolemy's support, provoking full-scale war, and Ptolemy resumed hostilities in 310. Antigonus directed his attention to the Greek world, broadcasting his predilection for freedom and autonomy, and ultimately reactivated the Corinthian League of Philip II as a weapon against Cassander (303/2). Athens welcomed him and his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, with open arms and exaggerated honours (307), and in the following year the two had themselves proclaimed kings (*basileis*). But the achievements belied the propaganda. The invasion of Egypt (306) was abortive, as was Demetrius' year-long siege of *Rhodes (305/4). Finally the coalition of 315 was reformed. At Ipsus (in Phrygia) the combined Antigonid forces were defeated decisively and Antigonus died in battle. His ambitions had been too patent, his resources inadequate to contain the reaction they provoked.

ABB

Antioch (see ◀Map 2, Cc▶), in *Syria, one of the Seleucid royal capitals, on the left bank of the Orontes, some 24 km. (15 mi.) from the sea, was founded in 300 BC by *Seleucus I, in a favourable position between his Anatolian and eastern possessions, on the edge of a large and fertile plain. Seleuceia, at the mouth of the Orontes, became its harbour. The king transferred thither the 5,300 Athenian and Macedonian settlers whom *Antigonus the One-eyed had planted at Antigoneia nearby in 307. His successors enlarged the city. Nothing of Seleucid Antioch survives. It was laid out on a grid plan (see URBANISM) and contained a large Aramaic-speaking, as well as a Jewish, community, whose privileges were said to go

back to Seleucus I. After an interlude of Armenian rule (83–66 BC) it was annexed by *Pompey (64 BC) and became the capital of the province of Syria; it was made an autonomous city by Caesar (47 BC). Having sided with Pescennius Niger, it was in AD 194 degraded by *Septimius Severus, but in 201 restored to its former rank, to which *Caracalla added the title of colony. Antioch administered an extensive territory. With a population of around 250,000, it was the third city of the east, after *Alexandria and Seleuceia on the Tigris, and later Constantinople (see BYZANTIUM). Its wealth was derived above all from its being a centre of civil, military, and later ecclesiastical administration of much of the near east, but also from its position on the commercial road from Asia to the Mediterranean, and the production of wine and olive oil. Rivalry of the patriarchates of Antioch and of Alexandria and the conflicting theologies of the two sees contributed to the Christological controversies, which after the council of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451) resulted in the establishment of separate Nestorian and Monophysite churches, and greatly reduced the influence of the patriarchs of Antioch. In the 6th cent. Antioch was weakened by earthquakes and plague. It was sacked by the Persians (540), and occupied by them 611–28. Deprived of its administrative role after being captured by the Arabs (641), Antioch survived, a smaller but still major city. For Antioch's personification in art, see LIMC 1/1 (1981), 840–51. AHMJ/HS/WL/SS-W/ATLK

Antiochus III (Antiochus the Great) (c.242–187 BC), second son of Seleucus II, king of the *Seleucid empire (222–187). After the assassination of his elder brother, Seleucus III, who was childless, he was called from Babylon to *Antioch to be king. From the outset he faced many problems within the empire: in the east, a rebellion in Media led by the satrap Molon (222), with the support of the satrap of Persis, Alexander (brother of Molon); Molon invaded Babylonia, seized the royal capital, Seleuceia on Tigris, and took the title 'king'. In the west, Achaeus, viceroy of Seleucid Asia Minor, was in revolt and in control of the royal capital of Sardis. The Ptolemies still retained control of Seleuceia-Pieria in north Syria.

Within the next 25 years, Antiochus put down the revolt of Molon (220) (Polyb. 5. 51–4), regained Seleuceia-Pieria in the 'Fourth Syrian War' (219–217), but was defeated by Ptolemy IV at Raphia (217). He re-established control over Sardis (213), and in 212 began his *anabasis* (march up-country) to the 'Upper Satrapies', bringing Commagene and Armenia under direct Seleucid rule; he restored Seleucid suzerainty over *Parthia and *Bactria (210–206), renewed links with the *India of the Mauryas (Polyb. 11. 39. 11–12) and, on his return, mounted a naval

expedition to the Persian Gulf, where the Seleucids controlled the island of *Icaros, and waged a campaign against Gerrha, but in the end agreed a treaty that allowed the former status of the Gerrhaeans as independent to continue (Polyb 13. 9. 4–5). In 205 he took part in the New Year Festival at Babylon (Sachs–Hunger no. -204C: r. 14 ff.). It was as a result of these campaigns that Antiochus was given the epithet *meγas* (Great). In the ‘Fifth Syrian War’ (202–195) Antiochus finally established lasting Seleucid control over southern Syria, Phoenicia, and Judaea. He granted a charter to Jerusalem including the right to keep its own laws (Joseph. *AJ* 12. 138–44). Then (198) Antiochus launched an onslaught against Ptolemaic possessions in Lycia and Caria, which he took over (new inscriptions attest to the disruption and turmoil that this caused to the local populations). He moved thence to Thrace (197/6), where he refounded Lysimachea (Livy, 33. 38; App. *Syr.* 1). The campaign into Thrace, always (since Seleucus I) claimed as Seleucid, brought Antiochus up against the imperialistic Roman republic. In the protracted diplomatic exchange of 196–193, he and the senate were at cross purposes, and finally he invaded Greece. He was defeated by the Romans in two land battles, at Thermopylae in Greece (191) and at Magnesia in Asia Minor (190). He also lost a naval campaign to them.

By the peace of Apamea (188), Antiochus ceded Seleucid satrapies in Anatolia, north of the Taurus to *Pergamum and *Rhodes (Polyb. 21. 46. 9 f; Livy 38. 39. 14 ff.). He still ruled a huge realm, from southern Turkey, through Syria and Palestine to Babylonia, Iran, and central Asia. After his defeat by Rome, Antiochus went to Babylon, where he took part in rituals in temples and was shown (took?) the robes of Nebuchadnezzar (Feb. 187; Sachs–Hunger no. -187A r. 4’–18’), thus emphasizing that he was still ruler of Asia. On campaign to the ‘Upper Satrapies,’ he pillaged the temple of Bel/Zeus in Elymais, and was killed.

Antiochus was married (222) to Laodice, daughter of Mithradates II of Pontus, who bore him four sons, of whom Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV ruled as kings.

His reign was marked by continuous military campaigns to reconsolidate the Seleucid empire. He was also the first Seleucid to have organized, on a satrapal basis, a state *ruler-cult for the king, the *progonoi* (his ancestors) and, by 193, his queen, Laodice. GTG/SS-W/RJvds

Antiphon, of the deme (local district; see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN) of Rhamnus (c.480–411 BC), the first Attic orator whose works were preserved. From a prominent family, he participated in the intellectual movement inspired by the *sophists, taking a particular interest in law and rhetoric; he reportedly taught *Thucydides, among

others. Many (though not all) scholars are now inclined to identify him with Antiphon ‘the Sophist’ (Xen. *Mem.* 1. 6), fragments of whose work *Truth* are concerned with the nature of justice and the relationship between *nomos* (‘law, convention’) and *phusis* (‘nature’).

Thucydides (8. 68) praises Antiphon highly for integrity (*aretē*), intelligence, and power of expression, adding that he stayed in the background himself but made his reputation giving advice to others. He credits Antiphon with planning the oligarchic coup that overturned the democratic constitution of Athens for a few months in 411 BC (for this, the regime of the ‘Four Hundred,’ see ATHENS (HISTORY)). When democracy was restored, most leaders of the coup fled, but Antiphon and Archepolemus remained to stand trial for treason; both were convicted and executed. Antiphon’s speech in his own defence, a small papyrus fragment of which survives, was the finest speech Thucydides knew. When congratulated by Agathon on its brilliance, Antiphon replied that he would rather have satisfied one man of good taste than any number of common people (Arist. *Eud.* 1232^b 7).

Antiphon was apparently the first to compose speeches for other litigants and thus the first to write them down. His clients included well-known political figures and foreign allies of Athens. We have six complete works: three courtroom speeches and three *Tetralogies*. All concern homicide cases, though the fragmentary speeches treat many other issues. The courtroom speeches and the datable fragments come from the last two decades of Antiphon’s life (430–411). In *Against the Stepmother* (1) a young man accuses his stepmother of having employed a servant-woman to poison his father. He may have brought the case from a sense of duty, for he offers a vivid narrative but little evidence. In *The Murder of Herodes* (5) a Mytilenean is accused of murdering Herodes during a sea voyage: Herodes went ashore one stormy night and never returned. He defends his innocence by appeal both to facts and to probabilities (*eikota*), and accuses his opponent of trumping up the charge for political reasons and personal gain. In *On the Chorus Boy* (6) a *chorēgos* (‘chorus-leader,’ i.e. a man who trained and paid for a festival chorus; see TRAGEDY, GREEK §1.4) is accused of the accidental death of a boy who was given a drug to improve his voice. The *chorēgos* argues that he was not even present at the time and that the prosecution is politically motivated.

The *Tetralogies* are probably Antiphon’s earliest works. Their authenticity is disputed, but their arguments concerning probability, causation, and similar issues fit the period and Antiphon’s interests. Using the sophistic method of contrasting arguments (cf. Protagoras’ *Antilogiae*) and displaying a self-conscious virtuosity, the

Tetralogies illustrate methods of argument that could be applied to a wide variety of cases. Each consists of four speeches for hypothetical cases, two on each side. In the *First Tetralogy* (2) a man is murdered and circumstantial evidence points to the accused, who argues that others are more likely (*eikos*) to be the killers. In the *Second Tetralogy* (3) a boy is accidentally killed by a javelin; the defence argues that the boy himself, not the thrower, is guilty of unintentional homicide because he was the cause of his own death by running into the javelin. In the *Third Tetralogy* (4) a man dies after a fight and the accused argues that the victim is to blame because he started it.

Antiphon stands at the beginning of the tradition of literary Attic prose. He is an innovator and experimenter; he is fond of antithesis (in both word and thought), poetic vocabulary, the use of participles, and occasionally extreme asyndeton. In comparison to successors like *Lysias, Antiphon lacks grace of expression, clarity of organization, and the vivid presentation of character, but the force and variety of his arguments may account for his success.

MDG

anti-Semitism (pagan) Modern accounts of hostility to Jews in classical antiquity have often been complicated by a concern to relate pagan anti-Semitism to the anti-Judaism of some early Christians and to the history of anti-Semitism in more recent times. A literary tradition hostile to Jews and Judaism can be traced back to Greek writers in Egypt from the 3rd cent. BC. The social, cultural and political background to anti-Jewish invective cannot always be discerned, but it has been plausibly argued that propaganda aimed at Jews after the attack on the Jerusalem Temple by Antiochus IV Epiphanes and after the destruction of the Temple by Titus in AD 70 will have had a major impact: in the early 2nd cent. AD, Tacitus wrote of the Jews that they 'regard as profane all that we hold sacred; on the other hand, they permit all that we abhor' (*Hist.* 5.4.1). Hostility seems to have been directed to Jewish customs rather than race, so that apostate Jews were not generally taunted with their origins, but the causes of hostility are debated. Some have argued that Jews were disliked just because they were different, but other scholars have focused on local tensions, such as Jewish-Greek conflict in Alexandria in the 1st cent. AD (over Jewish aspirations to Alexandrian citizenship and Greek resentment of Roman protection of the Jews) and the periodic expulsions of Jews from Rome in the same period. The apparent significance of ancient anti-Semitism, compared to hostility to other minority groups, may be exaggerated by the preservation of unusual amounts of material

about Jews in the later Jewish and Christian traditions, and by the emphasis laid on the campaign in Judaea by the Flavian regime, which used celebration of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 to disguise their seizure of power in the civil war of 68–69.

MDG

Antoninus Pius, Roman emperor AD 138–61, born at Lanuvium in Latium in 86, was the son of Titus Aurelius Fulvus (consul 89) and grandson of another Aurelius Fulvus (consul 70 and 85), from Nîmes (Nemausus). His mother Arria Fadilla was daughter of Arrius Antoninus (consul 69 and 97), whose names he bore as well as Boionius from his maternal grandmother: Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus. He married Annia Galeria Faustina, and became consul in 120. Apart from the traditional magistracies, his only posts were those of imperial legate in Italy (an innovation of *Hadrian), in his case in Etruria and Umbria, where he owned land, and proconsul of Asia (135–6).

His links with the Annii Veri, combined with his wealth, popularity, and character, led *Hadrian to choose him as adoptive son and successor on the death of Lucius Aelius Caesar. Given *imperium and the *tribunicia potestas* (powers of a *tribune of the plebs) on 25 February 138, he became Emperor Titus Aelius Aurelius Antoninus Caesar and at Hadrian's wish adopted both the young son of Lucius Aelius (the future Lucius Verus) and his nephew by marriage Marcus Annii Verus (Marcus *Aurelius). His accession at Hadrian's death, 10 July 138, was warmly welcomed by the senate, which overcame its reluctance to deify Hadrian at Antoninus' insistence and named him Pius in acknowledgment of his loyalty. His wife Faustina was named Augusta and his only surviving child, also Annia Galeria Faustina, was betrothed to Marcus Aurelius Caesar, his nephew and elder adoptive son. Pius became consul for a second term and Pater Patriae in 139, consul for a third term in 140 with Marcus Aurelius as colleague, and held one further consulship, in 145, again with Marcus Aurelius, whose marriage to the younger Faustina took place the same year. On the birth of a child to this couple in late 147, Marcus Aurelius received *tribunicia potestas* and Faustina (whose mother had died in 140) became Augusta. The dynastic succession thus clearly established—but, despite Hadrian's intention, the younger adoptive son received neither any powers nor the name Caesar—Antoninus' longevity and steady hand made 'Antonine' a byword for peace and prosperity. This impression is largely influenced by Publius Aelius Aristides' *To Rome*, delivered in 143 or 144, by the portrayal of the tranquil life of the imperial family, entirely confined to Italy, in Fronto's *Letters*, by the



Antoninus Pius A slab from a monumental altar at *Ephesus (shortly after AD 169) shows members of the imperial family—Marcus *Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, the boy Lucius Verus, and *Hadrian—at the *adoption of Verus in AD 138. Adoption ensured unprecedented stability in the imperial succession for much of the 2nd cent. AD. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

impressive tribute to Antoninus in Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*, and by the uniformly favourable attitude of the scanty historical sources.

Hadrian's policies were rapidly changed in some areas: the consular legates for Italy, unpopular with the senate, were abolished, and southern Scotland reconquered by the governor Qunitus Lollius Urbicus, Hadrian's Wall being replaced by the 'wall of Antoninus' between Forth and Clyde. This campaign, for which Antoninus took the acclamation 'Imperator' for the second time in late 142, was the only major war, but Moorish incursions in North Africa were dealt with by sending reinforcements to Mauretania in the 140s, minor campaigns kept the peace in Dacia, a show of force at the beginning of the reign deterred a Parthian invasion, and in the late 150s a minor extension of territory in Upper Germany was marked by the construction of a new 'outer' *limes (frontier). Direction of military policy (and much else) was doubtless left to the guard prefect Marcus Gavius Maximus, who held

office for almost the entire reign. The statement in the SHA (*Ant.* 5. 3) that he kept 'good governors in office for seven or even nine years' seems to be mistaken; the senatorial *cursum honorum* (career path)—and other parts of the imperial system—settled down in a stable pattern, contributing to the emperor's popularity with the upper order. Two conspiracies against him are mentioned in the SHA (*Ant.* 7. 3–4), the second, that of Cornelius Priscianus, 'who disturbed the peace of the province of Spain' being thus referred to in the *fasti Ostienses* for 145, but no further details are known. A highlight of the reign was the celebration of Rome's 900th anniversary in 148, when Antoninus' otherwise thrifty financial policy was relaxed (by a temporary debasement of the silver coinage). He cut down on excess expenditure, although relieving cities affected by natural disasters, and left a surplus of 675 million denarii at his death. In spite of his conservatism and sceptical attitude towards Greek culture, Greeks advanced to the highest positions in his reign (Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, consul 143, being the best-known case); other provincials also rose, not least from Africa, helped by the prominence of Fronto, a native of Cirta. The long, peaceful reign allowed the empire a breathing-space after Trajan's wars and Hadrian's restless travels. Antoninus' last watchword for the guard, 'equanimity', sums up his policy well; but he was angry with 'foreign kings' in his last hours and clouds were looming. He died at Lorium near Rome on 7 March 161 and was deified 'by universal consent'. ARBI

Antony, Mark (Marcus Antonius), Roman statesman and general.

1. The truth of his career and personality has been heavily overlaid by legend, as first hostile propaganda presented him as a villain; then romantic biography turned him into a figure of tragic self-destruction.

2. Eldest son of Marcus Antonius (Creticus), he was born in 83 (or, less likely, 86) BC. His youth was allegedly dissipated. He distinguished himself as cavalry commander under Aulus Gabinius in Palestine and Egypt (57–4), then joined *Caesar in Gaul, where, apart from an interval in Rome (53–2), he remained till the end of 50; in 51 he was quaestor. As tribune in 49 he defended Caesar's interests in the senate, fled to his camp when the 'last decree' (i.e. emergency decree) (*senatus consultum ultimum*) was passed, took part in the fighting in Italy, and was left in charge of Italy during Caesar's Spanish campaign. In 48 he served in Greece and commanded Caesar's left wing at Pharsalus. Caesar then sent him to impose order on Italy as his 'master of the horse' (*magister equitum*) (till late in 47), but he was only partly successful, and he held no further post till 44 when he was Caesar's consular colleague. On 15 February 44 he played

a prominent role in the incident of the Lupercalia, offering a diadem which Caesar refused.

3. After the Ides of March he at first played a delicate game, combining conciliation of the Liberators with intermittent displays of his popular and military support. He acquired and exercised a strong personal dominance, but this was soon threatened by the emergence of Octavian (the future *Augustus), and the two locked in competition for the Caesarian leadership. Octavian deftly acquired support and allies, and by early 43 Antony faced an armed coalition consisting of Decimus Iunius Brutus Albinus, whom he was blockading in Mutina, the consuls Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Vibius Pansa Caetronianus, both moderate Caesarians, and Octavian, backed by the senate's authority and Cicero's eloquence. In April he was compelled by reverses at Forum Gallorum and Mutina to retreat into Gallia Narbonensis. He was however joined there by the governors of the western provinces, Marcus Aemilius *Lepidus, Gaius Asinius Pollio, and Lucius Munatius Plancus, and subsequently reconciled with Octavian.

4. By the *lex Titia* (November 43) Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian were appointed 'triumvirs for the restoration of the state' for five years. The *proscription of their enemies (especially the wealthy) was followed in 42 by the defeat of Cassius and *Brutus at Philippi, which firmly established Antony's reputation as a general. By agreement with Octavian he now undertook the reorganization of the eastern half of the empire; he also received Gaul, strategically vital if there were to be any renewal of fighting in the west. In 41 he met *Cleopatra at Tarsus and spent the following winter with her in Egypt. Their twins Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene were born in 40. The defeat of his brother Lucius Antonius (Pietas) in the Perusine War compelled him to return to Italy early in 40, despite the Parthian invasion of *Syria; but a new agreement was reached at Brundisium whereby Antony surrendered Gaul, which Octavian had already occupied, and married Octavian's sister Octavia. The division of the empire into east and west was becoming more clear-cut. At Misenum in 39 the triumvirs extended their agreement to Sextus Pompeius, after which Antony returned with Octavia to the east. By 38 his lieutenant Publius Ventidius had expelled the Parthians from Syria. In 37, new differences between Antony and Octavian were settled at Tarentum, and the Triumvirate was renewed for another five years; but this time he left Octavia behind when he left for the east, and renewed his association with Cleopatra on a firmer basis. Their third child Ptolemy Philadelphus was born in 36.

5. This liaison had political attractions. Egypt was one of several important kingdoms which Antony strength-

ened and expanded; nor did he grant all that Cleopatra wished, for he refused to take territory from Herod of Judaea, another able and valued supporter. The allegiance of the east was courted by religious propaganda. By 39 he had already presented himself as *Dionysus in Athens, and he and Cleopatra could now be presented as Osiris and Isis (or *Aphrodite; for Osiris and Isis, *see* EGYPTIAN DEITIES), linked in a sacred marriage for the prosperity of Asia (cf. Plut. *Ant.* 26). But in 36 Antony's Parthian expedition ended in a disastrous reverse, while the defeat of Sextus Pompeius and the elimination of Lepidus correspondingly strengthened Octavian. It still seems to have been some time before Antony accepted that a decisive clash with Octavian was inevitable. At first he continued to concentrate on the east, planning a further invasion of Parthia and annexing Armenia in 34: this was marked in *Alexandria by a ceremony (hostile sources regarded it as a sacrilegious version of a Roman *triumph) after which Cleopatra and her children—including Caesarion, whom Antony provocatively declared to be Caesar's acknowledged son—were paraded in national and regal costumes of various countries, just as if they might inherit them dynastically. The *propaganda exchanges with Octavian intensified in 33, then early in 32 Octavian intimidated many of Antony's supporters, including the consuls Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Gaius Sosius, into leaving Rome. Antony divorced Octavia; then Octavian outrageously seized and published Antony's will, in which he allegedly left bequests to his children by Cleopatra and requested burial in Alexandria. Octavian proceeded to extract the annulment of Antony's remaining powers and a declaration of war against Cleopatra: Antony would now seem a traitor if he sided with the national enemy.

6. The spring and summer of 31 saw protracted military engagements in western Greece. Antony's initial numerical superiority was whittled away by *Agrippa's skilful naval attacks, then during the summer Antony was deserted by most of his most influential Roman supporters, including Plancus, Marcus Titius, and Domitius Ahenobarbus: they had allegedly been alienated by Cleopatra's presence. In September 31 Cleopatra and Antony managed to break the blockade at *Actium and escape southwards, but the campaign was decisively lost, and their supporters defected to Octavian in the following months. Antony committed suicide as Octavian entered Alexandria (August 30).

7. For all its romanticism, much of Plutarch's portrayal of Antony carries some conviction—the great general, with unusual powers of leadership and personal charm, destroyed by his own weaknesses. But it is easy to underestimate his political judgement. True, Octavian

won the war of propaganda in Italy, but till a late stage Antony continued to have strong support from the east and from influential Romans (many old republicans preferred him to Octavian). He looked the likely winner until the Actium campaign itself, and it is arguable that military rather than political considerations sealed his downfall. His administrative arrangements in the east were clear-sighted, and most were continued by Augustus.

8. His only literary publication was a pamphlet of c.33, 'On his own Drunkenness', evidently a reply to Octavian's aspersions rather than a tippler's memoir. Specimens of his epistolary style can be seen in *Cicero's correspondence, the thirteenth *Philippic*, and *Suetonius' *Augustus*.

9. Antony was married (1) to Fadia, though this is more likely to have been a careless affair; (2) to his cousin Antonia, daughter of Gaius Antonius 'Hybrida', whom he divorced in 47; (3) in 47 or 46, to Fulvia; (4) in 40, to Octavia. By Antonia he had a daughter Antonia; by Fulvia two sons, Marcus Antonius Antyllus and Iullus Antonius; by Octavia two daughters, Antonia the Elder and Antonia the Younger, through whom he was the ancestor of the emperors *Gaius, *Claudius, and *Nero. His 'marriage' to Cleopatra would not have been seen as such by an Italian audience. CBRP

Aphrodisias (see ◀Map 2, Bb▶) (mod. Geyre in south-western Turkey) was a Carian city, probably established in the 2nd cent. BC as the political centre of 'the Plarasans and Aphrodisians' (Plarasans dropped from the description under *Augustus); site of vigorous prehistoric and Archaic communities honouring a mother-goddess, called *Aphrodite perhaps from the 3rd cent. BC and later identified with Roman Venus. That identification encouraged a special relationship with Rome and with the family of *Caesar; so Aphrodisias resisted *Mithradates VI in 88 BC and the Liberators after Caesar's death, earning privileges which Rome conferred in 39 BC and confirmed up to the late 3rd cent. AD. The wall-circuit, c.3.5 km. (2.2 mi.) long and containing many inscribed blocks reused, a stadium, and columns have always been visible; excavation has now uncovered civic buildings and much sculpture, which is sometimes distinguished and often technically interesting. Intellectual pursuits were prized too—famous Aphrodisians included the novelist Chariton, the philosopher Adrastus and the philosophical commentator Alexander, and, in the late 5th cent. AD, Asclepiodotus. Numerous inscriptions, including an 'archive' of official communications from Rome inscribed on a wall in the theatre, throw important light on Roman history, late antiquity, ancient entertainments, and the Jewish Diaspora.

It was associated with the province of Asia to the mid-3rd cent. AD, then became part, perhaps capital, of Phrygia-Caria, and, under *Diocletian, capital of Caria, from which it derived its modern name. JMR

Aphrodite. Born from the severed genitals of Uranus according to *Hesiod (*Theog.* 188–206), or in the Homeric version (see HOMER) daughter of *Zeus and Dione (*Il.* 5. 370–417), Aphrodite is the the first anthropomorphic female form and she emerges in a mythical context of desire and violence, tension and appeasement, mirroring the ambivalence of her powers: seductive charm, the need to procreate, and a capacity for deception, elements also present in the person of the first woman, Pandora (*Hes. Op.* 60–8). There is no agreement on her historical origins; the Greeks themselves thought of her as coming from the east (*Hdt.* 1. 105, *Paus.* 1. 14. 7), and in literature she is frequently given the name Cypris, 'the Cyprian'. (See CYPRUS.) The double tradition of her birth shows how the Greeks felt Aphrodite to be at the same time Greek and foreign, but also, on the level of mythology, that they perceived her as a powerful goddess whom it would be prudent to place under the authority of Zeus.

Aphrodite's cults extend very widely over the Greek world, though her temples and festivals cannot compete with those of the other great figures of the pantheon. *Cyprus is the home of her most famous cults, for instance at Paphos and Amathus. There, probably in the Archaic period, the name Aphrodite became attached to an indigenous goddess who was also subject to numerous oriental influences. In Greece itself, one or more cults of Aphrodite are known in every region. She was worshipped above all as presiding over sexuality and reproduction—necessary for the continuity of the community. Thus in many cities girls about to be married sacrificed to Aphrodite so that their first sexual experience might be propitious (e.g. *Paus.* 2. 32. 7, 34. 12). This is the particular sphere of Aphrodite, compared with other goddesses involved in marriage like *Hera and *Demeter, a function especially emphasized in the Argolid by the mythological connections between cults of Aphrodite and the story of the Danaids. The close bond which the Greeks felt to exist between human fertility and the fruitfulness of the land lies behind Aphrodite's connections with vegetation and the earth in general: as Melainis at Corinth (*Paus.* 2. 2. 4) and Mantinea (*Paus.* 8. 6. 5) the 'black' Aphrodite shows her power over the 'black earth' as well as her links with the powers of the night. In Athens, Aphrodite *en kêpois*, 'in gardens', was connected with Athena at the Arrhēphoria, a kourtophobic rite concerned with fertility and with the production of children to assure the survival

of the community (Paus. 1. 27. 3). Aphrodite was also worshipped by courtesans and prostitutes. Epithets such as *Hetaira* ('courtesan') and *Porne* ('prostitute') show her as protectress of this profession, whose essential stock-in-trade was seduction. Corinth was particularly well known for the beauty and luxurious living of its prostitutes, who certainly revered the local Aphrodite. All the same, it is unlikely that her sanctuary on Acrocorinth was the location of an institutionalized form of what is usually called 'sacred prostitution'. The only source for such a remarkable practice in a Greek context, *Strabo (8. 6. 21 (378–9 C)), places it in a vague past time, and is surely influenced by the eastern practices with which he was familiar. Herodotus also mentions a similar practice in several parts of the Mediterranean area, and his silence in regard to Corinth should invite caution. See PROSTITUTION, SACRED and SECULAR.

If Aphrodite was worshipped primarily by women, men also took part in her cult, notably in connection with her role as patron of seafaring (Aphrodite Euploia, Pontia, Limenia: e.g. *IG* 2². 2872, Paus. 2. 34. 11). Aphrodite is also concerned with magistrates in their official capacity, acting as the deity of concord and civic harmony. The title *Pandemos*, which is hers conspicuously in Athens (*IG* 2². 659), indicates her protection of the whole citizen body, but she can also be linked with a particular civic office (e.g. as *Stratagis* in Acarnania (*IG* 9². 1. 2. 256), and as *Epistasis* on Thasos (J. Pouilloux, *Thasos* 1, no. 24)). In this context, she is frequently associated with *Hermes*, *Peitho*, and the *Charites*. Thus *Plato's interpretation of the epithets *Urania* and *Pandemos* as indicating respectively exalted and common love (*Symp.* 180^d–181) is completely unfounded. The title *Urania*, 'heavenly', occurs frequently in cult and refers to the power of the goddess who presides over every type of union. It is with this epithet that the name Aphrodite is used as the Greek designation of foreign goddesses, a process found already in *Herodotus and which accelerates with the syncretisms of the Hellenistic period. The title also expresses one of Aphrodite's ambiguities, making her simultaneously 'daughter of Uranus' and 'the goddess who has come from elsewhere'. According to Pausanias, there were several statues showing an armed Aphrodite, particularly at Sparta (3. 15. 10; 3. 23. 1). Here and there, the field of battle is not unfamiliar with the power of Aphrodite, as attested by her relationship with *Ares*, but it would be reductive to see her as 'a war-goddess'. Violent impulse, be it desiring or destructive, is at the heart of her prerogatives and explains the association between the goddess and the world of the warrior.

From *Sappho to *Lucretius, literature celebrates the power of love and the dominion of Aphrodite. *Ares*,

Adonis, *Hermes*, and **Dionysus* are all at various times given as her lovers, as is the mortal *Anchises*. On a cultic level, these gods may be associated with the goddess and each association attests to some aspect of her multifaceted powers. VP-D/AMOT

Apollo, Greek god, son of **Zeus* and *Leto*, brother of **Artemis*, for many 'the most Greek of Greek gods' (W. F. Otto). Among his numerous and diverse functions healing and purification, prophecy, care for young citizens, for poetry, and music are prominent (see Plat. *Cra.* 404d–405e). In iconography, he is always young, beardless, and of harmonious beauty, the ideal *epebe* (see GYMNASIUM) and young athlete; his weapon is the bow, and his tree the laurel.

His name is absent from Linear B (while *Paeon*, his later epiclesis and hymn, appears as *Paiawon* in the pantheon of Mycenaean Cnossus). In *Homer and *Hesiod, his myth and cult are fully developed, and his main centres, **Delos* and **Delphi*, are well known (Delian altar of Apollo, *Od.* 6. 162; Delphic shrine, *Il.* 9. 405 and *Od.* 8. 80; stone of Cronus, *Theog.* 499) though none goes back to the bronze age: Apollo's cult must have been introduced and brought to Panhellenic importance during the Dark Age, although his early presence on Cyprus remains difficult to explain. Epic poetry, where Apollo is prominent, had its decisive share in this development. The key document is the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*; it consists of two aetiological parts, a Delian part which tells the story of Apollo's birth and a perhaps earlier Delphic part about the foundation of the oracular shrine in Delphi; opinions about structure and date vary, though a date in the 7th cent. BC for the Delian, and one slightly later for the Delphic part are also possible.

The origins of Apollo are debated; after earlier theories explaining the god from the sun (following an identification as old as the 5th cent., and adding the linguistic argument that the epiclesis *Lykeios* would derive from the stem *luc-*, as in Latin *lux*), partisans of an Anatolian, esp. Lycian, origin relied upon the same epiclesis and upon his mother's name being Lycian and connected with *lada*, 'earth'; the French excavations in Lycian **Xanthus* proved both assumptions wrong. More promising is the connection with Dor. *apella* 'assembly', i.e. annual reunion of the adult tribesmen which also introduces the young men into the community (W. Burkert, *Rh. Mus.* 1975, 1–21; but see R. S. Beekes, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 2003, 1–21). This explains his widespread role as the divinity responsible for the introduction of young initiated adults into society: he receives the first cut hair at the end of **initiation* (Hes. *Theog.* 347, mentioning Apollo together with *kourai*, 'Girls', i.e. nymphs, and rivers), and



Apollo This Athenian 'white-ground' cup (c.470 BC) depicts Apollo as a handsome youth. The lyre, his favoured instrument, denotes his association with *music, poetry, and, more generally, *education. Delphi Museum / Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Tourism Archaeological Receipts Fund (Law 3028/2002)

his cult has to do with military and athletic training (for Apollo Lycius at Athens, M. Jameson, *Archaiognosia* 1980, 213–35; the 'Wolf-Apollo' has to do with Archaic wolf-warriors) and with the citizen-right of the sons (for Apollo Delphinus, F. Graf, *MH* 1979, 2–22). His cult on the lonely island of Delos, where Leto gave birth after long search, became the religious focus of Archaic Ionia (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 147) at least from the late 8th cent. onwards; before this date, archaeology shows a more regional, Cycladic influence. While a Delian temple of Artemis was present already in the 8th cent. (bronze age origin and continuity are contested), a temple of Apollo was built only in the mid-6th cent.; his cult centred around the famous altar of horns (parallels from Archaic Drerus on Crete, from *Ephesus, and from Boeotian Hyampolis, are now archaeologically attested).

Apollo's interest in music and poetry could derive from the same source, music and poetry having an educational role in Greece (see EDUCATION, GREEK). Apollo's

instrument is the lyre whose well-ordered music is opposed to the ecstatic rhythms of flute and drums which belong to *Dionysus and *Cybele; according to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, he received it from Hermes, its inventor. He is, together with the *Muses, protector of epic singers and cithara-players (*Hes. Theog.* 94); later, he is Musagetes, 'Leader of the Muses', in Pindar (fr. 91c Snell–Maehler) and on Archaic images. When philosophy takes over a similar educational function, he is associated with philosophy, and an anecdote makes him the real father of *Plato.

His own song, the Paean (*paian*; see L. Käppel, *Paian*, 1993), is sung and danced by the young Achaeans after the sacrifice to Apollo when bringing back Chryseis to her father (*Il.* 1. 473): even if not necessarily a healing-song in this passage, it was understood as such later and was accordingly transferred to Asclepius as well. In the *Iliad*, Paieon could still be understood as an independent healing god (5. 401); later, it is an epiclesis of Apollo the

Healer. The Ionian Apollo *iatros* ('Healer') had cult in most Black Sea cities, and as *Medicus* Apollo was taken over by the Romans during a *plague in the 5th cent. (Livy 4. 25. 3, see below). Only the rise of *Asclepius in the 5th and 4th cents. eclipsed this function, though in Epidaurus, where Apollo took over a bronze age hill-sanctuary of Maleatas, Apollo Maleatas preceded Asclepius in official nomenclature until the imperial period. In *Iliad* 1 he is responsible both for sending and for averting the plague. The image of a god sending plague by shooting arrows points to the ancient near east where Reshep 'of the arrow' is the plague-god in bronze age Ugarit/Ras Shamra and on Cyprus; details of iconography point to a transfer from Cyprus to Spartan Amyclae—and in the Archaic Dorian world of Crete and Sparta, the paeian is first attested as an individual poetical genre (Plut. *De mus.* 9. (1134c)); both in *Il.* 1. 473 and in the cultic reality of the Spartan Apollo, paeian and *kouroi* ('young men') are closely connected.

Disease is the consequence of impurity, healing is purification—in myth, this theme later crystallized around Orestes whom Delphic Apollo cleansed of the murder of his mother, and of the concomitant madness. Oracular Apollo (see ORACLES) is often connected with purification and plague; he decreed the Cyrenean purification laws (6th cent., R. Parker, *Miasma* (1983), 332–51) and the setting up of his statue to avert the Athenian plague of 430 BC (Paus. 1. 3. 4, 10. 11. 5). But this is only a small part of the much wider oracular function which Apollo had not only in his shrines at Delphi and the Ptoion on the Greek mainland, and at Branchidae, *Claros, and Gryneum in Asia Minor, but also in his relationship with the Sibyl(s) and other seers like Bacis or Cassandra; while the Sibyls are usually priestesses of Apollo (e.g. Erythrae, *PL* 8. 450, or Cumae, Verg. *Aen.* 6. 77), Cassandra refused Apollo as a lover. Apolline prophecy was usually ecstatic: the Delphic Python was possessed by the god (in NT Greek, *puthōn* is 'ventriloquist'), as were the Sibyls (see Verg. *Aen.* 6. 77–80), Cassandra, young Branchus (Callim. fr. 229 Pf.), and Bacis; and the priest of *Claros attained ecstasy through drinking water (Tac. *Ann.* 2. 54). Apollo's supreme wisdom is beyond human rationality.

In Archaic and Classical Greece, *Delphi was the central oracular shrine (see the quest of Croesus, Hdt. 1. 46). Though his cult had grown out of purely local worship in the 8th cent., myth saw its foundation as a primordial event, expressing it in the theme of dragon-slaying (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 287–374; see J. Trumpf, *Hermes* 1958, 129–57, and J. Fontenrose, *Python* (1959)); alternative myths gave an even longer prehistory to Apollo's taking over and his temple building (C. Sourvinou-Inwood,

'Reading' Greek Culture (1991), 192–216, 217–43). Like isolated Delos, marginal Delphi achieved international political importance in Archaic Greece simply for being marginal. But from his role as a political adviser, Apollo acquired no further political functions—and only a marginally moralistic character.

In Italy, Apollo's arrival in Rome during a plague in 433 BC was due to a recommendation of the Sibylline Books (Livy 4. 25. 3): to avert the plague, a temple of Apollo *Medicus* was vowed and built just outside the *pomerium*, where there had already been an *Apollinar*, presumably an open cult-place of the god (Livy 3. 63. 7, for the year 449). In Etruria, no cult of Apollo is attested, though his name, in the form *Aplu*, is read in mythological representations (with a Greek iconography): the form shows that the name was taken over from Latin *Apollo*, not directly from the Greek (A. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca* (1975), 251). Until the time of Augustus, the temple of Apollo *Medicus* was the only Roman temple of the god, and healing his main function; the Vestals addressed him as 'Apollo *Medice*, Apollo *Paeian*' (Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 17. 15). Mainly in response to Mark *Antony's adoption of Dionysus, and perhaps already stimulated by the victory of Philippi which Caesar's heirs had won in the name of Apollo, Augustus made Apollo his special god (P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988), 48–53). In 31 BC, Augustus vowed a second temple to Apollo in Rome after the battle of Actium, where, from his nearby sanctuary, the god was said to have helped against Mark Antony and Cleopatra; the temple was built and dedicated in 28, close to the house of Augustus on the Palatine, with a magnificent adjoining library. See ORACLES. FG

Apollonius of Rhodes (Apollonius Rhodius), a major literary figure of 3rd-cent. *Alexandria, and poet of the *Argonautica*, the only extant Greek hexameter *epic written between *Homer and the Roman imperial period.

Life

Our main sources are: *POxy.* 1241, a 2nd-cent. AD list of the librarians of the Royal Library at Alexandria; two Lives transmitted with the manuscripts of *Argonautica* which probably contain material deriving from the late 1st cent. BC; an entry in the *Suda*. (1) All four state that Apollonius was from Alexandria itself, though two 2nd-cent. AD notices point rather to Naucratis. The most likely explanation for the title 'Rhodian' is thus that Apollonius spent a period of his life there, which would accord well with what we know of his works (cf. below), though it remains possible that he or his family came from *Rhodes. (2) Apollonius served as librarian and royal

tutor before *Eratosthenes (*POxy.* 1241), and probably in succession to Zenodotus, thus c.270–45. It is to this period that the *Argonautica* should be dated. (3) All four sources make him a pupil of *Callimachus, which probably reflects beliefs about the indebtedness of his poetry to Callimachus (cf. below). (4) The *Lives* give confused and contradictory accounts of withdrawal to Rhodes after a poor reception for his poetry in Alexandria. Nothing of value can be retrieved from these stories, which may well be fictions based on the existence of a text of at least *Argon* 1 which differed significantly from the vulgate (the *proekdosis*, cited six times by the scholia to *Argon* 1). (5) Very flimsy ancient evidence has been used by some scholars to construct a ‘quarrel’ between Apollonius and Callimachus concerning poetic questions, particularly the value and style of epic. The many striking parallels between the works of Callimachus and the *Argonautica*, however, argue against, rather than for, any serious dispute; moreover, Apollonius does not appear in the list (*PSI* 1219) which seeks to identify Callimachus’ opponents, the Telchines, and Roman poets clearly align Apollonius with, rather than against, Callimachus. Two episodes in the *Argonautica* handle the same material as two poems of *Theocritus (*Hylas*, cf. *Id.* 13; *Amycus and Polydeuces*, cf. *Id.* 22), and this offers no reason to doubt the dating derived from other sources.

Lost works

(1) Poems (cf. Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 4–8). *Canobus*: choliambic poem on Egyptian legends. *Foundation Poems* in hexameters on Caunus, Alexandria, Naucratis, Rhodes, and Cnidus; poems of this type reflect the deep Alexandrian interest in local history and cult. Many other lost poems may also be assumed, including probably epigrams (cf. *Ant. Lib. Met.* 23); an extant epigram attacking Callimachus (*Anth. Pal.* 11. 275) is very doubtfully ascribed to Apollonius. (2) Prose Works. Apollonius’ scholarly interests were reflected in many works (cf. R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* 1 (1968) 144–8), including a monograph on Homer (*Against Zenodotus*). *Archilochus and *Hesiod were also among the poets discussed by Apollonius; he defended the authenticity of the *Shield of Heracles* (*hypothesis* (introduction) A to the poem) and probably rejected Hesiodic authorship of the *Ornithomanteia* which was transmitted after *Works and Days* (corrupt scholium to *Op.* 828).

Argonautica

Hexameter epic on the Argonautic legend in four long books totalling 5,835 preserved verses. Fifty-two manuscripts are known, and a large body of papyri attests to the popularity of the poem in later antiquity. It was very

important at Rome, where it was translated by the neoteric Publius Terentius Varro Atacinus, is a major influence on *Catullus 64 and *Virgil’s *Aeneid*, and, with the *Aeneid*, forms the basis of *Valerius Flaccus’ *Argonautica*.

Books 1–2 deal with the outward voyage, to recover the golden fleece, from Iolcus in Thessaly to the Colchian city of Aia at the extreme eastern edge of the Black (Euxine) Sea (in modern Georgia), which is ruled over by Aeëtes, the cruel son of *Helios. The major events of this voyage are a stay at Lemnos where the local women, who have murdered the entire male population, seize the chance for procreation, and Jason sleeps with Queen Hypsipyle (1. 609–910); the loss of *Heracles from the expedition (1. 1153–1357); a boxing-match between Amycus, king of the Bebrycians, and Polydeuces (2. 1–163); meeting with the blind prophet Phineus whom the Argonauts save from the depredations of the Harpies and who, in return, tells them of the voyage ahead (2. 168–530); passage through the Clashing Rocks (*Symplēgades*) which guard the entrance to the Black Sea (2. 531–647); meeting on the island of Ares with the sons of Phrixus, who fled Greece on the golden ram (2. 1030–1230). In Book 3 Jason asks Aeëtes to grant him the fleece; this the king agrees to do on the condition that Jason ploughs an enormous field with fire-breathing bulls, sows it with dragon’s teeth, and slays the armed warriors who rise up from the ground. Jason succeeds in this, because, at the instigation of Jason’s protector Hera, the king’s daughter, Medea, falls in love with the hero and supplies him with a magic salve to protect him and give him superhuman strength. In Book 4 Medea flees to join the Argonauts and secures the fleece for them from the grove where it is guarded by a sleepless dragon. The Argonauts flee via a great river (the Danube) which is pictured as flowing from the Black Sea to the Adriatic; at the Adriatic mouth, Jason and Medea lure her brother, Apsyrtus, who commands the pursuing Colchians, to his death, a crime for which Zeus decides that they must be purified by Medea’s aunt Circe who lives on the west coast of Italy. They reach Circe via rivers (the Po (Padus) and the Rhône) imagined to link NE Italy with the western Mediterranean. From there they sail to Drepane (Corfu), Homer’s Scheria, where Jason and Medea are married, and are then driven to the wastes of Libya where they are again saved by divine intervention. They finally return home by way of Crete, where Medea uses her magic powers to destroy the bronze giant Talos who guards the island.

The central poetic technique of Apollonius is the creative reworking of *Homer. While the Hellenistic poet takes pains to avoid the repetitiveness characteristic of Archaic epic, Homer is the main determinative influence on every aspect of the poem, from the details of language

to large-scale *narrative patterns, material culture, and technology (e.g. sailing) which is broadly ‘Homeric’ (but note ‘Hellenistic’ architectural features at 3. 215 ff.). This is most obvious in set scenes such as the Catalogue of Argonauts (1. 23–233), corresponding to Homer’s Catalogue of Ships, the description of the cloak Jason wears to meet Hypsipyle (1. 721–67), corresponding to the Shield of *Achilles, the meeting of *Hera, *Athena, and *Aphrodite on Olympus at the start of book 3 which finds many fore-runners in Homer, the scenes in the palace of Aeëtes, corresponding to the scenes of the *Odyssey* on Scheria, and the voyage in the western Mediterranean, corresponding to *Odysseus’ adventures on his way home. These scenes function by contrast: the Homeric ‘model’ is the base-text by which what is importantly different in the later poem is highlighted. Individual characters too owe much to Homeric predecessors, while also being markedly different from them: e.g. Jason/Odysseus, Medea/Nausicaa and Circe. After Homer, the two most important literary influences are Pindar’s account of the Argonauts (*Pyth.* 4) and Euripides’ *Medea*; the events of the tragedy are foreshadowed in a number of places in the epic—perhaps most strikingly in the murder of Apsyrtus who goes to his death ‘like a tender child’ (4. 460)—and in one sense the epic shows us that the events of the tragedy were ‘inevitable’, given the earlier history of Jason and Medea.

A fundamental principle of composition for Apollonius is discontinuity, a feature shared with the poetics of Callimachus. The *Argonautica* is constantly experimental. This shows itself, for example, in the organization of the narrative both within books (e.g. book 2 where scenes of action—Amycus, the Harpies—stand in sharp contrast to long passages of ethnography and geography, and book 4 where different Argonauts and Medea take turns to play leading roles) and between books (thus book 3 stands apart as a tightly-knit drama of its own). Apollonius’ principles of characterization have also frequently been misunderstood; the two main sides of Medea’s character—impressionable virgin and dangerous sorceress—are only confusing if viewed from the perspective of that ‘consistency’ which *Aristotle prescribed for dramatic character. Apollonius is rather interested in the similarities and differences between the power of love, the power of persuasion, and the power of drugs, and this interest is explored through the presentation of Medea, whose character is thus a function of the narrative. Jason’s character, on the other hand, brings persuasion and stratagem to the fore (cf. esp. his testing (*peira*) of the crew after the passing of the Clashing Rocks (2. 607–49), and the praise of *muthos* and *mētis* at 3. 182–93). His story is of the familiar type of rite of passage (cf. Orestes, *Theseus, etc.) in which a young man must accomplish a

dangerous set of tasks before assuming his rightful position (in this case a kingship which had been usurped by Pelias); that Jason seems often overwhelmed (*amēchanos*) by the enormity of what he must do and only finally accomplishes it through Medea’s help finds many parallels in related stories, but also marks the difference between his exotic story and that of the Homeric heroes. With the partial exception of some of Odysseus’ adventures, magic and fantasy have little role in Homer, whereas they had always had a prominent position in the Argonautic myth and are very important in the *Argonautica*. Discontinuity is also seen in the divine element of the epic where different Olympian gods—Athena, *Apollo, and Jason’s main protector, Hera—and other minor divinities are all prominent at one time or another.

In common with other Alexandrian poetry, the aetiology of cult and ritual is very important in the *Argonautica*. Apollonius’ scholarly learning, visible also in his detailed manipulation of earlier texts, here emphasizes how the Argonautic voyage is in part a voyage of acculturation establishing Greek tradition. The repeatedly positive evaluation of Greek culture (including cult and ritual) should be connected with the Ptolemaic context of the work; the Ptolemies promoted themselves as the true heirs and champions of Classical Greek culture, and this strain should not be overlooked in the epic. It is even possible that the characters of King Alcinous and Queen Arete owe not a little to *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his sister/wife. Just as Ptolemaic ideas are thus inscribed into prehistory, Apollonius also mixes the temporal levels of his poem in other ways too. One is by emotional authorial ‘intrusions’ (e.g. 1. 616–19, 2. 542–5, 4. 445–9) which strongly differentiate the *Argonautica* from the ‘impersonal’ Homeric poems; these are one manifestation of the strong literary self-consciousness of an epic which is much concerned with displaying the problems of *how* one writes epic poetry. Another is by reflections of Hellenistic science within the mythical material of the poem; Aphrodite bribes her son with a ball which is also a cosmic globe of a kind familiar in Apollonius’ time (3. 131–41), Medea’s suffering reflects contemporary physiological theories (3. 762–3), and Mopsus’ death from snakebite (4. 1502–36) is a very typical mixture of Alexandrian medicine and myth.

The language of Apollonius is based on that of Homer, constantly extended and varied by analogy and new formation, but Apollonius also draws upon the vocabulary of the whole high poetic tradition. Metrically, his hexameter shows similar developments to Callimachus’ and Theocritus’, and dactylic rhythm is more predominant than in Homer. Complex, enjambed sentences and syntactically sophisticated indirect speech reveal the

possibilities open to the poet of written, rather than oral, epic.

The *Argonautica* is a brilliant and disturbing achievement, a poem shot through with intelligence and deep ironies. Its reception at Rome is in stark contrast to its reception by modern critics who have tended to see it as a failed attempt to write like Homer; more recently, however, it has become the subject of serious literary study, and is thus coming into its own. RLHU

Apollonius of Tyana, a Neopythagorean holy man, conceivably the Lucius Pompeius Apollonius of an inscription from *Ephesus (C. P. Jones in Demoen and Praet 2009). According to the only full account, the novelistic (see NOVEL, GREEK) biography of Philostratus, he was born at Tyana in Cappadocia at the beginning of the 1st cent. AD and survived into the reign of *Nerva. He led the life of an ascetic wandering teacher, visited distant lands (including India), advised cities, had life-threatening encounters with *Nero and *Domitian, whose death he simultaneously prophesied (8. 25–6; cf. Cass. Dio 67. 18), and on his own death underwent heavenly assumption. He was the object of posthumous cult attracting the patronage of the Severan emperors; pagan apologists compared him favourably to Jesus. An epigram from Cilicia (SEG 28. 1251; 31. 1320, not before the 3rd cent. AD) describes him as ‘extinguishing the faults of men’. Of his writings there survive letters, some probably genuine, and a fragment of his treatise *On Sacrifices*. HJR/AJSS

Appian of Alexandria, Greek historian. Born in *Alexandria at the end of the 1st cent. AD, he experienced the Jewish rising of AD 116/17, became a Roman citizen, moved to Rome as an advocate and eventually gained, through the influence of his friend Marcus Cornelius Fronto, the *dignitas* of a *procurator under *Antoninus Pius, which enabled him to devote his time to writing a Roman History. After the preface and book 1 on early Rome in the period of the kings, this work is arranged ethnographically, dealing with the individual peoples as Rome conquered them: book 2, Italians; 3, Samnites; 4, Celts; 5, Sicilians; 6, Iberians; 7, *Hannibal; 8, Carthaginians (Libyans and Nomads); 9, Macedonians and Illyrians; 10, Greeks and Ionians; 11, Syrians (Seleucids) and Parthians; and 12, *Mithradates VI; 13–17 treat the Civil Wars; 18–21, the wars in Egypt; 22, the century up to *Trajan; 23, Trajan’s campaigns against Dacians, Jews, and Pontic peoples; and 24, Arabians. A survey of Rome’s military and financial system was apparently not yet written when Appian died in the 160s. The preface, books 6–9, and 11–17 survive complete, apart from 8b on the Nomads and 9a on the Macedonians (of which only fragments exist) as well as

11b on the Parthians (11b was perhaps unfinished at Appian’s death; the textual tradition preserves a Byzantine fake instead); 1–5 are fragmentary, 10 and 18–24 lost.

In order to accommodate a millennium of Roman history in a single work, Appian greatly, but not always successfully, reduced the material he chose from a variety of Greek and Latin authors, among them *Hieronymus of Cardia, *Polybius, and Roman annalists like Gaius Asinius Pollio, *Caesar, and *Augustus. Since some of his valuable sources, especially on the Civil Wars, are otherwise lost, his work gains historical importance for us, even though it does not simply reproduce these sources. Recent research has stressed Appian’s own conscious contribution not only in choosing, reducing, and organizing the material, but also in the independent composition of speeches, in the introduction of episodes from the rhetorical repertoire, and in detailed interference with the sources in view of his avowed aims: a proud citizen of Alexandria, Appian makes events in Egypt the climax of his work; a convinced monarchist, he explains, not always correctly, Roman republican institutions to his Greek audience (papyri show that his work was read in Dura-Europus); a stout conservative, he regards a lack of popular concord, as witnessed in the Civil Wars, as cataclysmic; unusually interested in administration and finance, he preserves more social and economic information than most historiographers; above all, an ardent admirer of Rome, Appian explains her success through reference to the Romans’ good counsel, endurance, patience, moderation, and, especially, overall virtue. KB

aqueducts In a Mediterranean climate, correcting the accidents of rainfall distribution through the management of water-sources transforms *agriculture by extending the growing-season through the dry summer by means of irrigation, allows agglomerations of population beyond the resources of local springs or wells, eases waterlogging through drainage in the wetter zones, and protects against floods caused by violent winter rainfall. The societies of the semi-arid peripheries had long depended on water-strategies such as irrigation drawn from perennial rivers, or the *qanat* (a tunnel for tapping groundwater resources).

Hydraulic engineering was therefore both useful and prestigious. It was quickly adopted by the nascent cities of the Greek world and their leaders: ground-level aqueducts bringing water from extramural springs into Greek cities were at least as old as the 6th cent. BC: notable late-Archaic examples are at Athens, using clay piping (see ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY)), and on *Samos, where the water was channelled by rock-hewn tunnel through the acropolis—a remarkable engineering feat on which Herodotus (3. 60) comments. In the Classical period, an aqueduct system is attested for the refounded city of



Priene, presumably when it was moved to its new site in the 4th cent. BC. Water from springs at a distance of 2 km. (1 ¼ mi.), and above the level of the city, was fed through a terracotta pipe 25 cm. (10 in.) in diameter set in a trench covered with marble slabs and leading to a distribution tank within the city walls.

A more elaborate system was constructed in the 2nd cent. BC by Eumenes II at *Pergamum. A copious spring 25 km. (15½ mi.) (in a direct line) north of the city was brought through an extended pipeline, following the contours. This was constructed in various materials. It led to a basin from which it flowed under pressure through iron pipes (supported by stone blocks at intervals) up to the top of the citadel. The basin is at a height of 386 m. (1,266 ft.) above sea-level: at its lowest point, the pipe crossed a valley at only 175 m. (574 ft.) before rising to the citadel at c.330 m. (1,083 ft.) (Vitruvius (8. 6. 5) says the Greeks call this system a *koilia*). This system may have helped inspire the first important aqueduct at Rome, the aqua Marcia of 144 BC.

The city was, however, already served by two water-leats, for the most part in underground tunnels, called aqua Appia (312 BC) and aqua Anio Vetus (272); both were prestige works like the first generation of public roads, with which they had associations, and in the case of the Anio Vetus drawing to Rome the water of the river Anio from its upper course a considerable distance away. The ease of tunnelling in the volcanic tufa of Rome's neighbourhood had combined with the problems of water management on a relatively wet west-facing coast to create an indigenous tradition of hydraulic engineering in Etruria, where extensive networks of land drains (*cuniculi*) were developed.

A supply of copious clean water was needed for a steadily increasing population. Most aqueducts, moreover (more or less legally), provided some water for irrigation in the market-garden belts in and around city walls, while some were used to turn water-mills (notably at Barbégal near Arles). But the growing popularity of water-intensive services such as *baths and fountains also promoted the development of the aqueduct system, while there was considerable kudos to be gained by such spectacular reworkings of the dispositions of nature. By the imperial period, aqueducts became a widespread status symbol, and the great bridges (like the Pont du Gard on the aqueduct at Nîmes (Nemausus) or that at Segovia in Spain) which are so famous today owe something to the need for visibility and show.

Imperial benefaction created the most ambitious projects. As a sign of Rome's status as world-capital and to

supply their elaborate waterworks Agrippa and Augustus added three aqueducts to its supply (the first after the aqua Tepula of 125 BC), and established an administrative infrastructure for maintaining the system. Aquae Iuliae or Augustae became standard in the repertoire of what favoured cities in Italy might receive: the longest of all was that which conveyed the water of the Serino spring to the cities of Campania. The Claudian aqueducts at Rome, aqua Claudia and Anio Novus, were also on the most ambitious scale, with very long sections on arches to maintain the head of water necessary for access all across the city of Rome. Further additions to the network were made under Trajan and Caracalla (for his baths): we know less about the period after the work of Sextus Iulius Frontinus, our outstandingly detailed description of Rome's aqueducts in about AD 100. Dues were payable for private use of water, but no attempt was made in any city to cover the cost of the system, which always remained a public benefaction. See WATER. RAT/NP

Ara Pacis, a monumental altar erected in the northern Campus Martius near the via Lata (Corso), considered one of the major products of Augustan public art. It was voted in 13 BC by the senate, as *Augustus records in his Testament (see RES GESTAE), to commemorate his safe return from Gaul and Spain; and finished in 9 BC. The altar proper was surrounded by a walled precinct (11.6 × 10.6 m.; 38 × 34¾ ft.) with entrances to east and west, and decorated with sculptured reliefs on two tiers. Internally there were festoons slung from ox-heads above and fluting below; externally the lower frieze was filled with complex acanthus scrolls, above which on the east and west were mythological panels, on the north and south a religious procession showing the imperial family, lictors, priests, magistrates, and representations of the Roman people. Smaller reliefs on the inner altar showing Vestals (see VESTA, VESTALS), priests, sacrificial animals, etc., continue the procession on the outer walls. The event represented by this procession has been much disputed, a *supplicatio* (formal period of public rejoicing) of 13 BC being recently proposed rather than the consecration of the altar itself.

Several of the sculptured slabs were brought to light about 1568, others in 1859 and 1903. In 1937–8 the site was thoroughly explored and the monument reconstructed, with most of its surviving sculptures, between the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Tiber. See SCULPTURE, ROMAN. JD

archaeology, classical (see following page)

aqueducts The Pont du Gard, one of the best-preserved Roman aqueducts, guaranteed the water supply of Nemausus (mod. Nîmes), but also served as a costly statement of civic pride. © labelverte/Fotolia.com

CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

archaeology, classical, properly the study of the whole material culture of ancient Greece and Rome, is often understood in a somewhat narrower sense. Epigraphy, the study of inscriptions on permanent materials, is today more widely seen as a branch of historical rather than of archaeological inquiry; while numismatics, the study of coins (*see* COINAGE), has become a largely independent discipline. The chronological limits are also open to debate. In the case of the Greek world, it has become common to distinguish 'ancient' from 'prehistoric', and to treat the archaeology of early Greece—at any rate down to the late bronze age—as lying outside the scope of classical archaeology. For Italy, the same is true down to a later date, after the beginning of the iron age. There is wider agreement in treating the collapse of pagan civilization as the terminus at the lower end.

No less important than these explicit divisions are the unwritten, yet widely accepted constraints on the range of material culture accepted as appropriate for study. These constraints, which have helped to maintain an intellectual distance between classical and other archaeologies, have privileged the study of works of representational art and monumental architecture as the core, sometimes almost the entirety, of the subject. A second prominent attitude, one which indeed inspired the study of the material remains of antiquity in the first place, has been attention to the surviving ancient texts, with the aim of matching them with material discoveries. These assumptions can be traced back to the earliest stages of the history of the discipline; topographical exploration, which also began very early, understandably shared the same deference to the texts. The collection of works of art, a prerogative of wealth rather than of learning, helped to confer on the subject in its early years a social prestige at least as prominent as its intellectual. From Renaissance times in Italy and France, from the early 17th cent. in England, and from somewhat later in other parts of northern Europe and North America, these forces propelled the subject forward. Such excavation as took place before the mid-19th cent. was usually explicitly directed towards the recovery of works of art, with the textual evidence serving as a guide or, where it was not directly applicable, as a kind of arbiter. Once the volume of available finds reached a certain critical mass, a further motive came into play: that of providing models for the better training of artists and architects.

Textual evidence, collectors' preference, and the frequency of recovery combined to make *sculpture pre-eminent among the visual arts. It has retained this place even when the reaction against classicism has deprived it of virtually any bearing on contemporary artistic practice. From 1500 on, the finds from Rome and other Italian sites furnished an increasingly rich body of material. To J. J. Winckelmann (1717–68) belongs the credit for first attempting a systematic organization of this evidence, the limitations of whose range were hardly yet suspected. Only in the opening years of the 19th cent., with the transport of the Parthenon, Bassae, and Aegina sculptures to London and to Munich, did even the learned world begin to glimpse the true range of classical sculpture. From then on, leadership in this field passed to Germany: art history played a prominent part in university education there, and a German Institute in Rome was established as early as 1829. Over the next hundred years, the rate of new discoveries was on its own enough to maintain the vitality of this branch of study, with Adolf Furtwängler (1853–1907) as its most distinguished exponent. A period of consolidation then kept it alive until a series of new finds, some of them from underwater exploration, brought about a further revival of interest in the late 20th cent. (*see* ARCHAEOLOGY, UNDERWATER).

With classical *painting, the natural starting-point was the rich series of murals excavated at *Herculaneum, *Pompeii, and other sites from the Vesuvian destruction of AD 79, in the years from 1739 on. Some reflection of lost Greek masterpieces was recognized in these, but in this case there was no salvation to come from the later recovery of the originals. Instead, attention was diverted to Greek painted vases which (though not yet recognized as Greek) had begun to appear in numbers in Italian graves in the 1720s (*see* POTTERY, GREEK). Then, later in the same century, the foundations were laid for a branch of classical archaeology which, for the first time, owed almost nothing to the surviving textual evidence. Interest was at first directed to the interpretation of the figured scenes on the vases. Late in the 19th cent., there was a shift to the increasingly detailed study of classification, chronology, and, above all, attribution of the works to individual artists. This phase, with which the name of Sir John Beazley (1885–1970) is inseparably associated, lasted for three generations and absorbed the energies of some of the most distinguished figures in the history of the discipline. With Beazley's death, the unique authority of his attributions was no longer available and there was a marked reversion to the study of the content of the scenes (*see* IMAGERY). Two other strong directions in recent

ceramic studies have been laboratory work on the composition of the clay and the closer investigation of the contexts in which the vessels were made, used, and exchanged. Meanwhile Roman wall-painting and *mosaic came to be increasingly treated as manifestations of Roman culture in its own right, rather than as reflections of lost Greek work. The interaction of such art with its architectural setting has become a particular object of research. The study of classical *architecture itself, a central pillar of the discipline during its formative, 'instructional' period, has become a progressively more specialized field, with a largely separate group of practitioners.

The modern history of fieldwork in the Greek world—that is, its redirection towards the goal of recovery of the entire range of the preserved material culture—began with the adoption of a more systematic strategy in the excavation of Pompeii from 1860 on, and received its greatest single stimulus from the discoveries of Schliemann at *Troy, Mycenae, and Tiryns in the 1870s and 1880s. The revelation that the soil could still hold secrets on the scale of whole civilizations—those of the bronze age Aegean—whose existence had not previously been suspected, acted as a spur to many other large-scale projects. In Greece, these have primarily been directed at the great sanctuaries, with the German expedition to *Olympia (1875–) giving a notable lead, followed by the Greek excavations on the Athenian Acropolis (1882– ; see ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY)), the French missions to *Delphi (1892–) and *Delos (1904–), and a number of others. Large areas of major settlement-sites have also been excavated, notably by the Americans at Corinth (1896–), Olynthus (1928–38), and the *Agora of Athens (1931–). Many of these projects are still in progress, adding vastly to knowledge and providing a training-ground for future practitioners. In Italy, the work has had a broader focus throughout, inspired perhaps by the continuing success of work at the Vesuvian sites. The greatest single focus of interest has naturally been Rome itself, where the discoveries cover almost every aspect of ancient urban life and span a chronological range of many centuries. By far the most extensive field of activity, however, involving intensive work in at least thirty modern countries, has been the archaeology of the Roman empire. While continental Europeans integrated this work into the study of classical antiquity of the historical period, English-speaking archaeologists were



archaeology, classical The first 'excavations' (1811/12) at the Apollo-temple, Bassae (Arcadia), rediscovered and removed its sculptures. The recovery of fine architecture and artworks for long remained the chief concern of classical archaeology in Greece. Photo: Walter Hege, DAI Athens, neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-Hege 2143. All rights reserved

quick to turn to the possibilities opened up in the field of Aegean prehistory, in the Cyclades and, after Evans's sensational discoveries at Knossos, in Crete (see MINOAN CIVILIZATION). Thus, within the space of a couple of generations, classical archaeology came to adopt an entirely new role as an instrument of general historical inquiry.

The most prominent recent innovation in fieldwork has been the introduction of intensive surface survey, first in central and southern Italy, then in the Aegean area and certain provinces of the Roman empire. This technique involves the systematic searching of a tract of landscape, without discrimination in favour of 'likely' locations, to find traces of the pattern of past settlement and activity, sometimes of a specific period but more often of all periods. In contrast with excavation, it is directed at the acquisition of regional knowledge, especially for the rural sector. In all these activities, the use of scientific techniques—for determining the provenance of manufactured objects, for the fuller classification of organic matter, for detection of buried features, and especially for dating—has become increasingly common. In the last-named field, the most striking progress has been made by dendrochronology which, by building up a sequence from a series of trees extending backwards in time, makes it possible to offer absolute dates for tree-rings in structural timbers and other large wooden objects.

Classical archaeology is probably the fastest-changing branch of Classical Studies. One symptom of this is that it is no longer possible to secure universal assent to any definition of its role, either within the study of the Classics or within world archaeology. But pluralism, at least in this case, is a sign of vitality. AMS

archaeology, underwater The potential richness of the sea for salvage or accidental finding of sunken valuables was recognized from earliest times, but the possibility of defining meaningful groups of wrecked material or of interpreting submerged sites scarcely predates the widespread adoption of underwater breathing-apparatus in the 20th cent. Standard apparatus, supplied with compressed air from the surface, as used by sponge divers, enabled the discovery and partial excavation of rich 1st-cent. BC cargoes at Antikythera (1900–1) and Mahdia (1908–13), but the unwieldy equipment, reliance on untrained working divers, and exclusion of archaeological direction from involvement under water remained serious limitations on progress. Self-contained breathing-apparatus (the aqualung) came into widespread use after 1945, and resulted in the growth of diving for sport and pleasure; many ancient wrecks were discovered, especially in southern France, and the importance of this resource was recognized by F. Benoit. However, he did not direct operations under water, and his main underwater project, the excavation at the islet of Le Grand Congloué (1952–7), has subsequently been shown to have confused two superimposed Roman wrecks. *In situ* recording and interpretation were developed especially by P. Tailliez at the Roman wreck of Le Titan, southern France (1957), but the combination of these techniques with archaeological project-design and report-preparation did not mature until the establishment of a French national underwater archaeological service in 1967, which, beginning with A. Tchernia (1967–70), has developed both field techniques and also regular publications. In Italy, N. Lamboglia recognized the value of wreck sites in the 1940s, and estab-

lished an underwater archaeological institute which carried out important excavations, e.g. at Albenga, though until recent years there remained a gap between the archaeological director (who dived only in an observation bell) and the excavation team of technicians. Meanwhile, British and American field-archaeology traditions resulted in the impact of H. Frost and P. Throckmorton on underwater sites, especially in the emphasis on methodical observation and recording before any excavation; this found expression in the successful Cape Gelidonya project (Lycia) led by G. F. Bass, which finally established underwater archaeology as a respectable, worthwhile branch of the discipline. Subsequently, work on shipwrecks has developed successfully not only under the aegis of foreign expeditions, notably those of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, but also through the growth of national and university institutes in Israel, Greece, Italy, France, Spain, and Croatia. Important developments have included the integration of excavation, post-excavation, conservation and reconstruction of wrecks (notably at Kyrenia, Cyprus), and the development of remote sensing and of remotely operated or piloted submersibles for survey below the effective free-diving limit (50–70 m.; 160–230 ft.). Meanwhile, the study of sea-level change and submerged settlement sites, notably by N. C. Flemming, has emphasized the significant information which can be recovered from underwater sites (e.g. the plan of the bronze age settlement on the isle of Elaphonisos, off SE Peloponnese), and the importance of underwater investigation for understanding ancient harbours, not least Caesarea (by A. Raban). See 'RIACE WARRIORS'. AJP



archaeology, underwater Excavation of a bronze-age merchantman wrecked off the S. coast of Turkey (Uluburun) c.1350 BC. A floating treasury of metals, minerals, and exotic products, it is one of over 1,000 shipwreck sites known from the Mediterranean, and is the earliest ship to be found in the open sea. © Institute of Nautical Archaeology

Archilochus Greek iambic and elegiac poet, from Paros. He mentioned Gyges, who died c.652 BC (fr. 19), and a total solar eclipse which was almost certainly that of 6 April 648 (fr. 122); a memorial to his friend Glaucus, son of Leptines (fr. 131), in late 7th-cent. lettering, has been found on Thasos, where Archilochus spent part of his life (*SEG* 14. 565). His poetry was concerned with his personal affairs and with contemporary public events—politics, shipwrecks, war, etc. Its tone varied widely, from grave to gay, from pleasantly bantering to bitter. Archilochus was famous throughout antiquity for the stinging wit with which he lashed his enemies and sometimes his friends, and for what appeared to be carefree admissions of outrageous conduct such as fleeing from battle and abandoning his shield (fr. 5), or compromising young ladies. He repeatedly attacked one Lycambes, who had (or so the ancients understood) betrothed his daughter Neobule to Archilochus but later revoked the agreement. The vengeful poet then produced a series of poems in which he recounted in the most explicit detail the sexual experiences that he and others had enjoyed with both Neobule and her sister. This (so the legend goes) induced Lycambes and his daughters to hang themselves for shame. We have several fragments from sexual narratives (e.g. frs. 30–48). However, in the ‘Cologne Epode’ discovered in 1974 (fr. 196a) Neobule is represented as available for Archilochus but he dismisses her as overblown and promiscuous, while gently seducing the younger sister. The whole business has to be considered against the background of the Ionian *iambos* and its conventions of bawdy narrative and abuse of individuals.

The ancients arranged Archilochus’ work in four sections: Elegiacs, (iambic) Trimeters, (trochaic) Tetrameters, and Epodes, with a couple of inauthentic pieces (frs. 322–4) tagged on at the end. Most celebrated were the Epodes, songs in simple strophes usually made up of a hexameter or iambic trimeter plus one or two shorter cola. Most famous of all was the first Epode, in which Archilochus remonstrated with Lycambes using the fable of the fox and the eagle (frs. 172–81). He used an animal fable in at least one other Epode (frs. 185–7). The lubricious material is concentrated in the Trimeters, though they also contained some serious pieces. The Tetrameters and Elegiacs were also of mixed character, but Archilochus clearly favoured tetrameters for elevated subjects such as accounts of battles (e.g. frs. 94, 98) and warnings of political dangers (frs. 105–6). Several of the elegiac fragments (8–13) lament men drowned at sea. One (*POxy.* 4708) related an episode from heroic legend, probably as an example.

MLW

architecture (*see facing page*)

archives

Greek

(*ta dêmosia grammata* and variations; *archeion* is mainly Hellenistic). In Archaic Greece, documentation was minimal, laws being the most important public documents; lists of officials and agonistic victors (*see GAMES*) were evidently recorded (and later published), but the public inscriptions themselves were probably the ‘stone archives’ (*see RECORDS AND RECORD-KEEPING, ATTITUDES TO*). Temples were safe deposits from early on (e.g. Heraclitus deposited in a temple a copy of his own book), and might contain public inscriptions: hence they often came to house the archives of the city: e.g. the Athenian Metroon, also a shrine; archives of 2nd-cent BC Paros. Documents were also kept separately by the officials concerned, or in their offices (on wooden tablets (*pinakes*), or whitened boards (*leukōmata*), or papyri), e.g. the Athenian cavalry archive, the records of the *polētai* (Athenian officials who sold or leased state property) (*Ath. pol.* 47–8), and there was little centralization. Athens acquired a central archive, the Metroon, in the late 5th cent. BC; manned by slaves, this housed official documents of the Council (*boulē*) and assembly (*ekklēsia*), i.e. mainly decrees, some foreign letters, and treaties with other cities (previously kept in the Council chamber or *bouleuterion* or on stone); the laws were probably not kept there until the late 4th cent., nor were private documents like *Epicurus’ will. Even after the creation of the Metroon, public inscriptions are regarded as authoritative texts. There is a general increase in documentation and hence of archive use from the 4th cent., though the extent and sophistication of archives in Egypt must be exceptional (cf. the piecemeal organization in 2nd-cent. Paros, *Chiron* 1983, 283 ff.). Public archives are increasingly used, and sometimes compulsory (*Arist. Pol.* 1321b), for private documents (contracts etc.) in the Hellenistic period. The registration of property and documentation of other transactions is particularly elaborate in Ptolemaic and Roman *Egypt.

Roman

(*tabularia*, from *tabulae* as ‘records’). Rome’s early records were rudimentary: lists of magistrates (*fasti*), copies of treaties, and priestly records, which were not systematically organized till the late 4th cent. The main archive was the *aerarium*, in the temple of Saturn, established in the early republic and supervised by urban quaestors. It contained copies of laws and decrees of the senate (*senatus consulta*), which were not valid until properly deposited (*Suet. Aug.* 94; *Plut. Cat. Min.* 16–18); also *acta senatus* (later), public contracts, records of

[*continued on p. 70*]

ARCHITECTURE

architecture

Greek

The forms of Greek architecture evolved essentially in the 7th and 6th cent. BC. After the collapse of *Mycenaean civilization, construction methods relapsed into the simplest forms of mud-brick and timber, mostly in small hut structures, the main exception being the great 10th-cent. apsidal building at *Lefkandi, over 45 m. (150 ft.) in length and flanked by wooden posts, supporting a thatched roof, a form echoed also in early structures at Thermum.

The development of the Archaic period centred on temples, which in terms of size and expense always constituted the most important building type in the Greek world. Some of the earliest examples such as the little temple of c.750 BC at Perachora retained the apsidal form, while one at Eretria (the early temple of *Apollo Daphnephoros) was curvilinear. This soon gives way to the rectangular cella, in major buildings entered by a porch at one end, balanced by a similar but false porch at the back (west Greek temples omit this in favour of an adytum, an internal room at the back of the cella) and surrounded by a colonnade. Such temples of the first part of the 7th cent. BC as that to Poseidon at Isthmia, and to *Hera at the Argive and Samian Heraia were, like Lefkandi, 'hundred-footers' (*hekatompeda*), with steps and footings of cut stone, possibly with wooden columns (at Isthmia the walls imitated timber-reinforced mud-brick but were constructed entirely in limestone; here the existence of external wooden columns is doubted). It is assumed these were already anticipating the forms of the Classical orders of architecture though there is no material proof of this.

Construction in stone, employing the Doric or Ionic orders, developed in the late 7th cent. BC, when the Greeks began to have direct experience of Egypt, learning the methods of quarrying and working stone. The architectural form of temples built early in the 6th cent. BC, the temples of *Artemis at Corcyra (Doric), and the House of the Naxians on *Delos—probably a temple of Apollo—(Ionic), shows that the arrangements and details of the orders were established by then, and in the case of Doric seemingly imitating forms evolved for wooden construction. Thereafter architecture as applied to temples is a matter of refinement and improvement, rather than radical development and change. Ionic architects (especially in the Cyclades) were already using marble in the early 6th cent. Limestone remained the normal material in the Peloponnese, even for major temples such as that of *Zeus at *Olympia (c.470 BC), and in the temples of Sicily and Italy, but the opening of the quarries of Pentelicon in the late 6th cent. led to the splendid series of Athenian marble temples of the 5th cent.

Refinement concentrated on detail: the balance of proportions in all parts of the structure, in the precise form of column, capital, entablature, and above all the decorative mouldings. Colour was also used, now generally lost from temples and other normal buildings but well preserved on the façades and interiors of the built Macedonian vaulted tombs of the 4th cent. and later (such as the royal tombs at Vergina; see AEGAE). Here the façades, which imitate temple and related architectural forms, have their painted decoration perfectly preserved because they were buried immediately after the decoration was added. The colours are harsh, positive blues and reds, with some patterning in contrasting yellow and gold. Refinement of architectural form involves the use of subtle curves rather than straight lines for the profiles of the columns: these evolve from the cruder curvature of early Doric, perhaps itself derived from the naturalistic curvature of Egyptian plant-form columns, and curvature of the temple base or crepis carried up to the entablature may be intended to correct optical illusion, as also the slight inward inclination of columns. Ionic buildings always used slender columns; Doric, very massive at first, becomes more slender—though the continued refinement into the Hellenistic period suggests that the 5th-cent. marble forms of Periclean Athens were not recognized as ideal and Ictinus' interest in the mathematical relationship of various parts, particularly the ratio $2^2:3^2$, demonstrated in the Parthenon, is not generally imitated.

The procedures of design employed by architects are uncertain. Scale plans are known in Egypt, but their use in Greece was probably restricted by lack of drawing material and the limitations of the Greek numerical system, particularly for fractions. Procedures were more likely based on experience and tradition, details of layout being worked out *in situ*. 'Examples' (*paradeigmata*), probably full-scale, of detailed elements would be supplied to the quarries and craftsmen as necessary. Structural systems were simple, based on the principle of post and beam, and

dimensions were restricted by the size of available timber beams, generally not more than 12 m. (39 ft.); more complex woodworking systems may have been used in Macedon, where the palace at Vergina has rooms with a free span of more than 16 m. (52½ ft.). Macedon also developed the vault in the 4th cent. BC but this was not utilized generally in Greek architecture except for the Macedonian tombs and, in Hellenistic times, for gateways in fortifications. In temple architecture there is no complexity of plan, apart from the totally exceptional Erechtheum at Athens.

Other building forms evolve more slowly, and are always influenced by concepts employed in temples. Usually they are less lavish, and economy in construction is an important factor. Colonnades, which had developed largely as a decorative or prestige factor, could be employed extensively in more utilitarian structures, either as free-standing buildings (stoas) or extended round courtyards, both providing scope for adding rooms behind the resulting portico, which could be put to a variety of purposes. As a result, a new principle of architectural design emerges. Temples were essentially free-standing buildings, viewed from the surrounding space. Buildings based on the courtyard principle, which by the 6th cent. had been adapted as the normal arrangement for Greek *houses, were intended to be seen from within, from the space they surrounded. These developments are seen in more progressive places, such as Athens in the 5th cent. BC, particularly in the buildings surrounding the Agora. Theatre structures (see THEATRES (GREEK AND ROMAN), STRUCTURE) were still relatively undeveloped, and the theatre at Athens did not attain architectural form until the construction of the stone-seated auditorium in the second half of the 4th cent. Buildings might now be more complex in plan, though simple rectangles, or rectangular courtyards, were still preferred, with single roof levels. Curvilinear forms are rare, restricted to a few circular buildings (such as the tholos, and the curvilinear auditorium of theatres). Some complex plans exist, such as the Propylaea to the Athenian acropolis (436–432 BC), or the near contemporary Erechtheum, but even here it can be seen that the architect is constrained to think in terms of the juxtaposition of rectangular blocks, though using different roof levels, rather than a fully integrated overall design.

It is the Hellenistic age which sees the widest application of Greek architectural forms, with developed arrangements, based on courtyard principles, for exercise grounds and planned agoras. Much structure remained in mud-brick and timber, but there was now more application of stone construction, with columns, to buildings other than temples. Here the simpler Doric order was generally preferred to Ionic. There are some distinctive regional or local developments such as the tall tenement houses of *Alexandria, of which some footings, in regular ashlar blocks, have been discovered. In *Pergamum idiosyncratic architectural forms evolve, employing the local stone, trachyte, not generally used in Greek architecture; but more significant here are the variations in traditional styles, such as the introduction of a palm-leaf capital, and walls formed from inner and outer skins of squared stone with rubble packing, as well as variations in the details of the conventional orders. In the Hellenistic period generally there is some impact of non-Greek architectural form; and although in Ptolemaic Egypt there is a distinctive separation between the Greek form and the continuation of an Egyptian tradition, the development of the more ornate Corinthian order, in the Seleucid kingdom particularly, may well reflect the influence of a local taste derived from earlier architectural usage.

The establishment of Roman authority over the former Hellenistic kingdoms did not lead to any abrupt change in forms of architecture. The troubled years of the early 1st cent. BC must have imposed something of a moratorium on building; but with the establishment of the Augustan Principate conditions favourable to construction returned. (There was something of a false dawn under *Caesar.) Buildings in Athens are either developed from Hellenistic prototypes (the Odeum of Agrippa) or conceived as Classical derivatives (the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis, based on the details of the Erechtheum). In Asia Minor the distinctive pulvinated masonry style of the 2nd cent. BC continues into the 1st cent. AD. Many of the public buildings of Ephesus were reconstructed in the 1st cent. AD in Hellenistic form. Temples in the Greek areas were normally built with a stepped crepis (though they may well employ the Corinthian order); only 'official' Roman buildings such as the temple of Trajan at Pergamum are based on podia with steps only at the front. In the 2nd cent. this gives way to a more universal Roman style, ornately decorated, habitually using column shafts of smooth, coloured marbles and other stones. Even so, the construction did not employ Roman concrete techniques, though mortared work, and brickwork, occur more regularly. See ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY); URBANISM.

Roman

Roman architecture represents the fusion of traditional Greek elements, notably the trabeated orders, with an innovative approach to structural problems resulting in the extensive exploitation of the arch and vault, the evolution of a new building material, concrete, and, probably, the development of the roof truss. While the orders remained synonymous with the Greek-inspired architecture of temples and porticoes, it was the structural experiments which facilitated the creation of new building types in response to the different political, social, and economic conditions of Rome's expanding empire.

The importance of the orders reflects the early pre-eminence of temple architecture in central Italy, where the Tuscan order evolved probably under the inspiration of Archaic Greek Doric. By the 2nd cent. BC distinctive Italian forms of Ionic and Corinthian were also in widespread use beside more purely Hellenistic Greek forms. The fully Roman form of Corinthian, distinguished by the scroll-shaped modillions of the cornice, probably of Alexandrian origin, emerged as a concomitant to the growing use of marble in public building during the Augustan age. Among the numerous variants on the Corinthian capital, the most successful was the Composite, combining the acanthus-clad bell of the Corinthian with the diagonal volutes of the Italic Ionic. A purely decorative use of the orders, incorporating many features later to be associated with the Italian 'baroque', was particularly common in the 2nd and 3rd cents. AD, gaining impetus from the increasing availability of various precious marbles. Monumental columnar façades, two to three storeys high, decorated theatre stages throughout the empire, and the device was also employed in the eastern empire and at Rome for public fountains, *libraries, and large bath-buildings (*see* BATHS). Colonnaded streets also became popular.

New building types evolved in the 3rd and 2nd cents. BC, some, such as the *amphitheatre, purely Roman, while *baths and *theatres, for example, showed more influence from Hellenistic Sicily and Magna Graecia. Sophisticated timberwork allowed for the roofing of large spans in the basilica, covered theatre (*odeum*), and atrium house (*see* HOUSES, ITALIAN), while the adoption of barrel-vaulting for terracing structures such as villa platforms and monumental sanctuaries (e.g. sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste) provided the basic structural system later used in utilitarian buildings such as the Porticus Aemilia and in free-standing theatres and amphitheatres. The high status of the orders in Roman architectural thought led to them being applied as decorous adjuncts to arcuated façades already by the late republic (e.g. the Forum façade of the Tabularium), a motif which found full expression in buildings such as the theatre of Marcellus and the *Colosseum and which was to have a strong influence on Renaissance and later architecture.

The decisive developments in Roman concrete architecture in the early imperial period also took place in the context of domestic or non-traditional building types, such as *Nero's *Domus Aurea* (Golden House), *Domitian's palace on the Palatine, and Hadrian's villa at Tibur as well as the great imperial baths, which in turn influenced the later Basilica of Maxentius; the Pantheon, as a temple, is exceptional. The flexibility and structural properties of the new material were used to create an architecture in which the dominant factor was not the solid masonry but the space which it enclosed. Instead of the structural rationality and sculptural quality of Classical Greek architecture, this was an architecture of illusion and suggestion, inspired by the ephemeral pavilions of Hellenistic palaces, in which subtly curvilinear forms based on complex geometries in plan and elevation, splendidly lit and clothed in light-reflecting material such as marble veneer and coloured-glass mosaic, contrived to negate the solidity of the structures themselves. Here too the columnar orders often formed an integral part of the visual effect, e.g. in the *frigidaria* of the imperial bath-buildings, although their structural role was generally negligible. Treatment of exteriors remained simple and traditional, often decorated in either veneer or stucco imitation of ashlar, although in the later empire the curves of the vaults were often allowed free expression outside as well as inside (e.g. the Hunting Baths at Lepcis Magna). It was this exploitation of interior space which found its logical conclusion in the architecture of Byzantium and remains the most important Roman contribution to all subsequent architectural thought.

JD

official oaths, lists of public debtors, and Marcus *Aurelius' new register of Roman births. It is unclear how strictly the archives were separated from the *aerarium's* financial functions; the closely associated monumental complex nearby on the slopes of the Capitol certainly contained a *tabularium* (CIL 1². 737), though its conventional identification as a Public Record Office is incorrect (it may in fact be the Atrium Libertatis). Romans continue to speak of records going into the *aerarium* (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 3. 51). Access was not always straightforward (see RECORDS AND RECORD-KEEPING, ATTITUDES TO). Another archive was used by the *plebs* in the temple of Ceres (holding *plebiscita* and *senatus consulta*); censors' records went into the temple of the Nymphs and Atrium Libertatis; and private archives, e.g. of ex-officials, were also commonly kept (cf. Cic. *Sull.* 42). Inscriptions, like the bronze tablets of laws visible on the Capitol, formed a public source of reference. Under the empire, the focus is increasingly on the emperor's archival records, often called the *tabularium principis*: the emperor's *commentarii* (memoranda) included imperial edicts and letters (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 10. 65, 66); *commentarii* recording grants of Roman *citizenship (recorded in the *tabula Banasitana*) were established by *Augustus (JRS 1973, 86 ff.). RT

Ares, the Greek war-god as embodiment of the ambivalent (destructive but often useful) forces of war, in contrast to Athena who represents the intelligent and orderly use of war to defend the *polis.

The name is perhaps attested on Linear B tablets from Cnossus and, in a theophoric name, from Thebes. In *Homer's *Iliad*, his image is mostly negative: he is brazen, ferocious, 'unsatiable with war', his cry sounds like that of 'nine or ten thousand men', Zeus hates him (*Il.* 5. 890 f.), he fights on the Trojan side, his attendants are Deimos 'Fear' and Phobos 'Panic', and he is often opposed to *Athena (see esp. *Il.* 15. 110–42). On the other hand, a brave warrior is 'a shoot from Ares', and the Danaï are his followers. In epic formulae, his name is used as a noun ('the frenzy of fighting'); this must be metonymy, although the god's name could have originated as a personification of the warrior's ecstasy (Ger. *wuot*). As with the ecstatic *Dionysus, the myth (*Il.* 13. 301) of his origin in Thrace (roughly mod. Bulgaria) illustrates this position outside the ordered, 'Greek' world of the *polis and has no historical value.

Mythology makes Ares the son of *Zeus and *Hera (Hes. *Theog.* 922, together with their daughters Hebe and Eileithyia), thus inscribing him in Zeus' world-order, and the lover of *Aphrodite (*Od.* 8. 267–366) whose eroticism is at least as liable to subvert the polis order (as her birth-legend and some rites suggest). Offspring of Ares

and Aphrodite are Deimos and Phobos (Hes. *Theog.* 934), *Eros (Simonides, 575 PMG; it underlines the subversive aspect of Eros), the artificial Anteros (Cic. *Nat. D.* 3. 60), and Theban Harmonia. Among other children of Ares, unruly and disruptive figures abound (Diomedes the Thracian, Cycnus the brigand, Phlegyas the eponym of the ferocious Phlegyans).

Cults of Ares are rare, and details for ritual lacking; what we know confirms the god's distance to the polis centre (for Athens: Parker, *Polytheism* 398). Temples are known chiefly from Crete (Cnossus, Lato, Biannos, perhaps Olus) and the Peloponnese (Argos, Troezen, Megalopolis, Therapne, Geronthrae, Tegea), but also from Athens and Erythrae. Cretan towns offer sacrifices to Ares and Aphrodite (ML 42), who appear in interstatal and ephebic oaths; their combination seems to be typical for Archaic bands of warriors (see Plut. *Pel.* 19 who associates them with the homosexual bond among young warriors). See HOMOSEXUALITY. The Tegean women sacrifice to Ares *gunaikothoinas*, 'Who feasts the women' (Paus. 8. 48. 4), in a ritual of reversal which fits the nature of Ares. In Athens, he has a temple in Acharnae and a priest together with Athena Areia, and the two figure in the ephebic oath as the warlike protectors of the city's young soldiers, together with the pair Enyo and Enyalios.

In Thebes, mythology makes him the ancestor of the town (Aesch. *Sept.* 105): Cadmus slays the dragon whom some authors declare to be the offspring of Ares (schol. Soph. *Ant.* 126) and marries Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite. Actual Theban cult, however, is extremely reticent about Ares: again, he as well as Harmonia seem to belong to the Archaic heritage of warfare (see above); given his nature, it would be impossible to make him the central deity of a town.

In literature from Homer onwards, Ares is identified with Enyalios (e.g. *Il.* 13. 519 and 521, 17. 211, but see *Il.* 2. 651, etc.) whose name Homeric formulae also use as a noun and who is attested in Mycenaean Cnossus. In cult, the two are functionally similar but distinct war-gods, sometimes with cults in the same town; Enyalios is especially common in NE Peloponnese, but receives a marginal dog-sacrifice in Sparta (Paus. 3. 14. 9) where his cult statue was fettered (Paus. 3. 15. 7).

In Rome, Ares was identified with *Mars; the Augustan temple of Ares on the Athenian Agora (perhaps the transferred 4th-cent. temple of Acharnae) meant Mars as the ancestor of Rome; Greek Ares would have been unthinkable on an agora.

In early art, Ares appears exclusively in mythological scenes, together with the other gods (divine assemblies, as for the wedding of Peleus and Thetis or on the

Parthenon frieze). First a bearded warrior, he is later shown naked and young (Parthenon frieze), as a warlike ephebe (see GYMNASIUM) with whom not only the Athenians connected him. See MARS. FG

Aristophanes, the greatest poet of the Old Attic Comedy (see COMEDY (GREEK), OLD), was a native of *Athens and a member of the Athenian deme (local district) Kydathenaion. He was the son of Philippus and he himself had at least two sons, of whom at least one (Ara-ros) and possibly both were themselves composers of minor comedies. It has been inferred from *Ach.* 652 ff. that he lived, or owned property, on the island Aegina. Since he seems not to have produced his first two plays himself, and since he considered himself too young in 427 BC (*Ar. Nub.* 530 f. with schol.) to produce a play himself, he is unlikely to have been born earlier than 460 and may have been born as late as 450. He died in or shortly before 386. Eleven of his plays survive; we have in addition 32 titles (some of them alternative titles, and some certainly attributed to other authors) and nearly a thousand fragments and citations. Many of these are fragments in the literal sense of the word: phrases or single words. The surviving plays, and the datable lost plays (°) are:

427: °*Banqueters*, produced by Callistratus. It contained (frs. 198 and 222 and *Nub.* 529 with scholiast) an argument between a profligate son and his father and also between the profligate and a virtuous young man.

426 (City Dionysia): °*Babylonians*, produced by Callistratus. Dionysus was a character in the play (fr. 70), and by its 'attacks on the magistrates' it is said to have provoked a prosecution—apparently unsuccessful—by Cleon (schol. *Ar. Ach.* 378).

425 (Lenaean, first prize): *Acharnians* ('*Ach.*'), produced by Callistratus; the 'hero' makes, and enjoys to the full, a private peace-treaty.

424 (Lenaean, first prize): *Knights* ('*Eq.*'), produced by Aristophanes himself; Cleon is savagely handled and worsted in the guise of a favourite slave of Demos, and a sausage-seller replaces him as favourite.

423 (City Dionysia, bottom prize): *Clouds* ('*Nub.*'), ridiculing *Socrates as a corrupt teacher of rhetoric. We have only the revised version of the play, dating from the period 418–416; the revision was not completed and was never performed (schol. *Nub.* 552).

422 (Lenaean, second prize): *Wasps* ('*Vesp.*'), produced by Philonides, ridiculing the enthusiasm of old men for jury-service.

421 (City Dionysia, second prize): *Peace* ('*Pax*'), celebrating the conclusion of peace with Sparta.

414 (Lenaean): °*Amphiaraus*, produced by Philonides (hyp. 2 *Ar. Av.*).

414 (City Dionysia, second prize): *Birds* ('*Av.*'), produced by Callistratus, a fantasy in which an ingenious Athenian persuades the birds to build a city in the clouds and compels the gods to accept humiliating terms.

411: *Lysistrata* ('*Lys.*'), produced by Callistratus, in which the citizens' wives in all the Greek states compel their menfolk, by a 'sex strike', to make peace; and *Thesmophoriazusae* ('*Thesm.*')—datable in relation to *Euripides' *Helena* and *Andromeda*, and by political references—in which the women at the Thesmophoria plan to obliterate Euripides, and an elderly kinsman of his takes part in their debate, disguised as a woman.

408: the first °*Plutus* (schol. *Ar. Plut.* 173).

405 (Lenaean, first prize): *Frogs* ('*Ran.*'), produced by Philonides (again?, but the name is common in Attica), in which *Dionysus goes to *Hades to bring back Euripides, finds that he has to be the judge in a contest between *Aeschylus and Euripides, for the throne of poetry in Hades, and ends by bringing back Aeschylus.

392: *Ecclesiazusae* ('*Ecll.*'); the date depends on a partially corrupt scholium or ancient textual note (on *Ecll.* 193) and on historical references, and a case can be made for 391. In this play the women take over the running of the city and introduce community of property.

388: the second *Plutus* ('*Plut.*'), in which the god of wealth is cured of his blindness, and the remarkable social consequences of his new discrimination are exemplified.

After 388: °*Aiolosikon* and °*Cocalus*, both produced by Araros (hyp. 4 *Ar. Plut.*). *Cocalus* anticipated some of the characteristics of Menander, according to *Vit. Ar.* 1 pp. 1, 3.

In the first period, down to 421, Aristophanes followed a constant procedure in the structure of his plays, particularly in the relation of the parodos (entry of the chorus) and the parabasis (address by the chorus to the audience) to the rest of the play. From *Av.* onwards we see significant changes in this procedure, culminating, in *Ecll.* and *Plut.*, in the introduction of choral songs irrelevant to the action of the play (indicated in our texts by the word *chorou*), and in *Plut.* the chorus seems, for the first time, something of an impediment to the unfolding of the plot (see COMEDY (GREEK), MIDDLE). At the same time *Ecll.* and *Plut.* show a great reduction (though not a disappearance) of strictly topical reference. The evidence suggests that Aristophanes was a leader, not a follower, in the changes undergone by comedy in the early 4th cent. BC. Aristophanes' language is colourful and imaginative, and he composes lyric poetry in every vein, humorous, solemn, or delicate. He has a keen eye and ear for the absurd and the pompous; his favoured weapons are parody, satire, and exaggeration to the point of fantasy, and his favourite targets are men prominent in politics,

contemporary poets, musicians, scientists, and philosophers, and—as is virtually inevitable in a comedian writing for a wide public—manifestations of cultural change in general. His sympathetic characters commonly express the feelings of men who want to be left alone to enjoy traditional pleasures in traditional ways, but they are also ingenious, violent, and tenaciously self-seeking in getting what they want. The recurrence of the theme of peace in Ar. (*Ach.*, *Pax*, *Lys.*) has given rise to the notion that he was a ‘pacifist’. In so far as that implied that he would try to turn aside a spear by a sermon, the notion was mistaken. Greeks killed readily in defence of their own territory, but were also aware that a secure peace is enjoyable. Having been born into a radical democracy which had been created and strengthened by his father’s and grandfather’s generations, Aristophanes nowhere advocates oligarchic reaction, least of all in 411, when this reaction was an imminent reality. His venomous attack on Cleon in *Eq.* is adequately explained by Cleon’s earlier attack on him, whether or not this in fact took the form of a ‘prosecution’ (see above), and his treatment of other politicians does not differ significantly from the way in which ‘we’ satirize ‘them’ nowadays. No class, age group, or profession is wholly exempt from Aristophanes’ satire, nor is the citizen-body as a whole, and if we interpret his plays as moral or social lessons we never find the lesson free of qualifications and complications. In *Eq.* Cleon is worsted not by an upright and dignified man but by an illiterate and brazen cynic who beats him at his own game. In *Nub.* Socrates’ ‘victim’ is foolish and dishonest, and in the contest between Right and Wrong, Right, who is characterized by bad temper, sexual obsession, and vacuous nostalgia, ends by ‘deserting’ to the side of Wrong. In *Thesm.* Euripides, sharply parodied in much of the play, triumphs in the end. In *Ran.* the end of the contest between Aeschylus and Euripides finds Dionysus in a state of complete irresolution. Modern sentiment admires the heroine of *Lys.*, but possibly Aristophanes and his audience found preposterous much in her which seems to us moving and sensible. Aristophanes’ didactic influence (as distinct from his influence in raising the intellectual and artistic standards of comedy) does not seem to have been significant. Plato (*Ap.* 18bc, 19d) blames him for helping to create mistrust of Socrates. On the other hand, *Ach.* and *Lys.* do not seem to have disposed the Athenians to negotiate for peace (*Pax* did not mould public opinion, but fell into line with it), and Cleon was elected to a generalship shortly after the first prize had been awarded to *Eq.* The fact that Aristophanes survived not only Cleon’s attacks but also (with other comic poets) two oligarchic revolutions (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN) and two democratic restorations should not be forgotten.

Aristophanes was intensively studied throughout antiquity, and the plays which are now lost, as well as those which have survived, were the subject of commentaries (cf. schol. Ar. *Plut.* 210).

See also COMEDY (GREEK), MIDDLE; COMEDY (GREEK), OLD; LITERARY CRITICISM IN ANTIQUITY, paras. 2, 3.

KJD/CBRP

Aristotle (see facing page)

armies, Greek and Hellenistic Apart from what little archaeology can tell us, our earliest evidence comes from *Homer, but it is uncertain how far the poems can be taken as depicting real warfare. To some extent, what happens on Homeric battlefields is dictated by the nature of the poetry. However, with the possible exception of those from Locris (*Il.* 13. 714 ff.), all troops are implied to be of the same type, and there is no cavalry, even the chariots not being organized as a separate force and only rarely being used for a massed charge (e.g. 15. 352 ff.), despite Nestor’s advice (4. 303 ff.). Nestor also recommends subdivision into *phylai* (‘tribes’) and *phratris* (2. 362 f.), and other passages suggest organization into lines and files (e.g. 3. 77, 4. 90), but the constant use of the throwing-spear implies a loose formation except in particular circumstances (e.g. 16. 211 ff.).

By Tyrtaeus’ time, the fundamental distinction between ‘heavy’ infantry fighting hand-to-hand and ‘light’ missile-armed infantry, has appeared, at any rate in *Sparta, but the chariot has disappeared, and there is still no cavalry. What organization there is, is based on the three Dorian *phylai*. Archaeological evidence confirms that by the mid-7th cent. BC hoplites had appeared, and thereafter, for some three centuries, they dominated the battlefield, though some states (e.g. *Macedonia and *Thessaly) relied more on cavalry and the Boeotians also had fine cavalry in addition to hoplites. Some of the less urbanized areas (e.g. Aetolia) also still tended to make more use of light, missile-armed troops, and all states probably had them. Most armies seem to have been recruited on a local basis. For instance, after the reforms of *Cleisthenes, Athenian hoplites were divided into ten units (*taxeis*) based on the ten *phylai*, and the cavalry was similarly divided into two groups of five units.

Most Greek troops were essentially militia. Cavalry and hoplites were drawn from the more well-to-do since they mostly provided their own equipment. Possibly for this reason, there appears to have been little or no training at least until the 4th cent., and very little organization. The smallest unit in the Athenian army, for example, seems to have been a *lochos*, probably consisting of several hundred men, and the same may have been true of the Argive and Theban armies.

[continued on p. 78]

ARISTOTLE

Aristotle (384–322 BC), philosopher, pupil of *Plato, was born in Stagira in Chalcidice.

1. His father Nicomachus, a member of the medical guild of the Asclepiadae (see ASCLEPIUS), was court physician to Amyntas II of Macedonia, and Aristotle may have spent part of his childhood at the court in Pella. Although his interest in biology may have developed early because of his father's career, there is no evidence that he began systematic study. Asclepiad doctors taught their sons dissection, but Aristotle probably did not receive this training, since both of his parents died when he was extremely young.

2. At the age of 17 he travelled to Athens and entered Plato's *Academy, remaining until Plato's death in 348/7 BC. Plato's philosophical influence is evident in all of Aristotle's work. Even when he is critical (a great part of the time) he expresses deep respect for Plato's genius. Some scholars imagine that no dissent was tolerated in the Academy; they therefore conclude that all works in which Aristotle criticizes Plato must have been written after Plato's death. This is implausible. Plato's own work reveals a capacity for searching self-criticism. Frequently these criticisms resemble extant Aristotelian criticisms. An attractive possibility is that the arguments of his brilliant pupil were among the stimuli that led Plato to re-examine his own ideas.

3. At Plato's death Aristotle left Athens, probably because of political difficulties connected with his Macedonian ties. (He may also have disapproved of the choice of Speusippus as Plato's successor.) Accepting an invitation from Hermias, ruler of Assos and Atarneus in the Troad and a former fellow student in the Academy, he went to Assos, where he stayed until Hermias' fall and death in 345, marrying his adopted daughter Pythias. While at Assos, and afterwards at Mytilene on Lesbos, he undertook extensive biological research on which his later scientific writings are based. (The treatises refer frequently to place-names and local species of that area.) His observations, especially in marine biology, were unprecedented in their detail and accuracy. (His work remained without peer until the time of Harvey (1578–1657), and was still much admired by Darwin. Many of his findings are only now being replicated or confirmed, with the assistance of the microscope.)

4. Invited by *Philip II of Macedon to Pella in 342 BC, Aristotle became tutor to Philip's son *Alexander the Great. His instruction focused on standard literary texts, but probably also included political theory and history. Aristotle's opinion of his pupil's philosophical ability is unknown, but in later years their relationship was distant. In the *Politics* Aristotle writes that rule by a single absolute monarch would be justified only if the person were as far superior to existing humans, in intellect and character, as humans are to beasts. He conspicuously fails to mention any case in which these conditions have been fulfilled.

5. In 335, after a brief stay in Stagira, Aristotle returned to Athens. As a resident alien (*metic) he could not own property, so he rented buildings outside the city, probably between Mt. Lycabettus and the Ilissus. Here, in what was called the Lyceum, he established his own school. (The school later took its name from its colonnade or *peripatos*.) He delivered some popular lectures, but most of his time was spent in writing or lecturing to a smaller group of serious students, including some, such as Theophrastus and Eudemus, who achieved distinction. He amassed a considerable library, and encouraged his students to undertake research projects, especially in natural science and political history (where he projected a collection of historical and comparative descriptions of 158 regimes).

6. Pythias died early in this period; they had one daughter. For the rest of his life Aristotle lived with a slave-woman named Herpyllis, by whom he had a son, Nicomachus. Although in his will Aristotle praises Herpyllis' loyalty and kindness, he freed her from legal slavery only then. On the death of Alexander in 323 BC, an outbreak of anti-Macedonian feeling forced Aristotle to leave Athens once again. Alluding to the death of *Socrates, he said that he was leaving lest the Athenians 'sin twice against philosophy'. He retired to Chalcis, where he died in 322 of a digestive illness.

7. Aristotle left his papers to Theophrastus, his successor as head of the Lyceum. *Strabo reports that Theophrastus left them to Neleus of Scepsis (in Asia Minor), whose heirs hid them in a cellar, where they remained unused until a rich collector, Apellicon, purchased them and brought them to Athens early in the first century BC. Current opinion takes Strabo's story to be seriously misleading. Some of Aristotle's major works were clearly used by his successors in the Lyceum, as well as by *Epicurus and numerous Alexandrian intellectuals (see ALEXANDRIA), although at this stage the works were not edited in the form in which we know them. A list of Aristotle's works, probably dating from the 3rd cent. BC, appears to include most of the texts we know, under some description, as well as some now lost. Among the

lost works are dialogues, some of which were still well known in *Cicero's Rome. Apparently their style was different from that of the extant works: Cicero describes it as 'a golden river'. We can reconstruct portions of several lost works through reports and citations.

8. When *Sulla captured Athens (86 BC), Apellicon's collection was brought to Rome, where it was edited around 30 BC, by Andronicus of Rhodes, whose edition is the basis for all subsequent editions. Andronicus grouped books into works, arranged them in a logical sequence, and left copious notes about his views on authenticity. We possess most of the works he considered genuine and important, in manuscripts produced between the 9th and 16th cents. The transmission during the intervening period is represented by several papyrus fragments. Greek commentaries produced between the 3rd and 6th cents. AD often testify to manuscript readings that are now lost, and hence can assist with establishing the text.

9. The extant works may be classified as follows:

(a) Logic and Epistemology: *Categories*, *De interpretatione*, *Prior Analytics*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, *Sophistici elenchi* (= *Top.* 9).

(b) Metaphysics, Nature, Life, and Mind: *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, *De caelo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, *Meteorologica* (bk. 4 of dubious authenticity), *Historia animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, *De motu animalium*, *De incessu animalium*, *De generatione animalium*, *De anima*, *Parva naturalia* (including *De sensu*, *De memoria*, *De somno*, *De somniis*, *De divinatione per somnum*, *De longitudine et brevitate vitae*, *De iuventute*, *De respiratione*).

(c) Ethics, Politics, Art: *Eudemian Ethics*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Politics*; *Magna moralia* (probably not written up by Aristotle, but closely based on Aristotelian lectures); *Athēnaiōn politeia* (authorship disputed); *Rhetoric*; *Poetics*.

Of the works surviving only in fragments, the most important and substantial is *Peri ideōn* (*On the Forms*), a critical discussion of Plato's theories; also significant are the dialogues *On Philosophy* and *On the Good*, and the *Protrepticus*.

Clearly spurious works transmitted along with the corpus include *De mundo*, *De spiritu*, *De coloribus*, *De audibilibus*, *Physiognomonica*, *De plantis*, *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, *Mechanica*, *Problemata* (a compilation of materials from the school), *De lineis insecabilibus*, *Ventorum situs*, *De Melisso*, *Xenophane*, *Gorgia*, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, *Oeconomica*, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*.

10. Many questions have been raised about the status of the 'Aristotelian corpus'. The most plausible view is that the extant treatises are written lectures. The exact wording of most of the material is Aristotle's. We cannot assume that the order of books within a treatise, or even the grouping of books into a single treatise, is Aristotle's own. The titles and many introductory and concluding sentences are likely to be the work of later editors. Cross-references may be genuine if well integrated with their context. Throughout we are faced with textual problems, some of which require the transposition of substantial passages for their solution. Some sections, furthermore, may have been left poorly organized by Aristotle himself, and are best regarded as assorted notes that were never worked into a finished discussion (for example, *De anima* 3. 6–7). The most serious philosophical problems raised by the state of the corpus come from its duplications: (a) multiple discussions of a single problem, and (b) a single discussion repeated in more than one context. There are many cases of the first type; here we must ask whether differences amount to incompatibility or are best explained by a difference of perspective or starting point. Doublets of the second type may be very brief, or they may be several books long; sometimes repetition is verbatim, sometimes with changes. *Metaphysics* 1 and 13 have many chapters in common, with small but significant changes. *Metaphysics* 11 compiles material from other books of the *Metaphysics* and the *Physics*. Books 5–7 of the *Nicomachean Ethics* also appear as books 4–6 of the *Eudemian Ethics*. In each case, we must ask how likely it is that Aristotle himself would have put the repeated portion in both contexts himself. If such a hypothesis creates problems with the overall argument of the work, we should ask whether it is clear that Aristotle himself must have noticed those problems.

11. The medieval tradition regarded Aristotle's work as a closed, consistent system without internal chronological development. This view of the corpus was undermined in the 20th cent. by Werner Jaeger's important work, which stressed the flexible undogmatic character of Aristotle's philosophizing (and argued, controversially, for a particular chronological story of Aristotle's development). In the aftermath of Jaeger, scholars sometimes went to an opposite extreme, making irresponsible use of developmental explanations. In general, it is crucial to recognize the extent to which Aristotle's problems and questions in a particular work dictate his approach to an issue.

12. Aristotle was the first Greek philosopher to attempt a general account of validity in inference. The *Prior Analytics* is thus a towering achievement; though displaced in the Hellenistic period by Stoic propositional logic, it became the dominant account of formal logic from the early Middle Ages until the early 20th cent. The *Topics* and the *Sophistici elenchi* show Aristotle's keen interest in methods of dialectical argumentation and in the analysis of common fallacies and paradoxes; they give us a vivid picture of the philosophical culture of Aristotle's time.

13. In the *Posterior Analytics* Aristotle sets out the conditions under which scientific demonstration will convey genuine understanding (*epistēmē*). Conclusions must be deducible, ultimately, from first principles that are true, basic, necessary, and explanatory of the other conclusions of the science. The scientist has understanding when he is able to show how the more basic principles of his science explain the less basic. (Hence understanding must always be of the universal, since particulars cannot become part of a deductive explanatory structure; this does not, however, cast any doubt on our grasp of particulars.) *Posterior Analytics* 2. 19 argues that understanding is ultimately derived from experience of many particulars, and requires what he calls *nous* concerning the first principles. Although *nous* has often been taken to be a special faculty of mind that grasps first principles a priori, it is probably best understood to be mental insight into the explanatory role of principles that the thinker knows and uses already on the basis of experience. Thus Aristotelian science does not require an a priori foundation.

14. In *Metaphysics* 4, Aristotle defends two fundamental logical principles: the Principle of Non-Contradiction and the Principle of the Excluded Middle. Non-Contradiction, which is called 'the most basic starting point of all', is established not by a proof from other principles, but by an 'elenctic demonstration', i.e. one that establishes that the opponent who challenges this law actually must rely on it if he is to think and speak at all. For to say anything definite he must rule something out—at the least, the contradictory of what he sets forth.

15. Throughout his work Aristotle is intensely concerned with experience, including the experience recorded in what people typically say. He often begins an inquiry, in science as well as in ethics, by 'setting down the *phainomena*', the 'appearances', which usually include perceptual observation and reputable beliefs, frequently finding these embodied in language. Aristotle clearly believes that scientific inquiry involves examining common conceptions as well as looking at the world; indeed the two frequently interpenetrate, as in the inquiries into time and place in the *Physics*. Aristotle also carefully surveys the views of reputable past thinkers who have approached a problem. As he states at the start of his inquiry into number in *Metaphysics* 13, he hopes thereby to avoid making the same mistakes, and to progress somewhat beyond what has been previously accomplished. Although we may find fault with his treatment of some previous thinker, he was the first to make engagement with the ideas of other philosophers a central part of his method.

16. 'Metaphysics' is not really an Aristotelian term. If Aristotle or his ancient editors used it, they were probably only referring to the position of the work in question 'after the *Physics*'. Aristotle's study of the most general characteristics of things was to set the agenda for subsequent metaphysics. Although Aristotle's account of his central question about that which is (*to on*), as being a question of *ousia*, for both his predecessors and himself, is not perspicuous, since *ousia*, usually translated 'substance', is itself just a verbal noun formed from the verb 'to be'. But we can get a much better idea of what he is talking about from what he actually does in the text. When he asks what substance is, he seems to have two questions in mind: one about *change*, and one about *identity*. First, our experience of nature is constantly bound up with change—the cycle of the seasons, changes in living bodies—so any account of nature needs to speak coherently about process. Following Plato's *Theaetetus*, Aristotle holds that speaking about change must presuppose that we can single out some entities as (relatively) stable 'subjects' or 'substrates' (*hupokeimena*) of change, things to which the change happens. Second, in order to talk about the world we need to answer the question 'What is it?' about items in the world. This means being able to say what makes this individual the very thing it is, separating that aspect from other attributes that could be absent and yet the individual would still be the same thing. This 'what is it?' question is seeking what we now call the thing's 'essence' (this term being the Latin word that Cicero used for Aristotle's odd yet homely term, *to ti ēn einai*, 'the what it is to be'). Aristotle's two metaphysical questions seem to point in opposite directions: the first suggests that matter is the basic substance, since it persists while animals and people are born and die; the second suggests that essences are universals, since 'human being' or 'tree' seem promising answers when we ask 'what is it?' about particular things. But Aristotle thinks that the two will ultimately converge on a single account of the basic substances. For any adequate theory of change must single out as its substrates items that are not only relatively enduring, but also definite and distinct; and any account of the essence of a particular should enable us to say what changes it can undergo while still remaining one and the same.

17. Aristotle pursues the two prongs of his question through several treatises, with results that appear to undergo development and are always difficult to interpret. In the early *Categories*, Aristotle argues that the ‘primary substances’ and substrates of change are physical individuals, such as ‘this human being’ and ‘this horse’ (as contrasted both with individual qualities, quantities, relations, etc., and also with universals of all types). On the other hand, we can only individuate and identify them via ‘secondary substances’, species universals such as ‘human being’ and ‘horse’. Unlike Platonic forms, secondary substances have no existence apart from physical individuals, but they are fundamental to our grasp of them. In *Physics*, and *De generatione et corruptione*, Aristotle brings matter into the picture and asks about its relation to form or organization. Although he ultimately rejects the notion that a thing’s matter is substance, and more basic than its organization, he is apparently driven to grant that some cases of change—the comings-to-be and passings-away of substances—have to be explained with reference to material substrates.

18. Aristotle’s culminating inquiry into substance, in *Metaphysics* 7–8, is the subject of endless interpretative controversy. On one plausible reading, Aristotle concludes that the most basic substrates are also the essences of things, and that both of these are identical with the *form* (*eidos*) of a thing as a member of a certain species, for example, the humanness (characteristic human organization) of Socrates. This form is a particular in the sense that Socrates is a distinct human being from Coriscus; on the other hand, the account of Socrates’ essence or form mentions only those features he shares with other species members. In other words, what Socrates really is, and what must remain the same about him while other attributes change, is his characteristic species organization.

19. Other major topics in Aristotle’s metaphysical work include *potentiality* and *actuality* (concepts linked to substance and invoked in explaining the forms of living things); *number* (Aristotle attacks the Platonist separation of numbers from things); *unity* (organic living beings are more unified than artefacts); and the nature of the *study of being* itself (it may become a general study with substance as its focal point). In *Metaphysics* 12, Aristotle articulates his idea of god as an eternally active and unaffected substance, whose activity is thinking and who inspires movement in the heavenly spheres by becoming an object of their love.

20. According to the *Metaphysics* philosophy developed as a search for explanations of natural events that inspire wonder. In the *Physics* Aristotle describes the types of explanation a natural philosopher should give. He suggests that there are four basic ways in which we can answer the question ‘Why?’ about a thing or a state of affairs: first, we may cite the materials of which the thing is composed. This answer is inadequate on its own, since we need to be able to pick out the thing as a structure of a certain sort before we can enumerate its constituents. Second, we may mention a thing’s form or characteristic organization. Third, we may mention some agent or event that made the event or thing come about—this sort of answer is called by Aristotle ‘the origin of change’, and by the tradition ‘the efficient cause’. Finally, we may mention ‘the end’ or ‘that for the sake of which’ a thing is (its ‘final cause’). To explain processes or subsystems of creatures, we need to show how they contribute to the overall functioning of the creature. So the characteristic organization of a species turns out to be an ‘end’ towards which processes should be seen as contributing. Whether Aristotle also invokes this kind of purpose explanation for the relation of one species to another is highly uncertain, as is the question whether such explanations apply to the non-living. The *Physics* also contains valuable discussions of place, time, and the nature of change.

21. Aristotle’s work on *psychē* (*De anima*) is a general study of life and the living. After criticizing materialist and Platonist accounts of *psychē*, he defends the view that *psychē* is the substance of a living thing; he argues that this substance will be not its material constituents but its form. His working definition is that *psychē* is the ‘first entelechy of a natural organic body’. ‘First entelechy’ (or first actuality) takes the place of ‘form’ in order to stress the fact that it is not the actual functioning (e.g. actually seeing or thinking) that is the *psychē*, but the not yet actualized readiness, not mere potentiality but something that is already at the first stage of being equipped to function. ‘Organic’ means ‘equipped with tools suitable for performing the functions’. Aristotle proceeds to provide concrete accounts of self-nutrition, reproduction, perceiving, imagining, and thinking; these inquiries are further developed in the *Parva naturalia* and, in some cases, the biological writings.

22. Aristotle’s ethical treatises search for an adequate account of *eudaimonia*, a term usually translated ‘happiness’, but which might more perspicuously be understood as ‘human flourishing’. Although he thinks that there is general agreement that *eudaimonia* is the ‘target’ of human choice, and that it involves being active, there is no clarity on what it is to flourish. On reflection we find that common candidates such as pleasure and honour are inadequate; instead it must be ‘activity of soul in accordance with complete excellence’. But this is a complex comprising many constituent elements; there are excellences of character (such as courage, moderation, generosity, justice), which are, he suggests, stable dispositions to choose activities and to have responses that are in accordance with a ‘mean’, which is neither

excessive nor deficient in each area of choice. The standard is set by the choices that would be made by a 'person of practical wisdom': that is, it is set by reference to paradigms of human excellence. Excellence of character requires and is required by practical wisdom, which is itself an excellence of the intellect.

23. Aristotle holds that practical wisdom requires a grasp of many particulars. This comes through experience. As in medicine and navigation, good judgement (in both law and ethics) requires not only a grasp of rules, but also an ability to adjust one's judgement to the current situation. Aristotle's account of 'equity' (*epieikeia*) in public judgement is continuous with reflections in the Greek orators; it has had enormous influence in the history of western law. His important reflections on voluntary action, excusing factors, and choice (*prohairesis*), all develop out of his work on practical wisdom and happiness.

24. Friendship (*philia*), Aristotle holds, is a crucial element in a good human life. Even if one were free of need and doing well in all other respects, one would still view life as not worth living without friends. Although any genuine friendship requires mutual awareness and mutual activity seeking to benefit the other for the other's own sake, friendships come in different types. There are friendships based on pleasure, based on utility, and based on goodness of character, the last being the truest and most stable.

25. In two separate discussions Aristotle argues that pleasure is not equivalent to the good, though his accounts of pleasure differ, and may not be compatible. In the final book of the *Eth. Nic.* he then goes on to praise a life devoted to contemplating the eternal. He appears not to treat this activity as just one among many constituents of *eudaimonia*, but as something of supreme value, to which maximal attention should be given where possible. Scholars have long disagreed about these chapters, whether they conflict with the inclusive picture of *eudaimonia* in the rest of the work; incompatibilist interpretations have much force. But however we resolve this puzzle, the chapters are evidence of Aristotle's high evaluation of the contemplative life. This problematizes some simple-minded accounts of the relationship between Aristotle's ethical thought and Plato's.

26. The investigation of human flourishing is also part of the science of politics, since legislators need to know about human ends in order to design schemes that promote these ends. But *political theory requires, in addition, a critical and empirical study of different regimes, and an attempt, on that basis, to consider what the best form of government would be. In the process, Aristotle makes Greek philosophy's most distinguished contribution to *economic theory.

27. In the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle's great rhetorical treatise, he argues, against Plato, that rhetoric can be a systematic science. Defining rhetoric as 'the capability of recognizing in each case the possible means of persuasion', he argues for its autonomy and offers a comprehensive discussion of persuasion through speech. The work includes a survey of ordinary beliefs about many ethical topics, and an important analysis of the emotions (see RHETORIC, GREEK).

28. Aristotle's *Poetics* should be read in conjunction with his ethical writings, which insist, against Plato, that good people can sometimes fall short of *eudaimonia* through disasters not of their own making. Tragic action, Aristotle holds, inspires two emotions in its audience: *pity* (a painful emotion felt at the undeserved and serious suffering of another person), and *fear* (a painful emotion felt at the thought of serious disasters impending). We pity the tragic hero as someone undeserving of his misfortune, and fear for him, as someone similar to ourselves. (By contrast, Plato's *Republic* treated both of these emotions as pernicious: and banned such literature from its imaginary city.) Thus poetry proves more philosophical than historical narrative, since it presents universals, things 'such as might happen' in a human life. Like other forms of representation (*mimēsis*), it gives rise to the pleasure of learning and recognition. The tragic hero's reversal inspires pity provided it is due not to wickedness of character but rather to some *hamartia* which seems to mean some error in action, sometimes blameworthy and sometimes not. Scholars cannot agree on the meaning of what Aristotle calls (at one point) *katharsis*, which he claims results from pity and fear when watching tragedy. 'Purgation' is only one of several (problematic) possibilities; another, perhaps more in keeping with the rest of Aristotle's argument, is that the tragic experience removes obstacles to our recognition of the mutability of human life, and thereby 'cleans up' or 'clears up' our muddled view of human fortunes. The central concepts of this work are still subject to dispute and scholarly attention.

29. Aristotle's achievements had an unrivalled significance for the subsequent history of western philosophy. His undisputed greatness has sometimes led to an unfortunate attitude of deference. Yet few if any philosophers have so productively stimulated the inquiries of other distinguished philosophers; few philosophers of the remote past, if any, are so conspicuously alive in the range of questions they provoke and in the resourcefulness of the arguments they offer.

See ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY; ANIMALS, KNOWLEDGE ABOUT; BOTANY; EXPERIMENT; MUSIC; PHYSICS.



armies, Greek and Hellenistic A fragment from a public monument (early 4th cent. BC) showing a display of the Athenian cavalry. In Greek warfare the cavalry was never a battle-winner before the rise of *Macedonia, when it came into its own. American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

The exception was Sparta. Not only were Spartan soldiers trained from boyhood and liable for service from 20 to 60, but their army was highly organized, giving it an ability to manoeuvre that other armies lacked. At the beginning of the 5th cent. it may have consisted of five *lochoi*, but these were possibly already subdivided into *enōmotiai* (cf. Hdt. 1. 65. 5), and by 418 BC at the latest, when there were at least six *lochoi*, possibly twelve, each was subdivided into four *pentēkostyes* and sixteen *enōmotiai*, with a proper chain of command (Thuc. 5. 66. 3, 68. 3).

By *Xenophon's time the largest unit was the *mora*, of which there were again six, but it is not certain how many sub-units each contained. Xenophon (*Respublica Lacedaemoniorum* 11. 4) appears to imply 4 *lochoi*, 8 *pentēkostyes*, and 16 *enōmotiai*, but it is possible that there were really 2, 8, and 32. It is thus also not possible to determine the strength of a *mora*, for which the sources give totals varying from 500 to 1,000: if each contained sixteen *enōmotiai*, its total strength was 640, if thirty-two, 1,280.

By Xenophon's time the cavalry was also organized into *morai*, of unknown size, with the rich providing the horses, but not as in other states actually serving.

The Spartan ideal was clearly an army of citizen-hoplites (*homoioi*, lit. 'equals', see SPARTA § 2), but by 425 it appears that they only made up c.40 per cent, and there were fewer still by the time of Leuctra. It is usually assumed that the numbers were made up by *perioikoi*, but it is possible that Spartans who had lost their full citizenship (*hypomeiones*) continued to serve in the army, and that the *perioikoi* were always separately brigaded.

The defeat of the Spartan army at Leuctra ushered in a short period of Theban dominance, and saw the beginnings of a new form of warfare, in which the traditional hoplite phalanx was combined with cavalry and other arms. These changes culminated in the army of *Alexander the Great, but it is possible that the chief innovator was his father, *Philip II. Macedonia had long had good cavalry, known as 'hetairoi' (i.e. 'companions' of the king), but it was possibly Philip who first raised and organized the

'*pezetairoi*' or 'foot companions', who, with the '*hypaspistai*' (lit. 'shield-bearers'), possibly derived from the old royal guard, constituted the heavy infantry. By Alexander's time the *pezetairoi* were divided into *taxeis* of 1,500 men, subdivided down to files of sixteen men, though still called 'decads'; the hypaspists into *chiliarchai* of 1,000 men, then possibly subdivided in a similar way to the *pezetairoi*.

But what marked Alexander's army out from its predecessors was the number of different types of unit all interacting with each other—*pezetairoi* and hypaspists, light infantry armed with missiles, heavy and light cavalry. Alexander's conquests owed as much to his soldiers' ability to cope with any situation, as to his own strategic and tactical skills.

Under his successors there was a tendency for the cavalry to decline, with a corresponding increase in the importance of the phalanx. The latter's unwieldiness was sometimes compensated for by interspersing more mobile infantry units among the heavy infantry, notably by Pyrrhus in his Italian campaigns, and the vulnerability of the phalanx to flank attacks was also sometimes offset by drawing up a second line. But, in the end, the Macedonian-type army proved no match for the Roman legions, and manpower problems, particularly in Macedonia itself, meant that its kings could not afford to lose even a single battle, whereas the Romans could survive even the most appalling defeats. JFLA

armies, Roman

Monarchy–3rd cent. AD

Traditionally, King Servius *Tullius (c.580–530 BC), made the first attempt to channel the resources of the Roman state into military organization by dividing the citizens into wealth groups, so that the weapons they could afford determined their military role, with the richest serving as cavalry. Below these groups were the *capite censi* ('assessed by a head-count'),—men with no property, who were excluded from the army. Military service, therefore, although integral to the duties of citizenship, was also a privilege. This organization of the citizens probably emerged gradually and not through the act of an individual, but there is little clear evidence for the early army until *Polybius in the 2nd cent. BC. By c.400 BC a small allowance had been introduced for each soldier to help pay his expenses on active service. The body of infantry was called the *legio* ('levying', legion) and by 311 had been divided into four legions; these were supported by contingents of Rome's Italian allies (*socii*) and subjects, grouped in formations comparable in size to the legions and commanded by Roman officers. Archers and other specialist fighters were supplied by *mercenaries.

The Punic Wars stretched Roman manpower resources to the limit. The system of recruitment had been designed for a small city-state fighting short annual campaigns in Italy. Rome now waged long wars, sometimes overseas, and after the defeat of *Carthage in 201 BC, began to acquire provinces that needed a permanent military presence. Consequently, there was a reduction in the property qualification for military service. The annual levy selected citizens of military age (17–46), who were expected to serve for up to six consecutive campaigns but be available for enlistment for up to sixteen years, or ten years in the case of a cavalryman. The army was commanded by the chief magistrates, the consuls.

Throughout the 2nd cent. there was increasing discontent with the levy as Rome faced a series of foreign wars, and the property qualification was further reduced. Then in 107 BC the consul Gaius *Marius extended this practice by accepting volunteers from the propertyless and had them equipped at the state's expense for the war in Africa. Undoubtedly conscription along the normal lines still continued, but many volunteers probably chose to serve for sixteen years, and this contributed to the development of a professional, long-term army. The consequences of the Social War (91–87 BC) were also far-reaching, since Rome's defeated Italian allies were absorbed into the citizen body, significantly increasing the reservoir of manpower. Non-Italians now provided auxiliary forces of cavalry (*auxilia*). But the state had no policy of granting appropriate discharge payments to its troops. Generals, often holding long-term commands, used their reputation, and promises of generous benefits, to recruit men with whom they then built up a personal rapport. Increasingly soldiers owed their allegiance to their commander rather than to the Roman state, and became instruments of violent political change. The precedent set by *Sulla in 88 BC of seizing power by military might was not to be expunged, and the republic succumbed to the rival mercenary armies of military dynasts.

*Augustus united these fragmented legions in loyalty to his person and created a fully professional, standing army. This was not revolutionary in itself, but his detailed provision for the troops' service conditions and emoluments, the incorporation of the non-citizen *auxilia* into the formal military structure, the establishment of a personal bodyguard (praetorians), the permanent policing of Rome, and the apportionment of legions and *auxilia* as permanent garrisons of individual provinces, shaped Roman military thinking until the 3rd cent. AD and made military organization an integral part of imperial policy. The most striking development in the command of the Roman army was that from the end of the 1st cent. AD onwards, the emperor, who in his nomenclature and

public portrayal bore the attributes of a Roman general, took personal charge of all major campaigns. JBC

Late empire

The army of the late empire is brilliantly described by *Ammianus Marcellinus, and its order of battle (c.AD 395) survives in the *Notitia Dignitatum, but its evolution is obscure. As pressure upon the frontiers grew, *Septimius Severus increased the number of legions and, by recruiting the praetorian guard from them, protected himself from other usurpers and formed a strategic reserve. This was supplemented on campaign by the usual frontier detachments. Emperors assumed personal command and, if they proved incompetent like *Severus Alexander, the army replaced them. Promotion of professional soldiers culminated in Gallienus' exclusion of senators from military service, and the premium on mobility in his creation of a separate cavalry force.

This 'élite', as Aurelian's army is called, was used by *Diocletian to reinforce frontier armies now increasingly commanded by professional *duces* (generals). But despite his emphasis on fixed defences, Diocletian retained a small mobile army of new units like the *comites* cavalry and the *Ioviani* and *Herculiani* legions. Units though numerous were comparatively small, and were conscripted from German prisoners and volunteers, as well as from soldiers' sons and peasants. Soldiers still received a cash payment (*stipendium*), but it was supplemented by free rations and regular donatives in gold and silver. *Constantine I, however, was the true innovator who greatly enlarged the mobile army with new units like the Germanic auxilia and by reducing the frontier armies. He disbanded the praetorian guard, and replaced its prefects as his lieutenants-general with a master of infantry (*magister militum*) and a master of cavalry (*magister equitum*). He created the distinctive strategy of the 4th cent.—frontiers garrisoned by *limitanei* (frontier units), *comitatenses* (mobile army-units) held in reserve—which was crippled by the Goths' defeat of Valens at Adrianople (378). So many *comitatenses* were lost here that the western empire was ultimately unable to preserve the logistic base its army required. RSOT

arms and armour

Greek

Most Homeric references to arms and armour are best interpreted in connection with Minoan and Mycenaean armaments, known from such representations as those on the shaft-grave daggers (see MINOAN CIVILIZATION; MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION). The characteristic armour

here is a figure-of-eight-shaped shield made from a single ox-hide and swung from the neck by a strap. The only other protection was a helmet. The chief weapon was a long rapier-like sword. Towards the end of the bronze age this style was displaced by the use of a much smaller round shield carried on the arm; a change which involved the addition of a breastplate and greaves, while the sword became shorter and was used for cut as well as thrust. In the Homeric poems the champions begin by throwing spears at each other, and when these are gone they proceed to close combat with swords.

The standing type of the Archaic and Classical soldier was the hoplite (heavy infantryman), ultimately derived from the soldier of the transition to the iron age. The trend now was towards heavier armour and fighting based on weight of manpower. Shields were made of bronze and leather, and spears and swords of iron. In addition hoplites wore breastplates, greaves, and helmets as defensive armour. The spear as used by hoplites and cavalry had become a pike for thrusting, not throwing, and was usually some 2 m. (c.7 ft.) in length. Only light-armed troops and some light cavalry used instead the throwing-spear (*akontion*). Along with the use of the spear as a pike, the sword (at least of the Athenian hoplite) had developed a short, straight-edged blade; it could only be used for very close fighting.

The 4th cent. saw the evolution of a more flexible type of equipment than the hoplite's. Experiments were first made with the peltast (light infantryman), but the final change was the establishment of the Macedonian type as employed in the phalanx (close-packed infantry formation). The spear (*sarisa*) was increased still more in length to a maximum of just over 5 m. (17 ft.), and the shield reduced to a small target carried on the arm. The different ranks of the phalanx used different lengths of spear. The equipment for light-armed infantry and light- and heavy-armed cavalry was also specialized at this period. At all periods, soldiers competed over the excellence of their armour (e.g. Thuc. 6. 31. 3), some of which might be highly decorated. HWP/MV

Roman

Artistic representations, military treatises, other literary and subliterate references, and archaeological artefacts are the main sources of information. Pre-imperial artefacts are sparse and come mainly from siege sites. Imperial finds are most plentiful, associated mainly with ordered dismantlement-deposits in frontier installations. Late Roman equipment is again sparse, final site-abandonments being less ordered. Roman military equipment represented a constantly evolving and adapting *mélange* of cultural traits.



arms and armour, Greek Bronze panoply from a 7th-cent. BC grave at Argos. The bell-shaped corslet, later of leather or linen, was a standard item in the equipment of the Greek heavy infantryman (hoplite). French School at Athens. Photo: EFA/Émile Sérafi

In the regal and early republican periods the Roman infantry was equipped on the Greek hoplite (heavy infantryman) model, with Italic modifications. A long thrusting-spear (*hasta*) combined with javelins was the chief offensive weapon, and the defensive armour varied with individual wealth, the richest men having cuirasses (*loricae*), round shields, greaves, and helmets of Greek or Italic form.

By the mid-2nd cent. BC, however, the heavy javelin (*pilum*) replaced the *hasta* in the first two lines (*hastati* and *principes*) of the legion (see **ARMIES, ROMAN**). A short sword was used for close fighting, a Spanish form of which became dominant. Men of all three lines carried a long, curving, oval shield of Italic origin with a Gallic boss and central spine. Helmets were of the Gallic 'Montefortino' type. A bronze plate (*pectorale*) was worn by the less wealthy soldiers, and a coat of mail (*lorica hamata*) by the richest. The legionary light infantry (*velites*) had a small round shield, light javelins, sword, and helmet. The legionary cavalry wore a helmet and cuirass, and carried a round shield and spear. The allies (*socii*) were probably armed in corresponding fashion. During the last century of the republic (if not before) the *pilum* became universal for legionary infantry, a change associated perhaps with organization into cohorts (tactical units), relaxing property qualifications, and increased state equipment supply.

In the first two centuries AD new forms of helmets developed from Gallic models. The legionary shield continued to be large and curving, but oval, sub-oval, and rectangular variants were in contemporary use. Scale, mail, and articulated-plate cuirasses were current. The latter (modern usage: '*lorica segmentata*') consisted of steel plates articulated on internal leather strips, and developed from the 1st cent. BC into the 3rd AD. Additional arm- and leg-armour was also sometimes worn. Spears and light javelins were carried by some legionaries instead of *pila*, and all continued with the short sword. Auxiliary infantry and cavalry were also armoured in mail or scale (not plate), but large flat shields of varying shapes were carried. Infantry used short swords, cavalry the long Gallic *spatha*. The majority carried spears and/or javelins, while specialist units carried composite bows or lances (cavalry). Horsemen used Gallic saddlery, wore special helmet types, and had sports armour for training and displays.

The 3rd cent. saw distinctions between legionary and auxiliary and infantry and cavalry equipment disappear—all now carried slightly dish-shaped, oval shields, and wore mail or scale (the '*lorica segmentata*' eventually going out of use). Cavalry helmet forms were adopted by infantry. The legionary *pilum* was generally replaced by a

variety of spears and light javelins. Short swords continued in use but *spathae* took over as the main bladed weapon.

Increased emphasis on cavalry involved the use of heavily armoured mounted troops (*catafractarii*, *clibanarii*) on the Parthian/Sasanid model. Into the late Roman period infantry continued to be armoured; some troops carried flat, round Germanic shields; but a major change came with the introduction of simple, mass-produced infantry and cavalry 'Ridge' helmets c.AD 300.

In all periods the *mercenaries, allies, native levies, etc, valued for their specialized fighting skills, used their own ethnic military equipment.

Military status, especially during the imperial period, was defined by the right to carry arms and especially by military waist-belts. Fittings on the latter constantly evolved but were usually decorative and noisy.

Equipment was manufactured in cities and was largely a matter of individual acquisition and ownership before the 1st cent. BC. Thereafter, the state organized production, manufacture, and supply (individual ownership continued in the Principate), based principally on legionary workshops (*fabricae*) and craftsmen. Army expansion necessitated the establishment of additional, city-based, state arms factories from c.AD 300 onwards. JNCN

Arrian (Lucius Flavius Arrianus) c.AD 86–160. Born in Nicomedia in Bithynia, he held local office and pursued studies with Epictetus, whose lectures he later published (allegedly verbatim) as the *Discourses* and summarized in the *Encheiridion* ('Manual'). In Greece between 108 and 112 he attracted the friendship of *Hadrian, who later adlected him to senatorial rank and after his consulate (?129) employed him for six years (131–7) as legate of Cappadocia. Subsequently he retired to Athens, where he held the archonship (145/6), and perhaps survived into the reign of Marcus *Aurelius.

One of the most distinguished writers of his day, Arrian represented himself as a second *Xenophon and adopted a style which fused elements of Xenophon into a composite, artificial (yet outstandingly lucid) diction based on the great masters, *Herodotus and *Thucydides. The *Cynegeticus* is an explicit revision of Xenophon's monograph in the light of the revolution in hunting brought by the Celtic greyhound; and Xenophon's influence is demonstrable in the short essays he wrote in Cappadocia: the *Periplus* (c.131), the *Essay on Tactics* (136/7), and, most remarkable, the *Order of Battle against the Alans*, which expounds his tactics to repel the incursion of the Alans (135) in the style of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*.

Celebrated as a philosopher in his lifetime, Arrian is today principally known as a historian. Works now lost include the eight-book *Bithyniaca*, the history of his native province from mythical times to its annexation by Rome, and the seventeen-book *Parthica* with its detailed narrative of *Trajan's campaigns (probably the source for *Cassius Dio). His most famous work deals with the age of *Alexander the Great. The period after Alexander's death (323–319 BC) was covered expansively in the ten books of *Affairs after Alexander* (significant fragments of which survive on palimpsest and papyrus). The only extant history is the so-called '*Anabasis of Alexander*', a history of Alexander the Great in seven books from his accession to his death. A short companion piece, the *Indike*, provides a digest of Indian memorabilia, based explicitly upon Megasthenes, *Eratosthenes, and Nearchus, and recounts Nearchus' voyage from south India to Susa. Arrian's work is conceived as a literary tribute to Alexander's achievements, to do for him what *Homer had done for *Achilles, and the tone is eulogistic, mitigating standard criticisms and culminating in a panegyric of extraordinary intensity. The sources Arrian selected were *Ptolemy I and Aristobulus, contemporaries and actors in the events and appropriately favourable to Alexander; and the narrative is in the main worked up from material they provided, supplemented by *logoi* ('stories'), mostly from late rhetorical sources and chosen for their colour. Arrian's priority was excellence of style, not factual accuracy. Consequently his account is rich in detail and eminently readable, but is marred by demonstrable errors and misunderstandings. ABB

art, ancient attitudes to

Artists and their work

The Greeks regularly equated art with craft, *technē*, which *Aristotle defined as the 'trained ability (*hexis*) of making something under the guidance of rational thought' (*Eth. Nic.* 1140^a9–10). Until the late Hellenistic period, there is no evidence that sculpture and painting were viewed as fundamentally different from shoemaking or any other profession which produced a product. Although a number of writers betray an instinctive recognition of a qualitative difference between the visual arts on the one hand and utilitarian crafts on the other, no formal distinction was ever made between the 'fine arts' and other arts in Greek thought.

From an aristocratic point of view artists were regarded as social inferiors because they were obliged to do physical work for others, and this type of life was held to have a degrading effect on their bodies and minds (*Xen. Oec.* 4. 2–3; *Arist. Pol.* 1281^b 1–3; *Lucian, Somn.* 6–9).

Although this aristocratic prejudice is documented throughout antiquity, there is also evidence that not everyone adhered to it. Artists like Phidias, Polyclitus, Parrhasius, and Zeuxis were clearly respected in their own time, and the quality and value of their work was recognized (Xen. *Mem.* 1. 4. 3; Isoc. *Antid.* 2). Respect for the art of painting in particular seems to have grown during the Classical period, and in the late 4th cent. BC, under the influence of the prestigious painter Pamphilus, painting was added to the normal curriculum of Greek education (Plin. *HN* 35. 77).

The modest position of artists in most Greek social and philosophical thought did not prevent some of them from attaining considerable prestige and even wealth. Phidias was part of *Pericles' inner circle; the painter Polygnotus, whom Plutarch describes as 'not just one of the common workmen' (*Cim.* 4. 6), served as Cimon's artistic impresario; the family of the sculptor Praxiteles belonged to the upper level of Athenian society in the 4th cent., and one of Praxiteles' sons, the sculptor Cephisodotus the Younger, undertook costly liturgies (*trierarchies) for the city; and in the Hellenistic period a number of sculptors are recorded to have held magistracies and been the recipients of honours in various Greek cities. The reputation and influence of artists was further enhanced by the *patronage of Hellenistic monarchs. *Alexander the Great gave special status to Lysippus and Apelles, for example; Demetrius Poliorcetes ('the Besieger') treated the painter Protogenes with special favour; and the early Ptolemies (see PTOLEMY I; PTOLEMY II) invited prominent artists to their court.

In the late Hellenistic period a new theory of artistic creativity was developed in which certain artists, especially Phidias, were recognized as inspired visionaries whose insight (*phantasia*) and creative ability surpassed that of ordinary people and made them sages of a sort. This '*phantasia* theory', which grew out of an amalgam of *Stoicism and Platonic idealism (see PLATO), left its mark on a variety of Roman and late Greek writers (e.g. *Cicero, *Dio of Prusa, and Plotinus) but was never part of the mainstream of Greek thought about art.

Evolving uses of art, Greek

There was a significant distinction in the Greek world between public and private art. The major arts of sculpture and painting fall primarily, if not exclusively, into the category of public art, which had two subdivisions: works with a religious purpose, such as cult images, temple sculptures, and votive offerings; and works with a political or cultural commemorative function, such as portraits of civic leaders, personifications of political ideas, paintings of famous battles, and victory monuments

connected with public competitions (see GAMES). Funerary sculpture, although usually privately commissioned, was essentially public in function and also belongs to the commemorative category. Although public monuments usually had a decorative aspect, there seems to have been hardly any public art that was designed to be purely decorative. Even stage paintings in the theatre were created for public religious festivals.

Small-scale works of art which had a primarily decorative purpose, such as paintings on *pottery, engravings on *gems, and jewellery, belong to the category of private art. Some terracotta statuettes may fall into this class, although the majority of these were probably votive. In the 4th cent. BC figural *mosaic pavements became an increasingly common decorative element in private houses, and Plutarch's story of *Alcibiades' efforts to compel the painter Agatharchus to decorate his house (*Alc.* 16) suggests that mural paintings could also be part of domestic decoration, at least in aristocratic circles.

Over time there were two major shifts of emphasis within these categories. First, beginning in the 5th cent. BC, the line between religious and commemorative-political art became blurred as traditional subjects were adapted to convey political meanings (e.g. the Amazonomachy, the Gigantomachy; see AMAZONS; GIANTS). The sculptures of the Parthenon and the great altar and other Attalid dedications at *Pergamum are notable examples of this trend. Second, as the idea of acquiring works of art for private delectation developed among Hellenistic monarchs, the major arts of sculpture and painting gradually also became part of the world of private art.

Evolving uses of art, Roman

Art in Rome had the same functions that it had in Greece, but private patronage of artists played a much wider role in the Roman world, and the commemorative aspect of public art tended to have a different emphasis.

The formation of private art collections was a distinctive phenomenon of the later Roman republic and was apparently first stimulated by the vast quantities of Greek art taken as booty by the Romans in the 3rd and 2nd cent. BC. Captured sculptures and paintings were first used to adorn triumphal processions and subsequently to decorate villas and houses of the triumphators. In time, possessing an art collection became a badge of cultural sophistication, and the drive to acquire collections spread beyond the world of victorious generals. When the supply of looted works of art dried up, the demand created by collectors was met by Greek artists who migrated to Rome, and some of them, like the sculptor Arcesilaus, were able to command huge prices for their

work (Plin. *HN* 35. 155–6). By the 1st cent. BC a lively ‘art world’ had taken shape, populated not only by artists and collectors but also by dealers and even forgers. One significant outcome of this development was the creation of Europe’s first public art galleries, in which extensive private collections could be exhibited.

Although historical subjects were occasionally depicted in Greek art, the Romans were much more consistently interested than the Greeks in using the arts to record the details of specific historical events. Public buildings, for example, frequently bore inscriptions celebrating the largess and achievements of the prominent citizens who had built them, and both paintings and relief sculptures documented military campaigns and important public ceremonies. *See* ARA PACIS.

A fusion of this deep-seated historical self-consciousness with the growing importance of private patronage in late republican Rome resulted in a significant expansion of the scope of ancient *portraiture. The Greeks had produced portraits only of prominent public figures (e.g. military men and civic leaders). By the early empire, however, Roman portraits came to be commissioned not only by rulers and aristocrats but also by citizens of relatively humble status, such as freedmen.

Art criticism

Ancient criticism of the visual arts was of four kinds. (a) Professional criticism, that is, criticism current among artists themselves. This focused on various technical achievements and improvements and was often propagated through professional treatises, like the canon of Polyclitus. A number of these were used and cited by *Pliny and *Vitruvius. The idea for such treatises seems to have originated among architects in the 6th cent. BC and was adopted by sculptors and painters in the Classical period. In the 3rd cent. the principles of professional criticism were incorporated into the first histories of sculpture and painting, which described these arts as progressing through a series of technical improvements towards a state of formal perfection. (b) Moralistic aesthetics. In Classical Greek philosophy the visual arts were viewed as forms of imitation, *mimēsis*, and their value was assessed on the basis of the moral and intellectual value of what they imitated (e.g. Plato’s criticism of painting for its failure to imitate reality, *Resp.* 10. 596e–597e, and Aristotle’s praise of ‘moral’ painters like Polygnotus in *Poet.* 1450^a23 and 1448^a1). The *phantasia* theory of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, the essence of which is best

preserved in Philostratus, *VA* 6. 19, perpetuated this moralistic tradition in criticism but shifted its emphasis from *mimēsis* to the artist’s spiritual insight. (c) Popular appreciation of *mimēsis*. Throughout antiquity there was a tradition of informal criticism which praised works of art for imitating nature so closely that the viewer was deceived into thinking that the work of art was ‘real’. In the Archaic period this may have involved attributing magical qualities to works of art (as in the folk-tales about the works of Daedalus preserved in *Diodorus Siculus, 4. 76. 1–6). Later, in the hands of writers like Pliny, the Philostrati, and Callistratus the marvellous power of illusionism is the dominant theme. (d) Stylistic analogy with rhetoric and literature. Cicero, *Brut.* 70, Quintilian, *Inst.* 12. 10. 1–10, and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his essays on orators used the developmental histories that grew out of professional criticism as analogies for the stylistic development of rhetoric, prose, and poetry. This type of criticism is of particular interest in art history because it took note of the importance of personal styles in sculpture and painting and approached the idea of style with sympathy and understanding.

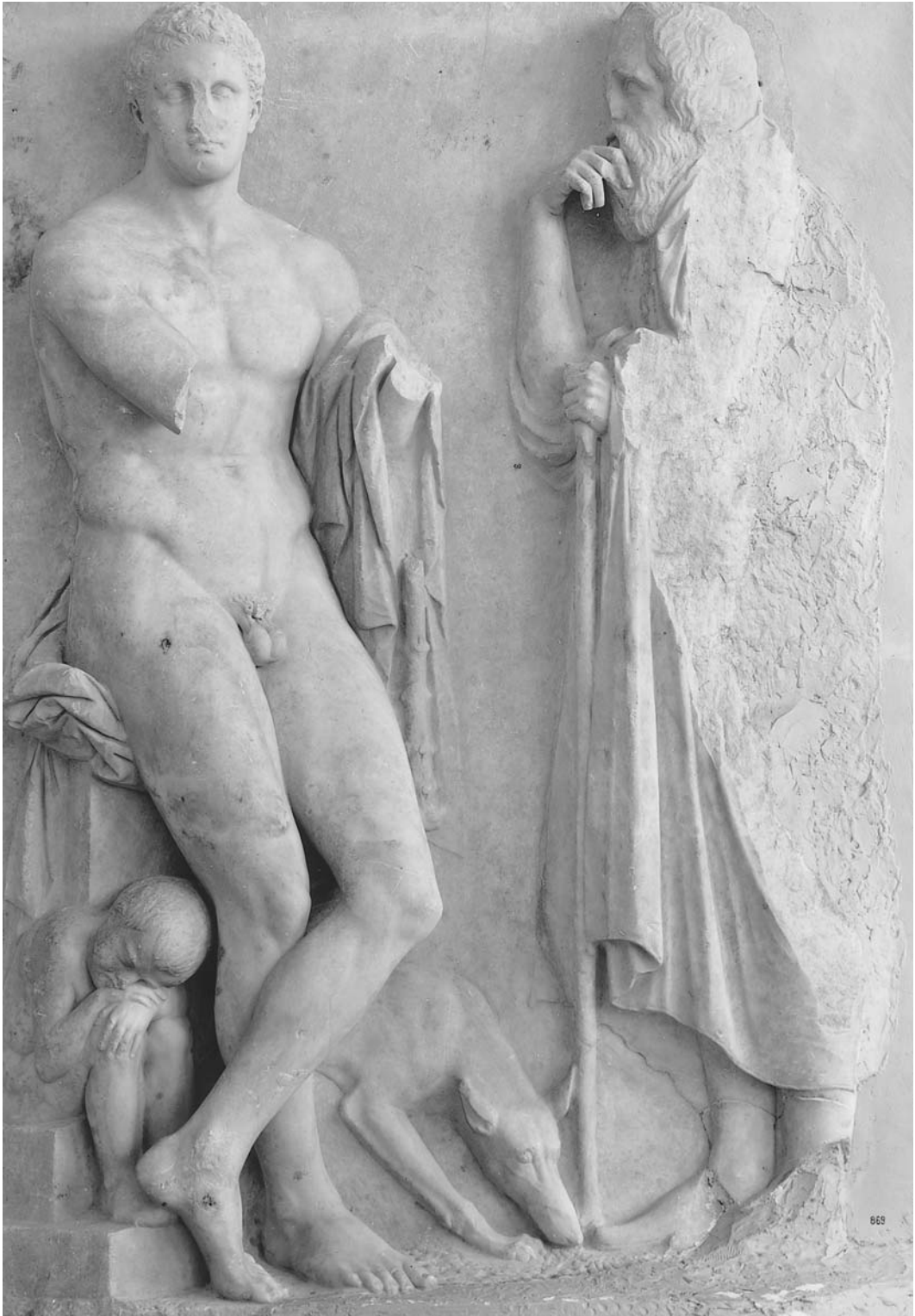
See ART, FUNERARY, GREEK; ART, FUNERARY, ROMAN; ARTISANS AND CRAFTSMEN; EKPHRASIS; IMAGERY; PAINTING, GREEK; PAINTING, ROMAN; SCULPTURE, GREEK; SCULPTURE, ROMAN JJPO

art, funerary, Greek This article covers both architecture and art made specifically to mark and monumentalize the grave; for grave goods (which may be of any sort, and in Greece were rarely, it seems, custom-made for the tomb): *see* DEAD, DISPOSAL OF.

Bronze age

(c.3000–c.1100 BC). The earliest monumental funerary architecture occurs in the Mesara plain of Crete, where hundreds of circular stone tholos-tombs were erected during the third millennium, each housing multiple burials. Late Minoan rulers were occasionally buried in sumptuous built tombs, like the Royal Tomb at Isopata and the Egyptian-style Temple Tomb at Cnossus (*see* MINOAN CIVILIZATION). On the mainland, the 16th-cent. shafts of Grave Circle A at Mycenae were surmounted by limestone steles showing battles and hunts from chariots, and from c.1400 the élite were buried in corbelled tholos-tombs, of which several hundred are known from all over Greece; the largest and most famous is the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae (*see* MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION).

art, funerary, Greek Grave-marker for a young man from Athens (c.340 BC). The idealization of the deceased (handsome, athletic) and the reflective mood are typical of Athenian gravestones in the 4th cent. BC. Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich



Early iron age and geometric period

(c.1100–c.700). Greek monumental tomb-architecture stopped with the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces c.1200. Until recently, the subject's history would have resumed in the 8th cent., when large vases became popular in Athens as tomb-markers. In 1981, however, two rich 10th-cent. burials were discovered at *Lefkandi in Euboea, surmounted by an apsidal building 10 m. wide and 50 m. long (11 × 55 yds.): the earliest Greek hero-shrine or heroon. Such heroa were eventually to become a common feature of the Greek landscape. They assumed a wide variety of forms, from the simple triangular enclosure above the graves of seven late 8th-cent. heroes of Eretria to the heroon that Cimon built at Athens shortly after 474 to receive *Theseus' bones, lavishly embellished with frescos by the painter Micon.

Earth mounds topped by undecorated stone slabs were popular as grave-markers in many geometric communities, but at Athens and Argos large vases performed this function after c.800. At Athens, massive craters stood on men's graves and amphorae on women's, decorated with multifigured battles and funerals. Despite attempts to identify these scenes as episodes from Homer, they are probably all taken from contemporary life. The Argive vases are no less monumental, though quite different iconographically: their repertoire of birds, horses, fish, water, and men apparently reflects the landscape and inhabitants of the Argive plain. In other communities, most notably on Crete, the bronze age practice of burial in tholoi persists or is intentionally revived.

Archaic period

(c.700–c.480). The period's chief innovations were the funerary statue and carved gravestone. *Kouroi* (standing, usually nude, youths) marked graves on Thera by c.630, and some argue that the type was introduced for this purpose. Funerary *korai* (draped, standing young women) appear at the same time, and painted and sculptured gravestones shortly after 600. At Athens, these steles soon became extremely lavish, until banned by sumptuary legislation (Cic. *Leg.* 2. 26. 64), apparently c.490. Athletes, warriors, hunters, and elders are common subjects; women and children far less so. The less wealthy or less pretentious continued to favour earth mounds, though built tombs of stone or brick appeared around 600. These were sometimes embellished with clay plaques painted with mourning scenes; sets survive signed by Sophilus, Lydus, Execias, and others.

In other areas, funerary art varied widely. *Kouroi* rarely stood over graves in central and southern Greece,

but often did so in Miletus and *Samos. These cities' rich traditions of funerary sculpture also included *korai*, seated figures, and lions. Sarcophagi were popular in east Greece: Rhodians favoured plain stone ones, Clazomenians lavishly-painted clay ones. Aeolians and Macedonians liked large tumuli, Thessalians preferred tholos-tombs; and so on.

Classical period

(c.480–c.330). At Athens, the legislation mentioned above decreed that no tomb could be made by more than ten men in three days. So whereas high-quality grave-steles with single figures in relief remain in vogue in the Cyclades and Thessaly, until c.430 Attic funerary art is restricted to white-ground lecythi: small, clay oil-flasks usually painted with domestic or mourning scenes in applied colour. Some show scenes at the tomb itself, complete with lecythi standing on the stepped bases of the simple stone slabs that now served as tomb-markers.

Around 430, for reasons perhaps relating either to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (431) or the plague (430), grave-steles began to reappear in Athens. At first echoing Cycladic models, they soon developed a standard repertoire of subjects: athlete, warrior, mistress and maid, father and son, married couple, family group, funeral banquet, and so on. Though most are in the form of *naiskoi* (miniature shrines) in high relief, low-relief slab-steles furnished a cheap alternative; stone lecythi were also popular, and unmarried women received marble *loutrophoroi* (water jars). Dead and living are often linked by a handshake, and the mood is usually sombre. During the 4th cent., the steles became larger and more elaborate, until Demetrius of Phalerum banned them in 317; they were often imitated elsewhere in Greece.

In Asia Minor, Greek architects and sculptors built sumptuous tombs for local rulers. In Lycia, the most elaborate is the 'Nereid Monument' from *Xanthus, now in the British Museum. Constructed c.380, it consisted of a square podium embellished with battle-reliefs and surmounted by a small Ionic temple; Nereids stood between the columns, and other friezes, a sculptured pediment, and acroteria decorated its entablature, cella, and roof. The Carian ruler Mausolus used many elements of this design for his *Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. Begun around 365, this most grandiose of all sculptured tombs was widely imitated.

Hellenistic period

(c.330–c.30). *Alexander the Great's sumptuous hearse, described by *Diodorus Siculus (18. 26 ff.), set a new

standard in funerary magnificence. His own mausoleum at *Alexandria, the so-called Sema, has disappeared, but other royal tombs have survived. In Macedonia, kings and aristocrats were buried in vaulted chambers painted with a wide variety of subjects: hunts, Amazonomachies (see AMAZONS), Centauromachies (see CENTAURS), *Hades and *Persephone, chariot-races and so on. The most famous of these, tomb II at Vergina (see AEGAE), was probably constructed for King Philip Arrhidaeus and Eurydice (d. 317/6), not *Philip II (d. 336), as proposed by its excavator. Sculptured monuments range from the 'Alexander Sarcophagus' from Sidon (probably made for Abdalonymus, Alexander's puppet king), through the mausoleum at Belevi near *Ephesus (perhaps constructed for *Lysimachus, d. 281), to Antiochus I of Commagene's hierotheseion at *Nemrut Dağ in eastern Turkey (c.40).

The extinction of the Attic gravestone industry in 317 prompted an exodus of sculptors to Rhodes, Macedonia, and *Alexandria, where painted or carved imitations of Attic steles continued into the 3rd cent. Thereafter, Alexandrians interred their dead in underground *necropoleis*, decked out like houses with colonnaded or pilastered façades, and often painted inside. In *Cyrene, faceless female busts set over rock-cut tombs probably represent Persephone. A rich local stele tradition develops in the Asian cities around 200, featuring either funeral banquets or family groups where the dead are overtly heroized. Inscriptions also tell of built heroa with bronze funerary statues of the deceased, but few examples (and no statues) survive. In Tarentum, *naiskoi* embellished with reliefs of heroic fights, Achilles' last journey, and so on, are popular from c.330–250. See IMAGERY. AFS

art, funerary, Roman, Early republican tombs at Rome have none of the decorative features of contemporary Etruscan funerary art (see ETRUSCANS), but by the mid- to late republic some aristocratic tombs show a desire for elaboration (e.g. the sarcophagus of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus and the façade of the tomb of the Scipio family, painted and decorated with statues in niches). From the last years of the republic onwards funerary art ceased to be the prerogative of the rich: even *freedmen and slaves decorated their tombs and bought funerary monuments. Several media were used to decorate the tomb outside and inside, and to provide memorials for the dead. The exterior might have decorations in relief (stone or terracotta) alluding to the deceased's offices or profession (e.g. fasces and curule chair for a magistrate, or a scene of everyday business such as the baking depicted on the tomb of the baker Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces). Portraits of the deceased, represented

in the round or in relief, were also popular, especially with freedmen in the late republic and early empire. Inside the tomb there were sculptured free-standing monuments, including the containers for the remains of the deceased—ash-chests in the early empire and, increasingly from c.AD 100 onwards, sarcophagi. There were also commemorative monuments such as grave altars or *cippi*. The interior of the tomb itself might be decorated with stucco, painting, and mosaic. Stucco provided architectural and figured decoration for niches in the walls (e.g. the first tomb of the Caetennii and the tomb of the Valerii in the Vatican cemetery), and was also used on the ceilings, which could be subdivided into a complex pattern of smaller fields by stucco mouldings, each containing a painted or stuccoed motif (e.g. tombs 'of the Pancratii' and 'of the Valerii' on the via Latina, Rome). Painting provided colour, but also a variety of motifs placed inside niches, on ceilings, and on walls. In the *catacombs painting was the dominant form of decoration, but here biblical stories and Christian symbols replaced the pagan ones in use elsewhere. *Mosaic was used primarily for the floors of tombs, but also appears on ceilings and walls (the most spectacular being the ceiling decoration of the small tomb of the Julii—tomb M—in the Vatican cemetery, with Christ/Helios in his chariot amid a design of vines on a gold background).

Outside Rome, different areas of the empire developed their own types and styles of funerary monument and art: tombs of many kinds were decorated with sculpture, both statues and reliefs (e.g. the tomb of the Secundinii at Augusta Treverorum (Trier), with its scenes both of everyday life and of mythology). Tombstones or grave steles were also used in many areas to mark the grave and commemorate the deceased (e.g. the numerous tombstones of both soldiers and civilians from Roman Britain).

The iconographic repertoire of Roman funerary art is particularly rich. Motifs might refer directly to the deceased: *portraiture, whether full-length or in bust form, was popular throughout the imperial period, and portraits are found both on the façades of tombs and on a variety of monuments such as sarcophagi, where they can appear both in relief on the chest and as a reclining figure on the lid. The deceased might also be represented engaged in an everyday activity, on their death-bed, or in heroized and idealized form, with the attributes of a deity or hero, and women might be represented with the beauty and attributes of *Venus. Battle and hunt scenes, designed to show the deceased's manliness, were widely used on sarcophagi, as were other scenes designed to suggest his virtues. Mythological scenes were extremely popular, and a wide selection of episodes from Greek mythology was used in all contexts, but again especially

on sarcophagi. Motifs from the natural world (plants, birds, and animals) abound, possibly reflecting the desire to have one's tomb surrounded by a luscious garden teeming with life. In addition there was a host of other motifs, such as cupids, seasons, sphinxes, and griffins, which could be combined in a number of different ways. Clearly some of these designs had a significance beyond their surface meaning, and alluded allegorically to beliefs in and hopes for an after-life existence; however, this is an area of much scholarly disagreement, some maintaining that virtually all motifs used in funerary contexts have an eschatological meaning, others remaining more sceptical (e.g. some think that scenes of Tritons and Nereids swimming through the sea allude to the *soul on its journey to the Islands of the Blest, while others deny the motif any such significance). As the imperial period progressed the mystery religions (*see* MYSTERIES), with their promise of salvation, gained in popularity, and Bacchic themes (*see* DIONYSUS) and Hercules (paradigm of a mortal attaining immortality) appeared more frequently in funerary art.

Much of the private, non-state art of Rome was funerary, and the production of sarcophagi in particular became a major industry, with partially carved chests travelling considerable distances. Although some individual choice of design was possible, and some highly idiosyncratic pieces survive, for most purposes, standardized motifs taken from pattern books were used, personalization being achieved by the addition of an inscription or portrait. Nevertheless, commemoration of the dead, on as lavish a scale as could be afforded, was a major concern for most Romans of the imperial period. *See* DEAD, DISPOSAL OF; DEATH, ATTITUDES TO; IMAGERY; SCULPTURE, ROMAN. GD

art, Jewish Architecture, coinage, and funerary remains reflect distinctive Jewish modes of participation in the larger visual culture of the Graeco-Roman period. Jews tended to distance themselves from artefacts and imagery deemed potentially 'idolatrous', although this category was somewhat fluid. Hasmonaean and Jewish revolt coinage exhibits mainly floral motifs and a palaeo-Hebrew script, reminiscent of Tyrian numismatics. The Temple menorah and showbread table appear on lepta of Antigonus Mattathias (39 BC), and other Jerusalem cult objects are found on coins of the First Revolt (AD 66–74) and the Bar Kokhba Revolt (AD 132–5), which bear a tetrastyle representation of the lost Temple. The architecture of Herod's Temple (c.20/19 BC–AD 70) was consonant with Augustan imperial architecture, apart from the avoidance of human and most animal imagery. From the 3rd cent. AD, symbols drawn from the Temple cult (e.g. the menorah), some of which were carried over into

*synagogue liturgy (e.g. palm frond bundles and ram's horns), served, with images of Torah shrines, as markers of Jewish identity across the Roman and Sassanian domains. Wall-paintings depicting biblical scenes, such as those which appear in the Dura-Europus synagogue (c.AD 245), were likely widespread. Basilical synagogues with large Torah shrines, usually aligned toward Jerusalem, are attested in Palestine and diaspora communities from the late 4th cent.; many Palestinian mosaic pavements were decorated with zodiac and biblical imagery. SF

Artemis Daughter of *Zeus and Leto, *Apollo's elder twin sister, a very important Olympian deity, a virgin and a huntress, who presided over crucial aspects of life. She presided over women's transitions, most crucially their transformation from *parthenos* (virgin) to (fully acculturated and fully 'tamed') woman (*gynē*; *see* INITIATION), and over *childbirth and *kourotrophein* (the rearing of children). She was also concerned with male activities, often (as at Sparta, *see* below) with their rites of transition to adulthood, also hunting and certain aspects of war. Like all deities, she had different cults in the different parts of the Greek world, but the above-mentioned concerns are part of her panhellenic persona and recur commonly in local cults; the same is even more strongly the case with her firm association with the wild and her persona as protector of young animals as well as of hunting. It is possible to perceive that the core of her personality is a concern with transitions and transitional marginal places, such as marshes, junctions of land and water and so on, and marginal situations. There is some merit in this, but since such classifications are inevitably culturally determined, we cannot be sure whether this was indeed a core aspect of Artemis or a culturally determined construct created by our own assumptions and preferred conceptual schemata at a time when transitions and things marginal are at the forefront of scholarly discourse—especially since deities were complex beings and did not begin with one function which was then expanded.

In the Classical period Artemis' iconography crystallized into a particular version of the iconographical schema 'young *parthenos*', a version that includes several variants; usually she has a bow and arrow, and she is often associated with a deer. One of Artemis' epithets, it should be noted, is *Elaphēbolos* (the 'Shooter of Deer'), after which was named the month *Elaphebolion*. Sometimes, especially in the Archaic period, she was represented through the schema of *Potnia Thērōn*, 'Mistress of the Animals', usually winged, flanked by animals. Very rarely she is shown with wings but not as a *Potnia Thērōn*, that

is, not flanked by animals. Many, but not all, scholars believe that her name appears in the Linear B tablets of Pylos (PY Es 650. 5; Un 219. 5; *see* MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION). One of the religious nexuses that contributed to the making of the divine persona that crystallized in the figure of the historical Greek goddess Artemis is the 'Potnia Thērōn' facet of a Minoan goddess. It is for this reason that Artemis sometimes became associated or identified with another 'later transformation' of that goddess, Britomartis/Dictynna.

In *Homer, Artemis was, like Apollo, on the side of the Trojans. She was a death-bringing deity, for she sent sudden death to women (cf. e.g. *Od.* 11. 171–3), as Apollo did to men. Apollo and Artemis together killed the children of Niobe, who had boasted about the large number of children she had in comparison to Leto's two. She or Apollo, or both, killed Tityus who had tried to rape Leto (or, in Euphorion fr. 105 Powell, Artemis herself). Some of the more important myths assigning her the role of punishing deity are that of Actaeon (whom she transformed into a stag and had torn apart by his own hounds), that of her companion Callisto (for having lost her chastity to Zeus), and her demand that Iphigenia (*see* AGAMEMNON) be sacrificed. According to one version of his myth she killed the hunter Orion for insulting her.

In Attica her most important cults are those of Artemis Brauronia, Munichia, Tauropolos, and Agrotera. As Brauronia and Munichia she was above all concerned with female transitions, especially that from *parthenos* to *gynē*. At her sanctuaries at *Brauron and Munichia little girls between the ages of 5 and 10 served Artemis as *arktoi* (bears), a pre-menarche ritual that turned girl-children into marriageable *parthenoi*. Artemis Brauronia was, in general, a women's goddess, and she included a strong kourotrophic function. Artemis Munichia was also a *kourotrophos*, and in addition she was also concerned with *ephēboi* (youths undergoing paramilitary service); at her festival, the Munichia, ephebes sailed from Zea to the harbour of Munichia in 'the sacred ships', and held races at sea. Then they processed for Artemis and sacrificed, celebrations said to be in commemoration and thanksgiving for the battle of Salamis. The cult of Artemis Phosphoros was also associated with that of Munichia at Munichia, while the torch-bearing Artemis, the iconographical representation of Artemis as Phosphoros, is one of the most frequently encountered types among the votives, especially votive reliefs, found at Brauron (L. Kahil, *AK* 1977, 86–98, and in W. G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (1983), 231–44; L. Palaiokrassa, *To hiero tēs Artemidos Mounichias* (1991), and *MDAI* 1989, 1–40; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions* (1988); P. Brulé, *La Fille d'Athènes* (1987), 179 ff.).

The cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides (E. Attica) appears to have been associated with a boys' initiation ceremony, reflected in the rite described at Eur. *IT* 1439 ff. as having been ordained by Athena. She ordered Orestes to take Artemis' Tauric statue to Athens, and set it up in a sanctuary that he was to found at Halai. There Artemis was to be worshipped as Tauropolos, and at her festival (as a compensation for the aborted sacrifice of Orestes) the sword was to be held to a man's throat and blood spilled. (F. Graf, *Antike Welt* 1979, 33–41; H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 1983, 87–102.)

Artemis Agrotera had some involvement with war. The Spartans sacrificed a goat to her before battle, while the Athenians, we are told, before the battle of Marathon vowed to sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera as many goats as enemies killed. In the event they could not find enough goats, so they vowed to sacrifice 500 a year, which they did, on her festival on 6 Boedromion, which thus involved a strong element of thanksgiving for Marathon. This festival included a procession to the temple in which the ephebes took part. The sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera was peri-urban, at Agrae. The overwhelming (though not universal) scholarly opinion is that the temple of Artemis Agrotera is to be identified with the so-called Ilissus temple, built by Callicrates. (On Artemis and war cf. Burkert, *HN*, 65–7; J.-P. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals* (collected essays ed. F. I. Zeitlin) (1991), 244–57, and *Figures, Idols, Masques* (1990), 162–81; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (1977); P. Ellinger, *Arch. Anz.* 1987, 88–99 and *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 1978, 7–35.)

In some places, including Athens, Artemis' role as protector of women in childbirth is expressed through her epithet Loch[e]ia (cf. e.g. Eur. *IT* 1097, *Supp.* 958; *IG* 2². 4547; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 154 A 16–17 (Cos)). Elsewhere it is expressed in her identification with Eileithyia (cf. e.g. Artemis Eileithyia at Thebes, Orchomenus, Thespieae, Chaeronea, Tanagra, Thisbe, Anthedon: A. Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia* 1 (1981), 94, 98, 101–6); cf. on both epithets Plut. *Mor.* 658 f. It has been suggested that in *IG* 2². 4547 Eileithyia is not a separate deity but belongs with *Artemidi Lochiai* as a second epithet (M. Guarducci, in D. W. Braeden and M. F. McGregor (eds.), *Phoros* (1974), 60)).

At Sparta Artemis had several cults, the most important of which was that of Artemis Orthia (*see* SPARTAN CULTS), a cult closely associated with the *agōgē* or state training, the long process through which Spartan boys became élite warriors and citizens, though Artemis Orthia also had other functions, not least ones pertaining to female concerns, and there was clearly a close association between Artemis Orthia and Eileithyia since many dedications to Eileithyia were found in this sanctuary. (R. M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*

(1929); C. Calame, *Les Chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (1977), 276–97; J.-P. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals* (1991), 225–43; R. Parker, in A. Powell (ed.), *Classical Sparta* (1989), 151–2.)

A ritual practice broadly comparable to the Attic *arkteia* (but in much closer proximity to marriage) has been convincingly reconstructed (P. Clement, *Ant. Class.* 1934, 393–409) as having been associated with the cult of Artemis Pagasitis at Pagasae-Demetrias and the cult of Artemis Throsia at Larissa, the *nebreia*, which consisted of the consecration of girls to Artemis for a certain period during which they were called *nebroi* (fawns). (Cf. also K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden* (1989), 41–2; P. Brulé, *La Fille d'Athènes* (1987), 191.)

At Patrae the festival Laphria in honour of Artemis Laphria included a procession in which the virgin priestess rode in a chariot drawn by deer and the holocaust sacrifice of many animals; these were thrown alive into the altar enclosure, and included wild animals such as deer and boar, which were not normally sacrificed in Greek religion (cf. Paus. 7. 18. 8–13; G. Piccaluga in *Le Sacrifice dans l'antiquité*, Entretiens Hardt 27 (1981), 243–77).

The cult of Artemis at Ephesus (on which cf. A. Bammer, *Das Heiligtum der Artemis von Ephesos* (1984)) includes Asiatic elements; but this does not make Artemis an eastern goddess.

Artemis was often identified with other goddesses whose name she sometimes bore as an epithet, for example, besides Artemis Eileithyia referred to above, Artemis Hecate (cf. e.g. Aesch. *Supp.* 675–7). CS-1

artillery Evidence for Greek and Roman artillery comes from the surviving technical treatises, incidental historical and subliterate references, and, most importantly, finds of both machine-fittings and projectiles. The latter at present date from the 2nd cent. BC to the 4th cent. AD.

In 399 BC artificers of *Dionysius I apparently invented the first artillery piece (Diod. Sic. 14. 42. 1). The *gastraphetēs* shot arrows only, and somewhat resembled an early medieval crossbow. Propulsion force was supplied by a composite bow, which, being too powerful for a man to draw by hand, was bent by means of a slide and stock. Later *gastraphetai*, some of which were stone-throwers, used a winch and had a stand.

Torsion catapults appeared around 340 BC, possibly invented by *Philip II's engineers. Stock, winch, and base remained much the same, but two springs, bundles of rope made from animal sinew, horsehair, or human hair, and held at high tension in a metal-plated wooden frame, now provided propulsive power. Torsion machines improved continuously in efficiency through the Roman

period. From c.270 BC a technical literature of calibrating formulae and standard dimensions developed. However, torsion catapults did not supersede the large non-torsion types before the later 3rd cent. and small composite machines continued into the late Roman period.

The torsion *katapultēs oxybelēs* shot bolts only (main calibres: one to four bolt), the *lithobolos* hurled stone-shot (weights of ten *minae* to three talents). Both types had a maximum effective range well in excess of 300 m. (330 yds.). Schramm reached 387 m. (423 ft.) with a full-size reproduction of a two-cubit (approx. 100-cm./40-in.) machine employing horsehair springs. Modifications devised between 200 and 25 BC are reflected in machines described by *Vitruvius, and by fittings from Ephya, Mahdia, and Ampurias.

Each imperial Roman legion had integral artillery specialists and workshops to design, manufacture, repair, and deploy its c.70 *catapultae* and *ballistae* (Cf. 1st-cent. AD Cremona finds; also *ILS* 2034). The small but powerful engines illustrated on Trajan's Column and described by Heron of Alexandria (*chiroballistra*), with all-metal frames, were probably developed in the 1st cent. AD. They continued in use into the late Roman period, as evidenced by finds from Lyons, Gornea, and Orsova, and the accounts of Vegetius, Procopius, and Mauricius. By the 4th cent. AD the one-armed, stone-throwing *onager* was also developed.

Artillery figured most prominently in sieges, especially those associated with Rome's eastern wars, and its use may have spread to the Sasanids through Roman contacts. Whilst the 4th-cent. BC general Onomarchus and *Alexander the Great used artillery in the field, lack of mobility restricted it before the Roman period. Long range made artillery a valuable naval weapon (e.g. Demetrius Poliorcetes ('the Besieger') off Salamis and *Agrippa at Naulochus). JNC

artisans and craftsmen In Greece the prejudices of the (largely landowning) citizen-élites against the activities of 'mechanics' (*banausoi*), often slaves, *freedmen, or *metics, subjected artisans to formal handicaps in the oligarchic *polis, including limitation of political rights (Ptolemaic *Cyrene: *SEG* 9. 1, para. 8, unfortunately corrupt), restriction of their freedom of movement (Thesalian cities: Arist. *Pol.* 7. 12, 1331a31–5), and exclusion from the *gymnasium (Beroea in the 2nd cent. BC: P. Gauthier and M. Hatzopoulos, *Meletemata* 1994, 21, line 29), although in the Athenian *democracy their social standing was higher, notwithstanding the condescension of Athenian 'intellectuals'. Craftsmen themselves could be proud of their products, if the 'signatures' on painted *pottery are really those of their makers, as too of their

occupations, to judge from the Athenian artisans who stated them in their dedications, including a 'washer-woman' (*pluntria*) (A. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* (1949), 464–5), the last a reminder of the considerable involvement of women in the humbler crafts, especially *textile production. Although entrepreneurs could prosper through artisanal activity, craftsmen as a group were largely powerless, since the citizen-group, beyond taxing sales and charging rents for market- and workshop-space, had no interest in promoting industry as such.

The larger scale of the Roman economy gives greater visibility to the entrepreneurial artisan in Roman society, such as the contract-baker Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, whose grandiose tomb at Rome still stands (Richardson, *A New Topog. Dict. Ancient Rome*, entry under Sep. Eurysaces), although there is little clear evidence for manufacturing enterprises of more than local significance and—apart from the exceptional case of brick production—the Roman élite cannot easily be linked with manufacture. On the other hand, upper-class disdain for the crafts, as at Cic. *Off.* 1. 42, hardly encouraged the open admission of such links, which certainly accounted for some of the wealth of successful Roman *freedmen. Roman craftsmen are widely attested in rural villages as well as cities. (See ART, ANCIENT ATTITUDES TO; INDUSTRY; MARKETS AND FAIRS). AJSS

Asclepius (Lat. *Aesculapius*) Hero and god of healing. In *Homer's *Iliad*, he is a hero, the 'blameless physician' (formula in *Il.* 4. 194, 11. 518), taught by the *centaur Chiron (*Il.* 4. 219); his two sons, the physicians Machaon and Podalirius, lead a contingent from Tricca in *Thessaly (*Il.* 2. 729–33). Late Archaic authors fit him into two different genealogies: in a Thessalian version alluded to in a Hesiodic poem (fr. 60 M–W; see HESIOD) and narrated more fully in *Pindar (*Pyth.* 3), he was the son of *Apollo and Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas. Coronis had become Apollo's beloved, but then married the mortal Ischys; when a raven denounced the girl to the god, he (or his sister *Artemis) killed her, but snatched the unborn baby from the pyre, and entrusted him to Chiron (see CENTAURS). When grown up, Asclepius became a great healer who even raised men from the dead, which provoked *Zeus into killing him with his thunderbolt. Angered, Apollo retaliated by killing the Cyclopes who had made the thunderbolt; in order to punish him, Zeus sent him into servitude with Admetus, king of Pherae. In the Hesiodic *Catalogues*, however, Asclepius is the son of Arsinoë, daughter of Messenian Leucippus (Hesiod fr. 50 M–W), although the story must have followed about the same course as in Pindar, with Asclepius' death by lightning

and Apollo's anger and servitude (frs. 51, 52, 54b, c). Thus, already in the 6th cent. BC two local versions of the myth are well attested and show a very early double location of Asclepius; in both, Apollo is already present. A later, Epidaurian version retained 'the daughter of Phlegyas' (Coronis or Aigle) as mother but made Epidaurus his birthplace, where the baby was exposed, nurtured by a goat, and protected by a dog (Paus. 2. 26. 3, an aetiological story for the prohibition of goat sacrifices and the existence of sacred dogs in Epidaurus and elsewhere; W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (1992), 77 connected the dog with the companion of the Babylonian healing goddess, Gula).

The two early local myths complicate the question of his local origin. It seems prudent to assume two Archaic foci of a healer-cult of Asclepius, in Tricca in Thessaly and in Messenia. Unlike ordinary heroes, Asclepius must have been very early emancipated from the attachment to a local grave; this allowed him to develop a god-like stature, though in most places he stayed attached to his father Apollo. Tricca had 'the oldest and most famous sanctuary' of Asclepius (Strabo 9. 5. 17, p. 437) that still awaits full discovery (on possible archaeological remains in modern Trikala, see *AJArch* 5 (1958), 12; 12 (1965), 14), while the Asclepieum of Messene has revealed an important Hellenistic complex of inner-city sanctuaries briefly described by Pausanias (4. 31. 10), whose pre-Hellenistic roots are still unknown.

Expansion of Asclepius must have begun in late Archaic times; both Cos and Epidaurus became famous during the 5th cent. Cos was the home of a school of physicians which was organized in a pseudo-gentilicial way (i.e. as if it was a *genos*): following the lead of the Homeric *Asclēpiadai*, they all called themselves the descendants of Asclepius or Asclepiadae (Pl. *Phdr.* 270c). Local tradition insisted on a Triccan origin (Herod. 2. 97). The site of an early sanctuary is uncertain; when, in 366/5BC, the city of Cos was rebuilt, Asclepius received a sanctuary in a grove of Apollo Cyparissius (*LSAM* 150 A, dated 325–300 BC); the famous oath, sworn to Apollo, Asclepius, (his daughters) Hygieia and Panacea, 'and all gods and goddesses', belongs to the same period. At Epidaurus, Asclepius must have arrived in about 500 BC when his first sanctuary was built below the hill-sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas where cult went back to the bronze age (first *ex-voto*: Jeffery, *LSAG* 180). Epidaurus became the centre for later expansion. Already in the 5th cent., Asclepius had come to Sicyon, brought on a mule cart and in the form of his snake (Paus. 2. 10. 3). Similarly, the god sent his snake to Athens where he arrived in 420/19, coming by sea to his sanctuary in the Piraeus (see the account in the Telemachus monument, reconstructed

by L. Beschi, *ASAA* 1967/8, 381–436 and *AAA* 1983, 31–43); not long after, he was transferred by cart, together with Hygieia, to his main city sanctuary on the west slope of the Acropolis, well above the theatre of Dionysus. Perhaps already in the 4th cent. BC, a certain Archias who had found healing in Epidaurus, brought the cult to *Pergamum (Paus. 2. 26. 8 f.). To cure a plague in 293 BC, the Sibylline books caused the Romans to fetch the god's snake by ship from Epidaurus to Rome, where the snake chose the Tiber island as its home (Livy 10. 47. 7), but a 5th-cent. dedication from Tuscany points to much earlier acquaintance with the cult elsewhere in peninsular Italy, and the architectural layout of the Hellenistic Asclepieum at Fregellae shows Coan influence (F. Coarelli, *Fregellae* 2 (1986)). Epidaurian foundations might in their turn become foci for further Asclepiea, like the one in Cyrenean Balagrae from which derives the sanctuary on Crete at Lebena, or Pergamum mother of the Smyrnaean sanctuary (Paus. 2. 26. 9). The origins of many other Asclepiea are less well documented, but not necessarily late—the Olympian dedication of Micythus of Rhegium who lived in Tegea after 467 BC dates Asclepius' Tegean cult not much later than the Coan or Epidaurian one (Paus. 5. 26. 2); this sanctuary, as many others in the Peloponnese, might derive from Messenia, not from Epidaurus—though later combinations obscure the picture, like the cult of Machaon in Messenian Gerenia (Paus. 3. 26. 9).

The success of Asclepius was due to his appeal to individuals in a world where their concerns became more and more removed from *polis* religion and even from the healer Apollo, whose appeal still was discernible in his expansion to Rome in 433 BC and in his popularity in the Black (Euxine) Sea towns: with the one exception of Asclepius' transfer to Rome, it was individuals who were responsible for the expansion. The hero, 'best of the physicians', son of Apollo but still enough of a human to try to cancel death, the fundamental borderline between man and god in Greek thinking, was more easily accessible than Apollo who could proclaim lofty indifference towards man and his destiny (*Il.* 21. 462–6); even as a god, Asclepius was never so distant (see the very personal attachment of Aelius Aristides (see *SECOND SOPHISTIC*) in the 2nd cent. AD to Pergamene Asclepius).

Most Asclepiea share common features. The children of Asclepius, his sons Machaon and Podalirius and his daughter Hygieia, have cult in most, as has Apollo whom official inscriptions from Epidaurus always name before Asclepius. Most sanctuaries contain a sacred snake, some—like Epidaurus—also sacred dogs. A central feature of the cult is incubation, the receiving of dreams in which the god prescribes the healing; such dreams are

preserved in the long 'Sacred Discourses' (*hieroi logoi*) of Aelius Aristides and in the accounts of more or less miraculous healings inscribed in Epidaurus, Pergamum, Lebena, and Rome (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafiá greca* 4 (1978), 143–66; H. Müller, *Chiron* 1987, 193–233). Often, actual medical therapy followed the dream: Asclepiea developed into sacred hospitals and nursing-homes, but, owing to their wide appeal, also constituted meeting-places for local intellectuals and places of philosophical instruction (as in Cilician Aegae, Philostr. *VA* 1. 7). Besides the healing rites, other rituals are possible (initiatory dedications of ephebic hair in Paros (*IG* 12. 2. 173); burnt sacrifices in Titane (Paus. 2. 12. 7), with archaic cult images). Most Asclepiea were situated outside the town, sometimes on the seashore or in a lone valley, or at least in a marginal position in town. They share such sites with oracular shrines; both constituted places where humans could experience the divine directly (in his sanctuary, Asclepius 'reveals himself in person to man', Philostr. *VA* 1. 7).

In iconography, Asclepius generally appears as a mature, bearded man, similar to Zeus, but with a milder expression; a beardless Asclepius, as portrayed by Calamis and Scopas, is the exception. His most constant attributes are the staff (see ritual 'putting up the staff' at Cos, [*Hippoc.*] *Ep.* 11. 778 Kühn) and the snake, often coiled about the staff. Generally, the god is standing; in the famous chryselephantine statue from Epidaurus (Paus. 2. 27. 2, see coins), the god is seated, the staff in his left hand, his right extended above the head of a serpent, and beside the throne lies a dog.

FG

Asia, Roman province (see ◀Map 4, Dc▶) Attalus III of Pergamum bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. After his death in 133 BC it was constituted as *provincia Asia* by Manius Aquillius. Originally it consisted of Mysia, the Troad (Troas), Aeolis, Lydia, Ionia, the islands along the coast, much of Caria, and at least a land corridor through Pisidia to Pamphylia. Part of Phrygia was given to Mithradates V Euergetes and was not made part of the province until 116 BC. Lycaonia was added before 100 and the area around Cibyra in 82 BC. After 80 BC, the SE portion was removed and joined to the new province of Cilicia, as were the Phrygian assize-districts of Laodicea, Apamea, and Synnada between 56 and 50 BC. Under the empire Asia included all the territory from Amorium and Philomelium in the east to the sea; it was bounded in the north by Bithynia, in the south by Lycia, and on the east by Galatia.

The province of Asia was rich in natural resources and in the products of agriculture and industry. Woollen fabrics were a speciality of the interior. Long-established

trade routes ran from the interior along the valleys of the Hermus and the Maeander to the harbours of the Aegean. Roman republican governors and capitalists exploited the new province with predatory rapacity and aroused widespread hatred, which was exploited by *Mithradates VI when he stirred up much of Asia to revolt between 88 and 85 BC. Allegedly 80,000 Italians were murdered in a single day at his instigation. After defeating Mithradates *Sulla reorganized the province in 85/4 BC and revised the administrative pattern into eleven assize-districts. This occasion marked the beginning of a new era for many cities, especially in the interior regions of Lydia and Phrygia. Methods of taxation were taken over from the Attalids, but Roman innovations included new customs arrangements introduced by a law of 75 BC, which, with several revisions, was still in force in AD 62. Asia continued to suffer from heavy taxation and arbitrary exactions through the civil wars of the late republic. The province had the misfortune to pick the losing side in the wars between Mithradates and Rome, between *Pompey and *Caesar, between the tyrannicides (Caesar's murderers *Brutus and Cassius) and Mark *Antony, and between Antony and Octavian. Neither victors nor losers in these wars hesitated to milk its rich resources. The principate of Augustus brought relief and was welcomed with genuine hope and enthusiasm, which is reflected above all in the organization of *ruler-cult, both at provincial and civic level, throughout the province.

Asia was now governed by a proconsul (a promagistrate, in this case an ex-*consul), who normally served for one year, assisted by three legates (*legati*) and a quaestor. He traditionally landed at *Ephesus, the headquarters of the republican *publicani* (tax-collectors) and later of the imperial *procurators, but spent much of his time visiting the assize centres (*conventus*) of the province according to a fixed rotation, where he heard cases and conducted other judicial business. The structure of the assize-districts is illustrated by an inscription of the Flavian period from Ephesus, which lists the assize centres and the smaller cities which were subordinate to them. Ephesus eclipsed the old Attalid capital of *Pergamum, although these cities and Smyrna remained locked in rivalry for the rank of leading provincial city. The other assize centres included Adramyttium, Cyzicus, Synnada, Apamea, Miletus, Halicarnassus (*JRS* 1975, 64–91).

Under the Principate new cities were created in the interior regions of Mysia, Lydia, and Phrygia; the province thus comprised a conglomeration of self-governing cities on which the Roman system of provincial government depended. The cities were responsible for local administration, for their own finances and building (sometimes

under the supervision of an outside *curator*, an official of the central government), for law and order on their territories, and for tax collection. The province was represented as a unity by the council (*koinon*) of Asia, a general assembly of representatives from all the cities and other communities, which met annually in one of the five provincial cities (Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Sardis, and Cyzicus) and organized the provincial imperial cult. Members of the most prominent families in the Asian cities became high priests (*archiereis*) of the imperial cult and were responsible for organizing an elaborate programme of sporting and artistic festivals in the provincial centres. Progress towards provincial unity, however, was always hampered by inter-city rivalry, particularly among the communities of the west coast and the Maeander valley.

Asia was supposedly one of the ungarrisoned provinces of the empire. No full legions were stationed there, but legionary detachments were present at various periods at the Phrygian cities of Apamea and Amorium, there was an auxiliary cohort stationed at Phrygian Eumeneia, and smaller contingents of soldiers were regularly used to patrol routes through mountainous areas. During the 3rd cent. AD soldiers were increasingly present in hitherto peaceful rural areas, leading to conflict and bitter complaints from the rural civilian population.

In the first two centuries AD the cities of Asia enjoyed great prosperity, attested by splendid ruins and handsome monuments, and reflected, for instance, in the panegyric speeches of Aelius Aristides (*see* SECOND SOPHISTIC). The wealth of inscriptions, locally minted coins, and material remains makes Asia one of the best documented of all Roman provinces. The cities had changed from autonomous city-states into administrative centres, but countless inscriptions attest the eagerness of members of the city aristocracies for public service, their generosity in providing civic amenities (doubtless at the expense of the rural populations which they exploited), and the entry of many families into the senatorial and equestrian orders. The glittering and extravagant society of the coastal cities, with their wealthy rhetors and sophists, contrasts with the traditional, rural-based society of the Anatolian interior. Urbanization brought Graeco-Roman culture up-country, but the basic Anatolian character of the population of regions such as Lydia and Phrygia was of enduring importance and was particularly conspicuous in their religious cults. The strict, self-disciplined morality of Anatolian pagan belief in the hinterland of the province of Asia provided fertile ground where Jewish and early Christian groups flourished. Much of the interior had apparently converted to Christianity before the beginning of the 4th cent.

In the 3rd cent. AD the province suffered not only from the indiscipline of the soldiery and a general decline in voluntary civic generosity, but also from a collapse in security prompted by Gothic invasions of the 250s and 260s, which led many cities to pull down their public buildings to provide material for hastily improvised fortifications. As the political and strategic emphasis shifted away from the Aegean to the Anatolian plateau and to the overland routes between the Balkans and the eastern frontier, Asia lost some of its former prominence and was divided into seven smaller provinces by *Diocletian. In the political order of the 4th cent. the leading cities which served as new provincial capitals—such as Ephesus, Sardis, and *Aphrodisias—retained much of their former glory, but most of the cities of the interior declined until they were barely distinguishable from villages.

WMC/EWG/SM

Asia Minor (see ◀ Map 2 ▶)

Pre-Classical

Palaeolithic and mesolithic occupation was in caves and rock-shelters and has left simple paintings. The neolithic (c.8000–6500 BC) brought settlement in plains and valleys, growth of villages, and the domestication of plants and animals. Vigorous wall-paintings at Çatal Hüyük and clay statuary at Hacilar emphasize hunting, virility, fertility, and childbirth. Painted pottery first appears in the chalcolithic (c.6500–3400 BC). An economic upsurge in the early bronze age (c.3400–2000 BC) was made possible by developments in metallurgy, attested in metalwork from Troy and from royal burials at Alaca Hüyük, and was perhaps stimulated by Mesopotamian demand for native Anatolian metals. Greater wealth led to universal fortification of settlements and the rise of citadels (e.g. *Troy) and of palaces (e.g. Norşun Tepe). By the middle bronze age (c.2000–1700 BC) Assyrians had trading-stations in central Anatolia on which indigenous rulers at (e.g.) Kültepe, Alişar, and Acemhöyük imposed levies. Cuneiform writing was introduced. In the late bronze age (c.1700–1200 BC) the Hittites dominated central Anatolia from Hattuša (mod. Boğazköy). Extreme western and northern regions remained largely independent, but a north Syrian province was administered from Carchemish. Famine and Sea-Peoples are thought to have been responsible for extinguishing the state c.1200 BC, but the royal line continued at Carchemish and in other north Syrian kingdoms, where Hittite culture survived into the iron age (c.1200–700 BC). Central Anatolia was dominated by the Phrygians (capital at Gordium) and eastern Anatolia by the kingdom of Urartu.

Classical

The geographical term Asia Minor is used to denote the westernmost part of the Asian continent, equivalent to modern Turkey between the Aegean and the Euphrates. The western and southern coastal fringes were part of the Mediterranean world; the heartland of Asia Minor lay in the interior of Anatolia, comprising the hilly but fertile uplands of Phrygia, the steppic central plateau, and the rugged and harsh country of Cappadocia. These areas were framed by the Pontic ranges which rise steeply from the Black Sea in the north, and the long range of the Taurus which snakes through southern Anatolia from Lycia to the Euphrates and separates Asia Minor from Syria. In the Graeco-Roman period the region's history is illuminated by an almost limitless flood of historical information, which makes it possible to identify the separate languages, cultures, and religious traditions of its various regions—Bithynia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pisidia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus—and also to document the influence of external powers and cultures, above all of Persia, Greece, and Rome. Asia Minor was one of the economic powerhouses of the Persian empire. Much of the population of eastern Anatolia had strong Iranian connections, and Persian settlements were also widespread in the west after the mid-6th cent. BC. Many endured until late antiquity. Greek influence—*Hellenism—was naturally strongest in the coastal areas, where Greeks had established settlements between c.1100 and 600 BC. The cultural process, however, was not one-way, and the Greeks of Caria and Pamphylia were also much influenced by pre-existing Anatolian cultures. During the 4th cent. BC Hellenization spread to the indigenous inhabitants of Pisidia and Lycia in the south-west; most of the interior, however, was barely touched before the 1st cent. BC. Roman rule made the strongest impact. In the time of Hadrian Asia Minor was divided into six provinces: Asia, Pontus and Bithynia, Galatia, Lycia and Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, although provincial boundaries and administrative arrangements were more flexible in Anatolia than in almost any other part of the empire. The creation of an all-embracing road network, the universal *ruler-cult, the founding of cities to act as administrative centres, a permanent military presence, and the creation of far-reaching systems of taxation (see FINANCE, ROMAN) forged a new society in Asia Minor, which was as much Roman as it was Anatolian.

The indigenous regional cultures of Asia Minor, however, survived until the end of antiquity, preserving their native languages and their religious practices, above all in the rural parts of the interior and in the mountains. These were only finally erased by the spread of Christianity,

which became strongly rooted as early as the 3rd cent. and extended, except for obstinate, usually urban, pockets of paganism, across the whole of the peninsula by the end of the 4th century. Neither Christianity nor the introduction of Islam by the Turks between the 11th and 14th centuries obliterated the basic patterns of Anatolian life, which were rooted in a traditional rural economy. There was a continuity of population and settlement pattern which can be observed even in contemporary Turkey. SM

astrology, the art of converting astronomical data (i.e. the positions of the celestial bodies) into predictions of outcomes in human affairs. Astrology developed in the Hellenistic age, essentially as an import from Babylon, which equally furnished many of its astronomical parameters. *Alexandria was its major centre. By the 1st cent. BC, it had emerged as a sophisticated technical art, commanding widespread credence and respect. So it remained until the late empire, when its incompatibility with *Christianity led to its formal suppression (though not extinction).

There are several branches of astrology, of which the most important is genethliology, the art of foretelling an individual's life from the positions of the stars (i.e. sun, moon, planets, and fixed stars) at birth or conception. The basic astronomical data for calculating a 'nativity' (i.e. a horoscope) are (a) the positions of the seven known planets (including sun and moon) relative to one another (their 'aspects') and to the twelve signs of the zodiac, and (b) the position of the circle of the zodiac (and thus of the planets moving round it) relative to a second circle of twelve 'places' (mod. 'houses') whose cardinal points ('centres') are the rising- and setting-points on the horizon and the zenith and nadir. The whole may be likened to a complex clock whose seven hands (the planets) turn anticlockwise at various mean speeds (from the moon's month to Saturn's almost 30 years) against a dial whose twelve hours are the signs of the zodiac; simultaneously, the dial and its hands together rotate clockwise (in a 24-hour period corresponding to the apparent daily revolution of the heavens) against a second, fixed dial which is the local frame of reference for the nativity, itself divided into twelve sectors (the 'places') with the rising and setting points at 9 and 3 o'clock and the zenith and nadir at about 12 and 6. The astrologer reads this clock at the time of birth and then assigns meanings, in terms of the 'native's' destiny, character, and occupation, to the various positions and relationships in the 'nativity'. In antiquity, as now, astronomical tables rather than direct observation were used.

Actual horoscopes survive from antiquity, both simple (as in papyrus fragments) and complex (as in

professional treatises, e.g. the *Anthologies* of Vettius Valens). Astrology was popular with all classes; similarly, astrologers spanned a wide social and intellectual range. At the pinnacle were men such as Tiberius Claudius Thrasyllus and his son Tiberius Claudius Balbillus who were theoreticians and practitioners of the art, confidants and functionaries of emperors from *Tiberius to *Vespasian, and connected by marriage both to powerful Romans (*Sejanus and Macro) and to the Greek client kings of Commagene (SE *Asia Minor). Because it was so widely believed, astrology was potentially subversive of public order. Accordingly, astrologers were periodically expelled from Rome, and Augustus forbade both consultations in private and those concerning deaths (AD 11).

From a modern perspective it is the postulated link, causal or semiotic, between celestial and terrestrial events that renders astrology suspect. Most ancients took that link for granted, under a belief in a 'universal sympathy' which connects all parts of the cosmos in a harmoniously functioning whole. *Stoicism legitimized divination of all sorts, and the worship of the stars, especially the sun (*see* HELIOS), added further authority to astrology, as did the common belief in the *soul's celestial origin and destiny. Many intellectuals accordingly accepted and justified the art, including such astronomers as Ptolemy who makes a well-reasoned case (*Tetrabiblos* 1. 1–3) that astrology is but the application of *astronomy, in a necessarily fallible way, to the sublunary environment. There were, however, sceptics and critics, among the most cogent being Sextus Empiricus (*Math.* bk. 5) and Favorinus of Arles (reproduced in summary by Gell. *NA* 14. 1); and low-grade practitioners preying on the superstitious attracted inevitable scorn.

The most important extant astrological writings are, in chronological order, Marcus Manilius' *Astronomica*, c.AD 14 (ed. and trans. Goold (1977)); the poem of Dorotheus of Sidon transmitted in Arabic, 1st cent. AD (ed. and trans. Pingree (1976)); Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, mid-2nd cent. (ed. and trans. Robbins (1940)); the *Anthologies* of Vettius Valens, late 2nd cent. (ed. Pingree (1986)); bk. 1 ed. and trans. Bara (1989)); the *Mathesis* of Firmicus Maternus, mid-4th cent. (ed. Kroll-Skutsch-Ziegler (1913), trans. Forbes (1970), ed. and trans. Monat (1992)); the *Apotelesmatica* of Hephaestion of Thebes, c.415 (ed. Pingree (1973); and Rhetorius, c. 620 (ed. Pingree (2007)). There is much otherwise unpublished material in CCAG. Extant horoscopes are collected in O. Neugebauer and H. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (1959); more recent horoscopes in A. Jones, *Astronomical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus* (1999), nos. 4236–4300a. The fundamental modern treatment remains A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*

(1899). See also F. Boll, C. Bezold, and W. Gundel, *Sternnglaube und Sterndeutung*, 6th edn. (1974). RLB

astronomy 1. The use of the heliacal rising and setting of prominent stars or star-groups to mark points in the year is found in the earliest literature of the Greeks (*Homer and *Hesiod, e.g. *Op.* 619 ff.), and no doubt goes back to prehistoric times. This 'traditional' Greek astronomy continued (with some refinements borrowed from 'scientific' astronomy) to the end of antiquity. It was embodied in the 'astronomical calendars' (or *parapēgmata*, so called from the practice of sticking a peg to mark the current day in holes along the sides) which began with Meton and Euctemon in the 5th cent. BC and of which several examples are preserved in manuscript and on stone. These mark important points of the year (including solstices and equinoxes), and use the risings and settings of stars as a basis for weather predictions (the latter already in Hesiod).

2. Scientific astronomy in Greece hardly predates the 5th cent. BC. The cosmological speculations of the earlier Presocratics are irrelevant, and the scientific feats attributed to some of them (e.g. Thales' prediction of an eclipse) by later writers are unworthy of belief. However, some of the basic concepts necessary to later astronomy were enunciated in the course of the 5th cent. Parmenides (A 44 DK) mentioned the sphericity of the earth and stated that the moon receives its light from the sun (B 15). Empedocles went beyond this to infer the cause of solar eclipses (B 42), as did Anaxagoras. Yet how unfamiliar this was even to an educated man of the late 5th cent. is shown by the remark of *Thucydides (2. 28) that solar eclipses *seem* to occur only at new moon. There seems to have been general ignorance about the planets: Democritus, according to Seneca (*QNat.* 7. 3. 2), said that he *suspected* that there were several (*plures*) planets but gave neither number nor names. Significant for the future development of Greek astronomy is the transmission of elements from *Babylonia (which had a tradition of observational astronomy going back to the 8th cent. BC): the twelve signs of the zodiac appear in Greece perhaps as early as the late 6th cent. (if the lines quoted from Cleostratus of Tenedos (DK 6) are genuine); certainly the nineteen-year lunisolar cycle of Meton was derived from Babylon; but this, like Meton's solstice observations, is still directed towards the goals of 'traditional' astronomy.

3. The 4th cent. saw the introduction of the most characteristic Greek contribution to astronomical theory, the idea that the apparently irregular motions of the heavenly bodies should be explained by geometrical models based on uniform circular motion. Later sources attribute this to *Plato (Simplicius on Arist. *Cael.* 219^a23), but although it is not inconsistent, in a general sense, with

views expressed in his dialogues, the only certainty is that the first system embodying this idea was constructed by Plato's contemporary Eudoxus. It is significant that Eudoxus was also the first to establish axiomatic rigour in geometry: we may conjecture that it was this success which led to the notion of extending the explanatory power of geometry to other fields, including the heavens. Eudoxus' system of 'homocentric spheres', centred on the fixed, spherical earth, and rotating with uniform motions about different poles, combined simplicity with mathematical ingenuity, and was able, in principle, to account for the retrogradations of the planets and the latitudinal deviations of all bodies, including the moon. The observational elements involved were few, namely crude synodic and sidereal periods for the planets and the moon. Yet even these represent a considerable advance over the ignorance prevalent 50 years earlier: Eudoxus is the first Greek who is *known* to have recognized all five planets (the passages in Plato *Resp.* 616d–617b and *Ti.* 38cf, where the five planets are hinted at, may well have been written later than Eudoxus' book). Here again we may suspect Babylonian influence in the observational data, particularly since there are Mesopotamian elements also in the description of the constellations which Eudoxus published. For all its mathematical elegance, Eudoxus' system exhibited serious discrepancies from easily observable facts. In particular no homocentric system could account for the obvious variations in size and brightness of e.g. the moon and Venus. Nevertheless Callippus modified Eudoxus' model to eliminate some of the grosser discrepancies, and this revised model has come down to us because *Aristotle accepted it (*Cael., Metaph.* 1073^a14–1074^b14), transforming what had probably been for Eudoxus a purely geometrical scheme into a physical mechanism with contiguous solid spheres. Scientific astronomy in the 4th cent. remained at this purely theoretical level: practical astronomy was concerned with traditional topics, the calendar (Eudoxus' *Octaeteris* and Callippus' 76-year cycle), and the risings and settings of stars. The earliest extant astronomical works, those of Autolycus and Euclid, are little more than a treatment of the latter in terms of elementary geometry.

4. At an unknown date, probably not long after Callippus, the epicyclic and eccentric hypotheses for planetary motion were proposed. These provided a remedy for the most glaring defect of the homocentric system, by producing variation in the distance of a heavenly body, while at the same time giving a simple representation of the 'anomalies' (variations in speed and direction) of the bodies; they became the standard models used in Greek theoretical astronomy. No doubt the complete geometric equivalence of epicyclic and eccentric forms (under

suitable conditions), which was assumed in the planetary theory of Apollonius (Ptolemy, *Almagest* 12. 1), was discovered soon after these models were proposed. One might conjecture that it was in examining the transformation of one to the other that Aristarchus of Samos (c.280 BC) came to the realization that one can transpose the geocentric universe to a heliocentric one, and so put forward his famous hypothesis. This, like the earlier suggestion of Heraclides Ponticus that the earth rotates on its axis, appears never to have been taken seriously by practising astronomers, although the grounds for rejecting it were 'physical' rather than astronomical. The 3rd cent. probably saw much astronomical activity, but our knowledge of it, derived mostly from incidental remarks in the *Almagest*, is slight. There was more observation, of solstices by Aristarchus and Archimedes, of the declinations of fixed stars (presumably for delineating a star-globe) by Aristyllus and Timocharis, and of the moon (including eclipses) by Timocharis. But theoretical astronomy remained at the stage of explaining the phenomena by means of geometrical models and deriving the mathematical consequences. This is evident in Apollonius' use of the epicyclic/eccentric hypothesis to determine stationary points on planets' orbits, and also in the single astronomical work surviving from this time, Aristarchus' treatise on the distances of the sun and moon: this is a mathematical exercise showing how the limits for those distances can be derived from certain numerical assumptions (about the inaccuracy of which the author appears unconcerned, although it must have been obvious). The topic of the distances of the heavenly bodies was much discussed, by Archimedes and Apollonius amongst others, but no-one before Hipparchus devised a reliable method of computing even the moon's distance.

5. Astronomy was transformed by Hipparchus between c.145 and 125 BC. His great innovation was the idea of using the geometrical models, which his predecessors had developed to *explain* the phenomena, in order to *predict* or calculate them for a given time. He did not himself fully succeed in this (we are specifically informed that he renounced any attempt at constructing a theory of the planets), but he contributed several essential elements, including the development of trigonometry, ingenious methods for the application of observational data to geometrical models, and the compilation of observations, not only of his own and other Greeks, but especially from the massive Babylonian archives (to which he seems to have had privileged access). Although sporadic Mesopotamian influences appear in Greek astronomy from at least the time of Meton, Hipparchus was apparently the first Greek to have extensive knowledge of Babylonian astronomy, including not only observations, but also

astronomical constants (e.g. very accurate lunar periods), metrology, and methods of calculation. The latter were sophisticated arithmetical procedures for predicting celestial phenomena, and now that the original cuneiform documents have been analysed, it seems likely that it was the Babylonian success in applying mathematical methods to astronomical prediction which inspired Hipparchus to attempt the same within the Greek theoretical framework. He got as far as constructing a viable epicyclic model for the moon, and made many other individual advances, including the discovery of the precession of the equinoxes, to which he was perhaps led by noticing the discrepancy between the year-length which he had derived from observations of equinoxes (the tropical year) and that used by the Babylonians (which was in fact a sidereal year). He also recorded a large number of star positions to be marked on his star-globe.

6. The history of astronomy in the 300 years between Hipparchus and Ptolemy is very obscure, because the unchallenged position of the *Almagest* in later antiquity resulted in the loss of all earlier works on similar topics. However, the evidence from Indian astronomy (the *siddhāntas* based on lost Greek treatises from late Hellenistic times) and from Greek papyri shows that the process begun by Hipparchus was continued by his successors, who produced predictive mathematical models for all the heavenly bodies. This undoubtedly contributed to the enormous growth in genethliological *astrology (which requires calculating the celestial positions for a given time) in the period following Hipparchus. But theoretical astronomy was characterized by a bewildering profusion of Babylonian arithmetical methods (which Hipparchus himself had not hesitated to use, even in his lunar theory), combined with geometrical planetary models which, although producing numerical results, lacked logic and consistency. This situation satisfied the professional needs of astrologers such as Ptolemy's contemporary Vettius Valens, but was repugnant to the scientific purism of Ptolemy himself. In his magisterial *Almagest* (c.AD 150) he ignores (apart from an occasional contemptuous aside), the work of his immediate predecessors, singling out Hipparchus as the sole peer worthy of his imitation and criticism. Starting from first principles, and rigidly excluding arithmetical methods, he constructed an edifice of models for sun, moon, planets, and fixed stars based on a combination of epicycles and eccentrics employing uniform circular motions, the numerical parameters of which he determined by rigorous geometrical methods from carefully selected observations. These were supplemented by tables allowing the computation of all celestial positions and phenomena pertinent to ancient astronomy, to a suitable accuracy (Ptolemy regarded agreement with



astronomy The high level of craftsmanship attained by Greek astronomical instruments is shown by this device, recovered from a 1st-cent. BC shipwreck off the SE coast of Greece. The bronze fragment belongs to a complex mechanism representing the relative motions of sun and moon. Antikythera. National Archaeological Museum, Athens / Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Tourism Archaeological Receipts Fund (Law 3028/2002)

observation within 10" of arc as acceptable). The result is a work of remarkable power and consistency, which dominated astronomy for 1,300 years.

7. Ptolemy himself regarded his work as provisional, but it was treated as definitive by his ancient successors, who produced nothing of significance in astronomy, confining themselves to explicating the *Almagest* (and other treatises by him), despite the fact that there were serious defects in it even by ancient standards, notably in the solar theory, producing errors which increased with the lapse of time. That these were completely unnoticed in later antiquity is an indication both of the lack of independent observation and of the state of the science after Ptolemy. However, important corrections to the solar theory and other individual details of Ptolemaic astronomy were made after it experienced a revival through its transmission to the Islamic world (the *Almagest* was translated into Arabic c.AD 800), but even there the edifice as a whole remained undisturbed, and criticisms of Ptolemy were concerned mainly with his alleged violation of the principle of uniform circular motion in introducing the equant. Ancient astronomy did not begin to become obsolete until Copernicus, and the process was not completed until Kepler.

8. The astronomy of the Greeks covered only a part of what is now comprised in the term. It can be considered the most successful of the ancient applied sciences, if one

accepts the ancient view that its task is confined to describing and predicting observed motions by means of a consistent mathematical model. Physical astronomy, however, remained at a very low level (like physics in general). But it is not entirely ignored even in the *Almagest*, and in his *Planetary Hypotheses* Ptolemy attempted to fit the kinematical models of the *Almagest* into a unified physical system. This was based on Aristotelian notions, including the crucial thesis that nature is not wasteful. In it Ptolemy describes a universe in which each planetary 'shell' is contiguous with that of the bodies immediately above and below it. This system enabled him to compute the absolute dimensions and distances of all parts of the universe out to the sphere of the fixed stars, which he found to be less than 20,000 earth-radii from the central earth (less than the distance from the earth to the sun by modern computation). This vision of a small and completely determined universe, although not universally accepted even in late antiquity, became the canonical view in the Middle Ages, in both east and west, and is enshrined in biblical exposition and learned poetry as well as in the works of professional astronomers. It was a strong argument against consideration of the heliocentric hypothesis, which entailed a vastly larger universe in which the fixed stars were at enormous distances. GJT/AJ

Athena In *Iliad* 5. 733–7, *Homer describes how Athena took off the finely-wrought robe 'which she herself had made and worked at with her own hands' and 'armed herself for grievous war.' This incident encapsulates the paradoxical nature of a goddess who is as skilled in the preparation of clothes as she is fearless in battle; who thus unites in her person the characteristic excellences of both sexes. At the greater Panathenaea in Athens, she was presented with a robe, the work of maidens' hands, which traditionally portrayed that battle of the gods and giants in which she was the outstanding warrior on the side of the gods.

Her patronage of crafts is expressed in cults such as that of Athena Erganē, Athena the Craftswoman or Maker; it extends beyond the 'works' of women to carpentry, metal-working, and technology of every kind, so that at Athens she shared a temple and a festival with *Hephaestus and can, for instance, be seen on vases seated (in full armour!) in a pottery. Her love of battle is seen, as we saw, in myth, and also in such cults as that of Athena Victory (*Nike); she is regularly portrayed fully armed, one leg purposefully advanced, wearing her terror-inducing aegis (a large all-round bib with scales, fringed with snakes' heads and decorated with the head of the female monster Gorgo).

She is also closely associated with the masculine world in her mythological role as a helper of male heroes, most memorably seen in her presence beside Heracles on

several of the metopes of the temple of *Zeus at *Olympia. Indeed her intervention in battle often takes the form of 'standing beside' a favourite (e.g. *Il.* 10. 278–94). (She has accordingly been seen as every man's ideal elder sister, in contrast to the tomboy Artemis and sexy Aphrodite (P. Friedrich, *The Meaning of Aphrodite* (1978)); but these modern western categories scarcely fit the Greek family.) Her virginity is a bridge between the two sides of her nature. Weaving is a characteristic activity of ordinary young girls, but a perpetual virgin, who is not subject to the distinctively feminine experience of *childbirth, is a masculine woman, a potential warrior.

The warlike Athena is scarcely separable from Athena Polias, the goddess of the Acropolis (see ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY)) and protectress of cities. 'City-protecting' was most commonly performed by goddesses rather than gods; and the other great protectress was the other great warrior-goddess of the *Iliad*, Athena's close associate *Hera. Athena exercised this function in many cities besides Athens, including Sparta and (in the *Iliad*) Troy. Athens was unique only in the degree of prominence that it assigned her in this role.

A few cult titles and festivals of Athena seem to indicate interests other than those discussed so far; and it has often been suggested that her familiar classical functions have been pared down from a much broader original competence. But this is too much to deduce from stray allusions to cults the details of which are usually very little known. The 'Athena Mother' of Elis (Paus. 5. 3. 2) is a puzzle; and Athena's limited intrusions upon the preserves of other gods at Athens—the cult of Athena of Health (Hygieia) for instance—may simply reflect a tendency of city-protecting gods to have a finger in every pie.

Athena is unique among Greek gods in bearing a connection with a city imprinted in her very name. The precise linguistic relation between place and goddess is teasingly difficult to define: the form of her name in early Attic inscriptions is the adjective *Athēnaia*, which suggests that she may in origin be 'the Athenian' something, the Athenian Pallas for instance (*Pallas Athēnaiē* being a regular Homeric formula). But this account still leaves the shorter name-form Athena unexplained. Athenians themselves, of course, stressed the goddess's association with their city enthusiastically. She was foster-mother of the early king Erechtheus/Erichthonius, and had competed, successfully, with Poseidon for possession of Attica. In Panhellenic mythology, however, she shows no special interest in Athens or in Athenian heroes. The association with Athens does not appear to affect her fundamental character.

Her most important myth is that of her birth from the head of Zeus. It stresses her unique closeness to Zeus, a

vital quality in a city-protecting goddess, and at the same time the gap that divides her, a child without a mother, from the maternal side of femininity. In the oldest version (Hes. *Theog.* 886–90) Zeus became pregnant with Athena after swallowing Metis; she was thus also a kind of reincarnation of *mētis*, 'cunning intelligence'.

It has in fact been suggested that Athena's characteristic mode of action, a mode that unifies her apparently diverse functions while differentiating them from those of other gods with which they might appear to overlap, is the application of *mētis*. Her *mētis* appears obviously in her association with crafts and in her love (Hom. *Od.* passim) for wily *Odysseus; more obliquely, it is argued, it is for instance to be seen in her title Hippiā, 'of horses', which she acquires via a product of *mētis*, the bridle, whereas *Poseidon Hippius embodies the animal's brute strength. In warfare she would express rational force, *vis temperata*, in contrast to the mindless violence of Ares. One may doubt, however, how fundamental the opposition to Ares and the role of *mētis* in fact are in defining her military function.

Precursors of Athena have been identified in Mycenaean military or palace-protecting goddesses; the only solid evidence is a tantalizing reference in a Linear B tablet from Cnossus to A-ta-na po-ti-ni-ja. RCTP

Athens (history) (see following page)

Athens (topography) (see ◀ Map 1, Cc ▶)

Acropolis

The central fortress and principal sanctuary of *Athena, patron goddess of the city. In the later 13th cent. BC the steep hill was enclosed by a massive wall. Within, there are Mycenaean terraces, perhaps once supporting traces of 'the strong house of Erechtheus' (Hom. *Od.* 7. 81). The first monumental temples and sculptural dedications date to the 6th cent. BC. Two large Doric temples of limestone with marble trim were built, along with a half-dozen small temples or treasuries. Later quarrying has obliterated the foundations of all but one of the peripteral temples (c. 510 BC) which stood on the north side of the hill, just south of the later Erechtheum. A marble temple, the Older Parthenon, was under construction on the south half of the hill in 480 BC when the Persians took and sacked the city. The debris from this devastation was buried on the Acropolis and no major construction took place for about a generation. In the 450s a monumental bronze statue of Athena Promachus was set up to celebrate victory over the Persians and in the second half of the 5th cent. four major buildings were constructed at the instigation of *Pericles, with Phidias as general overseer.

[continued on p. 102]

HISTORY OF ATHENS

Prehistory

The more substantial remains of later periods have largely effaced prehistoric settlement evidence, apart from subterranean features like tombs and wells. The distribution of these suggests that there was a nucleus of habitation on and around the Acropolis, particularly to its south, and a wider spread of hamlets and farms. The settlement's earlier history is obscure, but it clearly became one of the more significant Mycenaean centres (*see* MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION), as indicated by wealthy 14th-cent. BC tombs and the later 13th-cent. BC fortification and water-supply system on the Acropolis. Twelfth-cent. remains are scanty, but cemetery evidence indicates a wide spread of communities, mostly small, by the Submycenaean phase; overall, the evidence offers no support for the theory that Athens attracted large 'refugee' groups.

OTPKD

History

Tradition held that *Theseus was responsible for the *synoecism, in the political rather than physical sense, of the Athenian (Attic) state. More prosaically put, this would imply a unified kingdom, centred on Athens, in the late bronze age. But if there was any such kingdom it did not survive the collapse of Mycenaean civilization, and the synoecism is now generally put c.900 BC, after a tumultuous period in which refugees from Attica settled in Ionia (W. *Asia Minor) from c.1050 BC onwards. Athenian imperial *propaganda later exaggerated the organized character of this process, turning it into a movement of *colonization which would justify the metropolis making hegemonical demands of the 'daughter-cities'. Another later propaganda item was the myth of 'autochthony' (Attica had 'always had the same inhabitants'). This was false, but useful for scoring off the Dorian 'newcomers'.

The Attic countryside was settled from the centre in the 8th cent. by 'internal colonization': Athens was not among the first genuinely colonizing states. The early Attic state was aristocratic and politically hardly distinctive. There was nothing even embryonically democratic about the annual *archontes* who began in 684/3 BC and were the chief officers of state: Thuc. 1. 126, correcting Hdt. 5. 72 which says an obscure group ran Athens, the '*prytaneis* of the naukraries', a title which implies ships (*nau-*). But early Athenian naval activity is plausible, because Attica's long coastline is one of the features which did make it exceptional. Others were an imposing city acropolis, with its own water-supply; a mountain-system which formed a first line of defence for Athens itself; and valuable resources in the silver-bearing Laurium region of east Attica.

In 632 'the Athenians', a collective noun now first used as a political agent, resisted Cylon's attempt at a *tyranny (Thuc., as above); there is no reason to link this rejection of constitutional upheaval with Draco's law-code in the 620s. Athens' first overseas settlement at Sigeum in c.610 may be an indicator of economic restlessness of the kind which produced *Solon. His economic and political reforms in the 590s created an Attica of smallholders; enhanced Athenians' sense that they were a political élite; and widened eligibility for political office. But proper democracy was still in the future and Solon could not save Athens from the tyranny, later in the 6th cent., of *Pisistratus and sons. The tyranny was not oppressive until shortly before the end (510), and did more for Athens' later military and naval prominence than 5th-cent. historians allowed.

*Cleisthenes in 508, after a short phase of aristocratic struggle, established the democracy which provoked Persia by helping the *Ionian Revolt, and then defeated Persia at Marathon and ten years later at Salamis. The Cleisthenic state was however aristocratic in many ways, and full democracy did not arrive until the 460s and the reforms associated with Ephialtes and *Pericles. But meanwhile Athens had in 478/7 become an imperial city: *see* DELIAN LEAGUE. Against a background of increasing tension with Sparta, the displaced leader of Greece, the Athenians now capitalized on their Persian War achievement. Military successes against Persia culminated in the battle of the Eurymedon in the early 460s, and more subject-allies were brought under Athenian control; art and architecture, poetry and rhetoric continued to insist on the Persian Wars theme in a way hardly guessable from the history of *Thucydides. The Athenian empire survived the First Peloponnesian War of c.461–46, though the Thirty Years Peace of 446 ended Athens' ten-year control of Boeotia. But increasing Athenian expansionism in the early 430s alarmed Sparta and the outbreak in 431 of the 27-year Peloponnesian War ended the *Pentekontaetia* or 50-year period from the Persian Wars; this was the period of maximum Athenian cultural achievement.

In the Archidamian War, the Spartans failed in their programme of 'liberating' Greece from the tyrant city, Athens. Nor did Athens' catastrophic Sicilian Expedition of 415–413 or the oligarchic regime of the Four Hundred (411), or even the definite commitment of wealthy Persia to the Spartan side (407) end the war, which included Athenian successes like Cynossema (411), Cyzicus (410), and Arginusae (406) before the final defeat at Aegospotami in 405. Athens became a subject-ally of Sparta and a second, Spartan-sponsored oligarchy took power in 404, the Thirty Tyrants.

But by a recovery even more remarkable than that of 413, Athens climbed back to independent and even semi-imperial status in the early 4th cent. Fifth-century Athens had been an imperial, Hellenistic Athens was a university, city; 4th-cent. Athens was something in between. Democracy was restored in 403 and the constitution was mildly reformed, though not in a way which can be associated with any named reformer. From now on the democracy was more efficient but noticeably less radical (*see* DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN). In foreign affairs, Athens soon dared to confront the Spartans as one of the coalition which fought the Corinthian War of 395–386 and, remarkably, included Sparta's recent backer Persia. The battle of Cnidus of 394 was a naval victory over Sparta, won by a Persian-sponsored fleet but with an Athenian commander, Conon. The King's Peace of 386 (*see* GREECE, HISTORY) ended this first phase of Athenian recovery. But Spartan aggressions and unpopularity enabled Athens to launch a Second Athenian Confederacy in 378.

Initially the confederacy was successful and welcome: its members included Thebes, now a rising power. Athens defeated Sparta at Naxos and Alyzia in the mid-370s. But Thebes' defeat of Sparta at Leuctra in 371 led to a *rapprochement* between Athens and Sparta in the 360s. Meanwhile Athenian attempts to turn their empire into something more like its 5th-cent. predecessor, especially attempts to recover Amphipolis and the cleruchy put in on *Samos in 366, were unpopular. Major island allies rebelled in the Social War of 357–355. Because of distractions like this and the Third Sacred War, not to mention sheer short-sightedness, it was not until 351 that Athens and *Demosthenes realized the threat posed by *Philip II of Macedon. A brief war (early 340s) ended with the Peace of Philocrates (346); Athens now acknowledged the loss of Amphipolis. The end, militarily, to Athenian great-power status came in 338 at Chaeronea, though modern historians rightly insist that this did not signal either the death of the *polis generally or of Athens in particular.

The Athens of Eubulus and Lycurgus pursued, in the 330s and 320s, ostensibly backward-looking policies of retrenchment which actually anticipate Athens' Hellenistic role as cultural centre. Athens did not openly resist *Alexander the Great, but when at the end of his life he restored Samos to the Samians, Athens embarked on and was defeated in the Lamian War of 323–322 (naval battles of Abydos and Amorgos, land battle of Crannon), after which democracy was suppressed. There were however later democratic restorations and reactions, the first as early as 318 (democracy installed by Polyperchon).

Under Cassander, Athens was ruled tyrannically by Demetrius of Phalerum (318–307), a period of peace but imposed cultural austerity. He was expelled by the rapturously welcomed Antigonid Macedonian Demetrius Poliorcetes ('the Besieger'). Another Cassander-supported tyrant Lachares seized power in 300; the hoplite general Charias resisted him unsuccessfully in 296 in the name of democracy. Lachares fell in 294 and Athens submitted to the Antigonids for much of the century until the 220s; the exceptions were a precarious period of freedom in the 280s/early 270s (a period associated with the name of the patriot commander Olympiodorus) and the Chremonidean War of the 260s, which ended with Athens' surrender in 262 (*see* ANTIGONUS GONATAS). In the 220s, under the regime of Euryclides and Miccion, Athens managed to stay on good terms with the Ptolemies as well as with Macedon, as Rome's shadow lengthened over Greece. SH

Roman

Friendly with Rome from 229 BC (Polyb. 2. 12. 8), Athens was rewarded for her support against Perseus with the gift of *Delos (166 BC), its possession fuelling an economic boom, peaking by 100 BC (S. Tracy, *Harv. Stud.* 1979, 213 ff.) and linked with (if not prompting) a copious ('New Style') silver coinage. In 88 BC, under the tyrant Aristion, Athens enthusiastically supported *Mithradates VI; the city was sacked as a result by *Sulla (86 BC), and a timocratic constitution imposed, but it retained 'free' status (Strabo. 9. 1. 20). From the 50s BC on *philhellenism prompted Roman nobles, then emperors, to become benefactors of the city. *Hadrian transformed it with a lavish building programme and made it the seat of the Panhellenion. Thereafter it flourished culturally as a centre of Greek rhetoric (*see* SECOND SOPHISTIC), and it remained a bastion of philosophy, above all (from c.AD 400) Neoplatonism, until c.530. Damaged by the Herulian Goths (267) and besieged by the Visigothic leader Alaric (396; *see* ROME (HISTORY)), the city acquired major new buildings in the 5th cent., notably the vast 'Palace of the Giants'. *Christianity was slow to make inroads; the Parthenon may not have become a church before the 6th cent. AJSS

First came the Parthenon (447–432); the Propylaea (437–432), gateway to the Acropolis, occupied the western approaches to the citadel. Soon after, an old shrine of Athena Nike (Victory) was refurbished and a small temple of the Ionic order, tetrastyle amphiprostyle in plan, was built just outside the Propylaea. Finally, the Erechtheum was constructed during the last quarter of the 5th cent. Only a few buildings were added to the Acropolis in later times: a sanctuary of Brauronian *Artemis (see BRAURON) and the Chalkotheke, where bronzes were stored. A tall pier built just outside the Propylaea in the 2nd cent. BC first carried statues of Eumenes II and Attalus II, kings of *Pergamum and benefactors of Athens, later replaced by one of *Agrippa. The Roman presence in Greece is reflected on the Acropolis by the construction after 27 BC of a small round monument dedicated to Roma and Augustus and built in an Ionic style closely copying the Erechtheum.

Environs of the Acropolis

Numerous sanctuaries clustered around the base of the Acropolis rock. The sanctuaries of 'the nymph' (7th cent. BC), *Asclepius (420 BC), and *Dionysus (c.500 BC) were on the south slope. The theatre of Dionysus was built of limestone and marble in the 330s BC and renovated several times in the Roman period. To the west was a stoa built by King Eumenes II of Pergamum (197–159 BC) and beyond that the local millionaire Herodes Atticus built a huge odeum (concert hall) in memory of his wife Regilla (c.AD 160). The ground east of the theatre was taken up by the odeum of Pericles (c.443 BC), a replica of the tent of Xerxes, captured by the Greeks at the battle of Plataea (479 BC). A broad street lined with tripods set up by victorious *chorēgoi* (producers) in the choral lyric contests led from the theatre around the east end and north side of the Acropolis. The small Corinthian Lysicrates monument (335 BC) is the best-preserved surviving tripod base. In this eastern area were to be found several other cults (Aglaurus, Dioscuri, *Theseus), as well as the *Prytaneion*, hearth of the city. The north side of the Acropolis sheltered cults of *Aphrodite and *Eros, *Pan, *Apollo, and *Demeter and *Persephone (Eleusinium). The Areopagus, a low hill north-west of the Acropolis, was the seat in early times of a council and lawcourt as well as a shrine of the Eumenides (Furies). St *Paul addressed the court of the Areopagus, though by the 1st cent. AD the council almost certainly met in the lower city and not on the hill.

Agora,

the civic centre of Athens, was located north-west of the Acropolis on ground sloping down to the Eridanus river.

Traversed by the Panathenaic Way, the Agora was a large open square reserved for a wide variety of public functions, lined on all four sides by the principal administrative buildings of the city. First laid out in the 6th cent. BC, it remained a focal point for Athenian commerce, politics, and culture for centuries, surviving the Persian sack of 480 BC and the Sullan siege of 86 BC (see SULLA). Here in the Classical period were to be found the *bouleutērion* (council-house), the Tholos (dining-hall for the *prytaneis*), the Metroon (archives), mint, lawcourts, and magistrates' offices (Royal Stoa, and South Stoa I), along with sanctuaries (Hephaisteion, Altar of the Twelve Gods, Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius, Apollo Patrous), fountain-houses, and stoas (Stoa Poecile, Stoa of the Herms). More large stoas (Attalus II, Middle Stoa, South Stoa II) were added in the 2nd cent. BC. To the 2nd cent. perhaps should be dated (controversial) the elaborate octagonal marble water-clock known today as the Tower of the Winds, built some 200 m. (220 yds.) east of the Agora. This eastern area was later occupied by the market funded by Caesar and Augustus, which supplanted many of the commercial functions of the old Agora. In the 2nd cent. AD a huge peristyle complex with library was built by Hadrian just to the north of the Roman market. Roman additions to the Agora also reflect Athenian prominence in cultural and educational affairs: an odeum given by *Agrippa (c.15 BC) and a library dedicated by Pantaenus (c.AD 100). Badly damaged and partially abandoned as the result of the sack by the Herulian Goths in AD 267, the Agora was finally destroyed by Alaric and the Visigoths in AD 395.

Pnyx,

the meeting-place of the Athenian assembly (*ekklēsia*), was built on a low ridge west of the Acropolis. Originally laid out in either c.500 or 462/1 BC, and remodelled in 403 under the Thirty Tyrants (Plut. *Them.* 19; see ATHENS (HISTORY)), the final phase was built in c.340 BC. This third phase consists of a rock-cut speaker's platform (*bēma*) and a massive curved retaining wall for the auditorium. Stoas were laid out on the ridge above but never finished. By the Hellenistic period most meetings took place in the theatre of Dionysus, and a small open-air sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos was established just south-east of the *bēma* in the Roman period. North of the Pnyx the ridge was given over to the worship of the Nymphs, while the south end of the ridge (the Museum) was the site first of a Macedonian garrison fort in Hellenistic times and then the marble tomb of Philopappus, member of the deposed royal house of Commagene in SE Asia Minor (d. AD 114/16).

South-east Athens

In this quarter of town were to be found the oldest cults of the city: Dion. in 'the Marshes', Olympian Zeus, Gē (Earth), and Pythian Apollo (Thuc. 2. 15). Best preserved is the colossal Olympieum. The centre of *Hadrian's worship in the Greek world, it was approached through an arch bearing inscriptions which may delimit the old town of Theseus from the new Athens built by Hadrian (*IG* 2². 5185). Nearby, to the north, a gymnasium with a sanctuary of Apollo Lyceus gave its name to *Aristotle's school, the Lyceum. Other shrines and the old Enneakrounos fountain-house lay further out, along the banks of the River Ilissus. Across the river lay the Panathenaic stadium, built by Lycurgus (338–326 BC), rebuilt in marble by Herodes Atticus (AD 139–44), and restored in 1896.

Fortifications

An Archaic city wall was replaced in 479 BC, immediately after the Persian sack, by a new expanded circuit, hastily constructed at the behest of Themistocles (Thuc. 1. 90). Its length of 6.5 km. (4 mi.) was pierced by at least fifteen gates, the principal one being the Dipylon, to the north-west. Moats and outer walls were added in the 4th cent. in response to threats from Macedonia, and a large extension was added to the east in Roman times. Destroyed in AD 267, the walls were replaced in part by a new, much more constricted, circuit, though the outer wall was eventually refurbished as well. Communication between Athens and the harbours of Piraeus was assured by means of three Long Walls.

Cemeteries

Burials were made outside the city walls, all around the circuit. The principal cemetery, known as the Ceramicus, lay along the two major roads leading north-west from the city. It was used as a burial ground from c.1100 BC until the 6th cent. AD, and excavations have recovered hundreds of graves, along with sculptured and inscribed grave-markers. In this same vicinity lay the *dēmosion sēma*, the state burial ground for the war-dead as well as other notables. Farther on lay the *Academy. JMCKC

athletics

Greek

At the core of Greek athletics was an individual's hard physical struggle in order to gain victory over an opponent; hence, it included not only (as 'athletics' implies nowadays) track and field events but also boxing, wrestling, and equestrian events, and excluded team competitions, fun-running, and performances aimed at setting records (cf. the derivation of 'athletics' from the root

athl- denoting struggle, competition for a prize, and misery). Athletics was a popular activity; valuable contemporary evidence for it is provided by vase-paintings and the victory odes of *Pindar and *Bacchylides.

The first substantial description of Greek practice comes from *Homer's account of the funeral games for Patroclus (*Il.* 23. 262–897; cf. *Od.* 8. 120–30). Eight events are mentioned there (*chariot-racing, boxing, wrestling, running, javelin*, an event similar to fencing, throwing the weight, and archery); the five in italics regularly formed the central part of all later games.

From the middle of the 5th cent. the four major venues for athletics competitions were the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian Games. The running-races were the *stadion* (a length of the stadium, 192 m. (210 yds.) at Olympia), *diaulos* (there and back), and *dolichos* (twelve laps at Olympia). There was no marathon or event of similar length, although according to Herodotus (6. 105) Phidippides, who ran from Athens to Sparta, trained as an ultra-distance runner for the purpose of delivering messages. A race in armour, derived from military training, was introduced into athletics programmes at the end of the 6th cent., and there was a pentathlon consisting of long-jump, *stadion*, discus, javelin, and wrestling. At the Olympic and Pythian Games there were separate events for men and boys, while at the Nemean and Isthmian Games there was also an intermediate category for youths (*ageneioi*, lit. 'beardless').

Training took place in the *gymnasium, or *xystos* (covered colonnade); for the running events, especially the *dolichos*, long training-runs must have been done outside the confines of these buildings. The need for athletes to have a suitable diet was widely recognized (Hippoc. *VM* 4; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 2. 6. 7; Pl. *Resp.* 410b; Paus. 6. 7. 10). Sometimes an athlete's father would act as his coach (Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 72–3); often, past victors became coaches (Melesias of Athens, Pind. *Ol.* 8. 54–64; see THUCYDIDES; Iccus of Tarentum, Paus. 6. 10. 5). Before the Olympia, the wise precaution was taken of making competitors swear by Zeus that for the previous ten months they had trained properly (Paus. 5. 24. 9). When training or competing, athletes covered their bodies with olive oil to keep off the dust and were generally naked, though there is some disputed evidence pointing to the use of loincloths (e.g. Thuc. 1. 6. 5 and the Perizoma group of vases, Beazley, *ABV* 343–6; see M. McDonnell, *JHS* 1991, 182–93). Male sexual interest in young athletes, admired for their physique, was commonplace (e.g. Xen. *Symp.* 1. 2–10; Aeschin. *In Tim.* 156–7; see HOMOSEXUALITY).

Women competed at Olympia in separate games, the Heraea in honour of *Hera; there was just one event, a shortened *stadion*-race (Paus. 5. 16. 2–3). During the



athletics Athenian ceramic oil-jar of c.525 BC, given as a prize in the Panathenaic *games, showing a jumper, discus-thrower, and two javelin throwers. Male nudity was a feature of Greek athletics. © The Trustees of the British Museum

men's athletics, married women were forbidden to watch, but virgin girls were permitted (Paus. 6. 20. 9), a custom perhaps derived from a conception of the games as an occasion for girls to meet future husbands.

It is hard to evaluate athletics performances, because running-races were not timed, and distances in field events not measured; one indication that standards may have been low is the fact that Pausanias records many examples of men who had been able to win in several different types of event (cf. Paus. 6. 3. 7, 6. 13. 3, 6. 15. 8–9).

Roman

At Rome colourful *circus spectacles (especially chariot-racing) and ball games were the most popular sporting activities. But Augustus promoted traditional athletics, staging athletics competitions in the Campus Martius and exhibition-running in the Circus (Suet. *Aug.* 43. 1–2); he himself was keen on watching boxing (45. 2). Ultra-distance running was also practised: 'Some men can do 160 [Roman] miles in the Circus' (Plin. *HN* 7. 84). Interest in athletics was maintained by the establishing of

Greek-style games at Rome and elsewhere. In (?)⁴ BC *Tiberius won the chariot-race at the Olympian Games; from then on, Romans (mostly either eastern provincials with Roman citizenship, or those with sufficient authority to bend the rules, as Nero did in AD 67) won at Olympia with increasing regularity. See GAMES. SJI

atomism, a term used of theories that posit the existence of small indivisible particles as the ultimate components of matter. The Greek term *atomon*, used by some ancient philosophers to describe these ultimate components, means 'uncuttable' or 'indivisible'. The theories in ancient philosophy that fall under the general term 'atomism' share certain features: all posit an infinite number of these microscopic particle-type entities (*atoma*, atoms) as the physical occupants of the universe; these atoms are in motion through empty space, and the space itself has neither boundaries nor distinct places within it; atoms come in different varieties, which are differentiated in shape and have certain fundamental features such as solidity, resistance, texture, and possibly

weight. The atom's intrinsic features never change, but when the atoms gather together to form larger bodies (either collections of several atoms of the same sort, or an assortment of different kinds) their intrinsic or primary qualities account for other secondary effects that are features of larger bodies, including the appearance of colour, flavour, and scent (what we might call secondary qualities). These derivative effects can change as the arrangement of the atoms in a body or collection of bodies change, even though the atoms themselves do not acquire or lose any properties of their own.

Leucippus and Democritus in the early period, and *Epicurus and his followers in the Hellenistic period (including the work of the Roman poet *Lucretius), are the primary candidates for the description 'atomists'. For none of them was the atomic hypothesis either prompted or defended by means of experimental investigations into physics, and the atoms that they posited were all supposed to be too small to see and hence could not be detected by observation any more than they can now. All the atomistic theories were prompted by theoretical questions, including metaphysical puzzles about the nature of reality, and its permanence, and questions about whether things really change, and how we can know. Some were also prompted by puzzles in mathematics and logic, such as Zeno's puzzles about divisibility.

Because these puzzles arise from difficulties raised by other philosophers, the atomistic theories need to be placed in their context. The early atomists Leucippus and Democritus can be treated as a group, since it is hard to disentangle the record of what each separately might have contributed to what has come to be seen as a joint enterprise. Chronologically they occupy a position at the very end of what we call Presocratic philosophy. Democritus' working life actually coincides with that of Socrates. He is regarded as 'Presocratic' because he is primarily responding to his predecessors, at least in his work on physics. In metaphysics, the chief concern of the early atomists seems to have been to counter the arguments against plurality and change that had been put forward by Parmenides, and then reaffirmed by other thinkers, including Zeno of Elea and Melissus. Some, at least, of Zeno's notorious paradoxes seem to be designed to show that division into parts is logically impossible, whether that division is supposed to end up with finite numbers of discrete component parts or an unending succession of finer divisions and subdivisions. Leucippus and Democritus respond by proposing finite discrete component parts, themselves solid matter and uncuttable, but separated by portions of empty space or nothingness.

This latter proposal, asserting the existence of 'nothing' or 'what is not'—and that this 'nothing' occupied space

between things—was the most controversial. Such apparent nonsense flies in the face of Parmenides' foundational claims (to the effect that only what *is* something can be included in the contents of the logically possible world). On the contrary, the atomists boldly claim, the world contains what is something and what is nothing, and parts of space, between the things that are something, is occupied by what is nothing. This means that bodies can be distinguished by being detached from each other, so that there can be more than one thing in reality even if all bodies are made of the same kind of stuff.

The suggestion that there is empty space also solves another puzzle, namely Melissus' claim that motion is impossible because things would need empty space to move about in. By positing the void, the atomists make space for the movement of atoms within it, and thereby explain changes in the macroscopic appearance of things. Since arrangements and collections of atoms account for the perceivable appearance, while atoms themselves are too small to see, it is only the appearance of things that changes. There is no change in what is there underneath: atoms themselves never change their shape or their intrinsic features. In this way the atomists deny that anything real has ceased to exist, since the impressions created by conglomerations of things are mere appearances, not genuine parts of reality. This kind of escape route from problems of change, and the consequent distinction between the primary and secondary qualities of things, motivates the sceptical attitude to the senses that is prominent in Democritus' work.

In the Hellenistic period, Epicurean philosophy advocates atomism along similar lines. Developments can be identified in the conception of the void (arguably now envisaged as pure extension, which may be occupied or unoccupied, as opposed to being a place occupied by 'nothing') and in the idea that atoms themselves contain 'minimal parts': that is, even though an atom is small, it has some size, and we can think of it having an edge and a middle, a left side and a right side; these parts not only cannot be physically cut apart, but they also have finite size: here too there is a limit to how far we can subdivide the magnitude in our mind, and the result must be a finite number of parts of finite size. These and other features of the Epicurean version of atomism were prompted by work on time, space, and infinite tasks by *Aristotle and Diodorus Cronus.

Epicurus also invoked the atomic theory in a range of other areas besides physics and metaphysics strictly understood. Perception, thought, dreams and other psychological phenomena, religious belief, freedom of the will and causation in general are all to be accounted for with reference to a generally materialistic vision, in which

the possibilities are defined by what can be supposed to happen to minute bodies falling randomly through an infinite universe of empty space. The most accessible and systematic exploration of this vision that survives intact for us to read as a whole is provided (with missionary zeal) by Lucretius in *De rerum natura*. CJO

Atticus (Titus Pomponius Atticus), b. 110 BC as the son of a cultured *equus* (see *EQUITES*) of a family claiming descent from Numa Pompilius, legendary second king of Rome, was later adopted by a rich uncle (Quintus Caecilius), whose wealth he inherited. He was a friend of *Cicero from boyhood (Cicero's brother Quintus married Atticus' sister), and Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, probably published in the reign of *Nero (though parts were known to some before), are the best source for his character, supplemented by an encomiastic biographical sketch by his friend Cornelius Nepos. In 85 Atticus left Italy after selling his assets there, in order to escape the civil disturbances he foresaw. He lived in Athens until the mid-60s (hence his *cognomen* 'Atticus', i.e. 'Athenian'), among other things studying Epicurean philosophy (see *EPICURUS*), to which however he never wholly committed himself. Henceforth he combined a life of cultured ease (*otium*) with immense success in various business activities and an infallible instinct for survival. He privately urged Cicero to determined action on behalf of the *optimates* ('best men'), with whom he sympathized, but himself refused to take sides in politics and personally assisted many prominent politicians from *Marius to Octavian (see *AUGUSTUS*), without regard for their differences and conflicts. He was Cicero's literary adviser and had his works copied and distributed. He himself wrote a *Liber Annalis* (a chronological table of world, and especially Roman, history), which became a standard work, eulogistic histories of some noble families, and minor works. (All are lost.) He lived to become a friend of *Agrippa, who married his daughter. In 32 he committed suicide when incurably ill. EB

Augustine, St (Aurelius Augustinus) (AD 354–430) was born at Thagaste (mod. Souk Ahras, Algeria), son of Patricius, a modest town councillor of pagan beliefs, and a dominant Catholic mother, Monica. Educated at Thagaste, Madauros, and Carthage, he taught rhetoric at Thagaste, Carthage, and Rome and (384–6) as public orator at Milan, then the capital of the emperor Valentinian II. Patronized at Rome by Symmachus, the pagan orator, he hoped, by an advantageous marriage (to which he sacrificed his concubine, the mother of a son, Adeodatus—d. c.390) to join the 'aristocracy of letters' typical of his age. At 19, however, he had read the *Hortensius* of *Cicero. This early 'conversion to philosophy' was the prototype

of successive conversions: to Manichaeism, a Gnostic sect promising Wisdom, and, in 386, to a Christianized Neoplatonism patronized by Ambrose, bishop of Milan. Catholicism, for Augustine, was the 'Divine Philosophy', a Wisdom guaranteed by authority but explored by reason: 'Seek and ye shall find', the only scriptural citation in his first work, characterizes his life as a thinker.

Though the only Latin philosopher to fail to master Greek, Augustine transformed Latin *Christianity by his Neoplatonism: his last recorded words echo Plotinus. Stimulated by abrupt changes—he was forcibly ordained priest of Hippo (Bone, Algeria) in 391, becoming bishop in 395—and by frequent controversies, Augustine developed his ideas with an independence that disquieted even his admirers. He has left his distinctive mark on most aspects of western Christianity.

Augustine's major works are landmarks in the abandonment of Classical ideals. His early optimism was soon overshadowed by a radical doctrine of grace. This change was canonized in an autobiographical masterpiece, the *Confessions* (c.397–400), a vivid if highly selective source for his life to 388 and, equally, a mirror of his changed outlook. *De doctrina Christiana* (begun 396/7) sketched a literary culture subordinated to the Bible. *De Trinitate* (399–419) provided a more radically philosophical statement of the doctrine of the Trinity than any Greek Father. *De civitate Dei* (413 to 426) presented a definitive juxtaposition of Christianity with literary paganism and Neoplatonism, notably with Porphyry. After 412, he combated in Pelagianism views which, 'like the philosophers of the pagans', had promised men fulfilment by their unaided efforts. In his *Retractationes* (427) Augustine criticized his superabundant output of 93 works in the light of a Catholic orthodoxy to which he believed he had progressively conformed—less consistently, perhaps, than he realized.

Letters and verbatim sermons richly document Augustine's complex life as a bishop; the centre of a group of sophisticated ascetics (notably Paulinus of Nola), the 'slave' of a simple congregation, he was, above all, a man dedicated to the authority of the Catholic Church. This authority had enabled his restless intellect to work creatively: he would uphold it, in Africa, by every means, from writing a popular song to elaborating the only explicit justification in the early Church of a policy of religious persecution. JFMA

Augustus (see *facing page*)

Aurelius, Marcus, emperor AD 161–80, was born in 121 and named Marcus Annius Verus. His homonymous grandfather, Marcus Annius Verus, from Ucubi (Espejo) in Baetica, consul for the third time (as *ordinarius*) in 126

[continued on p. 111]

AUGUSTUS

Augustus (63 BC–AD 14), the first emperor at Rome, who presided over the inception of much of the institutional and ideological framework of the imperial system of the first three centuries AD. The long survival of his system, and its association with a literary milieu that came to be regarded as the golden age of Latin literature, make him a uniquely important figure in Roman history, but no narrative history of his lifetime survives except for the account of *Cassius Dio (incomplete 6 BC–AD 14), and the rest of the evidence is very deeply imbued with partisan spirit of various kinds. An estimation of his personal contribution is hard to achieve.

Son of a *novus homo* or first man of his family to reach the senate (Gaius Octavius, praetor 61, d. 59) from Velitrae in the Alban Hills, the younger Gaius Octavius was typical enough of the milieu of junior senators in the third quarter of the 1st cent., perceiving that the way to success lay through the support of the great dynasts for their agents and followers. In this he had a head start: his mother Atia (of a family from Aricia, next door to Velitrae) was the daughter of *Caesar's sister, which made Octavius one of the closest young male relatives of the dictator, a connection emphasized when in 51 BC he gave the funeral oration for his maternal grandmother. In 47 he was made pontifex (a member of one of the four major colleges of the Roman priesthood: see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)); with Caesar in Spain in 45, he was enrolled as a patrician, and when the dictator drew up his will (13 September 45) he adopted the 17-year-old Octavius and made him his heir. The young man spent the winter in study at Apollonia in Dalmatia, but reacted with decision and alacrity when Caesar was murdered and the will read. Over the next months he consolidated his position as the leader of the friends of Caesar, commemorating his adoptive father, and wooing his veterans; a course of action which brought him into conflict with Mark *Antony, and support of the cause against him which was victorious at Mutina (April 43), after which he seized the consulship by force. At Bononia the differences between him, Antony, and *Lepidus were resolved and the Triumvirate (board of three men assuming supreme authority in the state) established. The next years were marked by the crushing of Antony's brother, Lucius Antonius (Pietas) and his wife Fulvia at Perusia, with singular violence, the settling of veterans, on confiscated land, and the *proscriptions, in which he was as ruthless as the others. He married Scribonia as a gesture to Sextus Pompeius (*Pompey's son, and she bore his only child *Julia (in 39 he divorced her to marry *Livia); to seal the political dispositions made at Brundisium in October 40 Antony married his sister Octavia. All the politicians of the time made use of *imperium, one of the only surviving constitutional principles of any potency, and Caesar's heir now took the first name Imperator.

Over the 30s, events combined with astute responses enabled Imperator Caesar to represent himself as defender of an Italian order. His principal local rival for this position, Sextus Pompeius (finally defeated at Naulochus in 36), he represented as a pirate-leader. He took advantage of his control of the ancient centre of *imperium* and (especially through the singular post-consular aedilate of *Agrippa in 33) maintained the favour of the disaffected and volatile *populus* (people) who still in theory granted it. After a half-hearted attempt to attain some military reputation against a foreign enemy (the Illyrians) he turned to representing Antony in *Alexandria as alien, immoral, and treacherous. In 32 a formal oath expressed the mass loyalty of Italy to his cause. The advantages of this policy were not wholly symbolic. Italy offered material resources, manpower, and the land with which to reward its loyalty. Imp. Caesar and his close supporters of these years and afterwards (especially Agrippa, Titus Statilius Taurus, and *Maecenas) were victorious against Antony, whose pro-Egyptian policy and failure in Armenia had lost him much of his eastern support. The battle of *Actium (31 BC) was the turning-point; the capture of Alexandria in the next year ended the war and led to the incorporation of Egypt in the *imperium*. Victory in the east, the vindication of his political promises in Italy, and the booty of the Ptolemies gave him an unassailable position, soon expressed in terms of divinity.

From his consulship of 31 (he held it every year down to 23) there began a down-playing of the irregularity of the triumviral system, which culminated in a formal *restitutio* (restoration) of the *res publica* (constitutional organs of state), a restoration in the sense of repair or revival rather than a return to a different constitution. He returned to Rome in mid-29, triumphed, beautified the city by the dedication of important temples, and signalled an end to war by the closing of the temple of *Janus. Agrippa was his colleague in the consulship for 28 and 27: at the beginning of 27 he made the formal gesture of reinstating the magistrates, senate (reduced in numbers through a purge of undesirable elements), and people in their old constitutional role. In return he received a major grant of proconsular *imperium*, and many honours, including the name Augustus, and departed to carry out the military duties of his new command.



Before 7 BC Augustus spent a great deal of time in the provinces (only in 23, 18, 17, and 12 did he spend the whole year in Rome, and he was absent for the whole of 26/5, 21/0, and 15/4). The Civil Wars had shown that power at Rome was to be won in the provinces, and with ever greater numbers of Roman citizens outside Italy, Augustus had to form an empire-wide system. The creation of a huge proconsular **provincia* on the model of the commands of Pompey and the triumvirs, which gave Augustus *imperium* over most of the *milites* (troops) of the *res publica*, was the core of this, and the most important part of the 'settlement' of 27. Delegation was essential in so unwieldy an entity, and, like his predecessors, Augustus appointed senatorial legates and equestrian prefects to serve his *imperium*. If these men ran units which were analogous to the *provinciae* of the proconsuls who continued to be sent to the parts of the Roman dominion that lay outside Augustus' command, that is not to say that the settlement envisaged two types of province. Such an innovation would have been far less subtle than the skill with which the legal flexibility of the assignment of proconsular commands and the convenient precedents of the previous generation were adapted to Augustus' purpose.

There were difficulties, since holders of *imperium* had been accustomed to a greater independence than Augustus could afford to allow them. Already in 30 the claim of Marcus Licinius Crassus (grandson of **Crassus*) to the *spolia opima* (spoils offered by a Roman general who had slain an enemy leader in single combat) had tested the limits of self-determination; this bid for an antique honour was, characteristically, thwarted by a display of greater erudition from Augustus. Egypt's temptations proved too much for even the equestrian prefect Gaius Cornelius Gallus (26). Marcus Primus came to grief because his informal instructions were inconsistent (c.24). In 23, again following the precedent of Pompey, the proconsular *imperium* was clearly labelled *maius* (superior), which also clarified the position of the other holders under Augustus of wide-ranging commands, such as Agrippa and Gaius Caesar.

The maintenance of the loyalty of the soldiers finally depended on Augustus' capacity to pay them. That in turn depended on the organization of revenues so that they would regularly accrue to him directly. A simple fiscal logic thus operated which transformed the empire: previously, the maintaining of cash flows to the centre, where they might be squandered by one's enemies, was of little interest to provincial governors. Now, the efficiency of the exaction system was the only guarantee of the survival of the new order. The whole world was enrolled, and noticed it (Luke 2: 1, even if the process was not so sudden as the experience of Judaea implied). Taxation was reformed and new provinces made so that their tribute might swell Augustus' takings. The enthusiastic imposition of such burdens caused rebellion and disaster, especially in Germany. A military treasury on the Capitol announced the theoretical centrality of the fiscal arrangements to the whole *imperium* from AD 6.

The incorporations of this period doubled the size of the provincial empire: NW Spain and the provinces of the Alps and the Alpine foreland, Raetia, Noricum, and Pannonia, with Germania and Moesia beyond them, saw most of the military aggression, the provincialization of Galatia (central **Asia Minor*) and Judaea (see JEWS) being relatively peaceful. A reasonably high level of military activity was a sensible ingredient in Augustan political strategy, and provided the *gloria* which fuelled the *auctoritas* (prestige) of the ruling cadre. Some of this took the form of expeditions which bore no fruit in terms of the all-important taxation, either directly (or in some cases ever): like Augustus' own trip to the Danube (35–33 BC), Aelius Gallus' Arabian campaign (25–24), and the wars in southern Egypt of Cornelius Gallus (29) and Gaius Petronius (25). The main point of such trips was the glamour of the geography and ethnography, celebrated in poetry and on Agrippa's map, which propagated the belief that Augustus' Rome ruled the whole inhabited world. This impression was reinforced by Augustus' generally successful use (continued in the east from Antony's careful practice) of the traditional diplomatic relations with local magnates, kings, or communities, in places outside the direct *imperium* of a Roman governor. Ritual courtesies on both sides could suggest that the empire included **India* or **Britain*, and had a practical role in settling outstanding issues with Parthia in 20 in a negotiation which Augustus made a great deal of. When a serious military threat appeared, in the shape of the Pannonian Revolt, 'the worst war since those against Carthage', or the German war that followed the massacre of Quinctilius Varus and his three legions, the system all but collapsed.

For all his absences, Rome itself was at the heart of Augustus' vision. City-foundations in the provinces, and benefactions to existing *coloniae* (colonies) and *municipia* (municipalities), encouraged the imitation of the metropolis and

Augustus This trophy, set up in 6 BC at La Turbie (above Monaco), commemorated Augustus' victory over 44 Alpine tribes, resulting in the province of Alpes Maritimae, constituted in 14 BC. Military operations under Augustus doubled the size of the empire and helped to maintain the prestige of his regime. Giraudon / The Bridgeman Art Library

the recognition of that constituency of Italians spread across the Mediterranean world that had played such a vital part in the Civil Wars. He could not avoid a real concern for the urban populace of Rome itself, who caused major disturbances of the traditional kind at intervals throughout his ascendancy. In 23, the choice of *tribunicia potestas* (see TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS) as the 'indication of the highest station', and the way in which Augustus counted the years of his 'reign' thereafter, signalled also his descent from the *populares* (popular politicians) of the late republic, many of whose policies he continued (albeit sometimes with a show of reluctance): he made provision against famine, fire, and flood, and reorganized the districts of the city (spreading his own cult in the process). The popular assembly duly ratified his legislation, and was represented *en masse* in displays of loyalty at important moments.

*Varro had taught the Romans to be at home in their own city, and Augustus was an eager interpreter of the process. The ancient messages of cult and civic ritual offered many opportunities, which he was making use of already in the 30s. After Actium the serious development of the cult of Palatine Apollo as a parallel for Capitoline Jupiter, and the restoration of dozens of Rome's ancient sanctuaries; after 12 (when he finally became pontifex maximus or head of the college of *pontifices* (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)) on the death of Lepidus) the formation of the House of the Pater Patriae, in 2 BC the inauguration of a replacement forum (the forum Augustum: see ROME (TOPOGRAPHY)), to which many state ceremonies were removed; throughout the creation of a 'suburb more beautiful than the city' on the Campus Martius, for the amenity of the populace: the reduplication of Rome's glories cleverly allowed him to be a new founder without damaging the old system, and to surpass all past builders and benefactors without the solecism of departing from or belittling their precedent. He thus underlined his relationship with the previous centuries of Roman history in a Roman Whig history that culminated in his ascendancy.

His management of *lex* (statute) was equally historic: giving his name to far more *leges* than any legislator before him, and announcing his control of the legislative assembly in the process, he became the city-founding lawgiver of the new Rome. The control of religion, that mirror of the *res publica*, was the interpretative vehicle of much of this, and learning, interpretation, and doctrine, of law or ritual precedent, history or geography, were the indispensable servants of all these projects. Hence the cultural and literary acme that later generations of Romans perceived at this epoch. These processes came together in the pivotal years 19–17 BC, when he had made the last modifications to his position in the *res publica*, settled the eastern and western provinces, and acquired his first grandson (Gaius Caesar, the child of Julia and Agrippa). Now came the ethical and social laws, and in 17 the great celebration of the divine diuturnity that the Fates had given to Rome by making her populace virtuous and therefore fecund, in the *ludi saeculares* (Secular Games).

His concern for the institutions of state allowed him to insert himself into the annals of Roman history as a continuator or reformer rather than as an intruder or revolutionary, while the inherent flexibility of the institutions gave him a wonderful repertoire of gambits both for shaping opportunities for political success for his supporters and for social promotion, of which the most important form of all was the identification of a successor to his office. The very happy accident of his long life allowed readjustment of many of his innovations in a process of trial and error, a refining process which explains the success and long survival of many of them: the city prefect, the public *postal service, the *vigiles* (fire brigade), and so on.

The arrangement of a successor proved the most difficult task of all. The calculation of *auctoritas* in which he excelled, and which his very name evoked, entailed that no merely dynastic principle could be guaranteed; it would belittle his own carefully constructed practical reputation for real ability to have a successor who owed everything, as he had done, to a name. At the same time he had been unable (and had perhaps not wanted) to avoid accumulating honours for his family, and using for that very consolidation of *auctoritas* the image of a Father and the model of the state as a super-household, one conducted like his own and under his benign but omniscient tutelage. There was in the end a dissonance between the role of those who had to be permitted to acquire the necessary *auctoritas* to maintain the image of effective governance, especially through largely factitious military escapades, and the need to rely on his own blood-line to keep alive the charisma of his own divine associations. Agrippa was a compliant assistant in the public sphere, and Livia happy and expert at propagating the necessary pictures in the private; but *Tiberius and Drusus, Livia's children by her first marriage, were not good at being second fiddle, and Julia, his daughter and only child, on whom the whole dynastic construction relied, nearly wrecked the whole thing by probably calculated sexual misbehaviour. This called into question the credentials of the model family, the legitimacy of her offspring, and the feasibility of using ethics as a constitutional strategy, while potentially irradiating her partners (who included Antony's son Iullus Antonius) with her share of the ancestral charisma.

The dynastic policy was not overtly monarchic either, however, and what saved Augustus was the fact that he had (since he did not have the option of destroying them wholesale) recreated the Roman aristocracy and given them a

new role in his social system. As an antidote to the Civil War social mobility was to be curbed; freedmen were discouraged from promotion, the *plebs* was indulged but controlled; the two upper classes were encouraged to procreate, and each had its precise place in the religious system, at the theatre, and in government. As an ornament to the whole thing, and to camouflage the prerogatives that he ascribed to his own family, survivors of the great lines of the historic Roman past were encouraged to live up to their ancestors' images, and given an honorific but circumscribed part to play in a system whose regulation, through his censorial function, it was Augustus' job to manage. Hence—and the power derived also from his fatherly pretensions—the ethical content of much of his legislation, which did the nobility the credit of thinking them worthy of the past while giving their arbiter a useful way of coercing them if they failed to live up to it. The seeds of the disastrous use of the laws on *adultery and *maiestas* (treason, broadly defined) over the next generations were therefore sowed by Augustus, who was not himself faced by any very coherent opposition.

Later authors dated the establishment of the imperial monarchy to 31 or 27 BC. In many ways, as Augustus probably saw, and Tacitus appreciated, the new arrangements, many times modified, and threatened by diverse instability, could not be regarded as established until someone had succeeded to them, and then shown himself willing to continue their essentials. Although the *optimus status* ('best state of affairs') was in most respects in place by the climax of the legislative phase and the announcement of the *saeculum* in 17, and the pinnacle of *auctoritas* was commemorated in 2 BC, the Augustan empire could have been dissolved in AD 14. The achievement of Augustus lay in the flexibility with which he and his advisers responded to a period of striking social change in the Mediterranean world, the legacy of the Roman/Italian diaspora of the previous century. But in controlling a dynamic process there is more continuity and less revolution than is usual in the foundation of a monarchy, and that may well help to account for the stability of the system that Augustus' successors developed out of his innovations (see also ROME (HISTORY), § 2.1). NP

and city prefect, a relative of *Hadrian and an influential figure, brought him up after his father's early death. His mother Domitia Lucilla inherited the fortune created by Gnaeus Domitius Afer. From early childhood Marcus was a favourite of Hadrian, who nicknamed him *Verissimus*. At the age of 15 he was betrothed at Hadrian's wish to Ceionia Fabia, daughter of the man Hadrian adopted as Lucius Aelius Caesar. In 138 Hadrian ordered his second heir *Antoninus Pius, whose wife was Marcus' aunt Annia Galeria Faustina, to adopt Marcus along with Aelius' son Lucius: he now became Marcus (Aelius) Aurelius Verus Caesar. When Hadrian died, Marcus was betrothed to Antoninus' daughter, his own cousin Annia Galeria Faustina, instead of Ceionia. Quaestor in 139, first elected consul in 140 and again in 145, he married in the latter year; his first child was born on 30 November 147; the next day he received *tribunicia potestas* (see TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS) and **imperium* and Faustina became Augusta (*fasti Ostienses*). Marcus was educated by a host of famous teachers, one being the orator Fronto; many of their letters survive. His leaning to philosophy, already manifest when he was 12, became the central feature of his life. He was much influenced by Quintus Iunius Rusticus (elected to a second consulship in 162), son or grandson of the Stoic 'martyr' (see STOICISM) of AD 93, and by the teaching of Epictetus. Although Marcus is called a Stoic, his *Meditations* (see below) are eclectic, with elements of Platonism and Epicureanism as well.

Further, he was much indebted to Antoninus, who receives a lengthier tribute than anyone else in the *Meditations* (1. 16; another version, 6. 30). His tranquil family life is vividly portrayed in his correspondence and recalled with affection in the *Meditations*. Faustina bore him further children; several died in infancy, but the couple had four daughters when Marcus succeeded Antoninus on 7 March 161; and Faustina was again pregnant.

Marcus at once requested the senate to confer the rank of co-emperor on his adoptive brother Lucius, as Hadrian had intended. Lucius took Marcus' name Verus, while Marcus assumed that of Antoninus. There were thus two Augusti for the first time, equal rulers, except that only Marcus was *pontifex maximus* (head of the *pontifices*: see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)) and he had greater *auctoritas*. The coinage proclaimed the *concordia Augustorum* (concord of the emperors), Lucius Verus was betrothed to Marcus' eldest daughter Annia Aurelia Galeria Lucilla, and the *felicitas temporum* (happiness of the times) was further enhanced when Faustina gave birth to twin sons on 31 August, their names honouring Antoninus (T. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus) and Lucius (L. Aurelius Commodus). But Antoninus' death had unleashed trouble on the frontiers: in Britain, dealt with by Sextus Calpurnius Agricola; Upper Germany, to which Marcus' close friend Aufidius Victorinus, Fronto's son-in-law, was sent; along the Danube; and, most seriously, in the east. The Parthians seized Armenia and



Aurelius, Marcus Aerial view of Carnuntum, a legionary fortress on the Danube, where Marcus was based during the Marcomannic wars and wrote part of his *Meditations*. The civil settlement, made a municipality under *Hadrian, is in the left foreground. Dr. Lothar Beckel

defeated the governor of Cappadocia, who took his own life, and invaded Syria. It was decided that an expeditionary force was needed, to be led by Lucius Verus, with an experienced staff. Verus left Italy in 162 and was based at Antioch until 166 (with a visit to Ephesus in 164 to marry Lucilla), but was merely a figurehead. After the expulsion of the Parthians from Armenia by Statius Priscus (163), he took the title Armeniacus (accepted by Marcus in 164), crowning a new king, Sohaemus. Other generals, notably Avidius Cassius, defeated the Parthians in Mesopotamia: Ctesiphon was captured and Seleucia on the Tigris sacked at the end of 165. Verus became Parthicus Maximus, Marcus following suit after a short delay. In 166 further success led to the title Medicus. But plague had broken out in the eastern army; the threat in the north was becoming acute—the despatch of three legions to

the east had weakened the Rhine–Danube **limes*. Verus was obliged to make peace, celebrating a joint triumph with Marcus (12 October 166). Each became Pater Patriae (Father of the Fatherland) and Marcus' surviving sons, *Commodus (whose twin had died) and Annius Verus (b. 162), became Caesar.

Marcus planned a new campaign to relieve the Danube frontier. New legions, II and III Italicae, were raised in 165; V Macedonica, formerly in Lower Moesia, was moved to Dacia on its return from the east. But the *plague, reaching Rome in 166, delayed the expedition until spring 168; meanwhile Pannonia and Dacia were both invaded. The emperors went to the Danube in 168 and reinforced the frontier, stationing the new legions in western Pannonia under Quintus Antistius Adventus (*ILS* 8977). They wintered at Aquileia, where the plague

broke out; the praetorian prefect Furius Victorinus was a victim and Galen, the imperial physician, refused to stay. At Verus' insistence, he and Marcus also left in January 169, but Verus had a stroke on the journey and died a few days later. Marcus deified him and obliged the widowed Lucilla to marry the Syrian *novus homo* (first of his family to reach the senate) Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus, who had distinguished himself in Pannonia. In spite of further bereavement—his younger son Verus died—he pressed on with preparations, auctioning imperial treasures to raise funds, and returned north, to Sirmium, in autumn 169.

Apparently planning to annex territory beyond the Danube, he launched an offensive in spring 170, but incurred a severe defeat. The Marcomanni and Quadi of Bohemia and Slovakia invaded, outflanked Marcus and swept over the Julian Alps, sacking Opitergium (Oderzo) and besieging Aquileia. It was the worst such crisis since the German invasions at the end of the 2nd cent. BC. Desperate measures, led by Pompeianus and Publius Helvius Pertinax, cleared Italy, Noricum, and Pannonia. The Marcomanni were defeated as they tried to recross the Danube with their booty. But the Balkans and Greece were invaded by the Costoboci, requiring further emergency measures, and Spain was ravaged by the Moors, dealt with by Marcus' friend Victorinus. Marcus, based at Carnuntum, first used diplomacy to detach some tribes from the 'barbarian conspiracy'; some peoples were settled within the empire. The offensive, resumed in 172, is depicted at the start of the Aurelian column in Rome. In spite of the death of the praetorian prefect Vindex, the Marcomanni were defeated: victory was claimed, with the title Germanicus. In a battle against the Quadi Roman troops were saved by a 'rain miracle', shown on the column, later claimed to have been achieved by the prayers of Christian legionaries; Marcus gave the credit to the Egyptian Hermes 'Aerius'. In 173 he pacified the Quadi, moving to Sirmium in 174 to take on the Sarmatian Iazyges of the Hungarian plain. After some successes, he was obliged to make an armistice when Avidius Cassius, who had had special powers in the east, was proclaimed emperor. The revolt collapsed after three months, but Marcus, now Sarmaticus, toured the east, taking Faustina, who died in late 175 and was deified, and Commodus. He went through Asia and Syria to Egypt, returning via Athens to Rome. Here he held a triumph (23 December 176) and raised Commodus to Augustus. In summer 178, renewed warfare in the north took him northwards again. He remained, evidently planning to annex Marcomannia and Sarmatia, until his death (17 March 180).

Marcus has been universally admired, as a philosopher-ruler, to the present day, criticized only for leaving

his unworthy son as successor. This no doubt seemed the best way to ensure stability, and he left Commodus experienced advisers, including his numerous sons-in-law. Despite Marcus' lack of military experience he took personal command against the first wave of the great *Völkerwanderung* that ultimately destroyed the empire, setting an example that inspired his contemporaries in the view of *Ammianus Marcellinus (31. 5. 14). ARBI

Meditations

Marcus is most famous for a work his subjects never saw, the intimate notebook in which he recorded (in Greek) his own reflections on human life and the ways of the gods, perhaps before retiring at night. The title *Meditations* is purely modern: *ta eis heauton* ('to himself'), found in our MSS, may not go back to the author, but is surely accurate. Internal evidence suggests that he was past his prime when he wrote (2. 2, and other references to his age or imminent death), and that at least parts were composed during his lengthy campaigns against the German tribes. It seems to have survived almost by accident; it was unknown to the writers of his time and for long afterwards, but seems to have surfaced in the 4th cent. (Them., *Or.* 6. 81c, not a certain allusion). In general the closest analogies for the thought are with Epictetus, but Marcus is interested less in sustained exposition. The style, often eloquent and poetic, can also be compressed, obscure, and grammatically awkward. All of this is understandable if he was writing memoranda for his eyes alone.

Although divided by moderns into twelve 'books', the work seems not to have a clear structure. Brief epigrams are juxtaposed with quotations (usually of moral tags, occasionally of longer passages: esp. 7. 38–42, 11. 30–9) and with more developed arguments on divine providence, the brevity of human life, the necessity for moral effort, and tolerance of his fellow human beings. Frustratingly, these *pensées* are almost invariably generalized: we do not learn Marcus' secret thoughts about his family, members of the court, or military policy. We do, however, get some idea of his personality and preoccupations.

The first book of the *Meditations* is a different matter, being more coherent than the others; it may have been composed independently. Here Marcus goes through a list of his closer relatives and several teachers, recording what he owes to each—in some cases a specific lesson, but more often a general moral example. This list culminates in two long passages on what he owes to his predecessor *Antoninus Pius, and to the gods (1. 16 and 17). Though often allusive and obscure, these give us unique access to the mind of an ancient ruler, and the whole book is a precious personal document.

In the rest of the work, though technical discussion of Stoic doctrine is avoided, certain recurrent themes stand out: the need to avoid distractions and concentrate on making the correct moral choice; the obligation of individuals to work for the common good (e.g. 6. 54: 'What does not benefit the hive does not benefit the bee'); the unity of mankind in a world-city (4. 4; cf. G. R. Stanton, *Phronesis* 1968, 183 ff.); insistence on the providence of the gods, often combined with rejection of the Epicurean alternative that all is random movement of atoms (e.g. 6. 17, 8. 39). Duty and social responsibility are strongly emphasized; Marcus was keenly aware of the temptations of power (e.g. 5. 16, 6. 30 'do not be Caesarified'). Thoughts of providence lead him to contemplate the vastness of

time and space, and the guiding pattern that according to the Stoics gives order to the universe (e.g. 10. 5). There is also a more melancholy note, of resignation and pessimism. Though determined to persevere in his moral efforts, the author is often resigned to their futility (8. 4; 9. 29 'who will change men's convictions?'). Hymns to the grandeur and order of the universe (4. 23, 5. 4) can give way to revulsion and disgust (8. 24). Above all, Marcus is fascinated by life's transience and the way in which all great men, even philosophers and emperors, pass on and are forgotten (4. 32, 33, 48, 50, etc.). His most lasting achievement is a work which has inspired readers as different as Sir Thomas Browne, Matthew Arnold, and Cecil Rhodes.

RBR

B



Babylonia (see ◀ Map 2, Dd ▶), country in south Iraq, stretching from modern Baghdad to the Arab-Persian Gulf, drained by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. Settlement (dependent on irrigation) is first attested in the sixth millennium BC. The population was mixed; non-Semitic Sumerian dominates the literary record in the third millennium, gradually replaced by Semitic Akkadian in the second millennium, which in turn was displaced by Aramaic in the later first millennium.

Babylonia's political pattern until the 15th cent. BC was one of contending city-states, some of which succeeded in imposing control on their rivals (e.g. Agade: 2340–2200; Third Dynasty of Ur: 2100–2000; Babylon: 1760–1595). From then on, Babylonia formed a territorial state with Babylon as its capital. Babylonia was subject to Assyria from the late 8th cent. until the Babylonian general, Nabopolassar, fought back the Assyrians and, with Median help, destroyed Assyria's empire (626–609). Nabopolassar founded the Neo-Babylonian empire, stretching from Palestine to the Iranian frontier, ruled from Babylon. The most famous Neo-Babylonian king was his son, Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562), who rebuilt Babylonia's cities extensively and sacked Jerusalem (587). The last Neo-Babylonian ruler, Nabonidus (555–539), was defeated in battle at Opis by *Cyrus the Great of Persia (559–530), who turned Babylonia's imperial territory into a single satrapy of the Achaemenid empire (see PERSIA). It was divided early in *Xerxes I's reign (486–465) into two provinces: the satrapy of Babylonia stretched from the Persian Gulf to Assyria and north-west to the east bank of the Euphrates. *Alexander the Great conquered Babylonia in 331, detaching its northern region (Mesopotamia); he planned to turn Babylonia into one of his chief bases. *Seleucus I and *Antigonos the One-eyed disputed, and fought for, control of Babylonia (316–309) and it became a core-region of the Seleucid empire. After lengthy struggles (141–127), Babylonia came under Parthian control in 126, and henceforward formed part of the empires of the Arsacids, then the

Sasanids. Babylonia's strategic location on north–south and east–west routes and its legendary fertility (Herodotus 1. 193; Strabo 16. 1. 14) meant that it continued to play an important role in the Persian, Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian periods. Important royal centres were founded by Seleucus I at Seleucia on Tigris and by the Parthians at Ctesiphon.

Babylonian learning, writing, cultic, and literary traditions proved tenacious, and survived alongside the increased use of new languages (such as Aramaic, Persian, and Greek). The latest cuneiform text dates to AD 78. Classical writers frequently confused Babylonia with Assyria, to which Berosus objected with little effect. Babylonia was perceived by Greeks and Romans as the source of astronomical and astrological lore. They associated this activity with 'Chaldaeans'—the name of a number of tribal groups in Babylonia. There is no evidence that Babylonians ever linked any particular learning with these tribes. *Astronomy and *mathematics were an important and highly developed part of Babylonian scholarship; most of the latest preserved cuneiform texts are of this scientific nature. To what degree Babylonian astronomy and mathematics influenced Greek science is debated. See ASTROLOGY; ASTRONOMY §5; MATHEMATICS. ATLK

Bacchanalia can be used to mean either 'Bacchic festival' or 'Bacchic places of worship', but usually translates the Greek *mysteries (*orgia*), with special reference to the worship suppressed by the Roman authorities in 186 BC. We have an account of the suppression in Livy (39. 8–18) and an inscribed version of the senatorial decree (*ILLRP 511*) against the cult, in the form in which it was circulated to the allied states of Italy. These sources can be supplemented by references in Plautus' plays and now by archaeological evidence to show that the Bacchic cult, perhaps of south-Italian Greek origin, was widespread in Italy, central and south, decades before the senate chose to act against it. The form of the Italian cult seems to differ from other Hellenistic examples in admitting men

as well as women to the mysteries and in increasing the frequency of meetings. It is a matter of debate how far the cult's followers were forming a movement of protest against the Roman authorities.

The surviving decree concentrates on the structure of Bacchic cells—their oaths of loyalty, their organization and funding, their membership, their property. This suggests that it was the power of cell-leaders over worshippers, cutting across traditional patterns of family and authority, that disturbed the senate, rather than alleged criminal actions or orgiastic rites; but any allegation would have helped in the discrediting of a powerful and well-embedded cult; Livy's vivid account has valuable elements, and in substance shows knowledge of the decree itself; but its highly literary elaboration shows the influence of the senate's propaganda against the cult.

The senate's persecution succeeded at least in removing the cult from prominence, though artistic evidence shows its long-sustained influence. Later Italian evidence, especially the great Bacchic inscription of Agrippinilla, shows a domesticated, family version of the cult, well subordinated to élite authority.

See DIONYSUS.

JN

Bacchylides (c.520–450 BC), lyric poet, of Iulis in Ceos, son of Midon (or Midylus, *Etym. Magn.* 582, 20), nephew of *Simonides (Strabo 486, *Suda*, entry under 'Bakchulidēs'). His floruit was given as 480 by *Chron. Pasch.* 162b (304. 6), as 467 and 451 by *Eusebius–Jerome (the entry in Eusebius, *Chron.* Olympian Odes 87.2 = 431 BC, refers to a flute-player Bacchylides mentioned by the comic poet Plato in his *Sophistai*, fr. 149 R. Kassel and C. Austin, *PCG* 7. 494, see G. Fatouros, *Philol.* 1961, 147). The assumption that he was younger than *Pindar (Eust. *Prooem. ad Pind.* 25 = scholiast Pindar 3, p. 297. 13 Dr.) is unfounded and unlikely in view of the early date of his poem in praise of the young prince Alexander, son of Amyntas (fr. 20b Snell–Maehler), who succeeded his father as king of Macedon in c.494. Although Bacchylides was one of the canonical nine lyric poets (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 184 and 571; schol. Pind. 1, p. 11. 20 Dr.), and although he was well known in Hellenistic and Roman times (imitated by Horace *Carm.* 1. 15, quoted by *Strabo, *Plutarch, ['Longinus'], *Subl.* and by the emperor *Julian who 'enjoyed reading him', as *Ammianus Marcellinus 25. 4. 3 says), only a handful of lines had survived in quotations when a papyrus containing his book of victory odes almost complete and the first half of his book of *dithyrambs was found at Meir, near Al-Kussiah, south of Hermopolis Magna, in 1896 and published by F. G. Kenyon in 1897. Since then, remains of fifteen more papyri have been attributed to him, and two papyri contain scholia on his

epinician odes and dithyrambs. The known dates of his epinician odes are: 476 (5, for Hieron's horse-race victory at Olympia, also celebrated by Pindar, *Ol.* 1), 470 (4, for Hieron's chariot victory at Delphi, for which Pindar sent *Pyth.* 1), 468 (3, for Hieron's chariot victory at Olympia), and 452 (6, for Lachon's sprint victory as a boy at Olympia); likely dates are: c.485 (13) and 454 or 452 (1 and 2); the Third Dithyramb (17, 'The Youths' or 'Theseus') seems to date from the early 490s; it is really a paeon sung by a Cean choir at *Delos. Bacchylides spent some time in exile in the Peloponnese (Plut. *De exil.* 14). Like Simonides and Pindar, he may have stayed at *Syracuse as Hieron's guest (Ael. *VH* 4. 15), but the alleged rivalry between him and Pindar seems to be a figment of some ancient biographers.

His patrons, apart from Hieron, included athletes from Ceos, Aegina, Phlius, Metapontum, and *Thessaly; a poem in honour of a magistrate of Larissa seems to have been added at the end of the book (14b, cf. Pindar's *Nem.* 11). Several of his dithyrambs were composed for competitions at Athens (15?, 18, 19, 23?), one for Sparta (20). The Alexandrian editors gave them titles and arranged them in alphabetical order. Stylistically, his dithyrambs are like ballads, using lively narrative, often allusive and selective, as well as direct speech. They exploit the pathetic potential of the myths, as do those epinician odes which contain a mythical narrative as their centre-piece. *Dith.* 2 (16, 'Heracles' or 'Deianira'?) appears to assume familiarity with *Sophocles' *Trachiniai*; *Dith.* 4 (18, 'Theseus') is unique in being a dialogue between the chorus as people of Athens and the chorus leader, their king, Aegeus; this may have been influenced by Attic drama (plays like Aesch. *Supp.* or *Pers.*), rather than being an archaic form of dithyramb. Bacchylides also wrote hymns (frs. 1–3), paeans, of which fr. 4 + 22 contain a fine eulogy of peace, processional songs (frs. 11–13), maiden-songs (Plut. *De mus.* 17), dancing-songs (hyporchemata, frs. 14–16), songs about love (erotica, frs. 17–19), and songs of praise (encomia?, frs. 20–20f). Didymus wrote a commentary on the epinician odes and probably also on other books. The textual transmission must have broken off sometime in the Roman period; later authors like Athenaeus and Clement of Alexandria seem to quote from anthologies. HMA

Bactria (see ◀Map 2a, Cb▶), Enormous region lying (roughly) between the Oxus (Amu-Darya) to the north and the Hindu Kush to the south; the term occasionally also includes Sogdiana to the north (Tadjikistan/Uzbekistan). The Achaemenid Persian satrapy (Bāxtriš) is cited several times in the *Persepolis tablets. Because of the silence of the classical sources, Bactrian history only

becomes more fully recoverable with *Alexander the Great, who had to fight tough battles here. The discovery of 30 parchments and 18 wooden boards from the late Achaemenid period (Artaxerxes III to Alexander the Great), including two possibly dating to the 5th cent. (as well as palimpsests), written in Aramaic, is now revealing some details of the Achaemenid administration of the region (Bagavant, governor of Khulmi, under Akhvmāsda, satrap of Bactria) and Persian-held domains. Recent excavations have profoundly enhanced our knowledge, especially excavation of the site of *Ai Khanoum, a Hellenistic city (possibly), founded by Alexander himself, on the upper Oxus (Alexandria Oxiana?). Surveys in eastern Bactria, on both banks of the Oxus, have revealed that the agricultural prosperity, for which the country was famed, goes back to the bronze age. From this time on, networks of irrigation canals were constructed, which were maintained and extended throughout the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods. Under the early *Seleucids, Bactria was extensively colonized, and Bactra (mod. Balkh) served as a temporary residence for Antiochus (the future Antiochus I), son of *Seleucus I. Inscriptions found on several Bactrian sites have provided new insights into Iranian and Greek settlement and into the process of acculturation. A Graeco-Bactrian kingdom was created by Seleucid breakaway satraps. This secession is generally thought to have been achieved by Diodotus c.230 BC, linked to the invasion by the Parni (see PARTHIA) of the Iranian plateau, but this chronology is debated. In 206, following a campaign by *Antiochus III, the Graeco-Bactrian king Euthydemus I accepted Seleucid supremacy. In the reign of *Eucratides I, people from beyond the Oxus invaded Bactria and destroyed the city of Ai Khanoum c.145 BC. At the end of Heliocles' reign (c.130 BC), another invasion virtually obliterated the Greek presence in Bactria.

PB/ATLK

banks in antiquity supplied a selection of the services familiar from their modern counterparts. None the less, the essential banking function, receipt of deposits which might then be lent at interest to a different set of customers, appears only fleetingly in ancient texts (Dem. 36. 11). Many temples, both Greek and Roman (e.g. *Apollo on *Delos, Castor and Pollux at Rome) took deposits and even lent money; but deposits remained untouched and cash was lent from the temple's own funds. Similarly, moneylenders who lent from their own resources, even on a regular basis, were not bankers; nor were usurers, specializing in short-term, high-interest loans of small sums—the common Greek term is *obolostatēs* ('a lender of obols'). Banking in the Greek world appears to have evolved out of professional money-changing: a response

to the multiplicity of state coinages (*trapezitēs* or 'banker' refers to the *trapeza* or changer's table). Changers, and presumably bankers, existed all over the Classical and Hellenistic Greek worlds, but our knowledge is concentrated in Athens, where, from the 4th cent. BC, the names are known of some twenty bankers. Money-changing remained important; otherwise, the emphasis and impact of the services provided by Athenian bankers is disputed. Modernizing approaches treat banks as central not only to fringe economic activity, but to the whole *polis: primarily through the linked taking of deposits and extension of credit. Alternative readings, stressing differences between ancient and modern economies, see bankers (often themselves non-Athenians) as more marginal to the citizen-structure of the *polis*, providing a peripheral range of credit and other services (including acting as witnesses and guarantors). The majority of their clients would then be persons themselves not fully integrated into the *koinōnia* (community) of the *polis*: traders, other visitors to Athens, and a minority of citizens who urgently needed money or the support of specialist banking skills. Not disputed is the wealth of the most successful Athenian bankers. Pasion, beginning as a bankers' slave, gained his freedom, took over control of his former masters' bank, and eventually became a citizen. Remarkably, his own banking slave, Phormion, followed an almost identical path from rags to riches (Isoc. 17; Dem. 36, 45, [46], [49], [52]). Bankers from the Greek world seem to have operated in isolation; there is no clear evidence for any integrated banking system. A letter of credit is introduced to an Athenian jury as something needing explanation (Isoc. 17. 35 ff.). This is in contrast to Ptolemaic Egypt, where surviving papyri reveal a complex system of giro payments and bills of exchange. There was a range of banking institutions, changing through time: a network of royal or state banks (based on *Alexandria with branches in local capitals, banks operated on license, private banks, and *logētēria* (royal treasuries). By the 2nd cent. BC, and into the Roman period, the scene was dominated by state and private banks.

For the Roman west, literary evidence for banking operations is unsystematic. The basic problem is distinguishing between wealthy men of affairs who might offer financial services, including credit (e.g. *Atticus) and professional dealers in money. Whereas the former might be wealthy through ownership of land, the latter were generally of lower status, made most of their living through financial transactions, and might be organized into *collegia* (private clubs). Three identifiable groups had banking interests: *argentarii*, *coactores argentarii*, and *nummularii*. The earliest testimony from Rome and Italy (down to c.100 BC) mentions only *argentarii*, who resembled Greek

trapezitai in offering a range of functions: changing, deposit, and credit. Specialization is evident from the 1st cent. BC, with *argentarii* continuing to take deposits and lend, but money-changing becoming the province of the *nummularii*. There also emerge from c.50 BC the *coactores argentarii*, who offered credit facilities to those purchasing goods at auction. This marks a possible partial break with the tendency for credit in antiquity to be economically non-productive. Against this (as for the Greek world), there is no hard evidence for Roman bankers lending in maritime loans. Though possibly prosperous, none of these financiers came from the upper end of society: Mark *Antony could insult Octavian (the future *Augustus) by claiming his grandfather was an *argentarius* (Suet. *Aug.* 2. 6; cf. 4. 2 for *nummularius*). Nor did they number among their clients the Roman élite, who generally had their own safe deposits and sources of credit. As in Athens, Italian bankers regularly crop up in connection with the affairs of merchants (as indicated by the affairs of Caecilius Iucundus, auctioneer at *Pompeii). This tripartite system of finance was restricted to the western empire, and possibly only to Italy. Even there, from AD 200, distinctions begin to disappear, with a return to the idea of the all-embracing *argentarius*. A final (if problematic) perspective on Roman banking from the 6th cent. AD is provided by the *Digest*. PCM

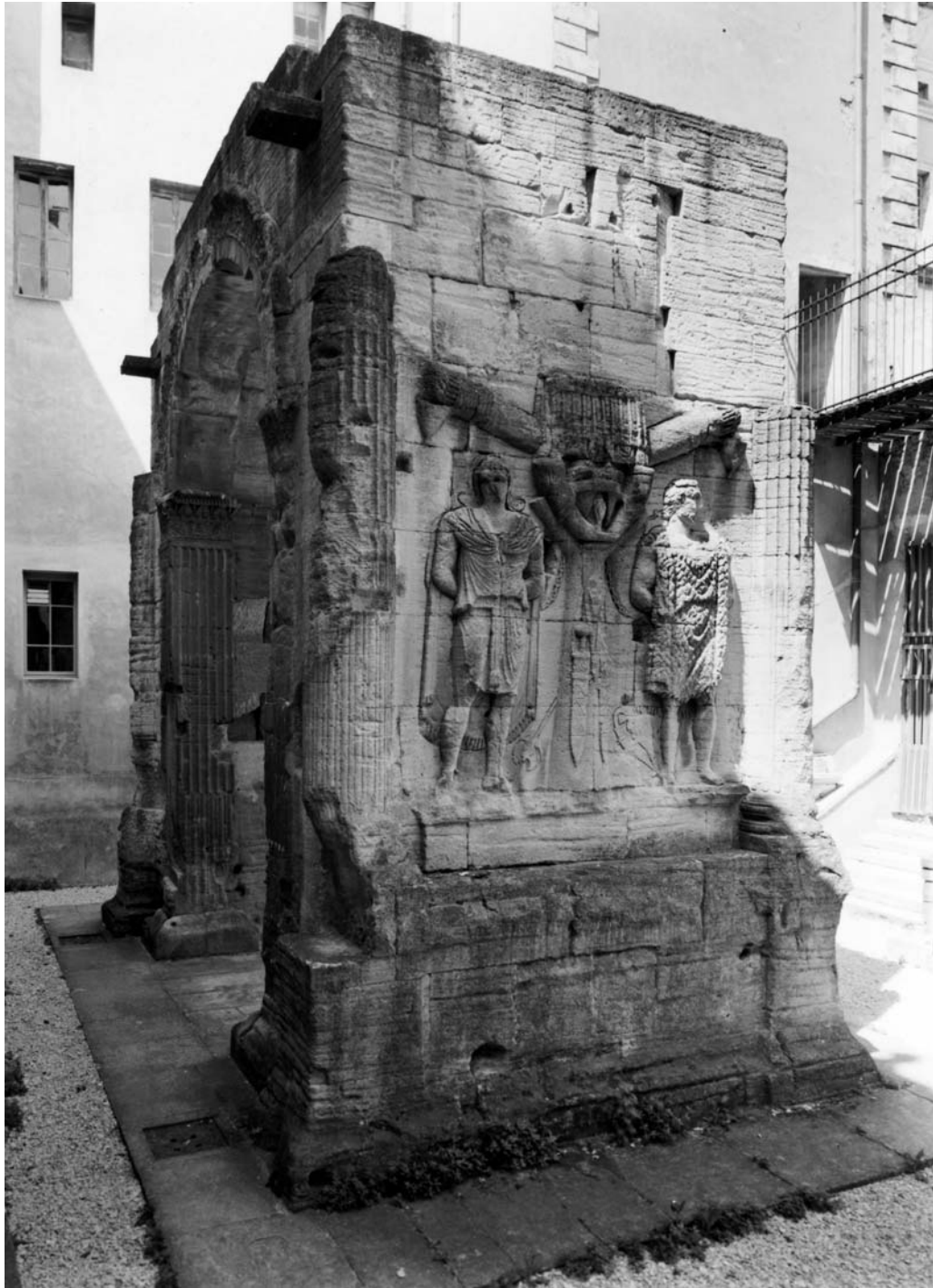
barbarian Social groups frequently assert their cohesiveness by emphasizing the differences between themselves and 'outsiders'. Individuals belong to a range of groups, and which they choose to emphasize will depend on particular historical situations. While we associate Classical culture primarily with emphasis on *citizenship (membership of a *polis), Classical Greek literature also assigns considerable importance to defining a common Greek identity and creating the figure of the 'barbarian' in contrast.

That contrast was not important in Archaic literature. The factors that brought it to the fore were (a) the imposition of Persian control over western Asia Minor from the mid-6th cent. BC and the successful armed resistance to Persia by many Greek states in 480/79 BC (see PERSIAN WARS); (b) justification of Athenian hegemony over the *Delian League on the grounds that Greeks should unite to continue resistance against Persia; and (c) the appearance of considerable numbers of non-Greek slaves at Athens (where the economic exploitation of the indigenous poor had been curtailed by *Solon's *seisachtheia* (alleviation of *debt)).

With *Aeschylus' *Persians* (performed 472 BC), a consistent image of the barbarian appears in Athenian literature and art. Apart from a lack of competence in Greek

(e.g. Ar. *Thesm.*), the barbarian's defining feature is an absence of the moral responsibility required to exercise political freedom: the two are connected, since both imply a lack of *logos*, the ability to reason and speak (sc. Greek) characteristic of the adult male citizen. Barbarians are marked by a lack of control regarding sex, food, and cruelty. In *Homer, the breaking of such taboos had been associated with superhuman heroes; in Classical thought, they were 'barbarous' (the myth of Tereus, thought originally to have been a Greek (Megarian) hero, includes rape, tearing out a tongue, a mother's murder of her own child, and cannibalism: consequently Tereus had to be reclassified as a 'barbarian' (Thracian) king). Absence of political freedom entails rule by tyrants, and frequently women, and the use of underhand weaponry like bows and poison; the absence of moral self-control entails the wearing of wasteful and 'effeminate' clothing, drinking wine neat, and enjoying emotional ('Lydian' or 'Ionian') music. Somatic differences might be used by writers (or vase-painters) to reinforce the image of the barbarian, but it did not matter whether the typology was black African or Thracian.

The Greek/barbarian polarity continued to be a major element in Greek literature throughout antiquity; it compensated for the military and political powerlessness of Greek cities in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Along with other elements of Greek culture, it became part of the ideological baggage of Latin literature. Its importance in practical terms is less clear: 'barbarians' were excluded from the Olympic Games and other religious ceremonies, e.g. at *Eleusis, and a 4th-cent. BC lawcourt speech could make capital out of an opponent's alleged 'barbarian' descent (Dem. *Meid.* 149 f.). Roman rhetoric, too, could represent opponents, both non-Roman and Roman, as either 'barbarians' or 'barbarous' (Cic. *Font.*, etc.; representations of *Cleopatra VII or Boudicca), though such language masked much more real distinctions (principally that between the Roman citizen and the non-citizen), and Roman moral discourse symbolized disapproval in different terms (e.g. Etruscan luxury). While some Greek intellectuals stretched the polarity to its limits (Isoc. *Paneg.* and *Philippus*; Arist. *Politica* 1. 2–7 and 3. 14 on barbarians being slaves 'by nature'), others questioned the usefulness of the concept (Pl. *Resp.* 262de). The polarity might be associated with a more universal distinction between 'us' at the centre of the world and 'them' at the periphery: the barbarians who inhabited the 'edge' of the world might be savages without laws, settled homes, or agriculture (see NOMADS), but alternatively they might have created an earthly paradise (the Hyperboreans, the 'Kingdom of the Sun' in the Indian Ocean). Like kings, women, children, old people, or



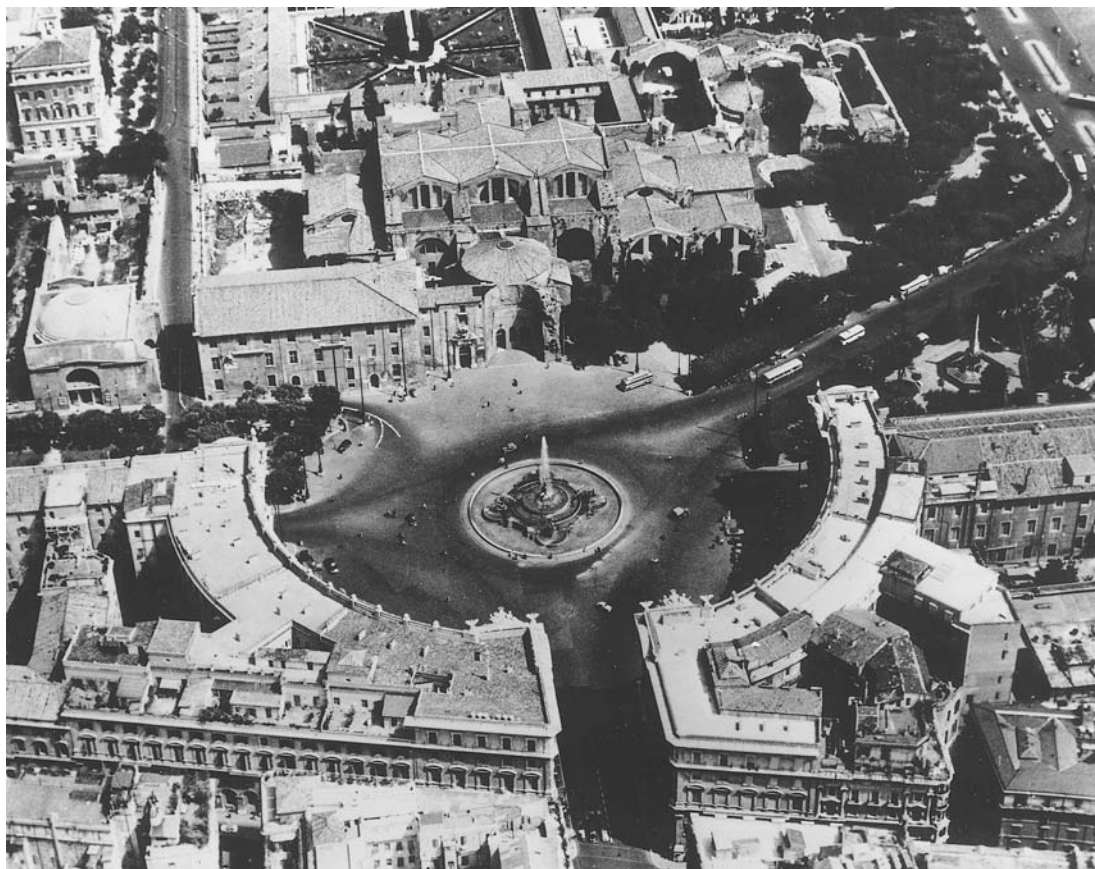
barbarian Gaulish prisoners on a Roman triumphal arch at Carpentras (France). Rome took over from Greek thought the idea of the barbarian. Classification of conquered peoples (like Gauls) as (inferior) barbarians offered a justification of Roman imperialism. Giraudon / The Bridgeman Art Library

slaves, some barbarians might be closer to the divine world than the adult male citizen (Celtic Druids, Persian magi, Indian gymnosophists; cf. the Christian Salvianus' positive judgement of 5th-cent. AD Germanic invaders).

In the Hellenistic period, the distinction between Greek and barbarian came to be seen as insignificant even by some of those imbued by the literary culture (*Stoicism); its irrelevance was explicitly expressed by Christians (Colossians 3: 11; 1 Corinthians 7: 21; cf. Acts 8: 27). Nevertheless the prejudice against 'barbarians' remained latent in the literary tradition, to be exploited by late antique Christians like Prudentius (*C. Symm.* 2. 807–19) as well as non-Christians such as Ammianus when they wished to parade their scholarship. With the rediscovery of *Aristotle in the 12th cent., it became one of the roots of western self-definition first against Muslims and the 'orient', and later against subject populations around the globe. See ORIENTALISM; RACE.

TEJW

baths, one of the most characteristic and widely distributed types of Roman buildings, had their origins in the Greek world where public baths were common from at least the 4th cent. BC. Surviving 3rd-cent. Greek baths centre on a series of hip-baths arranged around the walls of one or more rooms, often circular (*tholoi*), with niches above the tubs, and were furnished with hot water which was poured over the seated bather. Baths of this type are found in southern Italy (e.g. Stabian baths, *Pompeii, first phase) and Sicily, where, together with local traditions of therapeutic baths at volcanic springs and fumaroles, they were instrumental in the development of the purely Roman type. These replaced the individual tubs with communal pools, and often incorporated the dry sweating-rooms (*laconica*) and exercise grounds (*palaestrae*) of the Greek *gymnasium in the same establishment (Stabian baths, later phases; republican baths at Regio VIII, 5, Pompeii). The basic features of these early Roman



baths Air view of the baths of *Diocletian at Rome, AD 305–6. The grandiose public baths built by imperial *patronage in the capital spawned numerous paler imitations in the provinces. Fototeca dell'Unione Internazionale, American Academy in Rome

baths were a changing-room (*apodyterium*), an unheated *frigidarium* with a cold-water basin, an indirectly heated warm room (*tepidarium*) sometimes containing a tepid pool, and a strongly heated room (*caldarium*) containing a hot plunge pool and a separate water-basin on a stand (*labrum*). The evolution of the hypocaust and wall-heating systems after c.100 BC, replacing the less efficient braziers, and the introduction of window-glass in the 1st cent. AD permitted the development of an elaborately graded system (Sen. *Ep.* 90. 25; Celsus, *Med.* 1. 4, 2. 17) often with the incorporation of several wet and dry sweating-rooms (*sudatoria*). With increasingly assured water supply to towns (see *AQUEDUCTS*), large cold and even heated swimming-pools (*piscina, natatio*) also became common adjuncts.

Public baths, often located near the forum (civic centre), were a normal part of Roman towns in Italy by the 1st cent. BC, and seem to have existed at Rome even earlier. The baths in the Campus Martius donated to the Roman people by *Agrippa c.20 BC set new standards of luxury and architectural elaboration, and heralded a new civic role for the baths in the towns of the empire. At Rome they were followed by the baths of *Nero, *Titus, and *Trajan, the latter being the first of the truly monumental complexes set in a vast enclosure containing *gardens, lecture-halls, *libraries, and other cultural facilities, reflecting the influence of the Hellenistic gymnasium. The symmetrical plan of the bathing-block, perhaps originating with the baths of Nero, centred on a triple cross-vaulted *frigidarium*, and incorporating a large *natatio* and twin colonnaded *palaestrae*, sometimes interpreted as basilical halls, was highly influential both at Rome (baths of *Caracalla and *Diocletian) and in the provinces with such buildings as the Antonine baths at *Carthage, the Barbara baths at Augusta Treverorum (Trier), and the Hadrianic baths at Lepcis Magna. Even when the architectural form was not imitated so closely, the influence of the 'imperial' type can be seen in the increased size and elaboration of many baths in the provinces from the late 1st cent. onwards, along with an increase in the amount of space devoted to non-bathing functions. Regional variations developed, central Italy and North Africa producing many buildings of highly complex curvilinear plan (e.g. at Hadrian's villa near Tibur and Theneae in Tunisia). Roman-style baths were widely adopted in the eastern provinces, forming a distinctive type in Asia Minor (e.g. at *Ephesus and Miletus) where they were assimilated to the Hellenistic gymnasium.

Bathing occupied a central position in the social life of the day; by the 2nd cent., any community of any substance, civil and military, had at least one set of public baths, while private baths are common in country *villas

and in wealthier town houses. Larger towns often had one or more substantial buildings (*thermae*) which were show-pieces for the community as well as a number of smaller, privately owned *balnea* to serve everyday needs. See *HOUSES, ITALIAN; WATER*. JD

belief (ancient religious) Currently 'belief' has at least three different meanings in the context of religion: (1) an inner psychological state of pious commitment; (2) the acceptance of received ideas; and (3) the doctrines held by others, contrasted with 'our' knowledge. Granted this polysemy, the use of the term 'belief' in the study of other societies has often introduced confusion. Furthermore, a particular western history beginning with the rise of Christianity (see below) has fundamentally shaped contemporary understandings of 'belief', rendering it inapplicable to pre-Christian antiquity. This history includes the advent of Protestant sects emphasizing the individualistic interiority of faith, and the Enlightenment propagation of a scientific rationality that displaced belief in God amongst a significant portion of the population. Belief has today become, implicitly, if not always explicitly, an affirmation of religious conviction in the face of surrounding scepticism. The peculiarity of modern belief is this propositional and assertive quality.

The embrace of the gods throughout Greek and Roman antiquity was, by contrast, dispositional—a fact of socialization only infrequently subjected to sceptical reflection. Belief in the gods was normally a matter of unchallenged acceptance, not of debate: the jurisdiction of the Olympian gods is so pervasively assumed in *Homer's *Iliad* that even the Trojans perform rituals for the Olympians and enjoy their protection. As *Herodotus wrote (2.3): 'All men know equally about the gods.'

The ancient Greeks did not develop a clearly bounded idea of 'religion' as a core of doctrinal teachings upon which to focus the act of 'believing'. In a polytheistic cosmology, new gods could be assimilated to an existing god or added as another power in the pantheon. When Herodotus considered the Egyptians he noted different practices, such as priests shaving their bodies every other day, or aversion to pigs, while maintaining that the Egyptians and Greeks basically worshipped the same gods under different names (2. 37, 47, 50).

Followers of Orphism and Pythagoreanism (see *PYTHAGORAS*) advocated reform within the pre-existing ritual system, exceptions that defined the rule, rather than theological renunciations forcing reflection on correct beliefs. Philosophical rationalism, similarly, did not necessarily threaten inherited assumptions about the gods. The Hippocratic treatise on the 'sacred disease' (epilepsy) excoriates quacks who pretend to treat it by

magical means not because they wished to eliminate religion from medicine, but rather because the writer held all diseases to be both divine and natural. Epilepsy had no special sacred status. All diseases were sacred (*Sacred Disease* 18. 1–2).

The first Roman efforts to understand and react to these Greek debates about the gods are found in the philosophical work of *Cicero. He staged debates in dialogue form about the existence of the gods (*Nat. D.*) and about their ability to communicate with human beings (*Div.*). Cicero himself, however, was far from recommending the weakening of religious practice, as opposed to its modification, and he includes a traditional, if refined, religious system in his *De legibus* (2. 19–22). It used to be argued that *Livy and *Tacitus, despite reporting religious events, exhibited a learned scepticism; but in fact they seem more concerned to demonstrate religious expertise. In fact, as *Polybius shows, the Romans were famous for their piety and emphasized its importance to their success as imperialists. Debates over religion apparently had no detrimental effect on religious practice. The epigraphic and archaeological records indicate widespread pious commitment throughout the first centuries AD. The ubiquity of the divine presence perhaps explains the shortage, at least until late antiquity, of any terms for what we today understand as religion: neither the Greek *thrēskeia* nor the Latin *religio* refer to any overall system of worship, only to acts of worship.

The authorities of ancient cities did not seek professions of belief from their citizens. Where a public act of commitment was sought, it usually took the form either of a ritual action, such as a sacrifice, or an oath; these actions implied recognition of the city's gods without using explicit belief-statements. A possible understanding of the relation between ritual and belief is that believing was implicit in the action, but not normally to be understood separately from it (see I. Scheid, *Quand faire, c'est croire* (2005)). It is the rise of new forms of religion, especially Christianity, in the later centuries of the Roman empire that brought with it creedal statements, which the faithful member had to know and accept. The credo fetishizes belief; it sets the act of believing as itself something one should believe in. It gives belief an objectified status. It also makes it a performative utterance (i.e. it creates the fact of 'belief' and 'believers'), emphasizes the 'inner experience' of belief, and ritually reinforces its significance within the community. These are all breaks with previous configurations. Such explicit belief-statements then came to function as markers of rival groups, whether seen as different religions or as sects or heresies within a single religion. The meaning of 'belief' and its social signifi-

cance must therefore be seen as changing radically in the course of the early centuries AD.

These changes set western 'belief' on the Christian and, ultimately, secularist trajectory outlined in the first paragraph of this entry. Assuming Christianity to typify 'religion', early scholars of comparative religion thought the study of other religions must focus on the 'beliefs' of adherents. As with Greek and Roman religion, however, many other religions are oriented around practices rather than beliefs. Various ancient phenomena might be labelled 'beliefs' in senses (1), (2), and (3) above; but if more precise terms such as 'knowledge', 'awe', 'fear', or 'customary ritual practice' can replace 'belief', this usage avoids the implication that the ancients were 'believers'. CST/JN

bilingualism Widespread bilingualism at some level was characteristic of the ancient world, whether we look for (a) bilingual *communities*, in which two languages are in use (e.g. official and popular languages, written and non-written, formal and informal), or (b) bilingual individuals who know two languages at some level. Perfect capacity in two languages, a modern ideal, was probably both rare and unnecessary, and, despite Hdt. 8. 144 on Greek (see GREEK LANGUAGE), the close modern identity of language and nation seems to have been relatively unimportant. But bilingualism implies language choice: according to context, the associations of each language, or social ambition. Latin and especially Greek, were the languages of culture and education (in the Roman empire, Latin was the language of law and army), as well as power, so that while many other languages coexisted alongside Latin and Greek, neither Greeks nor Romans ever had to impose their language on others. Greek and Roman writers tended to be uninterested in other languages, or they were never written down, so our evidence (written) is slight and misleading (e.g. we learn about Getic in Tomis from *Ovid's complaints (e.g. *Pont.* 4. 13, 17 ff.), not from inscriptions).

Greek unwillingness to learn other languages, linked to their assurance of cultural superiority, is well known (Momigliano). *Herodotus learned no other languages (and suffered at interpreters' hands: e.g. 2. 125), Greek thinkers say little about foreign languages or revealingly categorize languages simply as Greek or *barbarian (e.g. *Plato, *Cra.*). Yet this monolingualism may be more characteristic of the literary élite and of high culture. Other Greeks must have acquired other languages: e.g. the Ionian and Carian *mercenaries in Egypt in the Archaic period, the Greeks in Persian service, e.g. Democedes (see D. M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* (1977), 12–15), traders and colonizers—Massalia was still trilingual in the 1st cent. BC—and often married non-Greek women (cf. for

the reverse, the unfortunate Scylas, Hdt. 4. 78 ff., with Scythian father and Greek mother). The orientaling period of Greek culture is hard to envisage with merely monolingual Greeks. Late 5th-cent. Athens has a mixture of customs and languages 'from all the Greeks and barbarians' (Old Oligarch 2. 8). However, by the Classical period, the bilinguals in a Greek city would be mainly foreigners, traders, and slaves, i.e. outsiders (e.g. Scythian archers, *Ar. Eccl.* 1001–225).

The picture becomes more complex with *Alexander the Great's conquests of large non-Greek-speaking areas. The idea that Greek was always imposed as the language of administration in the Hellenistic kingdoms is increasingly doubtful. In the Seleucid empire, there is a mixture of Greek and Aramaic in the administration and, at least east of Asia Minor, evidence for bilingual Greeks. In Ptolemaic Egypt, Greek did become the language of administration; the extent to which Egyptians learnt Greek and became bilingual, however, or Greeks integrated at all into Egyptian society, is extremely difficult to gauge, and some recent work stresses bilingualism and at least limited interaction. There is evidence for individuals with double names, one Egyptian, one Greek, and for scribes fluent in both demotic and Greek. So the weight of administrative documents in Greek may hide greater Egyptian participation. Individual bilingualism, especially among prominent and ambitious Egyptian officials, must have been widespread.

The Roman empire was bilingual at the official, and multilingual at the individual and non-official, level. With the increasing Hellenization of Rome itself (*see HELLENISM*), educated Romans were expected to be bilingual in Latin and Greek, especially from the 1st cent. BC, at least for cultural purposes (there were tensions: *Juvenal complains about women who irritate their husbands by speaking Greek, *Sat.* 6. 184 ff.). Quintilian advised that children start learning Greek before Latin (*Inst. Or.* 1. 1. 12–14). Greek was widely used in diplomatic activity from the republic: Publius Licinius Crassus, proconsul of Asia in 131 BC, who spoke five Greek dialects (Val. Max. 8. 7. 6) was exceptional, but by Cicero's time, interpreters were not always needed for Greek in the senate (Cic. *Fin.* 5. 89, with *Div.* 2. 131). *Tiberius tried, too late, to discourage Greek in the senate, a rare case of Latin chauvinism (Suet. *Tib.* 71: this failed). Most Roman emperors were fluent in Greek: Marcus *Aurelius, despairing of Latin, wrote his private *Meditations* in Greek; while *Septimius Severus may have been trilingual (Lat., Gk., Punic), *Severus Alexander perhaps better at Greek than Latin (SHA *Alex. Sev.* 3. 4).

The Romans made remarkably little attempt to impose Latin on the empire. The language of administration in

the west was certainly Latin, and ambitious provincials simply had to acquire it themselves (see P. Brunt, *Imperial Themes* (1990), 267 ff.). In the Greek-speaking east, administration was mostly conducted in Greek, mainly from pragmatism, and edicts, imperial constitutions, and letters sent by Rome to Greek cities were usually translated into Greek first (and inscribed in Greek). Greek speakers were markedly unenthusiastic about learning Latin, and Roman colonies in the east were linguistically quickly absorbed. However the extent of bilingual inscriptions implies there was no strict single language policy (see J. Kaimio, *The Romans and the Greek Language* (1979)). Decisions of the Roman courts were probably always given in Latin, and Latin was necessary in law for certain documents for Roman citizens. With the widening of Roman *citizenship (AD 212), *Severus Alexander (222–35) allowed Greek in the wills of Roman citizens. From the 4th cent., Latin was increasingly used in government and court when the government transferred to the east; this was deplored by educated Greeks. Greek became less widely known even in educated circles in the west from the 4th cent. (cf. Symmachus, *Ep.* 4. 20).

The many other languages in the Roman empire tend to be submerged in our evidence because they were unwritten, or non-literary, and many gain prominence with Christian preoccupations, but must always have been there: e.g. Gallic, Getic, neo-Phrygian, Aramaic, Coptic, and Syriac which develop as literary languages after AD 200, Iberian, Thracian, Punic (noted by St *Augustine), not to mention Hebrew. Romanized provincials presumably knew the 'vernacular' as well as Latin, and the languages each had their own milieu. The Roman army in particular brought together a multilingual force where the lingua franca was Latin (cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2. 37, 3. 33, for problems of polyglot armies). This substratum is indicated by the later adaptation of Roman law to the extension of Roman citizenship: Ulpian allowed 'even Punic, Gallic, Syriac, and other languages' for certain transactions (trusts) under Roman law (*Dig.* 32. 11 pref.). *See also* TRANSLATION. RT

biography, Greek 1. Biography in antiquity was not a rigidly defined genre. *Bios*, 'life', or *bioi*, 'lives', could span a range of types of writing, from *Plutarch's cradle-to-grave accounts of statesmen to Chamaeleon's extravagant stories about literary figures, and even to Dicaearchus' ambitious *Life of Greece*. Consequently the boundaries with neighbouring genres—the encomium, the biographical novel on the model of *Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, the historical monograph on the deeds of a great man like *Alexander the Great—are blurred and sometimes artificial. One should not think of a single 'biographical genre'

with acknowledged conventions, but rather of a complicated picture of overlapping traditions, embracing works of varying form, style, length, and truthfulness.

2. The impulse to celebrate the individual finds early expression in the dirge (song of lamentation) and the funeral oration; organization of a literary work around an individual's experiences is as old as the *Odyssey* (see HOMER), and various *Heracleids* and *Theseids* seem to have treated their subjects' deeds more comprehensively. In the 5th cent. biographical interest was pursued in various ways. Ion of Chios gossiped about contemporary figures in his 'Stays' or 'Spells of Residence' (*Epidēmiai*), while Stesimbrotus wrote colourfully on *Themistocles, Thucydides son of Melesias, and *Pericles. The historian *Thucydides included selective sketches of several figures, notably the regent Pausanias (see SPARTA) and Themistocles. In the 4th cent. appeared two influential encomia, *Isocrates' *Evagoras*, enumerating its subject's qualities in a loosely chronological framework, and Xenophon's *Agésilas*, giving first a focused narrative of achievements, then a catalogue of virtues. Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* also set the model for the idealizing and largely fictional biographical novel, while his 'Socratic Memoirs' (*Memorabilia*), along with the Platonic corpus, developed the personality of Socrates in different literary forms.

3. *Aristotle gave biography a new impetus. Under his influence interest in ethical and cultural history encouraged the writing of more generalized *bioi*. Dicaearchus and Clearchus treated different lifestyles; Theophrastus' *Characters* are clearly related; while Dicaearchus' three-volume *Life of Greece* traced the origins of contemporary Greek culture. Aristoxenus wrote *Lives of philosophers*, in which an interest in lifestyle combined with malicious stories about *Socrates' irascibility and *Plato's plagiarism. This anecdotal style heralds a distinctive style of biography of cultural figures. Chamaeleon's *Lives of various poets* were notable for their wild inferences of biographical data from an author's work, and his model was followed by Hermippus of Smyrna, Satyrus (who adopted dialogue form), and Sotion, who presented in thirteen books a *diadochē*, 'succession', of great philosophers. This tendency to collect *Lives* in series became a standard mode of presenting intellectual history, and the 'succession' of teachers and pupils was a helpful idiom for explaining influences. Little can be said of the literary form of these works, except that it varied.

4. Biography of political figures is more problematic. Dicaearchus presented philosophers as men of action as well as intellectuals, and the active life was prominent in discussion of lifestyles; several monographs also approximated to biographies or to series of biographical

sketches, such as *Theopompus' *Philippica*, Phaenias' *On the Sicilian Tyrants*, and Idomeneus' *On the (Athenian) Demagogues*. Both Phaenias and Idomeneus also wrote on the Socratics, and other works similarly spanned politicians and intellectuals: Hermippus of Smyrna included (often mythical) lawgivers in his series, and Satyrus treated *Philip II. But political history had an adequate alternative mode of presentation in the various forms of *historiography, which themselves increasingly stressed human personality.

5. Rather than clear-cut political *bioi*, we thus have works with biographical affinities. The impact of *Alexander the Great was here important. Such early monographs as those of Cleitarchus, *Ptolemy I and Aristobulus centred on the king's person; the fragmentation of the Hellenistic world into dynasties encouraged monographs on other kings, such as a Duris' four-volume *History of Agathocles* (see SYRACUSE), and perhaps the works on Agathocles and *Pyrrhus which formed a four-volume supplement to *Timaeus' *History*. The biographical novel on the model of *Cyropaedia* also revived, with its typical emphasis on a king's upbringing. Onesicritus' *How Alexander Was Brought Up* belongs here, and so later does Nicolaus of Damascus' *On Augustus' Life and Education*. This genre overlapped with encomium, which also flourished: *Polybius 10. 21 mentions his earlier three-volume work on Philopoemen (2nd cent. AD), and distinguished the 'inflation' appropriate to that work from the truthfulness required of continuous history. The monographs may not have been full on childhood, and ranged beyond their subject's personal achievements; the novels (see NOVEL, GREEK) were largely idealized and partly fictional. But the biographical interest of these works is still strong, and the dividing line from biography is not clear.

6. About 240 BC Antigonus of Carystus displayed a new accuracy in describing contemporary philosophers; and in the scholarly atmosphere of *Alexandria there developed a different style of biography, revaluing the findings of the Peripatetics (Aristotle's school) and re-establishing their chronological data. Commentaries and epitomes called for biographical introductions, which generally avoided chronological narrative: between the particulars of birth and death short notes elucidated the mode of life, friends, students, works, etc. Typical of this school is Posidonius' pupil Jason of Nysa; later Didymus' *On Demosthenes* collects many learned items in conjunction with a commentary on the *Philippics* of *Demosthenes. The artistic pretensions of this tradition are not great.

7. A type of autobiography goes back to early lyric poetry, to Xenophon's *Anabasis*, and to such self-defences as Isocrates' *Antidosis*, Demosthenes' *On the Crown*, and

Plato's *Seventh Letter*. By the 3rd cent. men of action were elaborating the memoir: Aratus was here most influential. With Nicolaus of Damascus' *Autobiography* the technique extends to an intellectual figure; he finds a follower in *Josephus.

8. The Christian Gospels have points of contact with the Greek tradition, with their charismatic hero and their anecdotal narrative texture. A different moral earnestness is found in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, which mark a considerable new achievement. Their scale, ambition, and historical sobriety are hard to parallel in the antecedent traditions; so is the depth of characterization. Important here is the technique of comparison of a Greek and Roman hero, drawing attention to nuances of personality. The moralizing is sometimes subtle; the psychological interest is uneven, but can be penetrating.

9. Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* (see APOLLONIUS OF TYANA) veers towards hagiography: readers would probably not have taken it as literal truth. Eunapius (4th cent. AD) broke up the Alexandrian form. More learned were the Neoplatonist biographies of Porphyry and Marinus. The first book of Marcus *Aurelius provides a more exploratory form of intellectual autobiography. Galen is similar but less perceptive, while *Lucian's *Dream* is more playful; Libanius (4th cent. AD) goes back to the model of Isocrates' *Antidosis*. Diogenes Laertius exemplifies the abridging and synthesizing of the materials of literary biography.

Much of Greek biography is lost; the range and richness of its remains are still striking. CBRP

biography, Roman Roman biography did not wholly derive from its Greek equivalent: their own political and family customs led Romans to value the recording of the deeds of their great men. We hear of songs at banquets praising the famous, of dirges (*nenia*) at funerals, and of a native tradition of funeral laudations (*laudatio funebris*). Such laudations were preserved and kept among the family records, together with the likenesses (*imagines*) of distinguished ancestors: *Cicero (*Brut.* 62) complains about the inaccuracies of these laudations. Sepulchral inscriptions were important too, and became very elaborate, often giving details of private as well as public matters (cf. the 'laudations' of Murdia and Turia, *CIL* 6. 2. 10230 and 1527, 31670). The flavour of such formal memorials is as recurrent in Roman biography as that of encomium in the Greek counterpart; it is, for instance, one of the elements detectable in *Tacitus' *Agricola*.

2. The competitive quest for glory also stimulated writers to self-justification and self-defence.

The award of a triumph might depend on the bulletins sent home by generals; such writing naturally goes back

to an early period. More elaborate apologetic or propagandist autobiography found a natural home in Rome: examples were the three books of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, the five or more of Publius Rutilius Rufus, and Quintus Lutatius Catulus' single book *On his Consulship and his Achievements*. The twenty-two books of *Sulla's memoirs owed something to the Greek precedent of Aratus. *Caesar's *Commentaries* presented a particularly nuanced form of self-projection; Cicero too wrote about his own career and achievement both in Latin and in Greek. Under the Principate, it was especially members of the imperial family who wrote political memoirs: *Augustus, *Tiberius, *Agrippina, *Hadrian, *Septimius Severus.

3. Justification was not limited to autobiography. Gaius *Gracchus' two books *To Pomponius* presented a picture of his brother Tiberius *Gracchus which similarly contributed to contemporary debate. Equal generosity, even when the political point was less immediate, was surely to be found in the memoirs written by clients or freedmen of the great, Marcus Tullius Tiro on Cicero and Plotus (= Lucius Voltacilius (?) Pilutus or Pitholaus) on the Pompeii (Suet. *Rhet.* 6, cf. Peter, *HRRel.* 1. cclxxxiii–cclxxxiv). Such works can be hard to distinguish from the historical monograph: in his letter to Lucius Lucceius (*Fam.* 5. 12) Cicero seems to assume that such a monograph will naturally centre on a single person and his achievements, and playfully pleads for a liberal attitude to the truth. *Sallust's extant monographs notably avoid such a sharp focus on Jugurtha or *Catiline, but Gaius Oppius' work on Caesar may belong here.

4. The political heat of the late republic produced further writings designed to praise and defend, or sometimes attack, not only political actions but private character or philosophy. The influence of forensic rhetoric, so often describing the life of client or opponent, is here strong. The death of *Cato the Younger inspired works by Cicero and *Brutus, which were answered first by Aulus Hirtius, then by Caesar's own counterblast the *Anticato*; this in its turn was countered by Munatius Rufus. Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus wrote on the other philosopher-statesman, Brutus. These works represent the beginnings of a considerable literature, a blend of martyrology and ideological propaganda, which came to cluster around the Stoic opponents of the 1st-cent. Principate (see STOICISM). *Deaths of Famous Men*, such as Gaius Fannius' three books on *Nero's victims, dwelt especially on the theatrical martyrdoms: Quintus Iunius Arulenus Rusticus' *Life of Thræsea Paetus* and Herennius Senecio's of Helvidius Priscus are mentioned by Tacitus in the preface to his *Agricola*, and this must have been a further influence on that work. *Agricola* too explores political life under a tyrant, though it praises restrained collaboration

rather than ostentatious martyrdom; its use of an individual's life to sketch a political ambience is most deft.

5. Jerome named *Varro, Cornelius Nepos, Hyginus, Santra, and *Suetonius in a canon of biographers (*De vir. ill.* 2. 821 Vull.). The contributions of Hyginus and Santra are obscure, but the list still brings out the range of literary form which the genre could accommodate. Varro may be named for his *On Poets* or for his *Imagines* ('Likenesses', a work which added some sort of brief description to a series of 700 portraits), or even for his *Life (Vita) of the Roman People*, a Roman imitation of Dicaearchus. Besides longer works on *Cato the Elder and on Cicero, Nepos wrote sixteen or eighteen books containing some 400 short *Lives*: the series *On Foreign Generals* survives, together with *Cato* (an abbreviation of the longer version) and the more elaborate and eulogistic *Atticus*, both it seems from the series *On Roman Historians*. His enterprise owed something to Greek writing 'On Famous Men,' and Nepos was perhaps trying to make the great men of history accessible to a wider Roman audience. Suetonius' *Caesars* pointedly reduce the element of historical narrative, instead providing a learned survey of an emperor's character and behaviour under a series of headings. There is some generic similarity with his lives of grammarians and rhetors, but the scale and ambition is much greater. The style of the *Caesars* proved congenial as spectators increasingly saw Roman history in terms of the ruling personality, and biography supplanted historiography as the dominant mode of record: Marius Maximus and then the *Historia Augusta* continued Suetonius and followed his model.

6. There is little intimacy in Roman biography. Much Latin poetry is self-revealing and self-analytical, but the most ambitious formal autobiography and biography centred on public figures, and exploration of spiritual life is felt as inappropriate. Cicero (*Brut.* 313 ff.) does tell us something of his education and development, analysing his debt to various teachers; but there are no Latin pieces of self-exploration comparable with Marcus *Aurelius' *Eis Heauton* ('To himself') until we reach St *Augustine. CBRP

biology See ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY; ANIMALS, KNOWLEDGE ABOUT; BOTANY; GYNAECOLOGY.

body The history of the body is a discipline which emerged in the 1980s; it questions the extent to which the body is 'natural', and asks whether all societies have experienced the body in the same way. Recent developments include approaching the body by studying its parts—examining changing understandings and representations of one specific body part across time—or looking at the experience of the body by its 'users'. The

combined classical and Christian heritage of western civilization has assigned the body a subordinate place in its value systems, but dichotomies such as mind/body and soul/body are by no means universal. The subject is associated in particular with the work of Foucault, although his studies of the classical world have been criticized for relying unduly on élite philosophical texts, neglecting Rome, and ignoring female sexuality. In a widely-challenged book, Laqueur presented the period before the eighteenth century as dominated by the 'one-sex body' in which the female and male genitalia were seen as the same organs, but positioned either inside or outside (T. Laqueur, *Making Sex* (1990)).

It is in medical texts that the differences between ancient and modern experiences of the body are perhaps most obvious. Graeco-Roman *medicine often regarded the female body as unstable; the womb could move around the body, and strong affinities existed between the top and bottom, so that defloration deepened the voice, while menstrual blood could come out of the nose (see GYNAECOLOGY). Issues including the seat of consciousness (the liver, the heart, and the brain were suggested) and the origin of male seed (from the brain, the blood, or the whole body) were also widely debated.

In addition to the female body, scholars have recently focused on the body as enslaved, disabled, ageing, suffering, violated or modified; definitions of beauty and ugliness are no less culturally determined than any other aspects of the body, while myths of metamorphosis also examine the limits of the body.

Another clear distinction between our own society and the ancient world concerns nakedness. Clothing was one of the features believed to set humanity apart from the animals. In Homer, nakedness is associated with vulnerability and shame; Odysseus covers himself before Nausicaa (*Odyssey* 6. 126–9). For the Greeks of the Classical period, however, nudity becomes the costume of the citizen; because male nudity is seen as normal, only *barbarians are represented as feeling shame when a man is seen naked (Hdt. 1. 10. 3 on the Lydians). Female nudity, meanwhile, continues to be associated with vulnerability and shame; the girls of Miletus (W. Asia Minor) are persuaded to end a mass suicide epidemic by the threat of exposure after death (Plut. *Moralia* 249bd). Nudity is also associated with *initiation (e.g. *Brauron) and fertility. In Athenian vase-paintings, men are represented naked in outdoor scenes, never in private domestic space. Women are generally shown naked only in private scenes when nudity is to be expected—for example, when washing—or when they are about to be killed or raped. In Etruscan art, in contrast, men wear shorts or loincloths in situations when Greek men would be shown naked—for instance

when exercising. In Roman art, nudity continues to be the costume of the male hero.

From childhood, the body needed to be controlled. Roman child-nurses were advised on how to mould the shape of the body, by swaddling and massage (Sor. *Gynaecia* 2. 15, 32). For men, correct control of the body was a further part of the costume of a good citizen. The orator, in particular, was advised on every aspect of presentation of self (e.g. Cic. *De off.*; Quint. *Inst.* 11. 3) (see RHETORIC, LATIN). The state too had a role in controlling the body, by instilling obedience through *education and, above all, through military training. Physiognomy used the body to reveal character, but recognized that individuals could learn to conceal their faults by changing their outward appearance. From Pandora's adornment by the gods onwards, women were represented as deceptive and frivolous, their elaborate clothing, wigs, and make-up concealing the vices underneath. Both Greek and Roman sources praise the unadorned woman (e.g. Xen. *Oec.* 10. 2–13; Seneca, *De consolatione* 16), while Roman sumptuary legislation tried to set limits on the expense of women's clothing (see DRESS).

St *Augustine (e.g. *De civ. D.* 19. 13) draws a parallel between the ordered arrangement of the parts of the body and the ordered arrangement of the appetites of the soul. Peace and health consist of both. Within the order of nature, the soul must control the body and reason the appetites, just as master controls slave and man controls woman. Some Christians positively valued neglect of the body—seen in abstinence from food and sex (see CHASTITY), or lack of interest in one's appearance—as evidence of a proper rejection of this world, whereas Graeco-Roman philosophy urged the care of the body as evidence of the virtue of *enkrateia* or self-control.

The body is also a central metaphor for political and social order. In Livy, Menenius Agrippa (*consul 503 BC) uses the body as an analogy for the body politic; the rest of the body revolts against the stomach (i.e. senate), perceived as idle, but soon weakens and has to recognize its dependence (2. 32). Disease in the body politic was a way of expressing social disorder. HK

Boeotian confederacy See FEDERAL STATES.

books, Greek and Roman (see following page)

books, sacred and cultic Texts produced by religions of classical antiquity fall into three broad categories: (1) Texts emanating from or inspired by a divinity. Some of them reached the status of sacred books, and formed a notionally immutable foundation of a creed, such as the books of the Judaean and Christian canon; here also belong, albeit to a lesser extent, because

they were never definitely codified, various scripts of mystery cults: Dionysiaca, Hermetica, Isiaca, Orphica, also texts of Mithraism (see MITHRAS), of Judaean and Christian sects, of Gnostics and Manichaeans. All these texts (also Christian books until the victory of the Church) existed at the religious margins of Greek and Roman society. Gods also communicated through oracles, *dreams, the words of prophets, and a variety of signs (divination, portents), but these messages mostly referred to particular situations, and thus only rarely could acquire a general ethical or theological dimension. (2) Official (and dominant) religions of classical antiquity (with the partial exception of Etruscan religion) were not based on divine proclamations encased in sacred books. They were empirical creeds: their knowledge of the Divine was not revealed, but was acquired through experience. Their main preoccupation was not theology but ritual: how to ascertain the gods' will and gain their favour. Hence the importance of detailed prescriptions and regulations concerning divination, sacrifices, festivals, and calendar, and of records of past performances and of divine communications. Such texts were inscribed on stones or kept on tablets and rolls; as they pertained to cult (but themselves were in no respect sacred—it is a misnomer to speak of *leges sacrae*), and were composed by religious officials, it is best to describe them as cultic and priestly documents. In Rome we hear of *libri* and *commentarii* of the pontiffs and augurs; records of *fratres arvales* are partially extant on stone; and the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* consulted the Sibylline books. (3) Texts of interpretation, as the Jewish midrash, and a large portion of patristic literature; here may also be classified the pronouncements of Greek *exēgētai* and *responsa* of Roman priests. JL

booty 'It is a law established for all time among all men that when a city is taken in war, the persons and the property of its inhabitants belong to the captors' (Xen. *Cyr.* 7. 5. 73). This universal ancient conception is reflected in the wide range of meanings of the ancient terminology for 'booty' (notably *leia*, *laphura*, and *ōpheleia* in Greek, *praeda* and *spolia* in Latin). It referred not just to movable and inanimate objects (e.g. precious metals), but could also include animals and livestock, human beings, and even whole cities and territory. War, for instance, was one of the major suppliers of the slave trade (see SLAVERY). It was rare after *Homer for wars to be fought solely and openly for acquisitive purposes. But it was always assumed that success in war would lead to appropriation by the victor of the property and persons of the vanquished, and sometimes of territory as well. Hence the largest sudden transfers of wealth in the ancient world were the

[continued on p. 131]

GREEK AND ROMAN BOOKS

books, Greek and Roman Books existed in *Egypt long before they came into use in Greece. Systems of writing had been invented and developed for administrative purposes in both Egypt and Mesopotamia by c.3000 BC. While the Sumerians and Babylonians (*see* BABYLONIA) used clay tablets for their cuneiform (wedge-shaped) scripts, the Egyptians used papyrus. A blank sheet of papyrus was found in the tomb of the vizier Hemaka in Saqqara of c.3000 BC. The oldest surviving inscribed papyrus texts are the temple accounts of Abusir of c.2450 BC. A number of fine statues of seated scribes of the same period suggests that this profession was already well established and that writing had been practised for centuries, long enough for the 'hieratic' script to develop through the adaptation of hieroglyphs to the use of reed brush and papyrus. The hieroglyph for 'book-roll' is first attested in the first dynasty (c.3000–2800 BC), and Egyptian literature was supposed to have begun with the writings of Imhotep, the architect of the first pyramid under King Djoser in the third dynasty (c.2600 BC). Religious books were kept in temples; although temple 'libraries', i.e. chambers designated for the storage of books, have survived only in Ptolemaic temples (Edfu, Philae, ed-Tod), literary references to books and libraries suggest their existence in the Middle Kingdom (thirteenth dynasty, c.1700 BC), and *Diodorus Siculus (1. 47, using the account of Hecataeus) describes the library in the Ramesseum at Egyptian Thebes.

The papyrus plant (*Cyperus papyrus*) grew mainly in the swamplands of lower Egypt and especially the Nile delta. It was used for many purposes: to make ropes, sandals, baskets, boats, and—most importantly—writing material. The Greeks called it *byblos* or *biblos* (*see* below), later *papyros* (first attested in Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4. 8. 2), believed to be derived from Egyptian *pꜣ-n-pr-ꜣꜣ* 'that of Pharaoh', which suggests that its manufacture and marketing were a royal monopoly. The *locus classicus* describing its manufacture is Plin. *NH* 13. 74–82 (translation and discussion in N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (1974), 34–69). The triangular-sectioned stem is cut into segments c.30–40 cm. (12–16 in.) long, from which the outer hull is then removed; the white pith is sliced lengthwise into thin strips, which are placed vertically parallel to each other on a plane surface; over these, a second layer of strips is placed horizontally, and the ends squared off. They are then pressed in presses (*prelis*); the plant's natural juice glues the layers firmly together. After drying, the sheet is smoothed with a stone or a sea-shell. According to *Pliny the Elder, twenty sheets (*kollēmata*, *plagulae*) were then glued together to form a roll (*chartēs*, *charta*), on average 6–8 m. (20–26 ft.) long (in Pharaonic times, too, papyrus rolls of twenty sheets had been standard). If a longer roll was required, it had to be manufactured specially. The narrow edge (*kollēsis*, 'gluing') of a sheet which, in Greek books, overlaps that of the sheet to its right is usually 20–25 mm. (3/4–1 in.) wide. In rolls of Egyptian texts, however, the right-hand sheet overlaps the one to its left, so that the scribe, writing from right to left, had his reed brush travelling 'downhill' over the joins. If this was the way in which rolls were originally manufactured, Greek scribes turned them upside down, so that they, too, could write 'downhill' over the joins. The sheets on the inside of the roll show horizontal fibres; in this way the joins are better protected from being pulled apart. Only the first sheet of the roll has its vertical fibres on the inside, at right angles to those of the following sheets; this is the 'protocol' (*protocollon*) which protected the outside of the book when it was rolled up; it was sometimes a parchment sheet (cf. [Tib.] 3. 1. 9), or reinforced with parchment. Whether the ends of rolls were similarly reinforced is not clear; the surviving ends of book-rolls show no sign of an *eschatocollion* (Mart. 2. 6. 3). Rollers (*umbilici*, Hor. *Epist.* 14. 8; Mart. 4. 89) with decorative knobs (*cornua*, Mart. 11. 107) attached to the last sheet survive in some rolls from *Herculaneum but none have been found in Egypt.

As the pen runs more smoothly along the fibres than across, the scribes normally used the inside of the roll first where the glued join (*kollēsis*) runs at right angles to the fibres; this is conventionally called 'recto', its back 'verso', but these terms should only be used with regard to codices ('recto' = right-hand page), whereas for rolls the terms 'front'/'back', or 'inside'/'outside' are preferable. In some rolls, however, the writing runs across the fibres on the inside, parallel to the joins, in long lines from edge to edge. Such rolls (*rotuli*) were employed only for Greek and Latin documents, never for literary texts which were designed for continuous reading. Documents, on the other hand, were often glued together to form rolls, the blank backs of which could then be used for literary texts (for private use, not for sale). As the inside of the roll was nearly always used first, a dated document may provide a *terminus post quem* for the literary text; the reverse case (document on the back of a book roll; cf. Mart. 8. 62) is relatively rare. Papyrus rolls were dressed with cedar-oil (*kedria*, *cedrium*) to protect them against worms (Vitr. *De arch.* 2. 9. 13).

A papyrus roll would take a book of *Thucydides, or a play of c.1500 lines, or two to three books of *Homer. The length of the books of *Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*, or the books of *Polybius, *Strabo, or *Diodorus Siculus,

may have been determined by this standard format. The text is arranged in columns (*selides, paginae*); the number of lines per column, usually between 25 and 45, varies with the height of the column and the size of the writing. The length of the lines also varied; in hexameter and trimeter poetry it was determined by the verse, but lyric poetry and prose were (at any rate, from the 2nd cent. BC onwards) written in shorter lines of between 5 and 10 cm. (2–4 in.), with an average of between 18 and 25 letters per line. Some book rolls have wide upper and lower margins as well as generous spaces between columns. Sometimes a line accidentally omitted from the text is added in the upper or lower margin, usually with a reference mark.

Apart from papyrus, leather was also used in Egypt to produce rolls for literary texts. The *Annals* of Thutmosis III were written on leather rolls and deposited in the temple of Amūn at Karnak. The inscription in the library of the Edfu temple also lists leather rolls. In the ancient near east, leather was widely used as a writing material. Ctesias (in Diod. Sic. 2. 32. 4) describes the ‘royal hides’ (*basilikai diphtherai*) which the Persians used for their chronicles; from Persia, leather rolls may have come into use in Ionia and then in other parts of Greece. In Italy, too, animal hides were used at an early stage (Dion. Hal. 4. 58). While leather had to be tanned, vellum or parchment was manufactured by placing the hide in slaked lime for some days; then flesh and hairs were scraped off and the hide was rubbed with calcium oxide, stretched in a frame, and finally smoothed with pumice. The name ‘parchment’ (*pergamēnē, pergamēna*) is derived from *Pergamum, which became a centre of production and export in the 2nd cent. BC when papyrus from Egypt was in short supply. The earliest extant Greek documents on vellum (parchment), however, prove that the manufacturing process had been known earlier.

In the production of books parchment played only a minor role compared with papyrus, which remained the dominant writing material throughout Greek and Roman antiquity. In *Crete, papyrus may have been used as early as the second millennium BC, as strands of papyrus have been found baked into Minoan clay sealings. Egyptian papyrus was also exported to Phoenicia (see PHOENICIANS) and beyond; the story of Wen-Amūn (11th cent. BC) mentions 500 rolls of finished papyrus sent to Byblos in return for timber. The fact that in Greek (Aesch. *Supp.* 947, Hdt. 2. 100, etc.) *byblos* means ‘papyrus roll’ suggests that originally it may have been imported from Byblos, Phoenician Gubla. So it is at least possible that papyrus as a writing material was known in the Greek world in Mycenaean times, but there is as yet no firm evidence for its use as a vehicle for Greek literature before c.500 BC when book-rolls of papyrus first appear on Attic vases. Herodotus’ remark (5. 58) that the Ionians had used leather rolls at a time when papyrus was scarce, and hence kept the word *diphthera* (‘hide’) for ‘book’ (*byblos*), does not rule out early acquaintance with papyrus. In the 8th cent. BC, papyrus is mentioned in cuneiform texts in Assyrian accounts as ‘reeds from Egypt’, and an 8th-cent. palimpsest papyrus written in Hebrew has come to light near Murabba’ at on the Dead Sea (*PMur.* 17 = *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan* (1960) 2 pp. 93–100).

Although writing may have been employed early on in the composition of Greek poetry (and the complex structure of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is hardly conceivable without it), the performance of poetry continued to be oral throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. When *Archilochus describes himself as a ‘woeful messenger-stick’ (*achnymenē skytalē*, fr. 185 W), he does not necessarily imply that his epode was transmitted on a piece of papyrus or leather, wrapped round a stick. On the other hand, much of early epic poetry is reflected in both lyric poetry and black-figure vase-painting, Corinthian and Attic (see POTTERY, GREEK), and it seems doubtful whether this can be accounted for by oral transmission (by itinerant rhapsodes (professional poetry reciters) and choirs) alone. It is therefore reasonable to assume that book-rolls played a part in the transmission of Greek poetry in the 7th and 6th cent., if only as *aides-mémoire* to the performers. In the 6th cent., the tyrants Polycrates of Samos and *Pisistratus of Athens are said to have been admired for their collections of books (Athen. 1. 3a). Pisistratus is credited with a revision of the texts of Homer which until then had been ‘confused’ (Cic. *De or.* 3. 137); he is also said to have inserted lines about Salamis and *Theseus into the texts (*Il.* 2. 558, *Od.* 11. 631). On the other hand, [Pl.] *Hipparch.* 228b says that Pisistratus’ son Hipparchus brought the poems of Homer to Attica and forced the singers at the Panathenaea to perform them—in preference, perhaps, to other parts of the Epic Cycle. In any case, there clearly was, in the later 6th cent., an authoritative text of Homer which served as a basis for rhapsodic recitals at the Panathenaea.

From c.500 onwards, book-rolls (evidently of papyrus) appear on Attic vases; as far as the writing can be identified, they all contain poetry. The Duris cup in Berlin of c.485 BC (Beazley, ARV² 431. 48) illustrates the use of book-rolls in schools, and Ar. *Nub.* 961–72 describes the ‘ancient education’ (*archaia paideia*), i.e. in the schools of c.500 BC, where the children were made to memorize epic poetry and to sing it in the traditional mode. Reading books for pleasure is mentioned in Eur. *Erechtheus* (fr. 369 N, of 422 BC?), and in Ar. *Ran.* 52 f. (405 BC) *Dionysus says he read *Euripides’ *Andromeda* on board ship. The earliest references to booksellers are in Eupolis (*PCG* fr. 327) and in *Plato (*Ap.* 26d),

where *Socrates says that a copy of Anaxagoras could be bought 'from the orchestra' (in the Agora of Athens?) for one drachma 'at most'. The term 'bookseller' (*bibliopōlēs*) is first attested in Theopompus the comic poet, active c.410–370 BC (fr. 79 KA). *Xenophon (*An.* 7. 5. 12–14) refers to 'many written books' being exported on ships from Athens to the Black (Euxine) Sea, and in *De memoria* 4. 2. 10 Socrates asks Euthydemus whether he wants to become a rhapsode, having bought the complete works of Homer.

The intellectual revolution of the *sophists and the interest in dithyrambs and tragedy boosted demand for books in Athens, where book production and the book trade flourished in the 4th cent. BC. It made the vast collecting activities of *Aristotle and his pupils possible and led to the formation of *libraries, notably that of Aristotle himself (Strabo 13. 608).

The oldest surviving specimens of literary papyrus rolls date from the second half of the 4th cent. The Timotheus papyrus (*P Berol.* 9875, *Persians*), found at Abusir north of Memphis, written in long lines in large, clumsy letters, may antedate *Alexander the Great's conquest of Egypt. The carbonized papyrus roll found at Derveni, near Thessalonica, a commentary on an Orphic cosmogony, is written in small letters (c.2 mm. (1 10 in.) high) in a careful, skilled hand which makes the columns look almost like *stoichēdon* inscriptions (i.e. exactly aligned vertically). Given the regularity and elegance of Attic writing on vases and also of private letters on lead tablets, such as the letter of Mnesiergus in Berlin (*Syll.*³ 1259), the Derveni papyrus has a far stronger claim to being a typical representative of a 4th-cent. book. From the beginning of the Ptolemaic period through to the 8th cent. AD, an uninterrupted series of book-rolls and, later, codices chiefly from Egypt illustrates the development of Greek (and, to a lesser extent, Latin) books and their scripts.

The museum and the *library at *Alexandria, founded by *Ptolemy I, became the most important centre of scholarship, and literary criticism in particular, for centuries to come. The work of the Alexandrian scholars led to a standardization in the formats of Greek books and in the layout of the texts. While in early 3rd-cent. BC texts of poetry, verse (other than hexameters and trimeters) is not written metrically, books from the 2nd cent. BC onwards show lyric passages arranged in short metrical units or *kōla*; their colometry is preserved in the medieval manuscripts of *Pindar's *epinikia* and the choruses of Attic drama (see COMEDY; TRAGEDY). Prose texts are usually set out in fairly narrow columns in lines of equal length. Aids to the reader, such as spaces between sentences, punctuation, or horizontal dashes (*paragraphoi*) in the left-hand margin or between line-beginnings, very rare at first, become more frequent in the 2nd and 1st cent. BC and increasingly common during the Roman period, as do accents and breathings. The librarian Aristarchus devised a system of critical reference signs to alert the reader to textual problems and their discussions in commentaries; most of these appear in book-rolls, though not always with the functions assigned them by Aristarchus. Commentaries (*Hypomnēmata*) were written in rolls separate from the texts on which they comment, but the rolls carrying texts often have notes or excerpts from commentaries in the margins, although they are rarely as copious as in the Louvre papyrus of *Alcman's *Partheneion*.

Greek book-rolls continued the Egyptian tradition of book illumination; the surviving illustrated papyri are mostly scientific or mathematical books, or magical papyri; fragments of illustrated papyrus rolls of Homer or drama are very rare. Book illumination becomes more common only in the later Roman period, with the victory of the codex (see below). Titles, too, were added, either in the left-hand margin against the opening line, or at the end of a book under its last line. Title-tags (*silyboi*) were sometimes appended to book-rolls. Book titles first came into use with Attic drama, because the titles of plays had to be entered for the competition. While the older lyric poems are usually referred to by their opening lines, *Aristophanes (*Nub.* 553 f.) quotes Eupolis' *Marikas* by title and then his own play, the *Knights* (*tous hēmeteras Hippeas*). *Dithyrambs, too, may have been entered for competitions by their titles, perhaps as early as the 6th cent., if Herodotus' statement that Arion 'gave his dithyrambs names' (*onomasanta*, 1. 23) is to be trusted. Prose works in the 5th and 4th cents. BC generally do not seem to have had titles, even though Plato (*Plt.* 284b) refers to his dialogue *Sophist* by this title (*en tō sophistēi*). Normally, prose works, too, are referred to by quoting their opening words, a practice which may have been promoted by *Callimachus' catalogue of the Alexandrian library, the *Pinakes* ('Panels'). The division of longer works into books must be attributed to the Alexandrian scholars who edited them.

Rolls were kept on shelves, or in boxes or buckets (*teuchos, capsā, scrinium*). Sometimes rolls were kept in a vellum cover (*διφθέρα, paenula*) with a coloured label. The vellum label with *Pindaros holos* ('The Complete Pindar', *P. Antinoop. Papyri* 1. 21) may have been attached to a box or bookcase containing the seventeen books of the Alexandrian edition. While private libraries had boxes or movable cases, as did the library of King Eumenes II of Pergamum, the great public libraries of early imperial Rome had bookcases inserted in niches (*thyris, fenestra*) in the walls. This is a

feature of both Egyptian temples (Edfu, Philae, ed-Tod: see above) and Coptic monasteries; it seems probable that Caesar saw them in Alexandria (in the Serapeum library?) and hence planned to introduce them in Rome's first public library, a plan which Asinius Pollio carried out after Caesar's death in the Atrium Libertatis, thus creating the model for Augustus' library on the Palatine.

The most important innovation in the shape of the book was Roman in origin. The codex was created when the wooden panels of writing-tablets fastened together with thongs were replaced by parchment (*membrana*). At first used as notebooks (Hor. *Sat.* 2. 3. 2; Quint. *Inst.* 10. 3. 31), parchment codices had come into use for classical literature by the 1st cent. AD (Mart. 14. 184–92 advertises them as cheap pocket editions), while the normal form of the book was, in the Latin west as in the Greek east, the papyrus roll. What eventually established the codex was its adoption by the Christians; the vast majority of biblical and NT texts from the early 2nd cent. onwards are in codex form. Pagan classical authors appear in parchment and papyrus codices from the 2nd cent. AD and more frequently in the 3rd; by the 4th cent., three out of four literary texts were in codex form.

Codices were assembled from quires consisting of wide sheets folded vertically in the middle and then stitched together along the fold. Quires of four or five sheets (*quaterniones*, *quiniones* = 8 or 10 leaves) are common, thinner or thicker quires are exceptional and may be early experiments. Sheets of papyrus were often placed so that on facing pages the direction of the fibres was the same (recto pages with horizontal and vertical fibres alternating), but the alternative arrangement (i.e. vertical facing horizontal fibres, and vice versa) is not uncommon. Vellum sheets were usually arranged with hair sides facing and flesh sides facing. While papyrus sheets in Greek book-rolls, and in codices of the 2nd and 3rd cents., rarely exceed 35 cm. (13½ in.) in height and 23 cm. (9 in.) in width, wider sheets (30–35 cm.: 12–13½ in.) were often used in Greek and Coptic codices of the 4th, 5th, and 6th cents., when large parchment codices were also common. Small formats (even miniature codices like the Cologne parchment codex of the life of Mani with pages of 38 × 45 mm. (1½ × 1¾ in.)) are also found in this period.

The text was written before the sheets were stitched together, usually in one column per page, prose texts sometimes in two narrow columns like those in rolls (more frequently in parchment than in papyrus codices). Pagination is frequent; sometimes quires are also numbered on their first pages. Codices were bound between wooden panels covered in leather. Papyrus codices remained common in Egypt until the late 6th cent.; elsewhere, parchment codices begin to prevail from the later 3rd cent. onwards. For codices, the advantages of parchment over papyrus are obvious: less fragile folds, greater durability, greater capacity, and they are easier to use. *Constantine I ordered 50 parchment copies of the Scriptures for the churches in Constantinople, and Jerome records that the papyrus manuscripts in the library of Caesarea, having become worn by use, were replaced by parchment codices.

Little is known about the book trade in the Greek world, probably because the private copy always remained the commonest form of book production. In the 4th cent. there seem to have been itinerant booksellers who 'carried around' bundles of *Isocrates' speeches (Dion. Hal. *Isoc.* 18). More information is available on the book trade in Rome from the 1st cent. BC onwards, and some publishers like *Cicero's friend *Atticus, or the Sosii, Horace's publishers, or *Martial's and Quintilian's publisher, Tryphon, are well attested; *Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 11. 11. 2) was surprised to learn that booksellers in Lyons (Lugdunum) were selling his books. The evidence for book prices is scanty and contradictory; on the whole, it seems that in Rome books were not expensive: Martial quotes 5 denarii as the price of a luxury edition of his poems (1. 117), while a cheap one would cost 6 to 10 sesterces (1. 66). Palimpsests, i.e. texts written on reused papyrus or parchment after the original writing had been rubbed or washed off, were cheaper still (Catull. 22).

HMA

result of successful warfare: for example *Sparta's conquest of Messenia (see PELOPONNESE) and the Messenians in the late 8th cent. BC, the *Persian Wars and their sequels, *Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian empire and the wars of the Successors, who all regarded their conquests as 'spear-won territory', and the numerous wars of the expanding Roman republic. On a smaller scale raiding between neighbouring states was endemic, as were *piracy at sea and *brigandage on land,

except when a stronger power was able to impose peace in its sphere of influence (Athens in the 5th cent., Rhodes in the Hellenistic period, Rome under the empire). Throughout antiquity, it was also assumed that armies would sustain themselves from the territory in which they operated.

MMA

botany From earliest times, Greeks and Romans had expert familiarity with plants and their growth cycles;

agriculture dominates, alongside acute command of medicinal herbs, including production of oils and perfumes. Exact nomenclatures were quite irrelevant; everyone 'knew' plants and flowers carpeting fields and mountain valleys in season; flower metaphors became common in *Homer and the lyric poets. There is nothing esoteric about early botanical lore; locals understood their plants—from various wheats and vegetables to the widespread poisons (hemlocks, mandrake, the opium poppy, etc.)—and they spoke of parts (roots, seeds, flowers, stems, leaves) as plants providing particulars: food, medicines, poisons, oils, beverages (wine, beer).

Botany figures in Mycenaean Greek texts, suggesting a sophisticated perfume and perfumed oil industry at Pylos, Cnossus, and elsewhere (see MINOAN CIVILIZATION). Few species are imported exotics, and Homer's flowers are likewise local, e.g. the saffron crocus (*Il.* 14. 348: *Crocus sativus* L.), galingale (*Il.* 21. 351; *Od.* 4. 603: *Cyperus longus* L.), lotus (*Il.* 14. 348: *Lotus corniculatus* L.), the bluebell (*Il.* 14. 348: *Cyclamen graecum* Link), the asphodel (*Od.* 11. 359, 24. 13: *Asphodelus ramosus* L.), the laurel or bay (*Od.* 9. 183: *Laurus nobilis* L.), and others. Homer mentions the opium poppy and its sleep-inducing latex (*Il.* 8. 306–7; *Od.* 4. 220–30: *Papaver somniferum* L.), but the poet credits it to Egypt, an anomaly since *P. somniferum* is native to Asia Minor. Influence also came from herbalists of Assyrian origin; *Aristotle's *dēmiourgos* (*Pol.* 1282a3) mirrors a hoary tradition of skilled rootcutters (the *rhizotomoi*) who gained their craft and plied their trade in the countryside. Interwoven with medical botany is religion and myth, and typical is Homer's 'gift' of the unknown *moly* to Odysseus (*Od.* 10. 305) to ward off Circe's evil drug (*Od.* 10. 394), a gift from Hermes, long celebrated as the deity who gave herbs to man: 'O Hermes, benefactor, discoverer of drugs' (*PGM* 8. 27 f.). Moderns need not untangle this medley of beliefs about botany: the ancient mind did not wall *magic away from pure philosophy, any more than there were strict divisions between botany and herbal lore. Deep traditions speak through the poetry of *Sappho and Theognis, using flowers and herbs in metaphor with telling effect; Sappho speaks of cassia (*Supp.* 20c2: *Cinnamomum cassia* Blume), roses blooming, the tender chervil, and flowery melilot (all no. 96. 11. 13–14 (Loeb 1, p. 120)), along with edible chickpeas (no. 143 (Loeb, 1, p. 156)). Locals knew what plants were like nettles, and Theognis (537) knows the nasty effects of squill (*Urginea maritima* (L.) Baker), long storied in tales of what a community *pharmakos* endured. Not coincidental is *pharmakos* = 'scapegoat' and the neuter *pharmakon* usually = 'drug' or 'magical spell'.

Debate began early about the nature of plants in relationship to other forms of life. Aristotle, *De anima* 410^b22,



botany The castor oil plant as illustrated in a 6th-cent. AD copy of the herbal of Pedanius Dioscorides (1st cent. AD). His work, 'Materials of Medicine', lists around 700 plants and is an important source of knowledge about earlier Greek botany. Austrian National Library

in noting faulty Orphic notions on how plants breathe, indicates how old was this discussion; speculation on Medea's *pharmakon* (lulling to sleep the golden fleece's guardian reptile) also was quite early: Musaeus, semi-legendary and pre-Homeric, stated that Medea used a drug with *arkeuthos*, the prickly juniper, *Juniperus oxycedrus* L. (schol. on *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 156), faithfully reproduced by *Apollonius of Rhodes in his *Argonautica* many centuries later. Musaeus wrote poems on healing plants: Theophrastus (*Hist. pl.* 9. 19. 2) cites Musaeus and *Hesiod on the properties of *tripolion*, the sea starwort (*Aster tripolium* L.), encapsulating folk tradition with accuracy in citation and current use: 'It is useful for every good treatment, and they dig it up at night, pitching a tent there.' *Pindar (*Pyth.* 3. 51–3) says that traditional medical treatments of *Asclepius were incantations, surgery, soothing potions, and amuletic drugs, reflecting *medicine's dual therapies, herbal drugs and surgery. Athenian playwrights record well-known herbs and plants with

some frequency; e.g. *Sophocles' lost *Rhizotomoi* ('Rootcutters' = Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 9–10) noted the professional status of rootcutters and herbal experts, even as Medea uses *thapsia*, the deadly carrot (*Thapsia garganica* L.), to induce frenzy; *Aristophanes' *Peace* (712) and *Lysistrata* (89) show the commonplace use of pennyroyal (*Mentha pulegium* L.) as a female contraceptive; these examples could be severally multiplied.

Striking is the *mélange* of herbal lore and specific plants indicated for women's ailments (see GYNAECOLOGY) in the Hippocratic *Diseases of Women* and similar tracts (see MEDICINE §4.2); there are over 300 identifiable species, collected expertise of midwives (also recorded by the gifted Soranus of Ephesus in his *Gynaecology* (c.AD 117)). Analogy was crucial: the Hippocratic *Nature of the Child* and the shorter *Seed* liberally employ agricultural terms; the author (probably mid- or late 4th cent. BC) is well acquainted with growth patterns in plants, from seed through germination into seedling, a 'youth', followed by maturity and senescence. Aristotle incorporated plants into his scheme of living things, endowing them with three faculties of the *soul: nutrition, growth, reproduction, but not motion or perception. Pseudo-Aristotle, *Plants*, summarizes ideas on botany at the Lyceum, but it is Theophrastus (c.370–288/5 BC) who provides the best Greek account of botany in *Inquiry into Plants* (*Hist. pl.*) and *Causes of Plants* (*Caus. pl.*); as Aristotle's foremost student, Theophrastus certainly echoed his mentor's paradigms of nature.

An acute observer of plants, Theophrastus distinguished long before modern botany between dicotyledons and monocotyledons, based on precise morphology; he is not ignorant of plant sexes (see *Hist. pl.* 2. 8. 1 on fertilization in figs; 2. 8. 4 on fertilization in date palms; cf. Herodotus 1. 193 on similar understanding about Assyrian figs and palm-trees), but chooses to tabulate by forms, flower to fruit, defining flowers as epigynous, perigynous, and hypogynous, showing that he understood the essential relation of flowering to fruiting; anticipating Dioscorides, Theophrastus notes geography to account for differences in shapes and properties of plants when used as medicines—and very good are his descriptions of plants and their parts (root, stem, leaves, flowers, seeds or fruits, and so on), their cultivation as crops or as pot-herbs—and he often quotes from the ubiquitous *rhizotomoi*, the special uses of plants, from medicines to quasi-magical potions and aphrodisiacs; Book 9 of *Historia plantarum* is a priceless document in its own right, the first herbal manual in Greek to survive.

Hellenistic botany extended its scope, resulting in part from the far-flung expeditions of *Alexander the Great into India; many spices trickled into Greek cooking and

pharmacy owing to voyages to India, fairly common by 200 BC. Much Hellenistic botany and pharmacology is lost excepting citations, especially by Dioscorides of Anazarbus (fl. c.AD 65), *Pliny the Elder's marvellous pot-pourri, the *Natural History* of AD 77, the doctor Galen of Pergamum (AD 129–after 210), and a few others. The *Preface* of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* demonstrates use of earlier Greek texts, and through Dioscorides, Pliny, Galen, etc. we know of Iollas of Bithynia (? 250–200 BC), Heraclides of Tarentum (fl. c.100 BC), Crateuas (fl. c.100 BC), Asclepiades of Bithynia (d. 92 BC.), Andreas (d. 217 BC), as well as Dioscorides' near-contemporaries Sextius Niger, Julius Bassus, Niceratus, Petronius, Diodotus, and several more. Pliny's botany is good when he remains in Italy, but his polymathic curiosity led him to copy all non-Italian sources as being of equal merit; Pliny's plants compared with corollary passages in Dioscorides (both independently used Sextius Niger's lost works) display reasonable accuracy, and species and genera are often keyed with some assurance. Crateuas produced an illustrated herbal, but it is not ancestral to most later illuminated herbals (e.g. the Vienna Dioscorides of AD 512). Together, Pliny and Dioscorides provide details of about 600 species; Pliny gives much on various wheats and vines, vegetables, apples, olives (following in the steps of *Cato the Elder, and *Varro), and several cultivars, while Dioscorides provides precise accounts—though not much morphology—of medically useful plants, arranged according to a drug affinity system (what the drug did when given to a patient for a particular ailment). Botanical drugs likewise figure heavily in the works of Galen of Pergamum, who quotes voluminously from earlier authorities, attempting (unsuccessfully) to organize his materials.

Among writers in Latin, Cornelius Celsus' *De medicina* (c.AD 37) has a good account of medical plants, derived partially from Hellenistic sources, and Scribonius Largus' *Compositiones* (AD 43 or later) details 242 botanicals (from *abrotanum* (*Artemisia abrotanum* L., a wormwood) to *zea* (*Triticum spelta* L., spelt)), 36 minerals, 27 animal products (beeswax, honey, eggs, beaver testicle, etc.); Scribonius carefully considers certain poisonous drugs (e.g. aconite, hyoscyanus, hemlock (*Conium maculatum* L.), various mushrooms, the opium poppy), crucial at the Roman imperial court (Scribonius was a physician in the house of *Claudius, who succumbed to mushroom poisoning in AD 54). *Compositiones* in turn became a source for several later Latin texts in medical botany, including the *De medicamentis* by Marcellus Empiricus (c.AD 400), a trove of Gallicisms creeping into Latin.

Characteristic of botanical and pharmacological texts is continuous adaptation of written documents to local

conditions; numerous ‘substitution lists’ in Greek and Latin were circulating by AD 200, clearly seen in the Galenic tract by that title. By AD 400, the major lines of Graeco-Roman medical botany—as well as pure botany, best discerned in the works of Theophrastus—are well defined; certain flowering-plant families are well represented in folklore, agriculture, and botany: prominent among the dicotyledons are Labiatae, Umbelliferae, Boraginaceae, Ranunculaceae, Convolvulaceae, Compositae, Salicaceae, Rosaceae, Cruciferae, Leguminosae, Solanaceae, and Coniferae; and frequently included among the monocotyledons are Liliaceae, Gramineae, and Orchideae; there is detailed expertise on trees and woods, as well as fungi, lichens, and algae. See AGRICULTURAL WRITERS; CONTRACEPTION; OLIVE; TIMBER; WINE. JSCA

boulē, council of 500 at Athens. See DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN, §§2 and 3.

Brauron (see ◀Map 1, Cc▶), site of a sanctuary of *Artemis on the east coast of Attica at the mouth of the river Erasinos. It is included in Philochorus’ list of twelve townships united by *Theseus (FGrH 328 F 94). Archaeological evidence indicates human presence in the area of the sanctuary and the acropolis above it from neolithic times onwards, and there is an important late Helladic cemetery nearby. In the sanctuary itself there is a continuous tradition from protogeometric on, with a temple built in the 6th cent. (Phot. *Lexicon*, entry under *Braurōnia*) and an architecturally innovative *pi*-shaped stoa with dining-rooms built in the later part of the 5th cent. Flooding in the early 3rd cent. BC led to the abandonment of the site. Some traditions associate the Pisistratids (see PISISTRATUS) with Brauron (Phot., as above), or with the local residential centre called Philaidai which lay a short distance inland from the sanctuary (Pl. [*Hipparch.*] 228b).

Cult activity at Brauron was particularly associated with the *arkteia*, a ritual, known also at the sanctuary of Artemis Munichia in the Piraeus, in which young girls between the ages of 5 and 10 ‘became’ bears. The aetiological myth for the *arkteia* related that this service was required of all Athenian girls before marriage because of an incident in which a bear belonging to the sanctuary had been killed after becoming savage with a young girl (schol. Ar. *Lys.* 645). Modern scholars suggest that the ritual was a rite of passage which marked the physical maturation of pubescent girls and prepared them for taming by marriage by stressing their wildness. Some pottery vessels of a shape particularly used for dedications to Artemis (*krateriskoi*) excavated at Brauron show naked girls running and part of a bear, and scholars have suggested that these illustrate the ritual. The sanctuary included a cave sacred to Iphigenia, and dedications were

also made in celebration of successful *childbirth. The Brauronia was a quadrennial festival organized by *hieropoioi* appointed by the city by lot, and involved a procession from Athens out to Brauron. We also hear of a sacred hunt. RGO

breast-feeding was a proof of maternal devotion and, according to some philosophers, a good woman’s duty (there is a detailed discussion in Gell. *NA* 12. 1). It was acknowledged to be tiring, but it increased the mother’s affection for the child, and the baby was thought to be morally, as well as physically, influenced by the milk it drank and the milk’s provider: breast-milk was explained as a further transformation of the blood which had gone to form the embryo. Mothers who were unwilling to breast-feed might be blamed for laziness, indifference, or vanity about their breasts. But wet-nursing was a standard practice. The Greek and Latin words for ‘nurse’ (*tithḗ*, *trophos*; *nutrix*) have the primary meaning of someone who feeds the child; the bond between nurse and nursling was acknowledged to be strong and is often commemorated in inscriptions. There has been extensive recent discussion on the psychological effects of shared child-rearing.

Soranus (*Gyn.* 2. 11. 18) prefers that the mother should breast-feed, but advises the use of a wet-nurse if the mother is ill or may become exhausted. He recommends giving boiled honey (the equivalent of glucose) with or without goat’s milk (which is closest in composition to human milk) for the first two days of a newborn’s life, then, if possible, using a wet-nurse until the mother’s body has stabilized after *childbirth and her milk is less heavy. (The manuscripts have the figure twenty for the number of days this takes; some editors correct to three.) Soranus notes that some doctors think breast-feeding should start at once. He devotes several chapters (2. 12. 19–15. 29) to the choice of a wet-nurse, explaining how to test her milk and to ensure that she leads a healthy life: in particular, she should not drink *wine, which affects the milk as well as making her incapable. He envisages a wet-nurse who lives in the household, and recommends employing several so that the child is not dependent on one. At 2. 17. 36–40 Soranus gives detailed instructions on how and when to feed the child: he does not approve of feeding on demand, but does not specify the number of feeds per day; 2. 21. 46–8, on weaning, suggests that the child will not be ready for solid food before the sixth month, or for complete weaning until the third or fourth half-year when the teeth can deal with food; the majority of wet-nursing contracts from Egypt (see below) also envisage breast-feeding for two years. In the section on childbirth, 2. 5. 7–8 offers treatments for engorged breasts

and for suppressing lactation in women who do not intend to breast-feed. Plutarch (*Mor.* 609e) praises his wife for undergoing surgery to her nipple so that she could continue nursing. Some folk remedies for breast problems are included in Pliny's *Natural History* (28. 77. 250; 30. 45. 131).

Because breast-milk was explained as a transformation of surplus blood, which would otherwise be shed in menstruation or used in the growth of an embryo, nursing women were advised (Sor. 2. 12. 19) to abstain from sexual activity: even if they did not become pregnant, intercourse might stimulate menstruation, and would in any case cause disturbance to the milk and the nursling. The contraceptive effect of lactation was thus reinforced. One motive for not breast-feeding may have been the mother's wish for more children.

Contracts with wet-nurses, which survive from Egypt, set out the rules of life which the wet-nurse must follow to safeguard her milk supply. Wages were low in comparison with those of a trained weaver, but the total cost of hiring a wet-nurse, for instance to rear a foundling child, was a large investment. Contracts include provision for the return of wages, and further penalty clauses, if the child dies or the nurse becomes unable to feed. The wet-nurse in these contracts may be free-born and living outside the household (if so, she must make regular visits for the child to be inspected), or may be a slave hired from another owner. Within households, slave mothers may have been obliged to hand over children to a wet-nurse so that they could return to work.

Several Greek deities have a title *Kourotrophos*, meaning 'concerned with child-rearing', but no Greek or Roman goddess is specifically concerned with lactation and there are few examples in art of the 'nursing goddess'.
EGC

bribery, Greek Much Greek vocabulary for bribery is neutral ('persuade by gifts/money', 'receiving gifts'), although pejorative terms like 'gift-swallowing' are found as early as Hesiod (*Op.* 37 ff.). Attic tragedy contains accusations of bribery against e.g. seers like Tiresias (Soph. *OT* 380 ff.); Thucydides' *Pericles (2. 60. 5, cf. 65. 8) finds it necessary to say that he has *not* taken bribes; clearly the normal expectation was that politicians did. Accusations of bribery are frequent in 4th-cent. orators, partly because you had to prove bribery in order to make a treason accusation (*eisangelia*) stick: Hyperides 4. 29 f. Hyperides 5. 24 f. (with D. Whitehead's comm., 2000) implies an Athenian distinction between bribes taken for and against the state's interests; the latter type have been called 'catapolitical' (Harvey; but see H. Wankel, *ZPE* 85 (1991), 34 ff.). See also CORRUPTION. SH

bribery, Roman Latin *ambitus*, a 'going round', is related to *ambitio*, the pursuit of public office, but always, unlike *ambitio*, denotes reprehensible activity which has been declared illegal.

Specifically it refers to obtaining electoral support (see ELECTIONS AND VOTING (Roman)) through gifts, favours, or the promise of these. According to *Polybius, the Romans had made the manifest use of money to buy votes a capital offence, but we have no other evidence for this in the last two centuries of the republic (the early books of Livy refer to laws in 432, 358, and 314 BC, the last two of which at least may have some historical substance). In 181 BC a *lex Cornelia Baebia* instituted a system of non-capital trials, which was developed in the late republic by further laws about *ambitus* and related matters—the use of bribery agents, associations, and expenditure on public dinners. These laws seem to have been a response to greater competition for office. However, Roman tradition did not discourage the cultivation of voters through material benefits (see especially the *Commentariolum petitionis* and Cic. *Mur.*). What established politicians disliked was the stealing of votes by new men (a *novus homo* was, roughly, the first man of his family to reach the senate or consulship) who outbid former patrons and the damage this caused to traditional claims of *patronage. In the late republic the distortion of politics by massive expenditure became scandalous in spite of the new legislation. Under the Principate, in so far as genuine competition for office persisted, *ambitus* remained an issue both in Rome and, perhaps more importantly, in the municipalities throughout the empire. The fact that penalties do not seem to have been very severe (Suet. *Aug.* 40. 1) suggests toleration of traditional behaviour. See also CORRUPTION. AWL

brigandage (Gk. *lēsteia*, Lat. *latrocinium*), the unlawful use of personal violence to maraud by land, was not condemned wholesale by the Classical Greeks. A carry-over from pre-state times, it remained a respectable occupation among some communities (Thuc. 1. 5). In the 3rd cent. BC central Greece was dominated by the Aetolians, whose confederacy protected, indeed quasi-institutionalized, their traditional way of life as bandits and pirates. As with Aetolia, brigandage was particularly prevalent in geographically more marginal zones, especially uplands, over which even the ancient empires exercised only nominal control (in the heart of the Persian empire, note the Uxii, Arr. *Anab.* 3. 17. 1; Isauria is the classic Roman case), and where pastoral mobility (see NOMADS) facilitated illegal behaviour. With the Roman state's claim to the monopoly of force, *latrocinium* acquired a wider semantic range than modern

'brigandage' (it included e.g. 'feuding' and 'raiding'). The urban populations saw brigandage as such as an all-pervasive threat beyond the city gates (this was true even in Italy at the height of empire). In its attempts to control bandits (never permanently successful, not least because they often had the support of élite landowners), the Roman state relied on the army, including the occasional all-out campaign (as by Augustus in the Alps: Strabo 4. 6. 6), more usually on the uncoordinated efforts of local police and vigilantes (western cities had their *viatores*, 'road patrols', eastern ones their *diognitai* commanded by irenarchs, lit. 'peacekeepers'), backed up by the most brutal forms of exemplary punishment of culprits. Whether antiquity knew the phenomenon of the 'social bandit' (E. Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, 2nd edn. (1985)) is debated, although the admiring tales attached to a few 'super-brigands' (Iulius Maternus; Bulla Felix) suggest the ideological appeal of such a type. See PIRACY.

AJSS

Britain, Roman (see facing page)

Brutus (Marcus Iunius Brutus), son of another Marcus Iunius Brutus and of Servilia, born (probably) 85 BC, was adopted by his uncle (?) Quintus Servilius Caepio by 59 and was henceforth called Quintus Caepio Brutus. Brought up by *Cato the Younger, he was educated in oratory and philosophy and long retained a fierce hatred for his father's murderer *Pompey. In 58 he accompanied Cato to *Cyprus and in 56 lent a large sum to Salamis at 48 per cent interest p.a., contrary to the *lex Gabinia*, procuring a senate decree to validate the loan. As moneyer (perhaps 55) he issued coins showing *Libertas* (*freedom) and portraits of his ancestors Lucius Iunius Brutus (who overthrew *Tarquinius Superbus) and Gaius Servilius Ahala, the tyrannicide (*RRC* 433). As quaestor 53 he went to Cilicia with Appius Claudius Pulcher, whose daughter he had married, and there lent King Ariobarzanes I a large sum, probably to enable him to pay interest on his huge debt to Pompey. When *Cicero succeeded Appius, he found that an agent of Brutus had been made prefect of cavalry to extort money from Salamis and that five Salaminian senators had been killed. He cancelled the appointment, but to avoid offence to Brutus gave a similar post to Brutus' agent in Cappadocia and recognized the validity of the loan to Salamis (*Cic. Att.* 5. 21–6. 1). In 52 Brutus defended Titus Annius Milo and in a pamphlet attacked Pompey's wish for a dictatorship, but in 50 they both defended Appius against Publius Cornelius Dolabella, and in 49 he joined the republican cause and was formally reconciled with Pompey. After the battle of Pharsalus he successfully begged Caesar for pardon and, no doubt through Servilia's influence, became one of his

protégés. He was made a pontifex (a member of one of the four major colleges of the Roman priesthood: see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)) and in 47 sent to govern Cisalpine Gaul, while Caesar went to Africa to fight Cato and the republicans. During this time he developed relations with Cicero, who dedicated various philosophical and rhetorical works to him and, at his request, wrote an eulogy of Cato after Cato's death. (Finding it unsatisfactory, Brutus wrote one himself.) Although he now divorced Claudia and married Cato's daughter Porcia, widow of Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, he remained on good terms with Caesar, met him on his return from Munda, assured Cicero of Caesar's laudable optimate intentions, and was made *praetor urbanus* (urban praetor) for 44 and designated consul for 41. But when Caesar became *dictator perpetuo* ('perpetual *dictator': February 44), Brutus, reminded of his heritage, joined, and *ex officio* took the lead in, the widespread conspiracy that led to Caesar's assassination before his departure for his Parthian War. Outmanoeuvred by Mark *Antony, whose life he had spared on the Ides of March, he and Cassius (Gaius Cassius Longinus) had to leave Rome and, failing to win popular approval, left Italy for Greece (August 44). With Antony now openly against them, Brutus collected close to 400 million sesterces from the treasuries of Asia and Syria and confiscated the supplies Caesar had prepared for his campaign. He and Cassius gradually seized all the eastern provinces, building up large armies, partly of veterans. When Cicero, in his *Philippics*, swung the senate behind them, they received **imperium maius* in the east. Brutus captured, and later executed, Antony's brother Gaius Antonius; after Publius Cornelius Dolabella's death he acquired Asia and completed its conquest, and during 43 and 42 squeezed it dry for his armies. The money was turned into a large coinage (*RRC* 500–8) and Brutus, alone among the republicans, put his own head on one of the gold coins. He also won the title of *imperator* in Thrace. In 42 he and Cassius, with about 80,000 legionaries plus auxiliaries, twice met Antony and Octavian at Philippi. In the first battle Cassius, defeated by Antony, committed suicide, while Brutus impressively defeated Octavian. In a second battle, forced on Brutus, he was defeated, deserted by his soldiers, and also committed suicide. His body was honourably treated by Antony.

Arrogant, rapacious, calculatingly ambitious, Brutus yet professed a deep attachment to philosophy. Cicero admired but never liked him, and ignored his warnings not to trust Octavian. A renowned orator, with an austere and dignified style, he despised Cicero's as 'effeminate and spineless' (*Tac. Dial.* 18. 5). His literary works (philosophy, historical epitomes, poetry) are lost, as are his letters,

[continued on p. 139]

ROMAN BRITAIN

Britain, Roman (see ◀Map 5, Ba▶), the province of Britannia. The oldest name of the island known to us is Albion; the earliest form of the present name, *Prettania*, was used by the Greeks. The Latin *Britannia* was in use by the 1st cent. BC. It has no direct Celtic origin and is probably a Latin abstraction from an earlier form.

The iron age communities of Britain showed a variety of social organization, although all were agrarian peoples organized into tribal territories dominated by a range of enclosed settlement sites. Many were agriculturally sophisticated and had developed an impressive Celtic art style. The peoples of the south-east had a long history of shared culture with northern Gaul. The islands were known to the Mediterranean world from at least the 3rd cent. BC. After 120 BC, as trading contacts between Transalpine Gaul and areas to the north intensified, Britain began to receive goods such as wine amphorae, and Gallo-Belgic coinage was introduced. Close political contacts with northern Gaul provided the pretext for *Caesar's expeditions in 55 and 54 BC and the context for the migration of the Belgae to Britain which he mentions (*B Gall.* 5. 12). His campaigns did not result in conquest although he imposed tribute on King Cassivellaunus (supreme commander of the south-east Britons) before withdrawing. Contacts with the continent intensified with the *Romanization of Gaul from *Augustus onwards, and Rome maintained an interest in British affairs. Several burials of this period include luxury Roman goods probably sent as diplomatic gifts. Enhanced external contact stimulated internal political change culminating in the expansion of the Catuvellauni (the most powerful southern British tribe) who, under their king Cunobelinus, obtained territorial dominance in the south-east.

Annexation had apparently been contemplated by Augustus and *Gaius but was only achieved by *Claudius in AD 43. The army of four legions, with *auxilia*, quickly overran the territory of the Catuvellauni, with a set-piece battle at Camulodunum (Colchester). The army then moved west and north so that by the time of the revolt of Boudicca, queen of the Iceni in East Anglia (AD 60/1), the lowlands south of the Trent and much of Wales were held. Romanization was under way and towns were well established at *Londinium (London), Verulamium (St Albans), and Colchester. The revolt was crushed but territorial expansion slowed for perhaps a decade. A succession of able Flavian governors enlarged the province by completing the conquest of Wales and pushing into Scotland. The last of these, Gnaeus Iulius Agricola (c.AD 77/8–83/4), advanced far into Scotland and defeated the Caledonians in a great battle at Mons Graupius. Its location is unknown but camps associated with his campaigns have been identified as far north as



Britain, Roman This collection of church silver from Water Newton (probably c. AD 300) may well be the earliest of its kind. The inscriptions on some pieces reveal the patronage of wealthy women donors. The extent of *Christianity's acceptance in 4th-cent. Britain, however, is disputed. © The Trustees of the British Museum

the Moray Firth. After his withdrawal the rest of Scotland remained unconquered and there began a gradual retreat, eventually to the Tyne–Solway line (by the period of Trajan). The Stanegate road which marked this line became a *de facto* frontier until the construction of the *wall of Hadrian from c.AD 122. Although Scotland was again occupied first in the period c.139–64, when the wall of Antoninus was the frontier, and then during *Septimius Severus' campaigns of 208–11, it was never successfully incorporated, and Hadrian's Wall remained the effective permanent frontier of the province.

Britain was an imperial province which contained a very substantial military garrison throughout the Principate. In the 2nd cent. the army comprised three legions—II Augusta at Isca (Caerleon), XX Valeria Victrix at Deva (Chester), and VI Victrix at Eboracum (York)—and perhaps 75 auxiliary units. These were predominantly based in the north and Wales and brought considerable wealth to these regions, which nevertheless remained less Romanized than areas to the south and east.

Local government was based on the Gallic cantonal system, with the following sixteen *civitates* (civic communities) known: the Brigantes (capital at Aldborough), Parisi (Brough-on-Humber), Silures (Caerwent), Icenii (Caistor-by-Norwich), Cantiaci (Canterbury), Carvetii (Carlisle ?), Demetae (Carmarthen), Reg(i)ni (Chichester), Dobunni (Cirencester), Durotriges (Dorchester, Dorset, and also later Ilchester), Dumnonii (Exeter), Corieltauvi (Leicester), Catuvellauni (Verulamium/St Albans), Atrebates (Silchester), Belgae (Winchester), and Cornovii (Wroxeter). In addition there were four *coloniae* (Roman colonies) at Colchester (founded AD 49), Lindum (Lincoln, 90–6), Glevum (Gloucester, 96–8), and York (early 3rd cent.), together with Londinium which, although the provincial capital, is of uncertain status. The *civitates* were large and as many as seventy lesser urban centres served the countryside away from the principal towns. Although relatively large, none of the towns was well provided with public buildings. Most of those known are of later 1st- and 2nd-cent. date. During the 2nd and 3rd cents. most towns (including the lesser centres) were provided with defences, although there is debate over why these were built. In the 4th cent. the principal towns continued to be occupied but they became characteristically residential rather than productive centres. Although important as defended locations, none of them survived with urban characteristics for long into the 5th cent.

The single province of the Principate, governed from London, was divided in the early 3rd cent. into Upper (with its capital at London) and Lower (capital York). A further subdivision into four provinces (Maxima Caesariensis, capital London; Flavia Caesariensis, capital Lincoln; Britannia Prima, capital Cirencester; and Secunda, capital York) took place under Diocletian. Valentia, known in northern Britain in the 4th cent., was probably the result of a further division of Secunda, although its location remains obscure.

The countryside was already extensively farmed before the conquest and agriculture remained the mainstay of the province with perhaps 90 per cent of the late Roman population of about 3.6 million living rurally. Most of these people continued to inhabit traditional farmsteads with only about one in a hundred sites becoming a *villa. Villa-building began soon after the conquest and continued steadily through the 2nd and 3rd cents. with a peak in both numbers and opulence during the 4th cent. The villas were generally modest by Mediterranean standards and most developed piecemeal through the aggrandizement of existing houses. *Mosaics were common by the 4th cent. and there is abundant evidence for the existence of a wealthy, rurally based aristocracy in southern Britain.

Other economic activities known from archaeology show growth to a peak of prosperity during the 4th cent. Metal extraction (for gold, silver, and lead) began very soon after the conquest but did not become dominant. Local craft-based production was widespread, its success attested by the very abundant collections of objects found on most settlements. In the early empire there was great dependence on other provinces for the supply of consumer goods, imported initially through the military supply networks. Later local production grew to sustain the bulk of the province's needs and very substantial manufactories for items like pottery developed, especially in rural locations in the south and east (*see* POTTERY, ROMAN). None of these, however, became major exporters to other provinces.

Art and culture in Britain developed as a hybrid of Celtic and classical features. The religions of the Mediterranean spread to Britain with the army and administrators, but the Celtic gods were worshipped across most of the province. However, they took on new forms, with the increased use of Romano-Celtic styles of temple architecture (first found at the end of the iron age) and the adoption of Latin epigraphy on altars and dedications. Particular gods are associated with certain regions and *civitates*. Many soldiers also adopted Celtic gods whom they identified with gods of the Roman pantheon. Christianity is found throughout the province in the 4th cent., although the extent of its acceptance is disputed. In art new materials (especially stone sculpture and mosaic) supplanted the metalwork used in the iron age La Tène styles. Not all the results are aesthetically pleasing today but some mosaics show an innovatory blend of ideas. Latin was widely adopted, although a study of the graffiti illustrates that writing was most used on military and urban sites (*see* VINDOLANDA TABLETS).

During the later empire Britain enjoyed relative peace compared with other provinces. A series of usurpers emerged from the province, Albinus (193–6), Carausius (286–93), Allectus (293–7), Magnus Maximus (383–8), and Constantine III (407). Problems with raiders from across the North Sea may have led to the piecemeal construction of the Saxon Shore forts from the middle of the 3rd cent. onwards. These and other coastal installations in the north and in Wales hint at increasing military threats, although the continued use of the traditional style of garrisons on Hadrian's Wall, combined with the general absence of the late Roman field army, implies that there were few serious military problems. In 367 there were concerted barbarian attacks from the north, which necessitated a military campaign, although the account by *Ammianus Marcellinus probably exaggerated these events. There is little else to suggest any serious military threats until early in the 5th cent. By then the depleted British garrison could not cope and the more pressing threats to Rome herself prevented aid from being sent. Britain, left to defend herself, gradually fell to the Saxons.

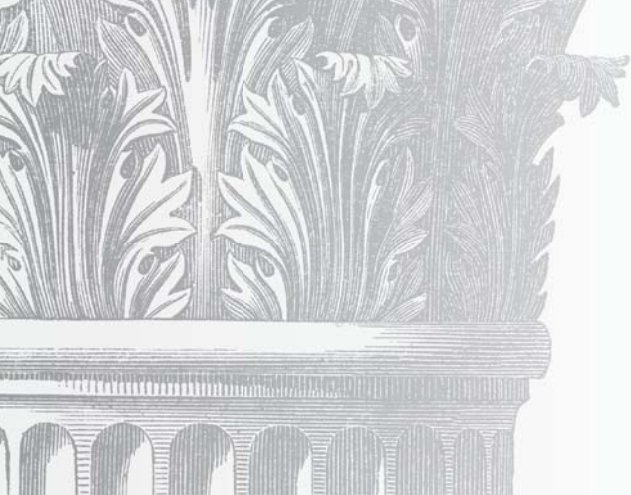
MJM

except for a few surviving among Cicero's. With Cassius, he was officially condemned under the empire, but revered by many as the last defender of Roman freedom. EB

Byzantium (see ◀ Map 1, Ea ▶), a famous city on the European side of the south end of the Bosphorus, between the Golden Horn and the Propontis (mod. sea of Marmara). The Greek city occupied only the eastern tip of the promontory, in the area now covered by the Byzantine and Ottoman palaces of Constantinople/Istanbul. The evidence of cults and institutions confirms the claim of the city of Megara (between Athens and Corinth) to be the main founders, but groups from the Peloponnese and central Greece probably also participated in the original colony, which is to be dated 668 (Hdt. 4. 144) or 659 BC (Euseb. *Chron.*). Little material earlier than the late 7th cent. has yet emerged from excavations. Except during the *Ionian Revolt the city was under Persian control from *Darius I's Scythian expedition until 478. In the Athenian empire (see DELIAN LEAGUE) it paid fifteen talents' tribute or more, deriving its wealth from tuna fishing and from tolls levied on passing ships. The city also had an extensive territory not only in European Thrace (roughly mod. Bulgaria) but also in Bithynia and Mysia in NW Asia Minor. It revolted from Athens in 440–39 and 411–408. Although under

Spartan control after the battle of Aegospotami (405) alliance coins show that it joined the anti-Spartan sea league formed after the battle of Cnidus in 394. It became a formal ally of Athens from c.378 to 357 and also when resisting *Philip II of Macedon in the siege of 340–39. The goddess Hecate is supposed to have helped the besieged on this occasion and her symbols, the crescent and star (later adopted as the emblem of the Turkish state), appear on the city coinage. It suffered from the attacks and exactions of the Galatians in the 270s but picked the winning side in Rome's Macedonian wars in the 2nd cent. BC. Byzantium's strategic position enabled it to enjoy privileged status under the Roman empire, which did not, however, protect the city from the depredations of passing armies and rapacious officials. All privileges were lost when it supported Pescennius Niger against *Septimius Severus, and fell after a two-year siege (AD 193–5; *Cassius Dio, 75. 12. 1, gives a brilliant although exaggerated account). Severus reduced Byzantium to village-status and caused much destruction, but rebuilding soon followed and traces of the subsequent Severan restoration have been archaeologically identified. *Constantine I refounded Byzantium as New Rome, Constantinople, on 11 May 330, extending its bounds to new city walls and adorning it with magnificent new buildings.

AJG/SM



C

Caesar, Julius (see page 142)

cakes (flour-based sweetmeats or fancy breads) were given many names in Greek and Latin, of which the most general were *pemmata*, *popana* in Greek, *liba* (sacrificial cakes), and *placentae* (from Greek *plakountes*) in Latin. The Greeks especially had a vast number of different kinds, and several monographs were written on the subject (on these see Ath. 3. 109b–116a, 14. 643e–648c; Poll. 6. 72 ff.). Most were regarded as a luxurious delicacy, to be eaten with fruit after the main course at a special meal. Cakes were also very commonly used in *sacrifice, either as a peripheral accompaniment to the animal victim or as a bloodless sacrifice. Sacrificial cakes very often had a special form characteristic of the relevant divinity or rite; among the more spectacular examples are the Attic amphiphōn, stuck with lights and offered to *Artemis on the full-moon day, or the Sicilian *mullos*, shaped like female genitals and offered to the Two Goddesses, *Demeter and *Persephone.

EKE

Caligula, Roman emperor. See GAIUS.

Callimachus, of *Cyrene, Greek poet and scholar, ‘Battiades’ (*Epigr.* 35), i.e. son (or descendant?) of Battus; his grandfather was a general (*Epigr.* 21). He flourished under *Ptolemy II (285–246 BC) and continued into the reign of Ptolemy III (*Suda*); he mentions the Celtic invasion of 279 (*Hymn* 4. 171 ff.; fr. 379); the marriage (c.275) and apotheosis (270? 268?) of Arsinoë II Philadelphus (frs. 392, 228); and the Laodicean War of 246/5 (fr. 110). Other work for Berenice II, wife of Ptolemy III (*Epigr.* 51?, frs. 387–8, *Suppl. Hell.* 254 ff.), and perhaps the *Victory of Sosibius* (fr. 384), belong to the same late period. Callimachus stood close to the Alexandrian court; it may be accident that we have no works datable between Arsinoë’s death and the accession of Berenice (herself a princess of Cyrene).

Callimachus was credited with more than 800 books (*Suda*). Michael Choniates, c.AD 1200, may still have

possessed copies of *Aetia* and *Hecale*. But, apart from the six hymns and some sixty epigrams, and a selection from the prose *Paradoxa* (fr. 407), only fragments now survive. The Milan *Diegeseis*, a papyrus of c.AD 100, contains summaries of the poems, in the order *Aetia*, *Iambi*, *Lyrice*, *Hecale*, *Hymns*.

Works

1. *Aetia*, in four books (some 4,000 lines in all?): a miscellany of elegiac pieces, from extended epigrams (fr. 64, on the tomb of *Simonides; fr. 114, on the Delian statue of *Apollo) to narratives of 100–200 lines (frs. 67–75, Acontius and Cydippe; *Suppl. Hell.* 254–69, *Victory of Berenice*). The common subject is ‘origins’: the origins in myth or history of Greek cults, festivals, cities, and the like. Episodes are chosen and rehearsed with antiquarian relish. In the ‘prologue’ (fr. 1) the poet answers the critics who complain that he does not compose a ‘continuous poem’ on the deeds of kings or heroes: poetry should be judged by art, not quantity; Apollo recommended the slender Muse, the untrodden paths; better be the cicada than the braying mule. Like *Hesiod, he had met the *Muses, in a dream, and they related the *Aetia* to him (fr. 2). Books 1 and 2 were structured, at least in part, by a dialogue between the poet-researcher and the Muses; books 3 and 4 are framed by the substantial court-poems *Victory of Berenice* and *Lock of Berenice*. Within books, poems may be grouped thematically. The ‘epilogue’ (fr. 112) recalls Hesiod’s meeting with the Muses; and leads over to the ‘pedestrian field of the Muses’, i.e. (probably) to the *Iambi*. It is generally (but controversially) argued that the *Aetia* went through two editions: the poet in old age added ‘prologue’ and ‘epilogue’, and perhaps books 3–4 entire.

2. *Iambi*: thirteen poems, written in scazons or other iambic metres. In the first, Hipponax speaks, returned from the dead; in the last, the poet names Hipponax as the exemplar of the genre. Personal invective (1–5), and the fable (2, 4), play their part, as in the traditional



cakes Ceramic cakes in *likna* (winnowing baskets), left as offerings in the sanctuary of *Demeter and Kore at Corinth. They imitate the real-life cakes accompanying Greek *sacrifice. (The right-hand object was stolen from the Corinth Museum in 1990 and is as yet unrecovered.) American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations. Photo: E. Seraf

iambus. But these poems range much wider: 6 (the statue of *Zeus at *Olympia) reads as an epodic epigram, 8 as an iambic epinician; 7–11 record various *aitia*; 12 celebrates a birth. The framing poems continue literary polemic: in 1 against quarrelling scholars, in 13 against those who think that an author should confine himself to a single genre.

3. Miscellaneous poems include the lyric *Apotheosis of Arsinoë* (fr. 228), and the elegiac epinician for Sosibius (fr. 384).

4. *Hecale*, a hexameter narrative of something over 1,000 lines. *Theseus leaves Athens secretly to face the bull of Marathon; a storm breaks; he takes shelter in the cottage of the aged Hecale; he leaves at dawn and subdues the bull; he returns to Hecale, finds her dead, and founds the deme (country district) of Hecale and the sanctuary of Zeus Hekaleios in her memory. This heroic (but not Homeric) material was deviously elaborated, with Hecale rather than Theseus at the centre. The scene of rustic hospitality became famous; talking birds diversify the narrative; the action ends in another *aition*, perhaps drawn from the *Atthis*.

5. The *Hymns* reanimate the traditional (Homeric) form, but with no view to performance. The hymns to Zeus, *Artemis, and *Delos (nos. 1, 3, 4) elaborate the god's birth and virtues with quizzical learning and virtuoso invention. Those to Apollo (no. 2), *Athena (no. 5), and *Demeter (no. 6) are framed as dramas, in which the narrator-celebrant draws the hearer into an imagined

ritual; 6 (Doric hexameters) and still more 5 (Doric elegiacs) deliberately cross generic boundaries (*see* GENRE).

6. The *Epigrams* (a selection preserved in Meleager's anthology) cover the full range of literary, erotic, dedicatory, and sepulchral themes; scattered fragments (frs. 393–402) hint at more.

7. Callimachus wrote prose works on nymphs; on athletic contests (*see* GAMES); on the foundation of islands and cities; on winds, on rivers, on 'marvels', and on birds; on 'barbarian customs' and on local names of fish and of months. He was among the founders of lexicography and paradoxography (descriptions of marvels). The *Pinakes* ('Tables of Those who have Distinguished themselves in Every Form of Culture and of What they Wrote') presented, in 120 books, a bibliography of Greek literature and a catalogue of the Alexandrian *library, organized by subject ('rhetoric', 'laws', 'miscellaneous prose'); they included some biographical notes, and cited the first line of each work, and the number of lines. Callimachus also 'arranged' the poems of *Pindar and *Bacchylides (fr. 450, *Suppl. Hell.* 293).

Callimachus often states his preferences in poetry and among poets. He defends shorter (and discontinuous) poems (fr. 1), the small drop from the pure spring (*Hymn* 2. 107 ff.), diversity of genre (*polueidia*) (fr. 203); 'a big book equals a big evil' (fr. 465), 'slim' poetry (fr. 1. 24) is better than 'thick' (fr. 398). This 'new' aesthetic (which might seem less novel if we had the

[continued on p. 146]

JULIUS CAESAR

Caesar, Julius (Gaius Iulius Caesar), son of another Gaius Iulius Caesar and of Aurelia, born 100 BC (Suet. *Iul.* 88. 1) on 12 Quintilis, the month soon after his death renamed Iulius by a law passed by the consul Mark *Antony, quoted by Macrobius, *Sat.* 1. 12. 34, which incidentally secures the actual date. Through his aunt Julia's marriage to Gaius *Marius he was Marius' nephew, and he was related to Lucius Iulius Caesar and to Gaius Iulius Caesar Strabo Vopiscus. When his father withdrew from Rome, he remained behind, and Lucius Cornelius Cinna, as consul, gave him his daughter Cornelia in marriage and then appointed him *flamen Dialis*. It was a position of the highest distinction, but because of its ritual restrictions, normally precluded an official career. He probably thought that Caesar would share his father's lack of political ambition. *Sulla, after his victory in the civil war, annulled all of Cinna's measures, including Caesar's appointment. Caesar refused to resign or to divorce his wife, but Sulla spared his life, probably because he was a fellow Patrician. (Cf. Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus, whom he allowed to escape to Massilia, even though he had broken a treaty with him: see Broughton, *MRR* 3. 71.) Caesar's refusal left the office in abeyance until the time of Augustus, although Caesar soon broke the ritual restrictions for the sake of a career. Not feeling at home in post-Sullan Rome, where he failed to convict two notorious Sullani (Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella and Gaius Antonius) though his speeches in the prosecutions laid the foundation of his fame as an orator, he left for Asia, where he spent the greater part of the 70s, pursuing his studies and gaining a reputation as a soldier. He won a victory over a small advance guard of *Mithradates VI, and an act of singular bravery won him the *corona ciuica*, the Roman equivalent of the Victoria Cross. In 73 he was co-opted a pontifex (a member of one of the four major colleges of the Roman priesthood: see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)), largely through his family connections. This appointment restored his *dignitas* (personal honour) and allowed him to resume what he felt was his proper place in Rome. He was at once elected a military tribune. Staying in Rome, he used the office to support amnesty for the associates of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and he won election as quaestor for 69.

Before going to his province of Further Spain, he lost both his aunt Julia and his wife. He conducted their funerals in the grand aristocratic manner, stressing his aunt's (and thus partly his own) descent from kings and gods (Suet. *Iul.* 6. 1) and, for the first time since Sulla, displaying Marius' *imago* (wax funerary mask) and distinctions in public. (He no doubt similarly displayed Cinna's at Cornelia's funeral.) On his return from Spain he found the Latin colonies beyond the Po (Padus) vigorously demanding Roman citizenship and supported their agitation, but did nothing to further their cause in Rome. He supported the laws of Aulus Gabinius and Gaius Manilius, conferring extraordinary commands on *Pompey (clearly a most useful patron), and he married Pompeia, a granddaughter of Sulla. With Pompey overseas, he courted another powerful ex-Sullan, *Crassus, Pompey's enemy, joining him in various political schemes in return for financial support, which enabled Caesar to spend large sums as curator of the via Appia and as aedile (65). In 64, in charge of the murder court, he resumed his vendetta against Sulla by offering to receive prosecutions of men who had killed citizens in Sulla's proscription.

In 63 Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius' death left the chief pontificate vacant, a post normally held by eminent ex-consuls. Although two (Publius Servilius Isauricus, to whom Caesar was bound in loyalty as to his old commander in Cilicia, and Quintus Lutatius Catulus) sought the office, Caesar announced his candidacy and through lavish bribery won the election. This and his election to a praetorship for 62 established him as a man of power and importance. He supported *Catiline, who advocated a welcome cancellation of debts, but covered his tracks when Catiline turned to conspiracy. The consul *Cicero, who to the end of his days was convinced of Caesar's involvement, had to proclaim his innocence. In his prosecution of Gaius Rabirius he left the legality of the so-called *senatus consultum ultimum* ('ultimate' i.e. emergency decree of the senate) in doubt, and when Cicero wanted the death penalty under that decree for the conspirators betrayed by the Allobrogan envoys (the Allobroges were a Gallic tribe), Caesar persuaded most senators to vote against it, until a speech by *Cato the Younger changed their minds.

As praetor he joined the tribune Quintus Caecilius Metellus Nepos in agitating for the recall of Pompey against Catiline's forces. Suspended from office, he demonstratively submitted, and the senate, eager to avoid alienating him, reinstated and thanked him. In December, when Pompeia was *ex officio* in charge of the rites of the Bona Dea, from which men were strictly excluded, Publius *Clodius Pulcher gained access disguised as a woman—it was said, in order to approach Pompeia in her husband's absence—and was ejected. Caesar, while asserting the innocence of Clodius

(a man congenial to him and worth cultivating) and of Pompeia, divorced her, proclaiming that his household must be free even from suspicion. With his consulship approaching, he could now seek a more advantageous marriage.

But first he had to go to his province of Further Spain. His creditors applied for an injunction to stop him from leaving, and he was saved from this unprecedented indignity by Crassus' standing surety for part of his debts: his provincial spoils would cover the rest. He now 'had to make a bigger profit in one year than Verres had in three' (W. Will, *Julius Caesar: Eine Bilanz* (1992)) and, largely neglecting his routine duties, he concentrated on attacking independent tribes. The booty enabled him to clear his debts and pay large sums into the treasury, all without incurring a risk of prosecution. About mid-60 he returned to Rome, was voted a *triumph by a co-operative senate, and prepared to claim his consulship. There was a technical obstacle: to announce his candidacy for the consulship he had to enter Rome long before the triumph could be arranged, but that would forfeit his *imperium and right to triumph. The senate was ready to give him a dispensation, but his enemy Cato, although only an ex-tribune, arranged to be asked to speak and talked the proposal out. Caesar decided to put power before glory and entered the city.

He now could not afford to lose, so he needed allies and a massive infusion of money. A brilliant stroke secured both. In his absence Pompey and Crassus had failed—partly because each had opposed the other—to obtain what they respectively wanted from the senate: ratification of Pompey's eastern settlement and land for his veterans, and a remission of part of the price offered for the title of Asia by the *publicani. Caesar, on good terms with both, persuaded them to support his candidacy: he promised to give each what he wanted without harm to the other, provided they refrained from mutual opposition. Pompey now persuaded his wealthy friend Lucius Lucceius to join Caesar in his canvass: in return for paying the expenses for bribery (no doubt with Crassus' help), he could expect to succeed through Caesar's popularity. But Caesar's enemies, led by the upright Cato, collected a huge bribery fund for Cato's son-in-law Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, who secured second place after Caesar.

As consul Caesar appealed to the senate for co-operation in formulating the laws to satisfy his allies. Frustrated by his enemies, he passed them in the assembly by open violence, aided by friendly tribunes. Bibulus withdrew to his house, announcing that he was stopping all future meetings of the assemblies by watching the sky for omens. This unprecedented step, of doubtful legality, was ignored by Caesar, who satisfied Pompey and Crassus and went on to pass further legislation, *inter alia* on *repetundae* (extortion) and on the publication of senate debates. Pompey and Crassus, satisfied (especially) with his assuming the onus for his methods, now joined him in an open alliance (sometimes erroneously called the 'First Triumvirate'). Pompey married Julia and Caesar married Calpurnia, whose father, Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, was made consul 58, with Pompey's aide Gabinius as colleague. For further insurance, Clodius was allowed to become a plebeian and tribune 58. Caesar's reward was a law of Vatinius, giving him Illyricum and Cisalpine Gaul for five years. The senate obligingly added Transalpine Gaul. Early in 58 attempts to prosecute Caesar were averted, and moderates in the senate attempted conciliation by offering to have his legislation re-enacted in proper form. But Caesar refused, since this would admit guilt and impair his *dignitas*. The breach between him and the senate majority thus became irreparable.

A movement by the Helvetii gave him an unforeseen chance of starting a major war, which after nearly a decade and many vicissitudes led to the conquest of the whole of Gaul. It was in Gaul that he acquired the taste and the resources for monarchy and trained the legions that could 'storm the heavens' (*BHisp.* 42. 7). Young Roman aristocrats flocked to him to make their fortunes, vast sums (sometimes made palatable as loans) flowed into the pockets of upper-class Romans and, as gifts, to cities and princes, to support Caesar's ambitions. The depleted treasury received none of the profits and was forced to pay for his legions. In his triumphs of 46 (see below) he displayed 63,000 talents of silver and spent about 20,000 of his own money (together enough to create the fortunes of 5,000 *equites), much of it booty from Gaul. Plutarch, on the basis of Caesar's figures, reports that a million Gauls were killed and another million enslaved. Requisitions of food and punitive devastations completed a human, economic, and ecological disaster probably unequalled until the conquest of the Americas.

In Rome Caesar's position remained secure until 56, when his bitter enemy Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, confident of becoming consul 55, promised to recall and prosecute him, and Cicero, back from exile, hoped to detach Pompey from him. Crassus informed him of what was going on, and they summoned Pompey to Luca, where he was persuaded to renew the compact. Pompey and Crassus became consuls 55, receiving Spain and Syria respectively for five years, while Caesar's command was renewed for five years in Gaul; Pompey was to stay near Rome to look after their interests, governing Spain through *legati* (legates). But the alliance soon disintegrated. Julia died (54) and Crassus, attacking *Parthia, was killed at Carrhae (53). In 52 Pompey married a daughter of Caesar's enemy Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio and made him his colleague as consul. Caesar now secured legal authorization to stand

for a consulship in absence in 49; but the legality of this became doubtful, and his claim that it included the right to retain *imperium* (hence immunity from prosecution) was denied by his enemies. (The legal position is obscured by partisan distortion.) Pompey was gradually (perhaps reluctantly) forced to co-operate with them, to avoid a consulship by Caesar in 48, which would have left him irreversibly at Caesar's mercy. In 49 Caesar invaded Italy and started a civil war, nominally to defend the rights of tribunes who had been forced to flee to him for protection, but in fact, as he later admitted (Suet. *Iul.* 30. 4), to escape conviction and exile.

He rapidly overran Italy, where there were no reliable veteran legions to oppose him. As he moved down the peninsula, he kept making specious peace offers, retailed with considerable distortion in book 1 of his *Civil War*. Ahenobarbus was forced to surrender at Corfinium. He was allowed to depart unharmed and to continue the war against Caesar—the first conspicuous example of Caesar's 'clemency', a quality on which he particularly prided himself. (It was of course limited to Roman citizens: see on the victims of his Gallic War above.) Among the honours voted to him in 44 was a temple to *Clementia Caesaris*. See esp. the coin of (probably) 44, with the legend *CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS* (*RRC* 480, no. 21) with Crawford's commentary pp. 494–5, stressing the connection with the title *PARENS PATRIAE* on coins in the same series and citing the literary sources. (The series ends with a portrait of the consul Mark Antony, who passed the law changing the name of the month *Quintilis* to *Iulius*: see above.) Syme has pointed out that Caesar's *clementia* was not a virtue acceptable to Roman aristocrats, for it implies the superiority of the one offering it to the one receiving it (R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939)).

Pompey, knowing that Italy was untenable, to the chagrin of his aristocratic supporters crossed to Greece, hoping to strangle Italy by encirclement. Caesar broke it by defeating Pompey's *legati* in a brilliant campaign in Spain and then taking Massalia (Marseilles). In 48 he crossed to Greece, though Pompey controlled the seas, and besieged him at Dyrrhachium. A tactical defeat there turned into *de facto* strategic victory when Pompey withdrew to Thessaly, where both sides received reinforcements. Persuaded, against his better judgement, to offer battle at Pharsalus, Pompey was decisively defeated, escaped to Egypt and was killed. Caesar, arriving there in pursuit, intervened in a domestic conflict over the kingship and was cut off for months in Alexandria, until extricated by troops from Asia Minor and a Jewish force under Antipater. He spent three more months in Egypt, chiefly with *Cleopatra VII, whom he established on the throne and who after his departure bore a son whom she named Ptolemy Caesar. Then, moving rapidly through Syria and Asia Minor, he reorganized the eastern provinces, easily defeated Pharnaces II at Zela, and in September 47 returned to Italy. There he had to settle an army mutiny and serious social unrest, fanned during his absence by Marcus Caelius Rufus and Titus Annius Milo and after their death by Publius Cornelius Dolabella.

Meanwhile the republican forces had had time to entrench themselves in Africa, where Metellus Scipio assumed command, aided by Juba I. Caesar landed in December. After an inauspicious beginning he gained the support of Bocchus II and Publius Sittius and, deliberately inviting blockade at Thapsus, won a decisive victory that led to the death of most of the republican leaders (including Scipio and Cato). On his return he was voted unprecedented honours and celebrated four splendid triumphs (20 September–1 October 46), nominally over foreign enemies, to mark the end of the wars and the beginning of reconstruction. But Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Pompey's son), soon joined by his brother Sextus Pompeius and Titus Labienus, consul for the second time, raised thirteen legions in Spain and secured much native support. In November Caesar hurriedly left Rome to meet the threat. The Pompeians were forced to offer battle at Munda (near Urso) and were annihilated with the loss of 30,000 men in Caesar's hardest-fought battle. After reorganizing Spain, with massive *colonization, he returned to Rome and celebrated a triumph over 'Spain'.

Caesar was renowned for his love affairs, especially with aristocratic married women. Suetonius (*Iul.* 50. 1) names four and notes that the only woman he really loved (apart from Cleopatra, treated later) was Servilia. Popular rumour freely embroidered: e.g. that Servilia had prostituted her daughter Iunia Tertia to Caesar for the sake of a reduction in the price of an estate, a rumour that was gleefully exploited by Cicero (*Iul.* 50. 2). Suetonius indicates that Caesar behaved no differently in Gaul, quoting as evidence the scurrilous verses chanted by his soldiers at his Gallic *triumph:

urbani, seruate uxores, moechum caluom adducimus.
aurum in Gallia effutuisti, hic sumpsisti mutuom.

(Men of Rome, look after your wives: we are bringing a bald adulterer with us./You whored away your gold in Gaul and here you have had to borrow.) Suetonius found no details, but the soldiers obviously knew. To be effective, satire must be based on fact. There was a 'secret history' of the Gallic War, for Caesar's affairs must have had diplomatic, perhaps even military, consequences. Support for Caesar or opposition to him must at least in part have been affected by the Gallic chieftains whose wives were involved. Not all would necessarily have been outraged. Suetonius cites the

parallel of Bogud to show that complaisant husbands might be richly rewarded and would presumably become allied. In Rome, none of the husbands of the four ladies he names became Caesar's enemies as a result of this. Indeed, two were or became Caesar's allies, as Pompey did—after divorcing Mucia.

The other important item of information given to us by the soldiers (although of course satirically distorted) is that Caesar had to borrow money for his lavish spending after his return. His love affairs are unlikely to have been the main expense. Much was used to buy important Roman politicians, who were as venal as they had been at the time of Jugurtha and who knew their price. Young men joined him in Gaul to be *inaurati* (encased in gold), as Cicero wrote. The only reliable figure we have for what a prominent politician would cost (other amounts are variously reported) is the sum of 1,500 talents given to Lucius Aemilius Paullus, who was notably active on Caesar's behalf as cos. 50. The sum (reported by App. *BCiv.* 2. 26 and Plut. *Pomp.* 58.1), at the conventional exchange rate, yields the astonishing figure of 22½ million sesterces. How much, e.g. Gaius Scribonius Curio received, we do not know; but since the amounts were common knowledge, the figure must have been in the same range, and it changed him during his tribunate (50) from an outspoken enemy into an active supporter. Nor do we know what Paullus' brother, the later Triumvir *Lepidus was paid for his outstanding service in his praetorship, when he 'persuaded' the Senate to initiate a law allowing him, contrary to all constitutional practice, to name Caesar *dictator (Caesar, *BCiv.* 2. 21.5; cf. Plut. *Caes.* 37.1; hostile reports that there was no authorization are probably false). Caesar's expenses on distributions to soldiers and citizens, for public feasting, and for expropriation of estates were almost unimaginably enormous. (For a summary, see *Gnomon* 62, 1990, 30–31.) He may also have paid for the initiation of some of his vast building projects, as he had certainly started on the literary ones (Suet. *Iul.* 44).

A final question, however, must remain unanswered: did he really need the sums he borrowed, or were political motives involved? There was no better way of ensuring that wealthy and important men were interested in his life and success than by making them his creditors.

Caesar had been dictator (briefly), nominally for holding elections, in 49, consul for the second time in 48, and dictator for the second time after Pharsalus; he was consul for the third time and *curator morum* (supervisor of public morals) in 46 and dictator for the third time (designated for ten years ahead, we are told: Cass. Dio 43. 14. 3) after Thapsus; he held his fourth, sole, consulship for nine months and his fourth dictatorship in 45, and was consul for the fifth time and (from about February) *dictator perpetuo* (see *RRC* 480/6 ff.) in 44. The specification of his dictatorships after the first is lost in the *fasti* (official calendars and records of magistracies). Mommsen conjectured *rei publicae constituendae* ('for settling the republic'). He has been proved right by the discovery of a fragmentary inscription referring to the fourth (and last time-limited) dictatorship, and describing the dictator, with a necessary supplementation, as (dict.) *rei publicae constituendae*. (See Broughton, *MRR* 3. 106–8 for discussion of Caesar's consulships and dictatorships, with quotation of the epigraphic fragment, as restored by Gasperini.) How his perpetual dictatorship could be described is beyond conjecture. Whatever it was, it must have seemed to him less offensive, and less dangerous, than the title of *rex* (king). The major part of his work of reform came after Thapsus. His most lasting achievement was his reform of the calendar, which has in part survived to this day. To improve the administration of the empire, now much too large for the traditional apparatus, he considerably increased the number of senators and magistrates and, in order to maintain their chances of social distinction, the number of priests and (for the first time since the foundation of the republic) he promoted some distinguished Plebeian families to Patrician status—a practice soon followed by the emperors. Numerous colonies in the provinces helped to relieve poverty and dissatisfaction in Rome and Italy, while some of them, founded on historic sites like Carthage and Corinth, would serve as centres for trade and for strategic control.

However, he had no plans for basic social and constitutional reform. The extraordinary honours heaped upon him by the Senate, nearly all of which he accepted, merely grafted him as an ill-fitting head on to the body of the traditional structure, creating an abyss between him and his fellow *nobiles*, whose co-operation he needed for the functioning and the survival of the system. When he finally, not long before his death, accepted deification (Mark Antony was designated his *flamen*: see *PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)*), it made the abyss unbridgeable: perhaps, as the sources suggest, the vote, the culmination of the other excessive honours, was supported by his enemies and intended to make his position intolerable, especially since he was openly preparing an ultimate successor to that position. Having no legitimate sons, he had made his great-nephew Gaius Octavius (see *AUGUSTUS*) a pontifex at the age of sixteen and, although the boy had no military experience, had designated him his *magister equitum* ('master of the horse') for the war against Parthia that he was planning. For he came to recognize that he had arrived at an impasse in Rome and, as Gelzer has noted, wanted to escape into what he knew he could do best: a major military command, with Parthia the obvious victim.

What he did not realize was that he had made it impossible for the governing class, and even many men below it, to allow this. They well remembered the disruption and humiliation caused by his temporary absences during the civil wars, when the Senate and magistrates had no power to take major decisions and to deal with constant disorder and violence in Rome and Italy. (Cass. Dio, Bk 42, paints a vivid picture.) Italy was under the inefficient control of a *tribune of the plebs (Mark Antony), whom Caesar had appointed *pro praetore* (as a magistrate substituting for a praetor; see Broughton, *MRR* 2. 258, 260), and when an embassy from the east was sent to the Senate in the traditional way, it had to be sent on to Caesar in Spain. It was easy to foresee that, with Caesar in Babylon or Ecbatana, Rome and Italy could expect total disintegration. The political class saw that it was essential to prevent his departure. A conspiracy was hastily stitched together, with even some of his friends either participating or standing aside, and on 15 March (the Ides of March) 44 Caesar was assassinated in the Curia (senate house). Octavius was too young to be regarded as a danger, and there were some who hoped that with Caesar's person removed, his divine monarchy might turn out to be a temporary interlude in the long history of the republic.

Caesar was a distinguished orator in the 'Attic' manner, believing in 'analogy' (on which he wrote a treatise, *De analogia*) and in the use of ordinary words (Gell. *NA* 1. 10. 4). His speeches, at least some of which were published, and his pamphlet attacking Cato's memory, are lost. Seven books on the Gallic War (an eighth was added by Aulus Hirtius) and three on the Civil War survive, written to provide raw material for history and ensure that his point of view would prevail with posterity. Distortion at various points in the *Civil War* is demonstrated by evidence surviving in Cicero's correspondence. For praise of Caesar's style, see Cic. *Brut.* 262 (strongly tinged by flattery). For fragments of his speeches, see *ORF* no. 121.

EB

poetry of the 4th cent.) quotes the example of past poets. Callimachus invokes Hesiod (frs. 2, 112; *Epigr.* 27), and condemns the Epic Cycle (*Epigr.* 28); Homer is all-present, but formal emulation and verbal pastiche are rigorously avoided. From Pindar he borrows the critical images of the 'fine flower' (*Hymn* 2. 112, *Isthm.* 7. 18) and the 'carriage road' (fr. 1. 25–8, *Pae.* 7b. 11). Mimnermus (late 6th cent. BC) and Philitas (late 4th cent. BC) exemplify the short poem, Ion of Chios (5th cent. BC) *polueidia*. Antimachus (fl. 400 BC), *Plato, and Praxiphanes (end of 4th–mid-3rd cent. BC) are variously dispraised (frs. 398, 589, 460). Of contemporaries, Callimachus commends Aratus (*Epigr.* 27, fr. 460); the story of his quarrel with *Apollonius of Rhodes (and of the *Ibis*, frs. 381–2) is now generally discounted.

Callimachus says little about Egypt (though some have tried to find Pharaonic ideology in *Hymn* 4). From *Alexandria he looks to Greece, and the Greek past; he has a scholar's systematic knowledge of the Greek literary inheritance, an exile's feeling for the old country and its links (through *aitia*) with the contemporary world. His work often reaches out to the archaic world, crossing the centuries of drama and prose—to Hesiod, Hipponax, Pindar. But this past is transmuted. Verbal borrowing is rare; genres are shifted or mixed, myth transformed by mannerism, words and motifs juxtaposed in post-modern incongruities. *Victoria Berenices* may serve as an example. This epinician is also an *aition* (the foundation of the Nemean Games (see *ATHLETICS*)). It borrows words from Pindar, and story from Bacchylides, in the wrong

dialect (Ionic) and the wrong metre (elegiac). The narrative dwells not on *Heracles but on the rustic hospitality of the peasant Molorcus; Molorcus' war with the mice parallels Heracles' fight with the lion. Callimachus' poems are (by epic standards) short; various in style, metre, and genre; experimental in form, recondite in diction, polished in versification, devious, elaborate, allusive, and sometimes obscure (the earliest surviving papyrus, within a generation of Callimachus' death, includes an explanatory paraphrase). To Roman poets he became the exemplar of sophistication, *princeps elegiae* ('master of elegy': Quint. *Inst.* 10. 1. 58): *Catullus translated him (66), *Propertius invokes him (3. 1. 1). The *Aetia* in particular stands behind *Ovid's *Fasti* and Propertius 4; *Georgic* 3 begins with an allusion to it. But classicizing snobbery took him to represent technique without genius (Ov. *Am.* 1. 15. 14).

Callimachus commands an extraordinary variety of tone: tongue-in-cheek epic (*Hecale* fr. 74 Hollis), versified statistics (*Iambus* 6), classic pathos (*Epigr.* 19), Catullan elegance (fr. 401). The scholarship is integral to the poetry, which even quotes its own sources (frs. 75. 54, 92. 3, *Schol. Flor. Callim.* 35?). But irony and invention dominate.

PJP

camps When *Polybius (6. 27–32) described the construction of a military camp (*castra*) c.143 BC, he was referring to a well-established practice. *Liv, writing of 294 BC, assumes the existence of a fixed layout, without explaining it (10. 32. 9). The invention of castrametation by

the Romans was probably connected with orientation, town planning, and land division, which themselves were associated with augural practices. Land division, with its careful delineation of areas and use of boundary lines intersecting at right angles, was well suited to military planning. Roman camp-building techniques emphasize the professionalism of their military establishment.

Archaeological and aerial surveys have revealed about 400 marching-camps in Britain, generally square or oblong in shape, protected by a ditch and rampart of turves surmounted by a palisade, and with at least four gates, often guarded by a ditch or curving extension of the rampart (*clavicula*). Some were construction, or practice camps (to teach soldiers building techniques); others were large enough to accommodate an army (e.g. a group in SE Scotland of 67 ha. (165 acres), perhaps associated with the campaigns of *Septimius Severus in AD 208). At *Masada in Judaea several siege camps with their internal stone walls have survived.

However, archaeological evidence rarely illuminates the internal layout of temporary camps. According to Polybius, when a consular army of two legions and an equal number of allies encamped, the general's tent (*praetorium*) was located in a central position, with an open space (*forum*) on one side, and the quaestor's tent (*quaestorium*) on the other. In front of these were the tribunes' tents. The main street (*via principalis*—about 30 m. (33 yds.) wide), ran parallel to the *praetorium*, being intersected at right angles by other streets along which were encamped the legions and allies. The most important of these streets was the *via praetoria* (about 15 m. (16½ yds.) wide), which formed a T-junction opposite the *praetorium*. The legionary cavalry was positioned in troops on either side of the *via praetoria*; then the legionary infantry (grouped respectively as *triarii*, *principes*, and *hastati*) in maniples, with the *triarii* back to back to the cavalry. In front of the *triarii* ran other roads parallel to the *via praetoria*, beyond which were positioned the *principes* back to back to the *hastati*. Beyond the *hastati* the allied cavalry and infantry were similarly encamped. The *via quintana*, running parallel to the *via principalis*, divided the first to fifth maniples from the sixth to tenth. Behind the *praetorium* were the élite allied infantry and cavalry, and local auxiliary troops. The camp was square, surrounded by a ditch, rampart, and palisade, with a space (*intervallum*) of about 60 m. (66 yds.) from the tents. Each of the two main roads of the camp led to fortified gates. Polybius perhaps refers to half of a four-legion camp, when both consular armies were camping together. In the complete layout they would be positioned back to back, in a camp of oblong shape, with the legions and allies at either end. However,

when a two-legion army encamped alone, the layout was perhaps changed to accommodate the *praetorium* between the two legions, as apparently confirmed by a camp excavated in Spain, associated with Roman attempts to capture Numantia in the 150s BC.

The *De munitionibus castrorum* ('On Camp Fortifications'), an anonymous treatise (probably 2nd cent. AD), is a theoretical work, presumably for the guidance of military surveyors, and differs significantly from Polybius' version. The tripartite rectangular layout contained a combined *praetorium* and *principia* (headquarters), in front of which ran the *via principalis*, intersected at right angles by the *via praetoria*; here in the *praetentura* (one-third of the layout), auxiliaries were encamped in centuries, and also behind the *praetorium* along the *via quintana* in the *retentura* (the remaining two-thirds), where the *quaestorium* was now situated; praetorians were encamped next to the *praetorium*, and legionaries next to the *intervallum* along the *via sagularis*, encircling the entire camp. JBC

capitalism is a term freighted with heavy ideological baggage. For economists and historians working within a Marxist tradition (*see* MARXISM AND CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY) it has a specific reference to an advanced socio-economic formation in which value, profit, and rationality are determined according to the productive modalities and mentalities of large-scale competitive businesses and price-fixing markets. On this view, the economies of Greece and Rome would be classed as pre- or non-capitalist. For non-Marxists of various stripes, capitalism in the sense of the productive deployment, especially investment, of fixed or variable capital assets may occur within a wider range of political, social, and economic contexts, including the societies of Greece and Rome.

The disagreement is not only ideological. To define Greece and Rome as pre-capitalist may imply also, for instance, the view that 'the economy' as a separately instituted sphere did not exist in classical antiquity and that the ancients therefore did not, because they could not, practise economic analysis properly so called (*see* ECONOMY, GREEK); or that ancient economic institutions with apparent modern equivalents in fact functioned quite differently from their modern counterparts or namesakes—ancient *banks, for example, being seen as merely glorified money changers and usurers rather than lenders of risk or venture capital for productive economic investment. Those who, in contrast, regard the economy of the ancient world or local sectors thereof as in some useful sense capitalist detect differences of scale and sophistication rather than of fundamental nature.

Such ideological and pragmatic disagreements have a century-long pedigree within Ancient History, going back to the creative controversy between Karl Bücher and Eduard Meyer over the proper periodization of world history in economic perspective. They received a further injection of fuel in the second quarter of the 20th cent. from the anthropologically influenced theorist Karl Polanyi, whose outlook owed more to Max Weber than to Karl Marx. But his 'substantivist' views engendered an equal and opposite reaction from those who, without necessarily accepting the pejorative labels of 'formalists' or 'modernizers' that Polanyi and his followers had foisted upon them, nevertheless argued that the ancients were motivated by a recognizably capitalist rationality and to that end instituted processes of wealth-creation susceptible of analysis in the formal terms of neoclassical micro-economic theory, including such mathematical tools as Leontief-style input-output tables.

The dispute shows no sign of proximate resolution, and indeed cannot formally be resolved in the absence of the requisite quantities of the right types of evidence, above all data amenable to statistical or quasi-statistical analysis. But whereas for exponents of the 'capitalist' hypothesis that absence is merely an accident of non-survival, for the Marxist or Weberian 'primitivists' or 'substantivists' it is itself further evidence in support of their classificatory hypothesis. Students of Rome (*see ECONOMY, ROMAN*) tend to fall into the former rather than the latter camp. PAC

Caracalla, nickname (from his Celtic dress) of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (AD 188–217), emperor AD 198–217. Elder son of Lucius *Septimius Severus, originally called Septimius Bassianus; renamed after Marcus *Aurelius and made Caesar in 195. Augustus in 198, he was consul for the first time with his father in 202 and for the second time with his brother Publius Septimius Geta in 205, when he had his hated father-in-law Gaius Fulvius Plautianus killed. Consul for the third time in 208, again with Geta, whom he also hated, he accompanied his father to *Britain, sharing command against the Caledonians. When Severus died, he and Geta abandoned Scotland, making the *wall of Hadrian the frontier again, and returned to Rome. After having Geta killed (26 December 211), a drastic purge followed. To conciliate the soldiers, he raised their pay, creating financial problems. One solution was the 'Antonine constitution' (*see CITIZENSHIP, ROMAN*); he simultaneously doubled the inheritance tax paid only by citizens, which funded the *aerarium militare* (military treasury). In 215 a new coin was struck, the so-called *antoninianus*, evidently tariffed at two denarii, but weighing only 1.5: this was to lead to inflation.

In 213 he fought the Alamanni (the first time they are mentioned), evidently gave the Raetian **limes* a stone wall, and became Germanicus Maximus. In 214 he attacked the Danubian Carpi and reorganized Pannonia, each province now having two legions (Britain was split into two provinces at this time; Hither Spain was also subdivided). Obsessed by *Alexander the Great, he raised a Macedonian phalanx and went east in his footsteps, through Asia and Syria to *Alexandria, where large numbers who had mocked him were killed. When his offer to marry a Parthian princess was rejected, he attacked Media. While preparing a further campaign he was murdered near Carrhae (8 April 217). Macrinus deified him as Divus Antoninus Magnus. ARBI

careers

Greek

In virtually all the Greek-speaking areas, pressures to evolve clear career structures in public life were countered by social or political considerations, thereby preventing the emergence of recognizable *cursus honorum* (career paths) on the Roman republican model. Though, for example, *Thucydides (5. 66. 3–4) credited the Spartan army with a clear hierarchical command structure, promotions and careers within it were by appointment and co-optation rather than by election. Hence they were as much a matter of belonging to a notable lineage, or of influence with kings or ephors, as of merit. At Athens a simple hierarchy of military command in both infantry and cavalry is attested, while re-election to the post of general (*stratēgos*) was common and helped to provide a clear career path for professional soldiers, often interspersed with spells of mercenary command abroad. In contrast, careers in civilian office-holding in Classical Athens were effectively precluded by the short-term tenure and non-repeatability of office, by collegiality, and above all by selection by lot. A young politician had to use the assembly (*ekklesia*) rather than office-holding, and tended to begin by lawcourt advocacy or by serving a senior politician as his 'friend' or 'flatterer' (e.g. [Dem] 59. 43) before establishing his own position and his own clique of followers. Public career structures in other Greek states are barely traceable for lack of detailed evidence.

The Hellenistic courts developed more of a career structure, alike for their ministers, envoys, and army commanders, ostensibly formalized by the growth of graded titles such as 'friend', 'first friend', 'companion', and 'relative' (of the king). (*see FRIENDSHIP, RITUALIZED*.) However, here too patronage could easily override merit, status was precarious, and recruitment as much a matter of family succession as of individual promise.

Outside public life, some professions such as doctors or performing artists formed guilds with their own procedures and officers, but little in the way of formalized career structures is perceptible. JKD

Roman

Ancient society was not so organized as to provide a course of professional employment which affords opportunity for advancement. The Latin phrase normally translated as 'career' is the Ciceronian *cursus honorum*, which refers to the series of elective magistracies open to senators: those of quaestor, held at 30 from *Sulla's legislation onwards, but five years younger under the Principate; of aedile; of praetor, held at 39 under the late republic, but by some at 30 under the Principate; and of *consul, held at 42 after Sulla (cf. the career of *Cicero), by patricians at 33 under the Principate, and by new men (*novi homines*, i.e. the first of a family to reach the consulship) at 38 or later (cf. the career of Gnaeus Iulius Agricola). Successful election to these posts depended on birth and achievement (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4. 4: high birth, military distinction, and outstanding gifts in civil life, i.e. forensic or political oratory, knowledge of the law: note the order). Success might be achieved not only in the magistracy that preceded but in preliminary offices civil and military (as one of the *vigintisexviri* (six boards of minor magistrates) or *tribuni militum* (six legionary tribunes)), and in positions held at Rome, in Italy, or the provinces, under the republic often involving command of troops, that normally followed the praetorship and consulship (propraetorships, -consulships, allocated by seniority and by lot); or that were devised under the Principate to get previously neglected work done (e.g. curatorships of roads in Italy). After AD 14 elections were effectively conducted in the senate and a man's success depended on the verdict of his peers or on his ability to strike bargains with his rivals' supporters; but *Augustus' *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* (see MARRIAGE LAW, ROMAN) provided speedier advancement for men married with children, while the opinion of the emperor, known or surmised, was of great and increasing weight (cf. *ILS* 244. 4; Pliny, *Pan.* 66), hence too the favour of his advisers. Some posts, notably legionary commands and governorships of regions that were part of his 'province' (e.g. *Syria, *Gaul (Transalpine) outside Narbonensis), were in his direct gift, though the senate ratified such appointments (both types of officer were 'legates (*legati*) of Augustus'). The influence exercised by the emperor has given rise to the view that there was a special type of career 'in the Emperor's service' regularly involving particularly speedy advancement (especially between praetorship and consulship) enjoyed by 'military men' (*virii militares*). A

more cautious hypothesis is that men advanced themselves using what gifts they had; those who took to army life necessarily were the appointees of the emperor. Each appointment was ad hoc and might depend on a number of factors, e.g. current needs, a man's availability, experience, record, current effectiveness of his supporters, but precedent was also relevant.

The word 'career' is often applied to the posts offered by the emperor to men of equestrian and lower status, whether in official positions (e.g. *praefectus praetorio* = prefect of the praetorian guard, or *procuratores Augusti* in his provinces, supervising tax collecting) or as his private agents (also *procuratores*) managing his private estates (see PROCURATOR). But although such posts mostly had their distinctive standing, and were normally preceded by up to three military posts, and although (because of this) recognizable patterns of advancement developed (cf. the two Trajanic 'careers' *ILS* 1350 and 1352), appointments were again ad hoc, *ad hominem* (cf. *AE* 1962, 183), intermittent, and accepted on a basis of mutual goodwill, with character rather than professionalism the overt criterion. Imperial freedmen and even slaves who held subordinate positions in the organizations enjoyed lower standing, but their continuous service over long periods of time justifies the application of the term 'career' to their activities (see FREEDMEN; SLAVERY).

In the army below the rank of tribune it is legitimate to speak of a career, since the minimum period of service outside the praetorian guard was twenty years. Men frequently record their advance through minor posts of privilege (e.g. *tesserarius*, 'Officer Commanding the Watchword') to (e.g.) one of the 60 centurionates of a legion, or upwards through legionary centurionates (e.g. *ILS* 2653).

Elsewhere the word is inappropriate; outside the limited state apparatus the ancient world lacked the great organizations that now provide methodical advancement in business and industry. BML

Carian language Direct evidence for the Carian language is limited to approximately 30 inscriptions from Caria proper and well above 200 inscriptions (some still unedited) written by Carian-speakers in Egypt (from the 7th cent. BC). There are also miscellaneous short texts from other sites and two short texts from Greece (6th and 5th cent. BC). The alphabet, which in Caria shows a great deal of variation, is clearly derived from the Greek alphabet with some additions but a number of letters have different values from those of the equivalent Greek letters. The brilliant decipherment started by the English Egyptologist John Ray in the 1980s and then completed by the Spanish scholar Ignacio Adiego and the German

scholar Diether Schürr from the 1990s has shown that all earlier readings (partly based on the assumption that the script was half syllabic, half alphabetic) were misguided. The recent discovery of a short Greek–Carian bilingual from Kaunos (late 4th cent. BC) has confirmed the new values. We still know little about the language, since the texts are short and fragmentary and largely consist of names, but it is now clear that it belongs to the Anatolian group of Indo-European and it is close to Luwian and Lycian (nominative sing. with no ending; accusative sing. in *-n*; genitive sing. in *-ś*; accusative plur. in *-s*; cf. Cun. Luw. *-nz(a)*; ted ‘father’ c;f. Cun. Luw. *tātiš* vs. Hitt. *attaš*). The puzzle of why some of the letters which are recognizably Greek in appearance have such different values remains unsolved though various suggestions have been made. All the evidence is admirably collected in I. J. Adiego, *The Carian Language* (2007). AMDA

Carthage (see facing page)

Cassius Dio (c. AD 164–after 229), Greek senator and author of an 80-book history of Rome from the foundation of the city to AD 229. His full name was perhaps Lucius Cassius Dio, as on M. M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas* 2 (1985), no. 133 (‘Cl.’ on AE 1971, 430, could attest the further name ‘Claudius’, but is probably a stone-cutter’s error; ‘Cocceianus’ may have been added in Byzantine times through confusion with Dio of Prusa). Dio came from a prominent family of Nicaea in Bithynia (mod. Iznik). His father, Cassius Apronianus, entered the senate, attaining a consulship and several governorships. Dio’s senatorial career was even more distinguished. He was praetor in 194 and suffect consul probably c. 204. From 218 to 228 he was successively *curator* (state finance official) of *Pergamum and Smyrna, proconsul of *Africa, and legate first of Dalmatia and then of Upper Pannonia. In 229 he held the ordinary consulship with *Severus Alexander as colleague and then retired to Bithynia. Dio lived through turbulent times: he and his fellow senators quailed before tyrannical emperors and lamented the rise of men they regarded as upstarts, and in Pannonia he grappled with the problem of military indiscipline. These experiences are vividly evoked in his account of his own epoch and helped to shape his view of earlier periods.

Dio tells us (72. 23) that, after a short work on the dreams and portents presaging the accession of *Septimius Severus, he went on to write first a history of the wars following the death of *Commodus and then the *Roman History*, and that for this work he spent ten years collecting material for events up to the death of Severus (211) and a further twelve years writing them up. Nothing survives of the early works or of other historical writings

attributed to Dio by the *Suda*. The dates of composition of the *Roman History* are disputed, but the most natural interpretation of Dio’s words is that he began work c. 202. His plan was to continue recording events after Severus’ death as long as possible, but absence from Italy prevented him giving more than a cursory account of the reign of Severus Alexander and he ended the history with his own retirement (80. 1–5).

The *Roman History* is only partially extant. The portion dealing with the period 69 BC to AD 46 (36. 1. 1–60. 28. 3) survives in various MSS, with substantial lacunae after 6 BC. For the rest we depend on excerpts and the epitomes of the 12th cent. historian Zonaras (down to 146 and 44 BC to AD 96) and the 11th-cent. monk Xiphilinus (from 69 BC to the end).

Like its author, the work is an amalgam of Greek and Roman elements. It is written in Attic Greek, with much studiedly antithetical rhetoric and frequent verbal borrowings from the classical authors, above all *Thucydides. The debt to Thucydides is more than merely stylistic: like him, Dio is constantly alert to discrepancies between appearances and reality. In its structure, however, the history revives the Roman tradition of an annalistic record of civil and military affairs arranged by the consular year. Dio shows flexibility in his handling of the annalistic framework: there are many digressions, usually brief; external events of several years are sometimes combined in a single narrative cluster; introductory and concluding sections frame the annalistic narratives of emperors’ reigns.

For his own times Dio could draw on his own experience or oral evidence, but for earlier periods he was almost entirely dependent on literary sources, chiefly earlier histories. Attempts to identify individual sources are usually futile. Dio must have read widely in the first ten years, and in the ensuing twelve years of writing up he probably worked mainly from his notes without going back to the originals. Such a method of composition may account for some of the history’s distinctive character. It is often thin and slapdash; errors and distortions are quite common, and there are some surprising omissions (notably the conference of Luca (see CAESAR, JULIUS)). However, Dio does show considerable independence, both in shaping his material and in interpretation: he freely makes causal links between events and attributes motivations to his characters, and many of these explanations must be his own contribution rather than drawn from a source.

One notable feature of the work is the prominence of the supernatural: Dio believed that divine direction played an important part in his own and others’ lives and he devoted much space to portents. Another is the

[continued on p. 154]

CARTHAGE

Carthage (*Qrthdšt* (= 'New Town'); Gk. *Karchēdōn*; Lat. *Carthago*) (see ◀ Map 4, Ac ▶), a *Phoenician colony and later a major Roman city on the coast of NE Tunisia.

History

According to tradition (*Timaeus, *FGrH* 566 fr. 60) Carthage was founded from Tyre in 814/13 BC, but no archaeological evidence has yet been found earlier than the second half of the 8th cent. BC. The site provided anchorage and supplies for ships trading in the western Mediterranean for gold, silver, and tin, and soon outstripped other Phoenician colonies because of its position, its fertile hinterland, and its better harbour.

Trade was more important to Carthage throughout its history than perhaps to any other ancient state. Initially most of it was conducted by barter with tribes in Africa and Spain, where metals were obtained in return for wine, cloth, and pottery; but early contact with the Greek world is shown by the presence of Attic amphorae (transport jars) in the earliest levels at Carthage. Voyages of exploration were undertaken along the Atlantic coast of North Africa and Spain. Carthage controlled much of the trade in the western Mediterranean, settling its own trading-posts in addition to those founded by the Phoenicians, so that Carthaginian influence extended from Tripolitania to Morocco, as well as to western Sicily, Sardinia, and southern Spain. From the 4th cent. Carthage also exported agricultural produce and was integrated into the wider Hellenistic *economy of the Mediterranean world. Pottery from levels of the last Punic phase (first half of the 2nd cent. BC) shows significant quantities of imports from Greece, Italy, and the Iberian peninsula.

Carthage was ruled at first by a governor (*skn*), responsible to the king of Tyre; whether by the 7th cent. she had her own kings (*mlk*) is far from clear. At any rate by the 6th cent. the constitution had become oligarchic, headed by at first one, later two 'judges' (*šptm*), called *suffetes* in Latin; they were elected annually on a basis of birth and wealth. Military commands were held by separately elected generals. There was a powerful 'senate' of several hundred life-members. The powers of the citizens were limited. A body of 104 judges scrutinized the actions of generals and other officials. Largely through this body the ruling class was successful in preventing the rise of *tyranny either through generals manipulating the mercenary armies or officials encouraging popular discontent. Military service was not obligatory on Carthaginians, whose population was too small to control a large citizen army; instead mercenaries were hired from various western Mediterranean peoples.

In the 5th cent., owing to setbacks in Sicily, Carthage occupied much of the hinterland of north and central Tunisia, and settled agriculture flourished. The native Numidian population in the areas to the west of Carthage adopted settled urbanism and other elements of Punic culture and religion from the late 3rd cent. onwards, and especially under enlightened rulers such as Masinissa, so that considerable parts of North Africa outside formal Carthaginian control were already to a greater or lesser extent Punicized before the arrival of Rome.

The chief external policy of Carthage was control of the sea routes to the west. From c.600 BC it was clear that rival claims must lead to war between *Etruscans, Carthaginians, and Greeks. The westward thrust of Phocaea (western Asia Minor) and her colony Massilia (mod. Marseilles) was crushed off Alaia in Corsica by the Etruscan and Carthaginian fleets (c.535). This led to the consolidation of Carthaginian control of southern and western Sardinia and parts of southern Spain. Earlier Malchus (fl. 580–550 BC) had won successes in *Sicily, where the western end of the island remained in Carthaginian hands down to the 3rd cent. BC. For three centuries Carthaginians and Greeks fought intermittently for Sicilian territory and the allegiance of Sicans, Sicels, and Elymians. In 480 BC a great Carthaginian army under Hamilcar was defeated at Himera by the tyrants Gelon and Theron. His grandson *Hannibal avenged the defeat by destroying Himera (409) and a succession of Greek cities on the south coast; but the ensuing wars with *Dionysius I of Syracuse ended with Carthaginian power confined to the far west of the island, and with the destruction of one of their three cities, Motya (to be replaced by the new Carthaginian stronghold of Lilybaeum). The tyrant Agathocles later carried the war into Africa, but was defeated near Tunis (307).



Carthage In the 2nd cent. BC Punic Carthage reached its greatest extent, including these houses on the Byrsa hill, built over an archaic cemetery. When Carthage was refounded by *Augustus as a Roman colony, the hill lay at the centre of the Roman street grid. Simon Keay

With Rome Carthage concluded treaties in 508 and 348, in which she jealously guarded her monopoly of maritime trade while refraining from interference in Italy. When *Pyrrhus attacked (280), her fleet helped Rome to victory. But sixteen years later Sicilian politics brought the two states into open conflict. Carthaginian intervention on the side of the Mamertines at Messina in 264 precipitated the first of the Punic Wars (*see* ROME (HISTORY) §4), which ended in the destruction of Carthage (146 BC). Rome decreed that neither house nor crop should rise again. But Carthaginian blood survived, and the awesome pantheon still persisted: worship of Baal-Hammon, Tanit, Eshmoun, and Melqart was too deep-rooted in many parts of North Africa to die with the destruction of Carthage, and it was to continue, under a thinly Romanizing veneer, until the rise of *Christianity.

Carthage never developed a distinctive art of her own, but was content to copy and adapt styles imported from Egypt and Greece. She manufactured and exported carpets, rugs, purple dyes, jewellery, pottery, lamps, tapestry, timber, and hides. Her agricultural skill, which made excellent use of the fertile Tunisian plains, profited her Roman conquerors: Mago's 32 books on scientific farming were translated into Latin; *see* AGRICULTURAL WRITERS.

The site of Carthage was too attractive to remain unoccupied for long. The attempt of Gaius *Gracchus to establish the colony of Junonia on suburban land failed, but the city was colonized by Augustus in fulfilment of Caesar's intentions, and became the capital of Africa Proconsularis (see AFRICA, ROMAN). By the 2nd cent. AD Carthage had become the second city only to Rome in the western Mediterranean. A few urban troops and a cohort of the Third Augustan legion sufficed to keep order. But through his control of the vital African corn-trade, the proconsul was a potential danger to the emperor, as shown by the rebellions of Clodius Macer (68) and Gordian I (238).

Carthage became an outstanding educational centre, especially famous for orators and lawyers. In the 3rd cent. the genius of the apologist Tertullian and the devotion of Cyprian (bishop of Carthage) made her a focus of Latin Christianity. Her bishop held himself the equal of the bishop of Rome, and Carthage played a great part in establishing western Christianity on lines very different from the speculation of the Greek churches. As a great Catholic stronghold she fought against the Donatist heresy. When the Vandals overran Africa, she became the capital of the Vandal king Gaiseric (428–77) and his successors, who embraced the Arian version of Christianity. After Belisarius' victory Catholicism was restored on stricter lines. Carthage remained loyal to the eastern Roman empire and beat off the earlier Muslim invasions, until captured in 697.

Topography

Carthage was founded on part of a large peninsula which stretched eastwards from lagoons into the gulf of Tunis; the isthmus linking it to the mainland further west is c. 5 km. (3 mi.) wide at its narrowest point. Scanty remains of houses of the last quarter of the 8th cent. BC have been found, at one point up to 350 m. (380 yds.) from the shore, suggesting that the settlement then was already of considerable size; but the original nucleus, if there really was a colony here a century earlier to correspond with the traditional foundation date, has yet to be found. Little is known of the archaic urban layout, but surface evidence and cemeteries to the north and west suggest that it covered at least 55 ha. (136 acres). Pottery kilns and metal-working quarters have been identified on its fringes, and the *tophet*, where child sacrifice to Baal and Tanit took place, has been located on the south; this was in continuous use from the later 8th cent. down to 146 BC. Substitution of animal for child was practised from the start: one in three archaic sacrifices in the sector excavated in the 1970s were of animals, declining to one in ten in the 5th/3rd cent. BC.

In the late 5th cent. massive fortifications, 5.20 m. (17 ft.) wide, were erected with projecting towers and gates; Livy (*Epit.* 51) says they were 32 km. (20 mi.) long. Substantial houses, some with peristyles and simple *terrazzo* or tessellated floors, are known from the Hellenistic period, when the city reached its greatest extent: a new area of housing was laid out on the slopes of the Byrsa hill soon after 200 BC, covering an archaic necropolis. Also to the last Punic phase belong the two artificial harbours to the south near the *tophet*, one rectangular (later adapted into an elongated hexagon), the other circular around a central island. The first was the commercial harbour, and the latter housed the warships of the Carthaginian navy: *Appian reports a ship-shed capacity of 220 vessels here. Little is known of the disposition of the harbour(s) at an earlier date.

Roman Carthage has suffered greatly from stone-robbing, but the regular Augustan street grid centred on the Byrsa hill is known in detail, as well as the position of the principal public buildings, including the *amphitheatre on the western outskirts, the circus on the south-west, the theatre, and the odeum. The 2nd cent. AD saw the apogee of the city's prosperity: a massive forum and basilica, the biggest known outside Rome, was erected on the Byrsa in Antonine times, and also Antonine is the huge and lavish bathhouse down by the sea, designed on a symmetrical layout like the great imperial *baths of Rome. It was probably to supply it that Carthage's 132-km. (82-mi.) *aqueduct was constructed, the longest anywhere in the Roman world. The forum on the Byrsa is unlikely to have been the only one: recent work (since 1990) near the coast midway between the Antonine baths and the harbours, alongside the *cardo maximus* (main thoroughfare), has revealed part of what is probably the forum of the Augustan city; a Punic temple, perhaps that of *Apollo mentioned by Appian as bordering the Punic agora, has been located below. The 4th cent. and later saw a rash of extramural church-building, and c.425 a massive new defensive circuit was erected on the landward side against the Vandal threat; despite it the city fell easily to the Vandals in 439. Several houses of the 5th and 6th cents. are known, when Carthage continued to prosper: survey work in the Carthaginian hinterland shows rural settlement at its densest in the 5th and 6th cents., matching and even outstripping that of the 2nd and 3rd cents.

speeches, which are free inventions and sometimes on a very ample scale. Many of them are commonly dismissed as mere rhetorical set-pieces, but they generally have a dramatic function, often heavily ironic. In *Maecenas' speech of advice to *Augustus (52. 14–40) Dio combines an analysis of the problems facing Augustus and of the imperial system as it evolved under the emperors with a sketch of how he himself would have liked to see the empire governed.

The *Roman History* is dominated by the change from the republic to the monarchy of the emperors, repeatedly endorsed by Dio on the grounds that only monarchy could provide Rome with stable government. The late republic and the triumphal years are accorded much more space than other periods. Dio anachronistically treats the conflicts of the late republic as struggles between rival contenders for supreme power. His account of the settlement of 27 BC perceptively explores the ways in which it shaped the imperial system under which he still lived (53. 2. 6–21. 7). Dio's treatment of individual emperors' reigns reflects the values and interests of the senator: his overriding concern is with the respects in which emperors measured up to or fell short of senators' expectations. JWR

catacombs, Jewish, subterranean cemeteries comparable to the early Christian catacombs of Rome. Jewish catacombs have been discovered in Beth She'arim (Galilee) (2nd–4th cents. AD) and Rome (1st–5th cents. AD). They contain Jewish artwork (menorah) and many Jewish epitaphs, mostly composed in *koinē* Greek and vulgar Latin. Recent radiocarbon dating suggests the Jewish catacombs of Rome may have inspired the early Christian ones. LVR

Catiline (Lucius Sergius Catilina), of *patrician, but not recently distinguished, family, served with *Pompey and *Cicero under Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo in the Social War (91–89 BC: see *ROME (HISTORY)* §1.5). He next appears as a lieutenant of *Sulla both in the *bellum Sullanum* after Sulla's invasion of Italy and in the *proscriptions when, incited by Quintus Lutatius Catulus, he killed his brother-in-law Marcus Marius Gratidianus. There is no further record of him until his praetorship (68 BC), after which he governed Africa for two years. Prosecuted *repetundarum* (i.e. on a charge of provincial extortion) on his return, he was prevented from standing for the consulship for 65 and 64, but was finally acquitted with the help of his prosecutor Publius *Clodius Pulcher. In 66/5 he was said to be involved in a plot with Publius Autronius and Publius Cornelius Sulla; the details are obscured by gossip and propaganda, and his involvement is doubtful.

Frustrated ambition now became his driving force. In the elections for 63 he made a compact with Gaius Antonius 'Hybrida' and gained the support of *Caesar and *Crassus, but was defeated by Cicero. He then began to champion the cause of the poor and dispossessed: dissolute aristocrats, bankrupt Sullan veterans, and those whom they had driven from their lands. Again defeated for 62, he organized a widespread conspiracy with ramifications throughout Italy. Cicero, kept informed by his spies, could not take decisive action owing to lack of sufficient support, for Catiline—an old Sullan, a patrician, and now a demagogue—was both popular and well connected. In November Cicero succeeded in frightening Catiline into leaving Rome to join a force of destitute veterans in Etruria. Soon afterwards, some Allobrogan envoys, carelessly given letters by conspirators in Rome, provided Cicero with the written evidence he needed. The leaders of the conspiracy in Rome were arrested and, after a long debate and a vote in the senate, executed. The consul Antonius marched out against Catiline, who was caught between two armies and was defeated and killed by Marcus Petreius near Pistoria (early January 62). Cicero was hailed as saviour of Rome, but was open to the charge of having executed citizens without trial. EB

Cato the Elder (Marcus Porcius Cato), or 'Cato the Censor' ('Censorius') (234–149 BC), was a dominant figure in both the political and the cultural life of Rome in the first half of the 2nd cent. BC. A *novus homo* (roughly, the first man of his family to become a senator and/or consul), he was born at Tusculum, but spent much of his childhood in the Sabine country, where his family owned land. He served in the Hannibalic War, winning particular praise for his contribution at the battle of the Metaurus in 207. He embarked on a political career under the patronage of the patrician Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who was his colleague in both consulship and censorship. As quaestor 204 he served under *Scipio Africanus in Sicily and Africa; a constant champion of traditional Roman virtues, he looked with disfavour on Scipio's adoption of Greek customs and relaxed military discipline in Sicily, but the story that he came back to Rome to express his criticisms should be rejected. He is said to have returned from Africa via Sardinia, bringing thence the poet *Ennius to Rome. He was plebeian aedile 199 and praetor 198, when he may have carried the *lex Porcia* which extended the right of *provocatio* (appeal to the people against the action of a magistrate) to cases of scourging. He governed Sardinia, expelling usurers and restricting the demands made on the Sardinians for the upkeep of himself and his staff. He reached the consulship in 195: after unsuccessfully opposing the repeal of the

lex Oppia, he went to Spain, where, in a campaign which may have extended into 194, he suppressed a major rebellion, extended the area under Roman control, and arranged for the exploitation of the gold and silver mines; he returned to Rome to celebrate a triumph. In 191, as military tribune, he played an important part in the defeat of *Antiochus III at Thermopylae, and was sent to Rome by Manius Acilius Glabrio to report the victory.

Cato was constantly engaged in court cases, both as prosecutor or prosecution witness and as defendant. He was an instigator of the attacks on the Scipios (Africanus and his brother Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes), and two of his other targets, Quintus Minucius Thermus and Glabrio, can be seen as allies of the Scipios. The attack on Glabrio was connected with the censorial elections of 189, when Cato and Flaccus stood unsuccessfully. Five years later they were elected, having stood on a joint programme of reversing the decline of traditional morality. They were severe in their review of the rolls of the senate and the *equites, removing Lucius Quinctius Flamininus from the senate and depriving Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes of his public horse. High levels of taxation were imposed on what the censors regarded as luxuries, and the public contracts were let on terms most advantageous for the state and least so for the contractors. They undertook extensive public works, including major repairs and extensions to the sewage system. The controversies caused by his censorship affected Cato for the rest of his life. But he courted conflict and spoke his mind to the point of rudeness. He rigidly applied to himself the standards he demanded of others and made a parade of his own parsimony: when in Spain he had made a point of sharing the rigours of his soldiers.

Though he held no further public offices Cato continued to play an active role in politics. He was probably an augur (*MRR* 3. 170). He opposed the modification of the *lex Baebia* of 181 which had provided for the election of only four praetors in alternate years, and of the *lex Orchia*, a sumptuary law. Soon after 179 he attacked Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, and in 171 was one of the patrons chosen by the peoples of Spain to present their complaints against Roman governors. A critical remark about King Eumenes II of *Pergamum in 172 and speeches in 167 against declaring war on *Rhodes and in favour of leaving Macedonia free are probably part of a general reluctance to see Rome too directly involved in eastern affairs. It was also in 167 that he opposed the attempt by Servius Sulpicius Galba to block the *triumph of Lucius Aemilius Paullus; Cato's son later married a daughter of Paullus, and it thus seems that the old enmity between Cato and the family of the Scipios was at an end. In the last years of his life, after serving on an embassy to *Car-

thage in 153, Cato convinced himself that the existence of Carthage constituted a serious danger to Rome; he ended each speech in the senate by saying that Carthage must be destroyed. Despite the opposition of Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum war was eventually declared in 149. Shortly afterwards came the last speech of Cato's life, against Galba.

Cato has rightly been called the 'virtual founder of Latin prose literature'. Among works that were known to later generations—though not necessarily intended for publication by Cato himself—but of which we know little, are the *Ad filium* ('to his son'), perhaps no more than a brief collection of exhortations, a letter to his son, the *De re militari* ('on military matters'), a work dealing with civil law, the *Carmen de moribus*, probably a prose work on behaviour, and a collection of sayings.

Cato was the foremost orator of his age, and made many speeches. Over 150 were known to *Cicero, and we possess fragments of eighty. There can be little doubt that he intended his speeches to survive, though it is an open question whether he revised them for publication and conceived of himself as creating Latin oratory as a literary genre.

Previous Roman historians, starting with Quintus Fabius Pictor, had written in Greek; Cato's *Origines*, begun in 168 and still in progress at the time of his death, was the first historical work in Latin. It consisted of seven books. The first dealt with the foundation of Rome and the regal period; Cato had little or nothing to say about the early republic. The second and third covered the origins and customs of the towns of Italy (the title of the work is appropriate only for these three books). His approach was probably influenced by Greek *ktisis* (foundation) literature and/or *Timaeus. The remaining books described Rome's wars from the First Punic war onwards. Cato is said to have written in a summary fashion, though some episodes were given detailed treatment, and he devoted more space to the events of the period during which he was writing; the last two books cover less than twenty years. He chose to omit the names of generals and included at least two of his own speeches (those on behalf of the Rhodians and against Galba).

The only work of Cato which survives intact is the *De agri cultura* ('on agriculture'). It is concerned not with agriculture as a whole, but principally with giving advice to the owner of a middle-sized estate, based on slave labour, in Latium or Campania, whose primary aim was the production of wine and olive oil for sale. It also includes recipes, religious formulae, prescriptions, and sample contracts. The work is disordered and some have wondered whether Cato himself is responsible for the shape of the text as we have it. See further appendix, below.

Cato sometimes expressed great hostility to all things Greek: in the *Ad filium* he called the Greeks a vile and unteachable race; in 155, worried by the effect their lectures were having on Roman youth, he was anxious that an embassy of Athenian philosophers should leave Rome rapidly. But he knew Greek well and had a good knowledge of Greek literature. His objections were to an excessive *philhellenism and he probably thought that contemporary Greeks were very different from the great figures of the past.

Cato was married twice, to Licinia and to Salonia (daughter of one of his clients), and had a son by each wife; the first died as praetor-designate in 152; the second, born when his father was 80, was the grandfather of Cato the Younger; see next article. JBR

Appendix: Cato the Elder, *De agricultura*

'Cato first taught agriculture to speak Latin' (Columella *Rust.* 1. 1. 12). The work (c.160 BC) was both innovative and part of an established Greek genre. Indications of acquaintance with Greek technical literature are clear, while the largely shapeless structure of the treatise reflects the infancy of Roman prose writing. Later authors (Varro *Rust.* 1. 2. 12–28) defined and systematized *agriculture, discarding Cato's recipes and encomium of cabbage. Cato wrote for the young man who expected to make money and to enhance his public reputation by successful agriculture (3. 2). Thus the *villa should be sited near good access routes (1. 1. 3), and wine and oil stored until prices are high (3. 2). The treatise's essential subject is the slave-staffed villa in Latium or Campania practising mixed farming with an emphasis on vines and olives. The archaeological record documents a gradual spread of villa sites in these regions from the beginning of the 2nd cent. BC and a remarkable diffusion of Italian *wine-amphorae (transport jars) in the western Mediterranean from the mid-2nd cent. BC. MSSP

Cato the Younger Marcus Porcius Cato, or 'Cato of Utica' ('Uticensis') (95–46 BC), great-grandson of Cato the Elder (see preceding entry), nephew of Marcus Livius Drusus, and brought up in the Livian household with the children of his mother's marriage to Gnaeus Servilius Caepio. Quaestor probably in 64, in 63 he became tribune-designate in order to check Quintus Caecilius Metellus Nepos, supported Lucius Licinius Murena's prosecution, and intervened powerfully in the senate to secure the execution of the Catilinarians (see CATILINE). As tribune he conciliated the mob by increasing the numbers eligible to receive cheap corn, but in all else remained uncompromising; *Cicero (*Att.* 1. 18. 7; 2. 1. 8) deplors his lack of realism which prevented

revision of the Asian tax-contracts (61)—thus alienating the *equites—and which frustrated every overture of *Pompey until the coalition between Pompey, *Caesar, and *Crassus was formed. In 59 he opposed Caesar obstinately and was temporarily imprisoned, but next year Publius *Clodius Pulcher removed him by appointing him to undertake the annexation of *Cyprus. Though King Ptolemy of Cyprus (an illegitimate son of Ptolemy IX and brother of Ptolemy XII Auletes) killed himself and Cato's accounts were lost on the voyage home, his reputation for fairness remained unimpaired. After Luca (see POMPEY) he persuaded his brother-in-law Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus not to give up hope of being elected consul for 55, but Domitius' candidature collapsed because of physical intimidation by the supporters of Pompey and Crassus. Publius Vatinius defeated Cato for the praetorship by bribery, but Cato was eventually praetor in 54. In 52, abandoning his constitutional principles, he supported Pompey's election as sole consul; he himself stood for 51 but failed. In the war he tried to avoid citizen bloodshed but resolutely followed Pompey: he served in Sicily, but was expelled from there by Gaius Scribonius Curio. Then he served in Asia, and held Dyrrachium during the campaign of Pharsalus (48). After Pompey's defeat, Cato joined the quarrelling Pompeians in Africa and reconciled them; he had Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio made general. During the war he governed Utica with great moderation, and was honoured by the city's inhabitants when after Thapsus in April 46 he committed *suicide rather than accept pardon from Caesar, an act which earned him the undying glory of a martyr.

Cato's constitutionalism, a mixture of *Stoicism and old Roman principles, was genuine. After death he was more dangerous than ever to Caesar, who in his *Anticato*, a reply to Cicero's pamphlet *Cato*, pitched the hostile case too high, and allowed the fame of Cato's life and death to give respectability to the losing side, and to inspire later political martyrs: 'the victors had their cause approved by the gods, the vanquished by Cato' (Lucan 1. 128). GEFC/MTG

Catullus (Gaius Valerius Catullus), Roman poet. He was born to a distinguished and wealthy family of Verona around 84 BC and died after 54, probably in Rome. His dates are incorrectly reported in the *Chronicle* of Jerome as 87 to 58, but Jerome's observation that he died in his thirtieth year is perhaps correct: his poems mention no event datable after 54. He came to Rome at an unknown date and embarked on the public career expected of a young man of his class, serving on the staff of the propraetor Gaius Memmius, who was governor of Bithynia

in 57–56. The service was uncongenial, as he notes in poems 10 and 28; and it seems to have been his last foray into public life. Instead, he devoted himself to poetry, becoming a major figure in a group of poets (dubbed ‘neoterics’ or ‘new poets’ in modern scholarship) who took their models and aesthetic principles from Hellenistic Alexandria. His closest associates in this group seem to have been Gaius Helvius Cinna (see poem 95) and Gaius Licinius Calvus (poems 14, 50, 53, 96). The poetry of the group was not always apolitical: both Calvus and Catullus wrote attacks on *Caesar. One of the few details of Catullus’ biography recorded in ancient sources is the story in Suetonius (*Iul.* 73) that Catullus made an apology for his invectives on Caesar and his henchman Mamurra (poems 29 and 57) and that the great man magnanimously accepted it. Another important ancient biographical snippet is also related to the poetry: Apuleius’ remark (*Apol.* 10) that Lesbia, the name of Catullus’ most famous subject, was a pseudonym for Clodia. Clodia, a sister of Publius *Clodius Pulcher, was a member of one of the richest and most powerful families in Rome. She is usually identified with *Clodia Metelli, whom *Cicero slanderously attacks in *Pro Caelio*; but Clodius had three sisters and the identification is not certain. Catullus himself provides a further detail, elsewhere unattested: the existence of a brother, whose death he laments in poems 65, 68, and 101.

A number of Catullus’ poems are set in the territory of Verona, and he returned from time to time to the north: notably to Sirmio (modern Sirmione on Lake Garda) after coming home from Bithynia (poem 31), and to Verona after his brother’s death (poem 68). But he made his life in Rome, as he says in poem 68: ‘I live in Rome. That is my home, / that is my place, there my life is spent’ (68.34–5). Rome is not the subject of his poetry, but its politics, social life, and culture—especially literary culture—are evoked in almost every poem. Catullus addresses several major political figures of his turbulent era, more often than not in invectives. Caesar appears in poems 11, 29, 54, 57, and 93, *Pompey in 29 and 113, Cicero in 49, Clodius in 79, where he is called Lesbius in allusion to his incestuous relationship with Catullus’ Lesbia. Catullus’ poetry is set in a social world appropriate to the unsettled period: sophisticated, pleasure loving, and more interested in private concerns (*otium*) than in public responsibility (*negotium*). The new literary movement to which he belonged was equally concerned with sophistication and private life. Like the other neoterics, Catullus wrote about what interested him—not the themes of earlier Roman poetry. He espoused the learned poetics of the Greek Alexandrians, especially *Callimachus, translated and imitated Alexandrian poetry, and

focused on the minutiae of poetic style. He also wrote very personal poetry about his love affairs, the kind of poetry he liked, and his friends and enemies—all with the same attention to artful technique that characterized his more obviously Alexandrian works.

Modern editions include 113 poems. The collection falls into three sections of different metrical and formal character. Poems 1 to 60 (often called the polymetrics) are short poems in lyric or iambic metres addressed to an assortment of friends, lovers, and enemies; their tone may be correspondingly friendly, passionate, or abusive (the abuse is often viciously obscene). Poems 61 to 68 are Alexandrian and neoteric works in several meters: two epithalamia (61 and 62), a *recherché* poem on Attis in galilambics (63), a miniature epic or *epyllion* on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis dominated by a long digression on *Theseus and Ariadne (64), and four elegies (65–68). Poems 69 to 113 are epigrams, metrically homogeneous but various in content; their themes range from love and grief to obscene invective. Whether Catullus himself arranged the poems in their present order is controversial and likely to remain so. The length of the collection (around 2,300 verses) seems to argue against its circulation in a single roll or book, and the different character of the three sections suggests that the present collection originated in at least three separate books. Within the three sections, however, scholars have identified several cycles ordered by content. The strongest case has been made for the opening sequence (poems 1 to 11), in which poems to friends alternate with Lesbia poems (2, 3, 5, 7, 8, and 11). The poems on friendship show Catullus in his everyday life with his male contemporaries; the Lesbia poems present a narrative: courtship (poems 2, 3), happiness (5, 7), estrangement (8), and final renunciation (11).

Catullus’ variety defies easy classification. Some poems are deeply moving, others (about a quarter of the collection) obscene or vitriolic, others conspicuously learned. Their common quality is an intensity and apparent sincerity of feeling that claims readers’ sympathies and draws them into the emotional world of the poet. In the Lesbia poems he presents an original and moving treatment of heterosexual erotic love, using the vocabulary of familial love and aristocratic friendship to elevate it into a realm of commitment of high moral value to Roman men. Catullus’ brother is a foil to Lesbia, representing the pull of Verona and familial love against that of Rome and eros. Juventius presents another foil; he is the conventional boy of pederastic poetry, not an object of idealistic emotional aspiration. Catullus uses obscenity more as a bludgeon than as a scalpel, but never gratuitously. Poems with obscenity or vulgarisms that are of special art and interest include 6 (on Flavius and his

girlfriend), 16 (a poetic manifesto addressed to Furius and Aurelius), 28 (on Memmius), 37 (on Lesbia), 41 (on Ameana), 57 (on Caesar and Mamurra), 58 (on Lesbia). The Alexandrian poems are both learned and personal. Catullus laments his brother in 65 and 68, but his characteristic feelings of love, separation, and loss are also legible in *Attis* (poem 63), *Ariadne* (64), the lock of *Berenice* (66), and *Laodamia* (68).

Catullus greatly influenced both the Augustan poets and *Martial, but his poems had fallen out of fashion by the end of the 2nd cent. They survived the Middle Ages in a single manuscript, which came to light in Italy around 1300. In the 15th cent. Catullus' lyrics and epigrams were imitated by Giovanni Gioviano Pontano and other important Neo-Latin poets in Italy. By the 16th cent. interest in Catullus had spread to the rest of Europe; now the long poems (especially 63) were also being imitated, and imitators were working in both Latin and modern European languages.

JGA

censorship See INTOLERANCE, INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS.

Centaur (Greek *Kentauroi*), a tribe of 'beasts' (*Il.* 1. 268, 2. 743), human above and horse below; the wild and dangerous counterpart of the more skittish *satyrs, who are constructed of the same components but conceived of as amusing rather than threatening creatures. In both cases it is the very closeness of the horse to humanity that points up the need to remember that a firm line between nature and culture must be drawn. Pirithous the king of the Lapiths, a Thessalian clan, paid for his failure to absorb this lesson when he invited the Centaurs to his wedding-feast; the party broke up in violence once the guests had tasted *wine, that quintessential product of human culture (Pind. fr. 166 Snell-Maehler), and made a drunken assault on the bride (see the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at *Olympia). 'Ever since then,' says Antinous in the *Odyssey* (21. 303), 'there has been conflict between centaurs and men.' Their uncontrolled lust, violence, and greed for alcohol (see ALCOHOLISM) challenge the hard-won and ever fragile rules of civilization, which are symbolically reasserted by the victories of *Heracles (whose wife Deianira the Centaur Nessus tried to rape) and *Theseus (who sometimes fights alongside his friend Pirithous in the wedding-fight) over the savage horde. Centaurs belong to the forested mountains of Arcadia (see PELOPONNESE) and northern Greece, the fringes of human society, so it is natural that in the 'Centauromachies' (battle-scenes between Lapiths and Centaurs) so popular in Archaic art (e.g. the François vase) they fight with uprooted trees and boulders against



Centaur Terracotta figurine of a Centaur, c.950–900 BC, from *Lefkandi. British School at Athens

armed and disciplined Greek heroes; it is with fir-trunks that they pound the invulnerable Lapith Caeneus into the ground.

Their double-natured ambivalence is further emphasized in traditions which single out two of their number, Chiron and Pholus, as wise and civilized exceptions to the general rule. Pholus, it is true, eats his steak raw like an animal when entertaining Heracles in his Arcadian cave (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 5. 4), but his self-control is shown by the fact that he is capable of holding his liquor—a specially aged vintage donated by Dionysus—until the other members of his tribe scent the bouquet of the wine, go berserk, and have to be shot down by Heracles. Chiron is a more complex character, blurring the human–animal boundary still further: vase-painters often make the point by giving him human rather than equine front legs and draping him in decorous robes. His bestial side is demonstrated by the way he feeds the baby *Achilles, deserted by his mother Thetis, on the still-warm blood of the hares which in art he habitually carries over his shoulder as a portable game-larder (hence, in turn, the savagery of the hero); but he is also a source of wisdom on natural medicine (*Il.* 4. 219, 11.

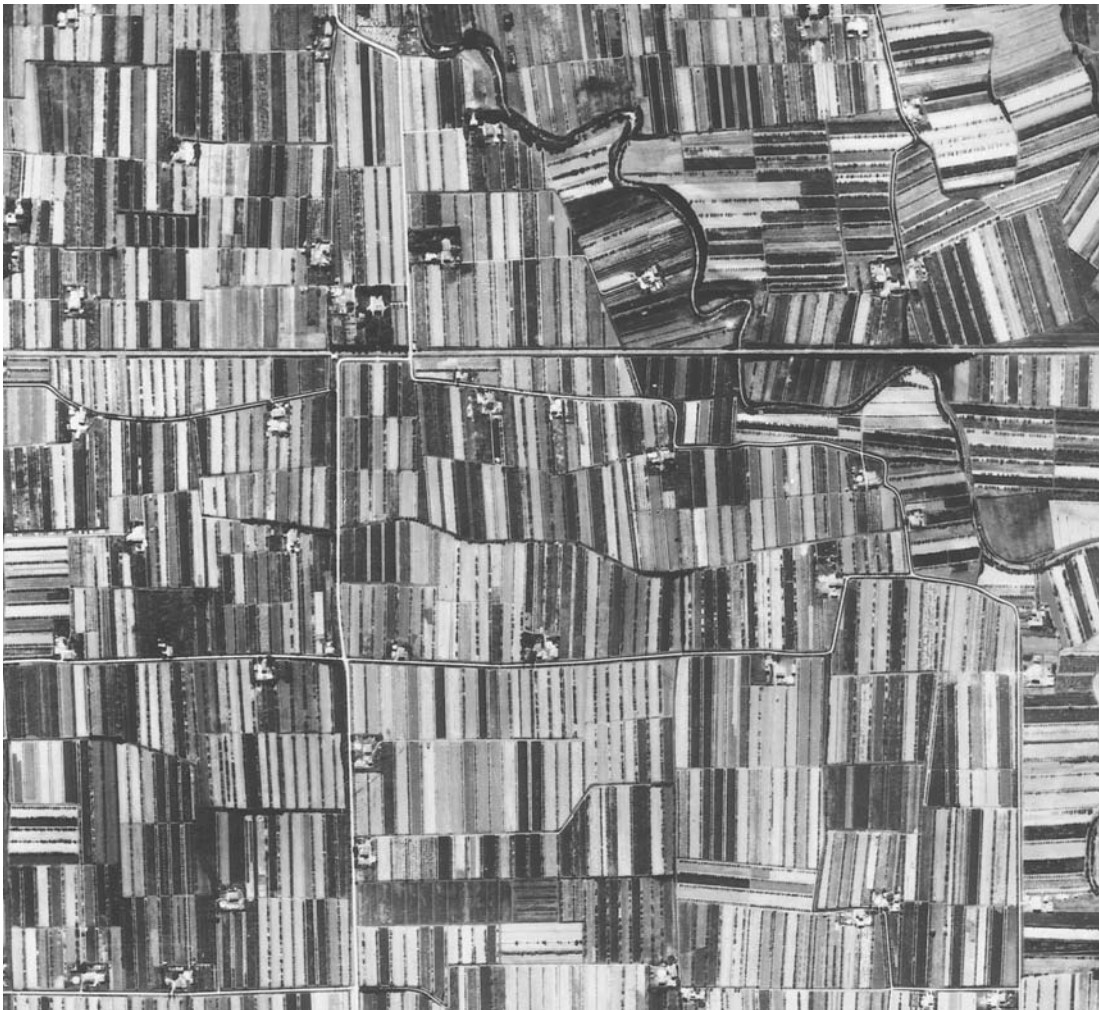
831), and is recorded as an educator of Jason and *Asclepius as well as Achilles.

By the 5th cent. BC, Centaurs (like *Amazons) come to symbolize all those forces which opposed Greek male cultural and political dominance; on the Parthenon metopes, with their heroically nude boxers and wrestlers, the triumph over Persia is a clear subtext (see PERSIAN WARS). Of later literary treatments, *Ovid's magnificently gory, over-the-top account of the Lapith wedding (*Met.* 12. 210 ff.) is not to be missed.

AHG

centuriation, a system of marking out the land in squares or rectangles, by means of *limites*, boundaries, normally prior to distribution in a colonial foundation.

(The units above and below the *centuria* are explained by Varro, *Rust.* 1. 10.) The practice appears with the second phase of Latin colonization (see COLONIZATION, ROMAN) beginning after 338 BC, perhaps at much the same time as apparently similar approaches in such cities of Magna Graecia (Greek S. Italy) as Heraclea and Metapontum. (There is no good evidence that in the Roman world the earliest stage involved marking out only in strips, rather than in squares or rectangles.) Centuriation was widespread in Italy between the 4th cent. BC and the early empire, spreading to the provinces with the projected colony of *Carthage-Junonia in 122 BC. In so far as a single plot of land in a single location was distributed, the practice was not rational in the normal conditions of Mediterranean



centuriation Aerial photography has been instrumental in revealing traces of ancient centuriation, as here in Italy's Po valley, where the system originated with the great wave of Roman *colonization in *(Cisalpine) *Gaul in the 2nd cent. BC. British School at Rome

agriculture: peasant strategies probably depended then as now on farming scattered plots with different soils, altitudes, and aspects, and therefore minimizing the risk of total crop failure; and marriage and inheritance probably rapidly fragmented originally unitary holdings. Those centuriation systems which remain visible today are on the whole those in relatively homogeneous terrain, especially where the *limites* between lots were also ditches which served for drainage, as in the Po (Padus) valley. *Limites* might otherwise be anything from a drystone wall to a row of markers. The *limites* which run east–west are usually known as *decumani*, those which run north–south as *cardines* or *kardines*. There is an abundant, if often desperately obscure, literature on centuriation and similar matters in the writings of the *gromatici* or *agrimensores*, land surveyors, dating from the 2nd cent. AD to the late empire and beyond. The identification, never mind dating, of centuriation systems known only from aerial photographs is often uncertain in the extreme. MHC

chariots See TRANSPORT, WHEELED.

chastity *Before Christianity* Chastity was not recommended in classical Greek *medicine before Soranus. In pagan religion, certain goddesses chose to remain virgins (e.g. Hestia/*Vesta,*Artemis/*Diana) and some priestesses—nor necessarily those serving virgin goddesses—remained life virgins. (e.g. Artemis Hymnia in Arcadia, Paus. 8.13.1) while others could only hold the position until the age of marriage (e.g. *Poseidon at Calauria, Paus. 2. 33. 3). They did not support their other human followers who emulated this behaviour (e.g. *Euripides' Hippolytus).

In contrast to the Hippocratics (see MEDICINE §4) who believed a girl must be 'opened up' for the sake of her health, Soranus recommended perpetual virginity as positively healthful for both men and women (*Gynaceceia* 1. 30–2). These chapters were omitted in the Latin versions of his work compiled in late antiquity. He argued that desire harms the body, and loss of seed is damaging to health, while pregnancy and *childbirth exhaust the body. However, Soranus ends the section by conceding that intercourse is necessary for the continuance of the human race.

In contrast to Christian writers of the early Roman empire (see below), Soranus recommends virginity neither for spiritual health nor as part of rejecting the world, but to make the present life easier. HK

Christian

Celibacy and asceticism are endemic to Christianity and are typical of the distinctive outlook on life which runs throughout much of early Christian literature. The practice of holiness, which, at least in general terms, Chris-

tianity inherited from the Hebrew Bible, required the fulfilment of certain norms of sexual and marital behaviour, though abstinence was not typical of Jewish life, except in certain circumstances, e.g. ascetic practices were a central part of the apocalyptic tradition of Judaism (e.g. Daniel 10). The level of purity demanded by the Qumran sect (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) reflects the regulations with regard to sexual activity in Leviticus, and the requirements laid upon men involved in a holy war in Deuteronomy 20–21 probably explain the reference to virginity in Revelation 14.4.

The life-style of John the Baptist, and the canonical gospels' portrayal of the apparent celibacy of Jesus, set the pattern for subsequent Christian practice. While the influence of Greco-Hellenistic ideas cannot be ruled out, the background of this form of religious observance is to be found in the ascetical practices of certain forms of sectarian Judaism. The centrality of eschatological beliefs for Christianity meant that from the earliest period there was a significant component of Christian practice which demanded a significant distance from the values and culture of the present age. The hope for the coming of a new age of perfection, in which members of the church could already participate, meant that baptized men and women thought they could live like angels (cf. Luke 20.35), putting aside all those constraints of present bodily existence as well as the institution of marriage. St *Paul's approach in 1 Corinthians 7 in dealing with the rigorist life-style of the Corinthian ascetics is typical of a compromise that evolved in which there is a grudging acceptance of marriage and an exaltation of celibacy. The emerging monastic movement, therefore, drew on a long history of ascetical practice, which was taken to extremes in some Enkratite circles. CCR

chemistry See PHYSICS.

childbirth was generally the concern of women, either family and neighbours or experienced midwives who were sometimes ranked as doctors, but male doctors expected to be called in for difficult cases. Several treatises in the Hippocratic corpus (see MEDICINE §4) include some discussion of childbirth. *On the Nature of the Child* ascribes the onset of labour to the movement of the foetus, which breaks the membranes. *Diseases of Women* says that prolonged and unsuccessful labour usually means a difficult presentation, stillbirth, or multiple birth. Suggestions include vigorous shaking to stimulate delivery, and drugs to speed labour (*ōkytokia*); if all else fails, the doctor may resort to embryotomy, the extraction by instruments of a foetus which is still-born or impossible to deliver alive. The uterus is envis-

aged as a container rather than as a powerful muscle, and labour is described as pains not contractions. *Aristotle (*HA* 586^b) notes that pains can occur in the thighs and the lower back as well as the lower abdomen, and that women can help delivery by effort and correct breathing. Dissection by Herophilus, in the 3rd cent. BC, revealed that the uterus is muscular, and Galen (*Nat. Fac.* 3. 3) argues that it has the power to retain or expel the foetus.

The most detailed account of labour and delivery is in the handbook written by Soranus (early 2nd cent. AD) for midwives, the *Gynaecology*. Soranus envisages delivery on a birthing-chair, or on a hard bed if the mother is weak. He does not discuss contractions or distinguish stages of labour, but does describe dilation of the cervix and the breathing-technique to be used in delivery. Pain relief is provided by warm cloths on the abdomen and sharp-scented things to smell, and Soranus emphasizes that the midwife and helpers must reassure the mother and be careful not to embarrass her. At the birth, the midwife signals whether the baby is male or female, then lays the baby on the ground and assesses whether it is 'worth rearing'. She judges when to cut and tie the umbilical cord, cleans and swaddles the baby, and puts it to bed.

Soranus invokes psychological and physical factors in the mother, as well as big babies, multiple births, and abnormal presentations, to explain difficult labour. He offers techniques for relieving a narrow or obstructed cervix (these do not include episiotomy) and for turning a foetus, but makes no mention of obstetric forceps or of Caesarean section as an alternative to embryotomy: a mother could not have survived the trauma of a Caesarean. He has no confidence in drugs, induced sneezing, and shaking to stimulate delivery of the baby or the placenta, and disapproves of cold baths, tight swaddling, and hard beds for newborns. He notes the belief that delivery is impeded if the woman's hair or belt is tied, and the reluctance of some midwives to cut the cord with iron.

Maternal mortality, like neonatal and infant mortality, is often assumed to have been high, but estimates of the maternal death rate range from 5 in 20,000 to 25 in 1,000. Women may have died from exhaustion and haemorrhage in a difficult delivery (especially if they had poor health or were very young) or from eclampsia, a kind of epilepsy which can now be detected early; puerperal fever occurred, but infection is relatively unlikely in home delivery.

In Greek tradition, childbirth ritually polluted those present because blood was shed, and delivery on sacred ground was therefore forbidden (*see* POLLUTION). Olympian

goddesses are not represented as giving birth. The deities most often invoked in labour were *Artemis Eileithya (sometimes regarded as separate deities) or *Hera in Greece, *Juno Lucina in Rome. Roman childbirth rituals are briefly described by *Augustine (*De civ. D.* 6. 9), but his source is the antiquarian *Varro rather than common practice. There are also allusions to rituals in which the father lifts the child from the earth (*tollere liberum*) or carries the child round the hearth (*amphidromia*), but these would not always be practicable—for instance, in a house with no central hearth or when the baby was born on the upper floor of a tenement—and it was the name-day celebration, approximately ten days after the birth, which publicly acknowledged the child as a family member. EGC

chorēgos, 'chorus-leader', i.e. the man who trained and paid for a festival chorus. *See* TRAGEDY, GREEK §1.4.

Christianity (*see following page*)

Chrysostom, Dio *See* DIO OF PRUSA.

Cicero (*see page 166*)

Cincinnatus Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, a *patrician listed in the *fasti* as suffect consul (*see* CONSULY) in 460 BC. In 458, according to tradition, when a Roman army under the consul Lucius Minucius Esquilinus Augurinus was besieged by the Aequi on Mt. Algidus, Cincinnatus was called from the plough and appointed *dictator. Within fifteen days he assembled an army, defeated the Aequi, triumphed, laid down his office, and returned to his ploughing. The story was frequently cited as a moral example, illustrating the austere modesty of early Rome and its leaders. An area on the right bank of the Tiber called the 'Quinctian Meadows' (*prata Quinctia*) was regarded as the site of Cincinnatus' four-*iugera* farm (*Livy.* 3. 26. 8). He is said to have been appointed dictator a second time in 439 BC during the Spurius Maelius crisis; Cicero says that it was on this occasion that he was called from the plough (*Sen.* 56). It was this detail that was firmly fixed in the Roman tradition; the historical context was less certain. The campaign of 458 recalls the rescue of Gaius Minucius in 217, and Cincinnatus' supposedly crushing victory is suspect, since the Aequi returned to the attack again in 457 and 455. TJCO

circumcision of male genitalia was widely practised in the ancient near east, as Herodotus (2.104) was aware. In general both Greeks and Romans found the custom repulsive and ridiculous, which led to tensions especially with Jews, for whom circumcision, as a religious imperative,

[*continued on p. 173*]

CHRISTIANITY

Christianity began as a Jewish sect and evolved at a time when both *Jews and Christians were affected by later *Hellenism. Following the conquests of *Alexander the Great, some Jews found Hellenistic culture congenial, while others adhered to traditional and exclusive religious values. When Judaea came under direct Roman control soon after the death of Herod the Great in 4 BC, cultural and religious controversies were further exacerbated by the ineptitude of some Roman governors. Jesus therefore, and his followers, lived in a divided province.

The 'historical Jesus' is known through the four Gospels, which are as sources problematic. Written not in Aramaic but in Greek, the four 'Lives' of Jesus were written some time after his death (and, in the view of his followers, resurrection) and represent the divergent preoccupations and agendas of their authors. The Gospels of Mark, Matthew and Luke (to give their probable chronological order) differ from John in such matters as the geographical scope of Jesus' ministry, which John expands from Galilee to include Judaea and Samaria as well; John also is more influenced by Greek philosophical thought. Through them, we can see Jesus as a rabbi and teacher, whose followers included socially marginal women (e.g. Mary Magdalen) as well as men, as a worker of miracles, as a political rebel, or as a prophet, who foresaw the imminent ending of the world, and the promised Jewish Messiah. For later critics of Christianity, such as the pagan Celsus, whose work survives in 'rebuttal' by Origen of Alexandria (c. 185–254), the crucifixion of Jesus, on the ground that he had claimed to be 'King of the Jews', alongside two bandits, was an invitation to accuse Christians of worshipping a condemned criminal.

The missionary journeys of the Apostle *Paul, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, have been held to signal the 'parting of the ways' between Judaism and Christianity. In fact, neither was a centrally organised or entirely coherent unity and both Christians and Jews lived in a religiously flexible and pluralist environment. Priests, sacrificial rituals, initiation rites and lifestyle choices were elements in many ancient Mediterranean religions. The various religious systems grouped under the collective label of Gnosticism drew on different traditions, including Christianity, to explain the cosmos and man's place in it. Individuals, such as Justin Martyr in the 2nd cent., and, in the 4th cent., Marius Victorinus and *Augustine, experimented with different philosophies and systems of belief before making a commitment to Christianity; the search for religious truth is also satirized in *Lucian's *De morte Peregrini*. Interest in Christian belief and practice did not always lead to *conversion, in the sense of rejecting previous beliefs and practices.

Over time, however, Christian religious practice established a separate identity. This was achieved partly through deliberate emphasis on difference; as late as the 4th cent., John Chrysostom vigorously attacked the Jews of Antioch, perhaps from fear that they would in turn win converts from Christianity, or from awareness that his hearers did not see a difference. Christian initiation was distinctive. Baptism, often in adulthood, was preceded by a period of education in Christian doctrine and scripture, and instruction, as documented later in Augustine's treatise on 'catechizing the uninstructed learned' (*De Catechizandis Rudibus*), a masterly demonstration of the need for tact when instructing converts from different educational and social backgrounds. Baptized Christians shared bread and wine in the Eucharist ('thanksgiving', also called 'communion'), which commemorated the sacrifice of Christ and his Last Supper with his disciples, before an audience of the baptized and was followed by a ritual meal, the Agape. Christian communities, which evolved based on cities, at first had various forms of organisation. From early in the 2nd cent., most were headed by a bishop (*episkopos*, 'supervisor'), supported by priests, deacons (*diakonoi*, 'servants' or 'administrators'), exorcists, readers, and other church officials. The power of the bishop in the Christian community was extensive; he controlled finances, appointed and disciplined clergy, baptized converts and provided inspiration through preaching and other forms of spiritual leadership. Public liturgical ceremonial, in the form of processions and ritual acts, including fasting, reinforced the symbolic and historical identity of the new faith.

The *Acts of the Apostles and the letters of Paul record hostile reactions to Christian missionary activity. Paul's journeys round the cities of the near east took him to communities of the Jewish diaspora, where he might also encounter devout non-Jews. Like other wandering preachers, he found audiences in the public spaces of cities, such as the Agora at Athens (Acts 17.17; see ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY) (*agora*)). But his presence also provoked public disorders, such as the riots of the silversmiths at Ephesus who saw him as a threat to trade, leading to expulsion or imprisonment. According to Acts, he was finally accused by the Jewish religious establishment before the Roman governors Felix and

Porcius Festus, and deported to Rome to stand trial as a Roman citizen before the emperor. His letters, and those wrongly but generally ascribed to him, celebrate opposition and adversity, although he personally avoided martyrdom for as long as he could.

Accounts of persecution for the sake of their faith were integral to the evolving identity of early Christians, but instances of hostility on the part of the Roman or local authorities were in fact limited. *Nero's notorious persecution of Christians, whom he blamed for the Great Fire of Rome in 64, established an imperial precedent. In c.110, *Pliny the Younger, as governor of Bithynia, inquired of *Trajan what he was to do about Christians, and, after an investigation, he had found no evidence for deviant practices, although he continued to execute those who had refused to recant, on grounds of 'the name' (*nomen Christianum*); Trajan's reply was that anonymous accusations were to be rejected and those who renounced their faith by honouring the Imperial cult were allowed to go free. The ban on anonymous accusations against Christians, a general feature of Roman legal practice, was reiterated in *Hadrian's rescript to Minicius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia. According to Christian authors, in general, until 250, persecution was triggered by local suspicions of a cult regarded as deviant because of Christians' secret and allegedly cannibalistic and incestuous rites, and their refusal to participate in civic religious ceremonies. Mob demonstrations led to the burning of the aged bishop Polycarp of Smyrna in 155 and the condemnation to the arena of the martyrs of Lyon and Vienne before the governor in 177. The Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas, martyred at Carthage in 203, contain vivid dream accounts and evidence for challenges to episcopal authority within the local Christian community, perhaps associated with Montanism.

In 250, the emperor Decius ordered all in the Roman empire to sacrifice, and to acquire a certificate for doing so. Christians' failure to obey resulted in a series of imperial attempts to enforce conformity, which lasted until the defeat of Valerian in 260; among the victims, in 258, was Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. With the accession of *Diocletian and the creation of the Tetrarchy, new impetus was given to the revival of traditional pagan religion and the outlawing of deviant cults, such as Manichaeism, which was associated with the arch-enemy, Persia. Inaugurated in February 303, the 'Great Persecution' of Christians continued, especially in the eastern parts of the Empire and Africa, until Galerius' Edict of Toleration in 311, though persecution finally ceased only with the death of Maximinus in 313. Meetings of Christians were forbidden, clergy imprisoned and books and treasures seized; Christians who refused obedience to the emperors' decrees were publicly and painfully executed. The effects of persecution continued after 313, causing divisions within the Christian community. In Africa, in the mid-3rd cent., Cyprian as bishop confronted rigorists who believed that those who lapsed through fear could not be readmitted to communion. In 313, the controversy took a new form with the rigorists, who would be known as the Donatists, refusing to recognize a bishop consecrated by a 'traditor', a hand-over of the sacred books. Repeated interventions by *Constantine I failed to resolve the issue and the Donatist schism, with its separate, parallel church organization, continued to divide African Christians until the time of *Augustine.

It is difficult to assess the numbers of Christians at any period, especially as, by the early 4th cent., one in ten of the population of the empire may have been Christian, although most main Christian centres were concentrated in the eastern empire. Motives for conversion are obscure. Christian monotheism had become increasingly compatible with wider preferences for a single supreme deity, and Christian identity was not always as distinct and consistent as Christian leaders wanted. Christian intellectuals, such as Tertullian in Carthage and Origen and *Eusebius of Caesarea, had taken on pagan religious controversialists on their own terms, using the sophisticated linguistic and rhetorical armoury common to the educated classes. This helped to make Christianity acceptable, but more important for the ordinary citizen was the social role of the Church in the community. The exercise of charity and giving to the poor was central to Christian teaching and practice; Christians also looked after the widows and orphans unable to fend for themselves, sometimes inducting women into 'orders' of virgins and widows. Christianity may also have provided avenues for advancement for those who were unable to achieve social recognition in other ways. Unlike some cults, Christianity charged no entry fee, and was open to women (as the cult of *Mithras was not) and to slaves, who could expect equality of status in the next world, though not in this. But the role of Christianity as a social equalizer should not be overplayed. Bishops tended to be drawn from families already eminent in the community, who could have owned the houses in which Christians originally met and who also possessed the literary skills and confidence to sustain a public role.

The era of the Tetrarchs and Constantine I saw a shift in religious discourse. Eusebius of Caesarea formulated a new comparative chronology integrating Christian and biblical history with the histories of Greece and Rome. His *Ecclesiastical History* broke with tradition in creating a new and extensively documented history of Christianity, the

Church and heresy (which he saw as an external menace, inspired by the devil); and his biography of Constantine (the *Vita Constantini*) offered a new model of a 'pious' emperor. At the same time Lactantius demonstrated the workings of Providence through his celebration of the *Deaths of the Persecutors*; more theologically significant was his redrawing in the *Divine Institutes* of the Christian philosophy of virtue with reference to *Cicero, arguing that the reward for Christian virtue was immortality and that adversity was required as part of the divine order, because it served as a test of virtue. Later in the 4th cent., some Christians, of an ascetic bent, found classical culture incompatible with Christianity; Jerome, for example, dreamt that he was visited with divine chastisement for being a 'Ciceronian' rather than a Christian. Others, however, Jerome (despite himself) included, used their classical learning not only to convey the Christian message but also to demonstrate Christian ownership of the ancient literary forms.

The conversion of Constantine to Christianity changed fundamentally the relationship of the Christian Church with the emperor and the Roman authorities. In the aftermath of his victory over Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312, won, in some sense, under Christian auspices, Constantine confirmed the Church's financial position, ordering property confiscated under the persecutions to be restored; he also gave money to Christian communities in Africa and began the building of imperially-sponsored churches at Rome. For the first time, bishops had access to the emperor and, sometimes through officials, sought his legal opinion on such matters as the functioning of episcopal courts in relation to their lay counterparts, and how the Sunday holiday should be observed. Constantine's legislation on marriage and the family is sometimes viewed as being influenced by Christianity, but is more likely to reflect the general, less permissive, moral climate of the time.

Constantine was less successful, however, in resolving the Donatist schism in Africa; after a series of councils and an ineffective military intervention, the African Christians were left to fend for themselves. Nor, ultimately, did he succeed in reconciling the disputants in the so-called Arian controversy, concerning the nature of the substance of God the Father and God the Son. After his victory over Licinius, Constantine convened the ecumenical Council of Nicaea, the first of its kind, which debated in his presence and accepted his formula for reconciling the parties. Despite this, the issue continued to divide the churches in the reigns of Constantine's sons; and, although the doctrines associated with Arius were rejected by Theodosius I, peoples outside the Empire, notably the Goths, had already accepted 'Arian' Christianity, thanks to the missionary activities of the bishop Ulphilas.

Christianity now began to make an impact on the physical appearance of cities. Initially confined to meetings in house-churches or graveyards, Christians acquired the confidence and resources to build churches and shrines of their own. Many such were, still, based outside cities, in the areas where local saints and martyrs were buried; only slowly did Christians come to make an impact on the landscapes of cities by building churches within the walls. An exceptional case in Constantine's reign was the rapid rise of Jerusalem, hitherto a neglected outpost of empire, to wealth and prominence as a centre for pilgrimage and religious tourism, a development furthered by the alleged discovery of the True Cross and by imperial women, notably *Helena Augusta, Constantine's base-born mother, and, in the mid-5th century, Aelia Eudocia, the empress of Theodosius II.

Although many aristocrats retained their previous beliefs, there were several 'conversions of convenience' among aspiring careerists. Men such as Ambrose of Milan (bishop 374–397), who might have pursued a career in the secular administration, found a new outlet for their energies in the episcopates of major cities, where they employed their rhetorical and networking skills, supported by the wealth of their churches, to further the cause of their religion. In addition to his more obviously political activities, Ambrose was also a pioneer in the development of saints' cults, 'discovering', miraculously, the relics of the Milan martyrs Gervasius and Protasdius, some of which he distributed to his episcopal and aristocratic connections. As the reality of martyrdom receded into the past, the celebration of saints' cults reshaped the public ceremonial of city churches and their liturgical year, while local civic identities were reformulated to incorporate the idea of saints as patrons and protectors. Bishops preached on the martyrdoms of their saints, generating a literature of persecution, which emphasized (and exaggerated) the sadistic anger of the persecuting governors and the gory details of the tortures inflicted, to enhance the constancy of the Christian 'witness' (*martys*). Episcopal eloquence mattered, given the bishop's role as preacher, but, equally important, was his ability to interact with his unsophisticated flock (as Augustine's sermons, with their backchat with his audience, illustrate).

Not all Christians were happy with the new prosperity. Already in the 3rd cent., men were withdrawing from the world to engage in the life of ascetic contemplation. In Egypt, the monk Antony, whose Life was written by Athanasius, withdrew ever further into the desert to avoid both other hermits and those eager to benefit from his wisdom.

Two basic models of the ascetic life evolved: the solitary hermit; and the monk (or nun) who lived as part of a religious community, with varying degrees of contact with fellow ascetics. Based initially largely in Egypt and Syria, the monastic movement spread westwards, and in Gaul was furthered by the monk-bishop, Martin of Tours, whose simple lifestyle allegedly provoked mockery among his (unworthy) fellow-bishops. At Rome, a group of single or widowed, wealthy senatorial women, guided in the 380s by Pope Damasus' secretary, Jerome, and later by the British monk Pelagius, withdrew from the Roman social round to engage in bible study, a restricted diet, and the surrender of their worldly goods for the benefit of the poor. Some left Rome for the east, to visit the pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land and found monasteries, as Jerome and his disciple Paula did at Bethlehem. At first regarded with suspicion by the established churches, ascetics and their monasteries were gradually assimilated into mainstream Christianity. In Gaul, while Martin (372–397) was seen as a divisive figure in the 4th cent., in the 5th Germanus of Auxerre (bishop 418–448) combined the austerity of the ascetic with the diplomatic skills and political clout of the aristocrat.

By the end of the 4th cent., Christianity had largely triumphed over its religious competition, although a pagan Hellenic tradition would continue to flourish in the Greek world and rural and local cults also persisted. However, the spread of Christianity often encountered spirited, if localized, resistance. At Rome, in the late 4th cent., an influential group of senators, led by Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, promoted observance of both public and mystery religions. Praetextatus succeeded in protecting the Mysteries of *Eleusis under Valentinian I and Symmachus led senatorial resistance to the removal of the Altar of Victory, arguing vigorously but unsuccessfully against Ambrose for its restoration in 384. The usurpation of Eugenius (392–394) had distinctively pagan overtones, largely due to the initiatives of Nicomachus Flavianus. There was also violent resistance to Christian encroachment on a local level, as pagans sought to protect their sacred trees (as at Tours), subvert offensive Christian processions (as at Calama in North Africa) and, in extreme cases, lynch local bishops who had gone too far.

The spread of Christianity was helped by pressure from emperors exerted through legislation. The sons of Constantine outlawed sacrifice and closed temples to religious celebration (although they could remain open for social purposes). The emperors also allowed the preservation of statues, on the grounds that they were works of art. *Julian, however, used legislation to reverse the Christian tide, reopening temples, banning daylight 'funerals', which could include processions in honour of martyrs, and ordering councils not to allow the appointment of Christians as official teachers of the pagan classics (a ban which could extend in practice more widely). More insidiously, he backed anti-Christian factions in local disputes and issued no more than a mild rebuke to those who had lynched the bishop of Alexandria, George of Cappadocia. The decisive break with the past came in the 380s and 390s. Gratian resigned the ancient title of pontifex maximus (head of the college of priests) and removed the Altar of Victory from the senate house; and in 391–392, Theodosius I not only banned sacrifices but also made it incumbent on governors to ensure that the legislation was enforced. Also, crucially, public funding for pagan offerings was withdrawn. The Roman state thus no longer acknowledged the power of the old gods to protect it, a measure which, in the view of opponents of Christianity, led directly to the Fall of Rome to the Goths in 410. Augustine's lengthy refutation of this claim, in his 22-book *City of God*, rejected the practices of traditional religion and the arguments of non-Christian philosophers for the worship of lesser divine beings as well as the one God. He offered a vision of a Christian community defined by love of God, not by membership of the institutional church. Its citizens live intermixed with the city of this world, whose citizens are defined by love of self, not by membership of a political grouping. Only God knows who belongs to which city. Augustine wanted Christians to be clear about their Christian identity and moral values, and to be inspired by those whose love of God had led them to accept martyrdom or to prefer life in a monastic community to life in Roman society. He also argued that in a fallen world, order and sometimes force are needed to maintain peace, and Christians who hold public office must accept the task. Christians cannot separate themselves from the world in which they live. He turned to *Varro and Cicero for inspiration on the nature of the citizen community, while also offering counsel on, among other things, the trauma of rape, the morality of *suicide and the nature of saints' cults.

CICERO

Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero), the famous orator.

Life

The first of two sons of a rich and well-connected *eques* (see *EQUITES*, *Origins and republic*) of Arpinum, he was born on 3 January 106 BC, the year following the first consulship of *Marius, with whose family (also from Arpinum) his grandmother Gratidia had marriage connections. His intelligent and ambitious father (who was to die in the year of Cicero's canvass for the consulship), advised perhaps by Lucius Licinius Crassus, gave his two sons an excellent education in philosophy and rhetoric in Rome and later in Greece, with their two first-cousins as their fellow students. Cicero did military service in 90/89 under *Pompey's father, Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo, and attended legal consultations of the two great Scaevolae (both called Quintus Mucius Scaevola). He conducted his first case in 81 (*Pro Quinctio*) and made an immediate reputation through his successful defence of Sextus Roscius of Ameria on a charge of parricide in 80, a case which reflected discreditably on the contemporary administration of the dictator *Sulla. Cicero was then from 79 to 77 a student of philosophy and oratory both in Athens and in *Rhodes, where he heard Posidonius; he visited Publius Rutilius Rufus at Smyrna.

He returned to Rome, his health greatly improved, to pursue a public career, and was elected quaestor for 75, when he served for a year in western Sicily, and praetor for 66, in each case at the earliest age at which he could legally become a candidate. By securing the condemnation of Gaius Verres for extortion in Sicily in 70 he scored a resounding success against Quintus Hortensius Hortalus, eight years his senior, whom he was to replace as the leading figure at the Roman bar. In a cleverly disarming speech delivered during his praetorship (*De imperio Cn. Pompei*) he supported, against strong opposition from the so-called 'optimates' ('best men', i.e. the office-holding upper class), the tribune Gaius Manilius' proposal to transfer the command in the war against *Mithradates VI to *Pompey; this was the first public expression of his admiration for Pompey who was, with occasional short interruptions, henceforward to be the focus of his political allegiance. He was elected consul for 63—the first *novus homo* (first man from his family to reach the consulship) with no political background whatever since 94—because, in a poor field (including *Catiline, who had tried for the office twice before), his reputation as an orator and his cultivation of aristocrats, *equites*, and prominent Italians paid off. Hampered by a weak and indeed suspect colleague, Gaius Antonius 'Hybrida', Cicero did very well to secure evidence which convinced the senate of the seriousness of Catiline's conspiracy. After the 'last [i.e. emergency] decree' (*senatus consultum ultimum*) was passed, and Catiline left Rome for his army in Etruria, five conspirators prominent in Roman society and politics, including a praetor, Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura, were arrested and executed on 5 December (the Nones). Although, after debate, the senate, influenced by *Cato the Younger, had recommended their execution, the act itself, a violation of the citizen's right to a trial, could be justified only by the passing of the last decree and was Cicero's personal responsibility. Though approved in the first moment of panic by all classes of society in Rome, its legality was strictly questionable, and Cicero was unwise to boast as loudly of it as he did (even in a long and indiscreet letter to Pompey in the east, *Sull.* 67, *Planc.* 85; cf. *Fam.* 5. 7). He published his speeches of 63, including those against Catiline, in 60, wrote of his action in prose and verse, in Greek and Latin, and invited others, including Posidonius, to do the same; and to the end of his life he never wavered in his belief that he had acted rightly and had saved Rome from catastrophe.

Though it was unlikely that he would escape prosecution, Cicero refused overtures from *Caesar, which might have saved him at the price of his political independence. In 58 Publius *Clodius Pulcher, whom he had antagonized in 61 when Clodius was charged with incest, moved a bill as *tribune of the plebs re-enacting the law that anyone who had executed a citizen without trial should be banished. Without awaiting prosecution Cicero fled the country, to Macedonia, and Clodius passed a second bill, which Cicero regarded as unconstitutional, declaring him an exile. His house on the Palatine was destroyed by Clodius' gangsters, part of its site to be made a shrine of Liberty, and his villa at Tusculum was also badly damaged. With Pompey's belated support and with the support of the tribune Titus Annius Milo, who employed violence as irresponsibly as Clodius had done in the previous year, Cicero was recalled by a law

of the people on 4 August 57 and was warmly welcomed on his return both in Italy and in Rome, which he reached on 4 September.

He returned to a busy winter, fighting to secure adequate public compensation for the damage to his property and, in the senate and in the courts, supporting those chiefly responsible for his recall. Hopes of dissociating Pompey from his close political connection with Caesar, attempts which Clodius was employed by Caesar to interrupt, were at an end when Caesar, Pompey, and *Crassus revived their political union at Luca in April 56, and Cicero was sharply brought to heel (*Att.* 4. 5, on his 'palinode' or recantation; cf. *Fam.* 1. 9 for his later account of his conversion). He at once spoke warmly in the senate (e.g. in *De provinciis consularibus*) and on the public platform in favour of Caesar, as of a long-standing political friend. He claimed that it was the act of a realist, a *sapiens*, to accept the indisputable predominance of the Three ('temporibus adsentendum', *Fam.* 1. 9. 21) and only revealed in conversation and in letters to such close friends as Titus Pomponius *Atticus the deep wound which his pride—his *dignitas*—had suffered. He took no more part in the collapsing world of republican politics, devoting himself to writing, which he never regarded as anything but a poor substitute for active political life (the *De oratore* was published in 55, and the *De republica* finished in 51); and he was humiliated by briefs which, under pressure from Pompey and Caesar, he was forced to accept. He defended Publius Vatinius successfully and Aulus Gabinius unsuccessfully in 54. He was humiliated too by his failure, in a court packed with troops, to defend Milo adequately when, with the case already prejudiced, Milo was impeached for the murder of Clodius early in 52. The period brought him one consolation, when he was elected augur in 53 or 52 in the place of his earlier protégé, young Publius Licinius Crassus, who had been killed at Carrhae.

Cicero was out of Rome during the eighteen months preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, being selected under regulations following Pompey's *lex de provinciis* of 52 to govern Cilicia as proconsul from summer 51 to summer 50. He was a just, if not a strong, governor, but he regarded his appointment with horror as a second relegation from Rome. However, his despatches recording the successful encounter of his troops with brigands on mons Amanus earned a *supplicatio* (ritual thanksgiving) at Rome and he returned, the *fasces* of his lictors wreathed in fading laurels, hoping that he might celebrate a triumph. Instead he was swept into the vortex of the Civil War.

Appointed district commissioner at Capua by the government, he did not at first follow Pompey and the consuls overseas. Caesar saw him at Formiae on 28 March 49, and invited him to join the rump of the senate in Rome on terms which with great resolution Cicero refused to accept (*Att.* 9. 11 a, to Caesar; 9. 18). His long indecision up to this point which was anything but discreditable was now at an end, and he joined the republicans in Greece, irritating their leaders by his caustic criticism, himself dismayed by the absence of any idealistic loyalty on their part to the cause of republicanism. After the battle of Pharsalus (48 BC), in which he took no part, he refused Cato's invitation to assume command of the surviving republican forces and, pardoned by Caesar, he returned to Italy. But political life was at an end, and he was utterly out of sympathy with Caesar's domination. All that he could do was to return to his writing, his only important speech being that delivered in the senate in 46 (the year in which the *Brutus* was written) in praise of Caesar's pardon of Marcus Claudius Marcellus (consul 51), who had done so much to precipitate the outbreak of the Civil War.

That Cicero was not invited to participate in the conspiracy to kill Caesar in 44 is not insignificant. He hailed the news of the murder on 15 March with intemperate delight (e.g. *Fam.* 6. 15). Political life began again, and Cicero had all the prestige (*auctoritas*) of a senior consular. Within three months he was saying openly that Mark *Antony should have been killed too (*Att.* 15. 11. 2). He accepted the overtures of the young Caesar (Octavian; see AUGUSTUS), uncritical of the lawlessness of many of his acts, misled by his youth into a mistaken underassessment of his political acumen, and he closed his eyes to the fact that Octavian could never be reconciled to *Brutus and Cassius. He struggled in speech after speech (the *Philippics*, the first delivered on 2 September 44, the last on 21 April 43) to induce the senate to declare Antony a public enemy. After Antony's defeat in Cisalpine Gaul in April 43, Octavian fooled Cicero for a time, perhaps with the suggestion that they might both be consuls together. But Octavian's intentions were different. After his march on Rome to secure the consulship for himself and his uncle Quintus Pedius, and the formation of the Triumvirate, he did not oppose Antony's nomination of Cicero as a victim of the *proscriptions which were the inauguration of the new regime (for this phase see ROME (HISTORY) §1.5). The soldiers caught Cicero in a not very resolute attempt to escape by sea. His slaves did not desert him, and he died with courage on 7 December 43.

In politics he hated Clodius, with good reason, and he hated Marcus Crassus and, at the end of his life, Antony. For the character of Cato, eleven years his junior, he had unqualified respect, and he published a panegyric of Cato in 45, after his death; but in politics, especially in the years following Pompey's return from the east in 62, he thought Cato's uncompromising rigidity (his *constantia*) impolitic, and Cato never concealed his distaste for Cicero's policy of temporizing expediency, both at this period and when he capitulated to the Three in 56. With Pompey Cicero never established the intimacy to which, particularly after Pompey's return in 62, he aspired, suggesting that he might play a second Laelius to Pompey's Scipio. Few of his contemporaries, perhaps, held him in higher esteem than did his constant opponent Caesar who, though often with an imperiousness which Cicero could not tolerate, was always friendly in his approach. Cicero was not a discriminating judge of the political intentions of others, being far too susceptible to, and uncritical of, flattery; and he was demned to a certain political isolation. Loyally and not very critically devoted to the existing republican constitution, and fascinated by the mirage of a political consensus ('*concordia ordinum*'), he was never a liberal reformer (*popularis*); yet he was never completely acceptable to the established *optimates*, the worst of whom despised his social origin, while the rest mistrusted his personality as much as he mistrusted theirs. And, not having the *clientela* of the noble or of the successful general, he lacked *auctoritas*. It was this political isolation which (cf. *Att.* 1. 17; 1. 18. 1, of 61/60 BC) enhanced the importance for him of his close association with the knight Titus Pomponius Atticus, a man of the highest culture in both languages, his banker, financial adviser, publisher, and most generous and tolerant friend.

His marriage to Terentia had issue: a daughter Tullia, to whom he was devoted, whose death in 45 was the hardest of the blows which afflicted his private life, and a son called (like himself) Marcus Tullius Cicero. His marriage survived the storms and stress of thirty years, until he grew irritated with Terentia and divorced her in winter 47/6, to marry the young Publilia, from whom in turn he was almost immediately divorced. Cicero was a good master to his slaves and, with the rest of his family, was devoted to Tiro (Marcus Tullius Tiro), to whom twenty-one of his letters in *Fam.* 16 are addressed. He gave him his freedom in 53, 'to be our friend instead of our slave', as his younger brother Quintus Tullius Cicero wrote (*Fam.* 16. 16. 1).

Cicero, who was never a really rich man, had eight country residences, in Campania, at Arpinum, at Formiae, and, his suburban villa, at Tusculum; in Rome he was extremely proud of his house on the Palatine, which he bought in 62 for 3½ million sesterces (*Fam.* 5. 6. 2).

Apart from the surviving histories of the late republic and, in particular, Plutarch's *Lives of Cicero* and of his outstanding contemporaries, the bulk of our knowledge of him derives from his own writings, in particular from his letters, only a minority of which was written with any thought of publication. His reputation has therefore suffered from the fact that we have intimate knowledge of the most private part of his personal life; in this respect he has been his own worst enemy, and his critics have given undue prominence to his extremes of exaltation and depression and to the frequent expression of his evident vanity. (See J. P. V. D. Balsdon, 'Cicero the Man', in T. A. Dorey (ed.), *Cicero* (1965).)

JPB/MTG

Works

Speeches

Fifty-eight speeches of Cicero survive in whole or part; numerous others were unpublished or lost (88 are recorded by Crawford).

Cicero's normal practice, if he decided to publish a speech, was to 'write up' (*conficere*) a version after the event. In one case we know that he delivered a speech from a script (*Post reditum in senatu*); otherwise it seems that only a few important passages, chiefly the exordium and peroration, were written out *in extenso* beforehand. The published versions of court speeches in many instances certainly represent a shortened version of the actual proceedings, as shown by Humbert; the examination of witnesses is largely omitted, and some sections of argumentation are represented only by headings. The extent to which Cicero changed the content or emphasis of his speeches when preparing them for publication is disputed. It has been thought that the speeches were regularly altered to suit the political circumstances of the time of publication, rather than the time of delivery. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that Cicero's overt reason for publication was to provide examples of successful oratory for posterity to imitate and admire, and this would naturally place limits on the degree of alteration that could reasonably be made, as would the presence among his readership of a substantial number of those who had been present at the delivery of the speech.

In certain cases there is evidence that our text does not represent a speech that was actually delivered. The five parts of the *Actio secunda in Verrem* were prepared for use in court but it is generally held that they were not delivered, since Verres withdrew into exile after the *Actio prima*. The second *Philippic* was not delivered as a speech, but circulated as a pamphlet, although it observes the conventions of a senatorial speech. But these are exceptions. The *Pro Milone* is an exception in another way, being a rare example of an unsuccessful speech that was nevertheless published; our sources claim or imply that they had access to a transcript (complete with interruptions) of the actual speech, which differed from Cicero's published version, although it is not proved that the difference in content was much greater than in the case of most of Cicero's other speeches (J. N. Settle, *TAPA* 1963, 268–80).

Cicero's reputation as an orator depended on consistent practical success, although his detractors in antiquity made as much capital out of his relatively rare failures as their modern equivalents have done. In these successes a large part must have been played by his manner of delivery, of which virtually no impression can be given by a written speech; yet it is possible to see in the published versions something of the powers of advocacy that made Cicero the leading courtroom orator of his time (this has been brought out particularly clearly by Stroh). The political speeches are perhaps more difficult for a modern reader to appreciate: Cicero's self-glorifications and his unbridled invectives tend to repel those brought up in a modern western society, while adverse judgement of his political position can hinder appreciation of his oratory. It is easy to be cynical about what *Juvenal called the 'divine Philippic' (the Second) without coming to terms with the historical circumstances that produced this and other speeches, and the oratorical qualities that made them into objects of near-universal admiration.

The style of Cicero's speeches did not remain entirely uniform. As he himself observed, in his youth he had a tendency to exuberance (so-called Asianism), best exemplified in the *Pro Roscio Amerino* (cf. F. Solmsen, *TAPA* 1938, 542–56); this was later tempered by increasing maturity and by a change in oratorical fashion. The style also depended to some extent on the occasion; there are variations in manner between Cicero's addresses to senate and people, to a full jury, and to a single arbitrator, and Cicero himself talks of the different styles appropriate for the different sections of a speech (plain for narration, grand for the final appeal to the emotions, etc.). However, Cicero's speeches throughout his life are consistent in their rhythmical regularity, their smooth and balanced sentence-construction, and their careful choice of vocabulary and idiom (on the style of the speeches, see Laurand). Cicero's style was criticized by some of his contemporaries for lacking vigour (Tac., *Dial.* 18) and by later rhetoricians for longwindedness and lack of quotability (ibid. 22).

Cicero made good use of the theories of rhetoric current in his time, and, still more, of the great classical models of Athenian oratory. Most of the ancient structural conventions, figures of speech, and standard modes of argument can be exemplified from his writings, and some of the speeches were consistently taken as copy-book examples by later rhetoricians such as *Quintilian; but Cicero never merely followed the rules for their own sake, and examples can be found of highly effective departures from the recommended practice of the rhetoricians.

Of the extant speeches, three belong to the period before Cicero's Sicilian quaestorship (*Pro Roscio Amerino*, from Cicero's first major public trial in 80 BC, together with *Pro Quinctio* and *Pro Roscio Comoedo*). Then follows the series of speeches from the trial of Verres in 70: *Divinatio in Caecilium*, the *Actio prima in Verrem*, and the five speeches of the *Actio secunda* generally referred to as the Verrines. The *Pro Tullio*, *Pro Fonteio*, and *Pro Caecina* date from 69. Two of the extant speeches belong to Cicero's praetorship, the *Pro lege Manilia* (alias *De imperio Cn. Pompei*) and the *Pro Cluentio*. Of the 'consular' orations which Cicero himself published (a collection of twelve according to *Att.* 2. 1. 3; but see W. C. McDermott, *Philologus* 1972, 277–84), we have the three speeches *De lege agraria contra Rullum*, the *Pro Rabirio perduellionis reo*, and the four *Catilinarians*; the *Pro Murena* also dates from this year. From the years succeeding the consulship the *Pro Sulla*, *Pro Archia* (both 62), and *Pro Flacco* (59) survive. Another group is formed by the speeches made on returning from exile in 57 and in the following year: *Post reditum in senatu*, *Post reditum ad Quirites*, *De domo sua*, *De haruspicum responsis*, *Pro Sestio*, *In Vatinius interrogatio*. To the year 56 also belong the senatorial speech *De provinciis consularibus* and the defences of Caelius Rufus and Lucius Cornelius Balbus; the invective *In Pisonem* was published in 55. From 54 we have the *Pro Plancio* and the *Pro Rabirio Postumo*. In 52, Cicero defended Titus Annius Milo without success, publishing a version of the speech before departing to govern Cilicia. In 46–45, Cicero addressed the victorious Caesar on behalf of Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Ligarius and King Deiotarus of Galatia. Otherwise Caesar's dictatorship offered no opportunity for Cicero to exercise his forensic gifts, and he devoted himself to the writing of treatises on rhetoric and philosophy. During his brief return to public life in 44–43, Cicero delivered the series of speeches known (at his own joking suggestion: *Ad Brut.* 2. 3. 4) as the *Philippics*, which directly or indirectly expressed his opposition to Mark Antony; cf. DEMOSTHENES. Fourteen of these survive; at least three more have been lost.

Works on rhetoric

(a) *De inventione*, written in Cicero's youth, is a treatise on some techniques of rhetorical argument, which has a close resemblance to parts of the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (once falsely attributed to Cicero).

(b) *De oratore* (55 BC), *Brutus*, and *Orator* (46) represent Cicero's major contribution to the theory of Latin *rhetoric, and he himself grouped them with his philosophical works. They present an idealized picture of the orator as a liberally educated master of his art, a picture in which the technical aspects of Greek rhetorical theory still have their place, but are supplemented by knowledge of literature, philosophy, and general culture, and by the qualities of character required of the ideal Roman aristocrat. This was endorsed by later Roman authors such as Quintilian, and it was one of the formative influences on Renaissance ideals of character and education. The *De oratore* was closely linked with the more ambitious *De republica* which followed it, and the ideal orator depicted in the former is little different from the ideal statesman in the latter. The *Brutus* is devoted largely to a history of Roman oratory, while the *Orator* deals with more technical points of style. These last two works were written against a background of controversy regarding the desirable style or styles in oratory, in the course of which Cicero had been criticized for persisting (as it seemed) in the 'Asian' fashions of his younger days, and a plain 'Attic' style had been held up as an ideal. Cicero reacts to this by attempting to demonstrate that different styles are effective for different purposes, that there was more variety in actual Athenian oratory than the 'Atticists' allowed, and that the ideal orator should be master of several styles, including (where appropriate) the Ciceronian grand manner itself, for which *Demosthenes, rather than the Asian rhetoricians, is claimed as a precedent. Although this controversy was in some senses an ephemeral one, these works contain much of interest concerning the way Roman orators regarded their art, and the *Brutus* is a mine of prosopographical information (see PROSOPOGRAPHY) as well as of Roman rhetorical criticism.

(c) Cicero's minor works on the subject comprise: *Partitiones oratoriae*, a dialogue in which Cicero instructs his son in the elements of the art; the date is uncertain, but it must belong to a time at which Cicero's son was approaching maturity; *Topica*, written in 44 BC and dedicated to Gaius Trebatius Testa, an exposition of the content of *Aristotle's work of the same title; and *De optimo genere oratorum*, of disputed authenticity, an introduction to translations (which may or may not have existed) of *Aeschines' *In Ctesiphontem* and Demosthenes' *De corona*.

Poems

Cicero early acquired a reputation as a bad poet on the basis of two lines from his autobiographical compositions, 'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam' ('O happy Rome, born in my consulship') and 'cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi' ('yield arms to the toga, the bay to achievement') (the variant *linguae* 'to the tongue', was probably satirical). The obvious faults of these lines are a naïve self-esteem and a somewhat old-fashioned taste for assonance; in general, Cicero was a competent enough versifier, and despite his admiration for the older poets, his verse technique is more modern than that of his contemporary *Lucretius. He appears at times to have had serious poetic ambitions and to have regarded verse-writing as more than an amateur's accomplishment. It is perhaps less surprising in an ancient than it would be in a modern context that he chose to make verse a vehicle for personal propaganda, in the *Consulatus suus* (of which a substantial passage is quoted by Cicero himself in *Div.* 1. 17) and *De temporibus suis*. Apart from these, Cicero composed an original (probably fairly short) epic poem on his fellow-Arpinate *Marius; this must have been in circulation in the 50s BC (he refers to it at the beginning of the *De legibus*). The only part of his poetry to survive in a manuscript tradition is the so-called *Aratea*, 469 lines from a verse translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*; this is of interest as part of the tradition of adapting Hellenistic didactic poetry and as a precursor of *Virgil's *Georgics*. There are some other scattered fragments of lost poems, and Cicero translated a number of passages of Greek poetry *ad hoc* for quotation in his philosophical works (in preference to the original Greek).

Letters

Cicero's surviving correspondence is an invaluable collection of evidence for his biography, for the history of the time, and for Roman social life. The sixteen books *Ad familiares* were published after Cicero's death by his freedman Marcus Tullius Tiro. Cicero's letters to *Atticus were preserved (without the replies) by the latter and seen by Cornelius Nepos (*Nep. Att.* 16. 2–4, referring to a collection in 11 books). They were in circulation in the reign of Nero and later, but the silence of Asconius suggests that they were not available to him. Our present collection *Ad Atticum* consists of sixteen books, probably an augmented version of the collection known to Nepos. We also have the smaller collections *Ad Quintum fratrem* (including the *Commentariolum petitionis*) and *Ad Brutum*. Further collections of Cicero's letters

apparently existed in antiquity. The *Ad familiares* collection contains, in addition to Cicero's own, letters from a variety of correspondents to him.

The letters were not in any sense written for publication; as far as is known, it was not until 44 BC that Cicero thought of publishing a selection of them (*Att.* 16. 5. 5; cf. *Fam.* 16. 17. 1), and it is not clear that this idea was ever put into practice in that form. They vary greatly in their level of formality. At the one extreme they include official despatches and letters of a semi-public nature on matters of political importance, whose style is similar to that of the public speeches; at the other may be found casual notes to members of the family and informal exchanges with Atticus, often highly allusive and colloquial.

JGFP

Philosophica

Apart from the treatises on rhetoric, an important part of the Hellenistic philosophical curriculum (though see below), these fall into two parts:

(a) the writings on political philosophy and statecraft of the years immediately preceding Cicero's governorship of Cilicia, and

(b) the works on epistemology, ethics, and theology (standing in the place of physics) which were produced in the incredibly short period between February 45 and November 44. Cicero gives a list and account of his own philosophical writings at *De divinatione* 2. 1.

In the *De republica*, a dialogue between *Scipio Aemilianus, Gaius Laelius, and others, of which we have only parts of the six books (including the *Somnium Scipionis*, preserved as a whole by Macrobius), Cicero discusses the ideal state, always with an eye on the history of the Roman republic, and favours a constitution combining elements of all three main forms, monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy. His discussion reflects the political conditions of the time and looks to a wise counsellor (for which part Cicero may at one time have cast *Pompey) as a remedy for Rome's political sickness. But its chief attraction for posterity lay in its assertion of human rights and of man's participation in humanity and the cosmos, a notion which eclectic developments in *Stoicism and Cicero's own predilections helped to foster. Cicero probably worked on the *De legibus* immediately after the *De republica* (cf. *Leg.* 1. 15), but did not publish it. (It does not appear in the list in *De divinatione* 2. 1 ff., and is not specifically mentioned in the letters.) In the three extant books (Macrobius quotes from a fifth book, and the reference to *iudicia* in 3. 47 has generally been taken to point to the subject of the fourth book) Cicero expounds the Stoic conception of divinely sanctioned Law, based on reason, and discusses legal enactments connected with religion and magistracies, drawing heavily on the 2nd-cent. BC Stoic Diogenes of Babylon.

Politically inactive under Caesar's dictatorship, the death of his daughter Tullia finally led Cicero to seek consolation in writing about philosophical subjects which had always interested him, from the early days of his studies under the Epicureans Phaedrus and Zeno of Sidon (cf. EPICURUS), the Academics Philon of Larissa, Antiochus of Ascalon, at Athens and on *Rhodes the Stoic Posidonius, through the years of his association with Diodotus the Stoic (who lived and died in his own home), to the time immediately after the Civil War, when Gaius Matus urged him to write on philosophy in troubled times (*Fam.* 11. 27. 5). What had formerly been for Cicero a useful exercise (cf. *Tusc.* 2. 9, and his claim at *Orat.* 12 to be a product of the *Academy rather than of the rhetoricians' workshops) and a source of oratorical material (cf. *De or.* 1. 5 and *Orat.* 113 ff.; the *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, published, it seems, as late as the beginning of 46, may be an exercise in the preparation of such material) became now a haven of refuge (*Fam.* 7. 30. 2), a *doloris medicina* (*Acad. post.* 1. 11). Cicero needed to reassure himself, and hoped as well to make a name for himself as a philosophical writer (at *Off.* 1. 2 ff. he admits his inferior philosophical knowledge, but contraposes his virtues as a stylist). But Cicero was well prepared for the task, having learnt Stoic dialectic from Diodotus, rhetoric and arguing both sides of a question from the Peripatetics, while the Academics had taught him to refute any argument. In addition Cicero had heard, and listened carefully, to the most charismatic philosophers of his time, the showmen of the day. He had a profound admiration and respect for *Plato (*deus ille noster*—'our divine Plato': *Att.* 4. 16. 3) and *Aristotle. His claim to look to *Socrates (*Acad.* 1. 3) belies his sceptical method of inquiry and emphasis on ethics. He aimed above all at giving the Romans a philosophical literature and terminology, which would take the place of the Greek philosophers, on whom the Romans had been hitherto intellectually dependent. The surviving work of the Hellenistic philosophers suggests that Cicero would not be alone in following his Greek sources closely in order to engage them polemically. But some scholars have understood Cicero's words: '*apographa* sunt, minore labore fiunt; verba tantum adfero quibus abundo' ('They are copies. They're no trouble. I just bring the words, and I've plenty of them': *Att.* 12. 52. 3) too seriously (i.e. without a hint of false modesty), and Shackleton Bailey has suggested that they do not even pertain to the *philosophica*.

More trustworthy are Cicero's claims (*Off.* 1. 6) to follow the Stoics (in that work) not as a mere translator but drawing from Stoic sources as he thinks fit, and (*Fin.* 1. 6) to add his own criticism (*iudicium*) and arrangement (*scribendi ordo*) to the chosen authority.

Several lost works probably came first: a *De gloria* (a eulogy of *Cato the Younger); the *Consolatio*, an attempt to console himself for the loss of his daughter Tullia (and unique in being addressed to himself); and the *Hortensius*, a plea for the study of philosophy, which profoundly affected St *Augustine (it turned him to God: *Confessions* 3. 4. 7). The list in *Div.* 2. 1 shows that Cicero swiftly proceeded with the construction of what is by his own description an encyclopaedia of Hellenistic philosophy: the protreptic *Hortensius* is followed by the *Academica*, on epistemology or theory of knowledge (especially concerned with the criterion of truth), originally in two books, entitled *Catulus* and *Lucullus*, of which only the second survives, but later recast in four books, of which we possess part of the first (*Academica posteriora*). It treats of the views of the New Academy after Arcesilaus, and in particular of Carneades on the impossibility of attaining certain knowledge, but conceding some *realia* as more compelling or probable than others. The recommendation (*Div.* 2. 150) to give unprejudiced consideration to different theories before approving *simillima veri* appealed to Cicero, who sometimes portrayed himself as belonging to this philosophical school (*Tusc.* 2. 5, 4. 47). In fact Cicero remained generally true to Philon's early teaching, rejecting the possibility of certain knowledge, but retaining and asserting the right to adopt whatever position seemed most compelling on each occasion.

Thus in questions of ethics Cicero often inclined toward Stoic doctrine as he recoiled from the Epicurean, as is evident in the *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, where he compiles and answers in turn the theories on the *summum bonum* ('highest good') propounded by the Epicureans and Stoics, before giving the views of Antiochus' so-called 'Old Academy' in book 5. From this encyclopaedic survey of the various schools' positions on ethics, Cicero turned in the *Tusculan Disputations* to the problems of the psychology of the happy life: death, grief, pain, fear, passion, and other mental disorders, and of what is essential for happiness, including (according to the Stoics) virtue. Concerned largely to allay his own doubts, and impressed by Stoic teaching on these subjects, he writes here with a passionate intensity and lyrical beauty.

As in the case of the contemporary Epicurean Philodemus, theological speculation stands for Cicero in the place of a full account of natural philosophy and physical causes (such as is found, for example, in *Lucretius, Epicurus, or Chrysippus, though *Tusc.* 1 also treats materialism in its concern for the material composition of the soul and a rational chain of causation). Thus Cicero next composes *De natura deorum* in three books, each devoted to the view of a different school (Epicurean, Stoic, Academic) on the nature of the gods and the existence of the divine, its role in human culture and the state. Having allowed Cotta to present the sceptical Academic view in book 3, after Velleius' presentation of the Epicurean in book 1, and Balbus' of the Stoic in book 2, Cicero rounds off the debate with a typically Academic expression of his own opinion: that the Stoic's argument is more likely to be right (*ad veritatis similitudinem... propensior* 3. 95). In a later work, Stoic beliefs concerning Fate and the possibility of prediction are examined, with more use of anecdote and quotation perhaps indicative of a popular exposition, in the two books of the *De divinatione*, published just after Caesar's murder (*Div.* 2. 4). In this case Cicero displays no sympathy with the views of the Stoics, whose commitment to the validity of divination was based on complex principles of logic and cosmic sympathy. Cicero's pious reaffirmation (2. 148) of his belief in the existence of a divine being, maintaining that it is prudent to keep traditional rites and ceremonies, belies his concerns in matters of theology and religion for the state above all else. Finally, the fragmentary *De fato* discusses the more specialized problem of volition and decides against Stoic determinism.

Equally specialized are the two genial and polished essays *Cato Maior de senectute* (written probably just before Caesar's murder and included in *Div.* list) and the *Laelius de amicitia*, which show once again Cicero's anxiety to reassure or occupy himself in times of stress and danger, and his last work on moral philosophy *De officiis* (finished November 44) aims at giving advice, based on Stoic precepts and in particular (for books 1 and 2) on the teachings of Panaetius, on a variety of problems of conduct (ostensibly to Cicero's son).

These three works, along with the *Tusc.* and the *Somnium Scipionis*, were the most popular among readers in the Middle Ages, when the work of Cicero the politician and orator was almost forgotten, to be rediscovered in the Renaissance. Cicero's influence on European thought and literature ensured that what he found interesting and important in Greek philosophy became the philosophical curriculum of the Renaissance and Enlightenment. His achievement stands out as the creator of philosophical vocabulary in Latin, and as a philosophical stylist.

played a central role in establishing cultural identity. Jewish circumcision was prohibited by Antiochus IV Epiphanes and probably by *Hadrian, but *Antoninus Pius specifically permitted Jews to circumcise their own sons (*Dig.* 48.8.11). Although Josephus wrote that other peoples, including Egyptian priests, practised circumcision in his day (*Ap.* 2.141–44), it was generally regarded as a distinctively Jewish custom by Greeks, Romans, and early Christians. Apostates from Judaism sometimes used epispasm, a surgical procedure to reverse circumcision, and rabbis after the Bar Kokhba revolt changed the method of Jewish circumcision to make such reversal more difficult. MDG

circus, the Roman arena for chariot-racing. The most important at Rome was the Circus Maximus (c.650×125 m.: c.711 × 137 yds.), in the Murcia valley between the Palatine and Aventine, traditionally founded in the regal period and progressively adorned during the republic. The distinctive form with parallel sides and one semi-circular end fitted with tiered seating, and with twelve starting gates (*carceres*) at the open end, was created under *Caesar and preserved in the monumental rebuilding by *Trajan. The area was divided into two tracks by a long central barrier (*euripus* or *spina*), marked at the ends with conical turning-posts (*metae*) and decorated with Augustus' obelisk and other monuments, including the movable eggs and dolphins which marked the ends of the seven laps in each race. Four, six, eight or twelve teams of horses competed under different colours, red and white at first (*Tert. De spect.* 5, 9), then also green (*Suet. Calig.* 55) and blue (*Suet. Vit.* 7), *Domitian's purple and gold (*Suet. Dom.* 7) being temporary. Other circuses at Rome included the Circus Flaminius in the Campus Martius, formalized c.220 BC but without permanent seating, and the Vatican Circus of *Gaius and *Nero (*Plin. HN.* 36. 74; 16. 201), the site of Christian martyrdoms, close to the later St Peter's basilica. Best preserved is the Circus of Maxentius outside the city on the via Appia, dedicated in AD 309 (*ILS* 673).

Circuses are found elsewhere in Italy and in many parts of the empire. In the east those of *Antioch and *Alexandria were famous, while Spain provides notable examples such as Merida (Emerita Augusta) and Urso, the latter famous for its racing-stables (*Plin. HN.* 8. 166). In the late empire circuses became increasingly associated with the emperor and were built in connection with imperial residences as at Constantinople (*See* BYZANTIUM) and Milan (Mediolanum). JD

Cisalpine Gaul *See* GAUL (CISALPINE).

cities *See* POLIS; URBANISM.

citizenship, Greek Greek citizenship stemmed from the fusion of two distinct but related elements, (a) the notion of the individual state as a 'thing' with boundaries, an ongoing existence, and a power of decision, and (b) the notion of its inhabitants participating in its life as joint proprietors. The first element was a product of the various processes of state formation which eroded personal chieftainship by centralizing power and exercising it through a growing number of offices or magistracies with limited length of tenure: at first denoted by an extended use of the word **polis* (cf. ML 2), it later engendered the more abstract term *politeia*, 'polity', 'constitution', or 'commonwealth'. The second element developed from the informal but ineradicable roles which *epic already portrays as being played in communal life by the *dēmos* (the territory or settlement and its inhabitants) and the *laos* (the people in terms of roles—especially military—and relationships): reflected in various ways in early texts such as ML 2 (Dreros on *Crete), ML 8 (Chios), or the Great Rhetra of *Sparta (*Plut. Lyc.* 6), it was formalized in the word *politēs* (citizen) and in the assembly (*ekklesia*, *apellai*, etc.) as an institution. The fusion of the two elements was expressed in the fundamental phrase 'to have a share in the polity' (*metechein tēs politeias*), which is widespread in Greek texts. It implied that all citizens shared in public responsibilities (deciding, fighting, judging, administering, etc.) and in public privileges (access to land, distributions, or power) as if they were shareholders in a company.

Political pressures and political theory (cf. especially Arist. *Pol.* 3) crystallized round the questions 'Should shares be equal?' and 'Who should be a citizen?'. Aspirations towards equality, opposed by oligarchs, were expressed by terms such as *homoioi* ('peers', full Spartiates), *isēgoria* ('freedom to speak in assembly'), and *isonomia* ('equity of power between rulers and ruled'), by the diffusion of power among the citizenry, and by the notion of 'ruling and being ruled by turns' which shaped *Aristotle's functional definition of citizenship (*Pol.* 1277^a27). In consequence, the boundary between citizen and non-citizen needed explicit definition. Some formulations admitted all free residents, as *Cleisthenes's reform in Athens probably did. Others required descent from a real or imagined founder or group, and therefore emphasized legitimacy of birth. Others envisaged 'those best able to help (the city) with their property and persons' (*Thuc.* 8. 65. 3), or (as in Sparta) disfranchised those unable to contribute fully to the common table. Such formulations tended to equate citizenship with the four abilities—to fight, to vote, to hold office, to own land—and thereby to make citizen bodies into closed, privileged, all-male corporations, outside which lay various inferior or adjunct statuses such as

perioikoi ('dwellers-around'), *metoikoi* (*metics) or *paroikoi* ('resident free aliens'), and *apeleutheroi* ('freedmen'). However, need and advantage forced states to make individual exceptional enfranchisements, e.g. for men with particular resources or talents (cf. the seer Teisamenos, Hdt. 9. 33). Collective grants (e.g. ML 94) or amalgamations of citizenship also remained rare except as a product of *synoecisms such as *Rhodes or Megalopolis (Arcadia).

Such exclusivity gradually broke down in the Hellenistic period, as citizenship became more an honour and a status than a function. The purchase of citizenship became a common practice, as did plural citizenship or the mutual permeability of citizenship represented by treaties of *isopoliteia* ('equal citizenship'). By the Roman period active citizenship in the Greek states required previous service in the upper-class *ephēbeia* (see GYMNASIUM). JKD

citizenship, Roman In both the Greek and the Roman world in the Archaic period, it seems that communities were open to the arrival of people from elsewhere, at all social levels, whether one thinks of Hesiod's father, Demaratus of Corinth (mid-7th cent.) in Tarquini (see ETRUSCANS), the Tarquins (see TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, LUCIUS), or Attus Clusus and his followers in Rome. Detailed rules for citizenship were of course developed in both civilizations, as the city evolved, in the 7th to 5th or 6th to 5th cents. BC. In the case of Rome, though the

details are obscure, Roman citizenship clearly developed in dialogue with the citizenships of other Latin communities. It involved the observance of the Roman civil law; and the struggles of the plebeians gradually brought protection for citizens from magisterial *imperium.

At all events, Roman citizenship came to possess two features which distinguished it from *polis citizenship and which later surprised Greek observers: the automatic incorporation of freed slaves of Romans into the Roman citizen body; and the ease with which whole communities of outsiders could be admitted as citizens. By the time Rome faced the invasion of *Hannibal in 218 BC, she had a long history of giving citizenship to Italian communities, either with the vote (*optimo iure*) or without the vote (*sine suffragio*). (The latter communities, as with Arpinum, the place of origin of *Marius and *Cicero, were usually later granted the vote.) Apart from Roman communities of these two types and allies, *socii*, Italy also contained numerous Latin communities, whose members shared a number of rights with Romans, one of which was *conubium* (right of marriage). A child born to two Romans was a Roman; but so was a child born to a Roman father and a mother from a people possessing *conubium*.

All citizens, after the abolition of the ban on *conubium* between patricians and plebeians, had *conubium*; they were also liable to *tributum and military service. If they had the vote, they were also eligible to stand for



citizenship, Roman Grants of Roman citizenship were the most important of the privileges conferred on veteran auxiliaries in the Roman imperial army. This Latin 'diploma' (two inscribed bronze tablets wired together) records a grant to one Gemellus on 17 July AD 122. Both views © The Trustees of the British Museum

magistracies. (Individuals were occasionally deprived of the vote as a punishment, becoming *aerarii*, ‘payers.’) It is unlikely that communities without the vote were bound by the Roman civil law.

In the course of the 2nd cent. BC, grants of citizenship dried up, except for a few communities *sine suffragio* granted the vote; and Rome sought also to restrict the access of Latins to Roman citizenship. Attempts were made to respond to the desire of Latins and Italians alike for citizenship, by Marcus Fulvius Flaccus in 125 BC, by Gaius *Gracchus in 122 BC, and by Marcus Livius Drusus in 91 BC. The failure of Flaccus provoked the revolt of Fregellae (near mod. Leprano); and when the last attempt failed, most of the allies went to war with Rome to achieve their end, the so-called Social War; and in order to ensure the loyalty of the rest, as also of the Latins, who had for the most part remained loyal, Rome granted them citizenship by the *lex Iulia* of 90 BC. Although the details of the process are obscure, citizenship was in fact also extended to former rebels. By the time of *Sulla, Italy south of the Po (Padus) and former Latin colonies north of the Po were Roman, with the possible exception of the Ligurians; actual registration in the Roman census, however, remained very incomplete.

The last generation of the Roman republic and the civil wars which followed witnessed demands for citizenship in those areas of Italy which still did not have it—demands which were satisfied by *Caesar—and the increasing spread of citizenship overseas as a reward for service of one kind or another, in the Greek world as well as in the west. In the established imperial system, Roman citizens enjoyed in theory and often in practice protection against the *imperium* of a provincial governor, and a relatively favourable tax status.

Roman citizenship continued to spread, for four principal reasons. (1) Communities were granted Latin status and their magistrates automatically acquired Roman citizenship, a right which was probably created after the Social War for new Latin communities north of the Po and perhaps in Liguria. (2) Citizenship was granted to auxiliaries and their families on discharge. (3) Legionaries were supposed to be recruited among citizens only, but were clearly also recruited among provincials and deemed to be citizens. Their families on their discharge—between *Augustus and *Septimius Severus serving soldiers could not marry—if their wives were of citizen status, helped to spread Roman citizenship. (4) In the east, from *Pompey on, citizenship was conferred on individuals, typically members of the provincial city-élites.

Citizenship was finally granted to virtually all the free population of the empire by *Caracalla, in the so-called Antonine constitution. But by this time, the right to vote

had long disappeared; provincial Romans had lost their exemption from taxation; and many of the most important personal privileges of citizenship had been restricted to the élite, the *honestiores*, as opposed to the *humiliores*. And thereafter the essential distinction was between slave and free—which also in due course became less important with the depression of the status of the free tenant—and, within those who were still free men, between *honestiores* and *humiliores*. MHC

Civil Wars, Roman *See* ROME (HISTORY).

Claros (see ◀ Map 1, Ec D), *oracle and grove of *Apollo belonging to the city of Colophon (western Asia Minor). The oracle appears to have been founded by the 8th cent. BC, as stories about its foundation appear in the *Epigoni* (attributing the foundation to Manto), *Hesiod mentions the site in connection with a contest between the seers Calchas and Mopsus, and it is mentioned as a residence of Apollo in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*. The sanctuary was discovered 1907, and an excavation, begun under the direction of Louis Robert in the 1950s, turned up the oracular chamber under the temple and numerous inscriptions relating to its operation. On the basis of these inscriptions and literary texts, we know that there were ‘sacred nights’ upon which the consultations would take place, when there would be a procession of consultants to the temple of Apollo with sacrifices and singing of hymns. Consultants would then hand over questions to the priests who would descend into the adytum (innermost sanctuary), through the blue marble-faced corridors underneath the temple, to a place outside the room in which the divine spring flowed. Within this room the *thespiōdos*, a man, would drink from the spring and utter his responses to the questions of each consultant. These would then be written down in verse by the *prophētēs* and delivered to the consultants. An inscription of Hellenistic date confirms *Tacitus’ statement that the Colophonians imported people of Ionian descent to act as prophets (*thespiōdoi*), though he confuses the issue by mentioning only one official instead of two.

Inscriptions are now revealing the nature of Claros’ clientele among the cities of Asia Minor and further afield in greater detail. These inscriptions, along with various discussions in the literature of the empire, reveal that Claros was one of the most important oracular sites in Asia Minor from roughly the 3rd cent. BC to the mid-3rd cent. AD. A number of responses are preserved on inscriptions and in the *Tübingen Theosophy*. DSP

class struggle, as a concept and phrase, is indelibly associated with the Marxist tradition of socio-historical analysis and practical political endeavour. ‘The history of

all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles', is the opening sentence of the first main section of *The Communist Manifesto* (1848). Karl Marx, moreover, did not only apply the phrase to the societies of Greece and Rome (among others) but also acknowledged his debt to the 'giant thinker' *Aristotle for demonstrating, as he saw it, the general utility of the concept for historical analysis and explanation. See MARXISM AND CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY. Marx, however, nowhere in his voluminous writings gave an extended and coherent definition of 'class', which remains one of the most essentially contested terms of art in all socio-historical theory. His omission has been variously repaired by historians sympathetic to Marxist theory. Conversely, the very applicability and utility of any definition of class for the understanding of Greece and Rome have been equally passionately denied.

Economic class is an objective actuality, a relationship subsisting among persons similarly placed in an economic system. But when used as a dynamic term of historical analysis, or a fortiori as a political slogan, it may comport also a psychological ingredient of self-consciousness, so that membership of a certain economic class may crucially determine the members' conscious behaviour towards each other and towards members of another class or classes. Economic classes, moreover, in order properly to constitute classes, are usually thought of as being in some relation of hierarchy and antagonism towards each other. Definition of class-membership is difficult enough for any society, but it is often held that the societies of Greece and Rome raise peculiarly recalcitrant obstacles.

Suppose that people are classed according to their relationship to the means and labour of economic production: between those who do and do not own such means, between those who do or do not have to work for a living and/or for others. Are the richest Roman senator (see SENATE) and the non-working owner of a relatively modest pottery manufactory therefore to be placed in the same class? Or consider ownership of land, always the most basic and coveted means of production. In most Greek cities at most periods non-citizens were normally debarred from legal ownership of land, even if they happened to possess the economic means to work it (see CITIZENSHIP, GREEK). That legal obstacle could be circumvented by leasing land from others, but would that place the lessee in the same class as the citizen lessor?

If class definition is problematic for the ancient world, so too is the identification of class struggle. In so far as chattel slaves were legally rightless and limitlessly exploitable productive labourers, they stood in a relationship of class to their masters and mistresses, but in what sense

could they be said to have conducted a 'class struggle' against them? Outright slave revolts (see SLAVERY) were rare, and there is little or no sense of a shared consciousness of identity and purpose among them. On the other hand, the masters and mistresses may justly be held to have waged a constant class struggle against their slaves, with the aid of those free, non-slaveowners who identified their interests with the maintenance of the institution of slavery (as practically all ancient free people almost always did).

By contrast, in political struggles within the citizen estates of the Greek world (*stasis*), as in the city of Rome under the late republic, there is no doubting the high degree of self-conscious solidarity between the two great antagonistic groups of the 'rich' and the 'poor' (otherwise known as 'the few' and 'the many', and a host of other binary terms). Since the root of their antagonism lay in differential ownership of the means of production, and the aim of their struggle was often the control of the organs of government, this looks very much like political class struggle—except that the classes are defined not purely by economic but by a mixture of economic and legal criteria, and the solidarity of 'the poor' was less organic and more soluble than that of 'the rich.' PAC

Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus) (10 BC–AD 54), the emperor Claudius I, was born at Lugdunum (Lyons) (1 August), the youngest child of Nero Claudius Drusus (the younger brother of *Tiberius) and of Antonia (Mark *Antony's younger daughter). Hampered by a limp, trembling, and a speech defect all perhaps due to cerebral palsy, and by continual illnesses, he received no public distinction from *Augustus beyond the augurate, and was twice refused a magistracy by Tiberius. Enactments of AD 20, the *tabula Siarensis* (ZPE 55 (1984), 58 f., fr. 1, 11. 6 f.; 19–21.) and the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* (ed. W. Eck and others, 1996) 1. 148, like Tac. *Ann.* 3. 18. 4, illustrate his low position in the imperial family. Claudius retained the status of a knight until on 1 July 37 he became suffect consul with his young nephew, the emperor *Gaius; for the rest of the reign he received little but insults. What role, if any, he played in planning the assassination of Gaius in 41 is disputed. After the murder he was discovered in the palace by a soldier, taken to the praetorian barracks, and saluted emperor while the *senate was still discussing the possibility of restoring the republic. Senators did not easily forgive him for the way he came to power, but he had the support of the army: the revolt of Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus in Dalmatia (42) was short-lived. Claudius stressed his bond with guard and legions and, making up for previous inexperience, briefly took a personal part in

the invasion of *Britain (43). The capture of Camulodunum occasioned an impressive pageant, and Claudius made a leisurely progress back to Rome for his *triumph (44). By the end of his principate he had received 27 salutations as *imperator*, more than any other emperor until *Constantine I. He was also consul four more times (42, 43, 47, and 51), and revived the office of censor, which he held with his favourite Lucius Vitellius in 47–8.

Although he reverted from the pretentious absolutism of Gaius (whose acts, however, were not annulled wholesale), and stressed civility to the senate, the precariousness of his position made him liable to take sudden and violent action against threats real, imagined by himself, or thought up by advisers; offenders who were given a trial were often heard by few advisers in private. His early career and mistrust of the senate led him to rely on the advice of freedmen, especially Narcissus and Marcus Antonius Pallas, whose influence and wealth were hated; but his dependence on his third and fourth wives Valeria *Messal(l)ina and Iulia *Agrippina was due as much to their political importance as to uxoriousness. Messallina was the mother of his only surviving son Britannicus, born 41 (Claudius' earlier wives, Plautia Urgulanilla and Aelia Paetina, left him only with a daughter, Antonia). She was hard to dislodge for that reason, but fell in 48, in what looks like a struggle between freedmen on the one hand and senators and knights on the other. Agrippina, daughter of Claudius' popular brother *Germanicus, was a figure in her own right, and particularly desirable after the loss of face entailed by Messallina's fall. The son she brought with her was more than three years older than Britannicus, and in 50 he was adopted by Claudius as a partner for his own son to assure their joint accession to power; in 53 Nero married Claudius' daughter Claudia Octavia. But while Nero's career was accelerated, with a grant of proconsular power outside Rome coming in 51, Britannicus was pushed aside. Claudius' death on 13 October 54 conveniently made it impossible for him to give his natural son the toga of manhood, but the story that he was poisoned by Agrippina has been questioned.

In youth Claudius wrote works on Etruscan and Carthaginian history (see *ETRUSCANS*; *CARTHAGE*). From *Livy he acquired a knowledge of Roman history, and he was steeped in religion and tradition, but his celebration of the Secular (hundred-year) Games (47), extension of the *pomerium* (Rome's religious boundary), and taking of the *augurium salutis* ('augury of security', 49) had the political purpose of reassuring the Roman people about the stability and success of his regime.

Claudius paid particular attention to the welfare of the populace. Building the harbour at *Ostia and draining the Fucinus Lacus (central Italy) were intended to secure or

increase the grain supply, as was his offer of privileges to those who invested in the construction of grain ships.

Claudius' interest in government, from which he had been excluded, inclined him to intervene whenever he found anything amiss, and he berated senators who failed to take an active part in debate. He was particularly interested in jurisdiction, and was indefatigable, if emotional and inconsistent, in dispensing justice. Legislation had clear aims: to discourage sedition; to protect inheritance within the clan and the rights of individual property owners; more 'liberal' measures increased the rights of slaves, women, and minors. Arguments for his legislation invoked traditional *mores* and the upholding of status, but in his senatorial speech advocating the admission of Gauls to the senate, Claudius' preoccupation with the place of innovation in Roman life shows him coming to terms with changes in economy and society.

Claudius was noted for generosity with the citizenship, though his advisers also sold it without his knowledge. (See *CITIZENSHIP, ROMAN*.) A few widespread grants of Latin rights, along with his favourable response to the request of long-enfranchised Gallic chieftains for permission to stand for senatorial office (resented by existing senators), made him seem more generous than he was: proved merit was his own criterion for grants. Administrative changes have also been given undue weight, as also the influence of the *freedmen, who were emerging in previous reigns and have wrongly been claimed to have become the equivalent of modern 'ministers' as part of a policy of 'centralization'. Claudius' grant of additional jurisdiction to provincial *procurators, and the introduction of that title for equestrian governors of provinces, previously called 'prefects', simply relieved him of the job of hearing appeals and stressed the dependence of the governors upon their emperor.

Claudius added other provinces to the empire besides Britain, although that left few resources for an active policy against the Germans: the two Mauretaniae (whose last king, Ptolemy, had been executed by Gaius), Lycia (43), and Thrace (46); and he resumed overseas colonization. His dealings with Judaea and the Parthians (see *PARTHIA*), however, were inept. In Judaea (see *JEWS*) the procurators who replaced the deceased King Agrippa I in 44 proved unsatisfactory, and by 54 Claudius' eastern governors had allowed the Parthians to gain control of Greater Armenia, a serious blow to Roman prestige.

Claudius was deified on death, enhancing his adoptive son's prestige, but in Nero's early years the failings of the regime (influence of women and freedmen, corruption, trials held in private, the bypassing of the senate, favour to provincials), were excoriated: the younger Seneca's *Apocolyntosis* reveals the tone. Under *Vespasian a more



Claudius Sardonyx cameo (*see *GEMS*) portraying Claudius in the guise of *Jupiter (mid.-1st cent. AD). Since cameos circulated in private, they offered a medium for more overt imperial self-advertisement than was usually thought suitable for public monuments. The Royal Collection © 2011 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II / The Bridgeman Art Library

balanced view prevailed and Claudius' temple was completed, but *Tacitus, though he exploits Claudius' speeches, is merciless. Modern writers have overreacted, exaggerating his purposefulness in encouraging the development of the provinces; his accession and survival, preserving the imperial peace, and his recognition of social changes were his main domestic achievements. JPB/BML

Cleisthenes, Athenian politician, of the Alcmaeonid family, son of Megacles and Agariste, daughter of Cleisthenes tyrant of Sicyon. He was archon (magistrate) under the Pisistratid tyrant Hippias in 525/4 BC, but later in Hippias' reign the Alcmaeonids went into exile and put pressure on Sparta through the *Delphic oracle to intervene in Athens and overthrow the tyranny. In the power vacuum which followed, Cleisthenes and Isagoras were rivals for supremacy; Isagoras obtained the archonship (the supreme magistracy) for 508/7; but Cleisthenes appealed for popular support with a programme of reform. Isagoras appealed to King Cleomenes I of *Sparta, who came to Athens with a small force, invoked the hereditary curse of the Alcmaeonids, and forced Cleisthenes and others to withdraw; but he met with strong popular resistance and was forced to withdraw in turn, taking Isagoras with him. Cleisthenes returned, and his reforms were enacted and put into effect.

Cleisthenes' main achievement was a new organization of the citizen body. The four Ionian tribes (*phylai*) and other older units were left in existence but deprived of political significance. For the future each citizen was to be a member of one of 139 local units called *demes (*dēmoi*), and the demes were grouped to form 30 new *trittyes* ('thirds') and 10 new *phylai*; citizenship and the political and military organization of Attica were to be based on these units (e.g. *Solon's council, *boulē*, of 400 became a council of 500, with 50 members from each tribe and individual demes acting as constituencies). The main purpose of the reform was probably to undermine the old channels of influence (and perhaps to give the Alcmaeonids an advantageous position in the new system); its main appeal to the ordinary citizens was perhaps the provision of political machinery at local level; and working this machinery educated the citizens towards democracy. (See DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN.) The institution of *ostracism is almost certainly to be attributed to Cleisthenes.

In the 5th cent. Cleisthenes came to be regarded as the founder of the democracy, but in the political disputes at the end of the century the democrats looked further back, to Solon or even to *Theseus. TJC/PJR

Cleopatra VII (69–30 BC), the final and best known of the Ptolemies, was daughter of Ptolemy XII (Auletes).

On the latter's death in 51 she became queen, alone at first and subsequently with her younger brothers, first Ptolemy XIII (who opposed *Caesar) and then (47–45) with Ptolemy XIV. A joint reign with Ptolemy XV Caesar (Caesarion, reputedly Caesar's son) is recorded from 45 BC. Her later children by Mark *Antony were the twins Alexander and Cleopatra (born 40 BC after Antony's winter in *Alexandria), and Ptolemy Philadelphus (born 36). In 37/6 she marked Antony's gift to her of Chalcis in Syria by instituting a double numeration of her regnal years (year 16 = 1). She died by her own hand (and the bite of a royal asp) soon after Octavian (see AUGUSTUS) took Alexandria on 3 August 30.

Best known for her successful relations first with Caesar, who besieged and captured Alexandria in 48–47, and later with Antony, following a colourful encounter at Tarsus (SE *Asia Minor) in 41, she managed to increase her kingdom territorially in return for financial support. Caesar restored *Cyprus to *Egypt and in 34, in a magnificent ceremony at Alexandria, Cleopatra appeared as Isis (see EGYPTIAN DEITIES) to mark the division of the earlier kingdom of *Alexander the Great between the royal couple and their children. Cleopatra ruled Egypt and Caesarion Cyprus as Queen of Kings and King of Kings; Antony's children Alexander Helios (the Sun) and Ptolemy Philadelphus were named kings east and west of the Euphrates respectively, with Cleopatra Selene (the Moon) queen of *Cyrene. The symbolism of the ceremony was more important than any reality.

Internally Cleopatra was strong, using her position as pharaoh to gain backing from all the people. To her title of Philopator ('father-loving') was added Philopatris ('loving her country') (BGU 14. 2377. 1). In the final struggle against Octavian however she confiscated temple lands. In Greek she was known also as Thea Neotera, 'the younger goddess'. An expert linguist, she was reportedly the first Ptolemy to have known Egyptian, and *Plutarch reports it was her conversation rather than her looks which formed the secret of her success.

The legend of Cleopatra has proved even more powerful than her historical record. Thanks to her successful liaisons with men of power she was named as the author of treatises on hairdressing and cosmetics. Her exploitation of Egyptian royal symbolism with its eastern tradition of luxury was used against her by her antagonists; for Roman poets she was 'monster' and 'wicked woman'. Her visit to Rome in 46–44 achieved little but embarrassment for Caesar. Following his murder, her attempts to aid the Caesarians in 42 were thwarted by Cassius, and by contrary winds. The summons to Tarsus by Antony followed. Her liaison with Antony formed the focus of Octavian's propaganda,



Cleopatra VII Silver coin inscribed 'Queen Cleopatra, the younger goddess', minted c.34 BC. In *Plutarch's view her success lay in her conversation, not her looks. East

based on fear of Egyptian wealth. Yet the skilful manipulation of power by this queen preserved Egypt from the direct rule of Rome longer than might otherwise have been the case. *See* ACTIUM.

DJT

climate The ancient climate was very similar to the modern climate. The Mediterranean climate is characterized by cool, wet winters and hot, dry summers. There is a very high degree of interannual climatic variability, which makes farming (*see* AGRICULTURE) risky and sometimes causes *famines. The ordinary run of interannual climatic variability is taken for granted by literary sources. Only exceptional years stood a chance of being recorded. The rain, predominantly in winter, is usually adequate for dry-farming of cereals, and for evergreen trees resistant to the summer drought. However, it is not sufficient for dense coniferous or deciduous forests. Westerly winds bring most of the rain, so that areas in the rain shadow on the eastern side of Greece, e.g. Attica (the rural territory of Athens), are much drier than regions in western Greece. Rainfall often takes the form of short, intense showers. It runs off the land and does not help

plants. There are statistical correlations between cereal yields, total annual precipitation and the monthly distribution of rainfall during the year. The winters generally remain warm enough for plants like the olive-tree, with a low degree of frost tolerance, while the summers are hot enough to support subtropical vegetation. The Mediterranean climate and much of the flora associated with it is quite young in terms of geological time. For ancient views on the weather *see* ARISTOTLE'S *Meteorologica*, and Theophrastus, *On Weather Signs*.

Various methods are used to investigate the ancient climate. Palynology (pollen studies) enables us to make inferences about climate by examining the geographical distribution in antiquity of plants with known climatic requirements. Theophrastus' botanical works also indicate that the mean temperature c.300 BC was within a degree of modern values. In the future the most important source of information will probably be tree-ring studies. We can construct tree-ring chronologies (dendrochronology) reaching as far back as several thousand years ago, and then make inferences about climate in each year from the thickness of the ring. This technique has already been

employed on subalpine conifers to show that the year 218 BC, when *Hannibal crossed the Alps, was a mild year, helping to explain the success of Hannibal's audacious enterprise. Information derived from tree-ring studies should eventually resolve a number of controversies among modern historians about the possibility that there were secular climatic variations in antiquity. JRS

Clodia, second of the three sisters of Publius *Clodius Pulcher, born c.95 BC, had married her first cousin Quintus Caecilius Metellus Celer by 62 (Cic. *Fam.* 5. 2. 6). Her bitter enemy *Cicero (but gossip said she had once offered him marriage, Plut. *Cic.* 29) paints a vivid picture of her in his *Letters*, and above all in the *Pro Caelio* of April 56. Her affair with *Catullus—the identification with Lesbia is widely admitted—began before the death of Metellus in 59, which Clodia was said to have caused by poison: by the end of that year Marcus Caelius Rufus was perhaps her lover. After the Caelius case her political importance ceases, but she may have been still alive in 45 BC (Cic. *Att.* 12. 38, etc.). GEFC/RJS

Clodius Pulcher, Publius, youngest of six children of Appius Claudius Pulcher (consul 79). He was born c.92 BC (since quaestor in 61). In 68 he incited the troops of his brother-in-law Lucius Licinius Lucullus to mutiny in Armenia. When prosecuting *Catiline in 65 he was, according to *Cicero, in co-operation with the defence. On his return to Rome he had been apparently friendly with Cicero (Plut. *Cic.* 29), but in May 61 Cicero gave damaging evidence against him when he was on trial for trespassing on the Bona Dea festival disguised as a woman the previous December. However Clodius was narrowly acquitted by a jury said to have been heavily bribed. Next year, on returning from his quaestorian province of *Sicily, he sought transference into a plebeian *gens* (see PLEBS): this was at first resisted, but in March 59 *Caesar as pontifex maximus (senior member of the *pontifices*: see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)) presided over the *comitia curiata* (assembly of citizens voting in units called *curiae*) at which the adoption was ratified. There were suggestions of subsequent disagreements with Caesar and *Pompey and of his departure from Rome, but in the event he was elected tribune for 58. His measures included free corn for the *plebs*, restoration of *collegia* (private clubs), repeal or modification of the *leges Aelia et Fufia*, grant of new provinces to the consuls Aulus Gabinius and Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, a bill exiling those who had condemned Roman citizens to death without popular sanction, a bill confirming the exile of Cicero (who departed in late March), the dispatch of *Cato the Younger to *Cyprus, and grant of title

of king and control of Pessinus (central *Asia Minor) to Brogitarus, ruler of the Galatian tribe of the Trocmi. Clodius then turned against Pompey, allowing the escape of the Armenian prince Tigranes, threatening Pompey's life, and (Cic. *Dom.* 40; *Har. resp.* 48) suggesting that Caesar's acts of 59 were invalid because of Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus' religious obstruction. These attacks on Pompey were continued in 57, especially over the question of Cicero's recall, and in the early part of Clodius' aedileship in 56; but after the conference at Luca (see CAESAR) his attitude changed and by agitation and violence he helped to bring about the joint consulship of Pompey and *Crassus in 55. He still continued to control large sections of the urban *plebs* (*plebs urbana*). He stood for the praetorship of 52 but owing to rioting the elections had not been held when he was murdered by Titus Annius Milo on 18 January of that year. His clients among the *plebs* burned the senate-house as his pyre.

Clodius, who like two of his sisters used the 'popular' spelling of his name, probably saw the tribunate as a vital step in his political career: revenge on Cicero need not have been his main aim in seeking transfer to the *plebs*, nor (despite Cic. *Dom.* 41; *Sest.* 16) Caesar's aim in granting it. Moreover, the view that Caesar was at any time his patron seems misconceived. In 58–56 he may have been allied with Crassus; but he was surely both opportunist and independent, for before as well as after Luca he was friendly with various *optimates* (Cic. *Fam.* 1. 9. 10, 19), and in 53 he was supporting the candidates of Pompey for the consulship (Asc., 26, 42). The one consistent motif is his courting of the urban *plebs* and the promotion of its interests. The daughter of his marriage to Fulvia was briefly married to Octavian (later *Augustus) in 42. GEFC/AWL

closure, the sense of finality or conclusiveness at the end of a work or some part of it. In addition to the basic fulfilment of expectations raised by particular texts, some ancient genres show marked closural conventions; examples include the choral coda of Euripidean tragedy, the *plaudite* of Roman comedy (see COMEDY, LATIN), and the rhetorical peroration. We also find a variety of closural modes across genres: authorial self-reference, generalization, prophecy, prayer, motifs such as death, marriage, ritual, and departure. Our understanding of ancient closure is limited by what we have; some endings have been lost, some works were never finished, and some extant endings may be interpolations. Our uncertainties about ancient closural convention in turn lead us to disagree about whether in fact we do possess the actual endings of works such as *Herodotus' *Histories*, *Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, *Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, and

*Catullus 51. Even when we have the ending we may have difficulties in assessing closure. Closure may be unexpected or false, undercut or ironized; it is often hard to interpret the effect on closure of the audience's knowledge of later events in the continuing myths from which so many ancient narratives are taken. *Aristotle tells us in the *Poetics* that a plot must have an ending, which follows from something but from which nothing follows (ch. 7), and that different endings suit different genres (ch. 13); further discussion of closure may be found in the rhetorical tradition and in remarks on particular endings. But the most telling ancient comment on the interpretative significance of endings as the opportunity for what B. H. Smith calls 'retrospective patterning' is to be found in *Solon's advice at Herodotus 1. 32: that we call no one happy until death.

DHR

Cocceius Nerva, Marcus, Roman emperor. See NERVA.

coinage, Greek

Definitions

Coinage to the Greeks was one of the forms of money available to measure value, store wealth, or facilitate exchange. Coins were made from precious metal such as gold or silver, or from a copper alloy; they were of regulated weight and had a design (type) stamped on one or both sides. Lumps of bullion too could be weighed to a standard and stamped with a design, but the stamp on a coin indicated that the issuing authority, normally a state or its representative(s), would accept it as the legal equivalent of some value previously expressed in terms of other objects, including metal by weight. Merchants and others therefore were expected to accept it in payment. A coin of precious metal might weigh the same as the equivalent value of bullion, but would normally weigh less, to cover minting costs and, in varying degrees, to make a profit for the mint: in other words, coins were overvalued relative to bullion.

The scope of Greek coinage is wide, both geographically and chronologically. In the Archaic and Classical periods many of the Greek communities established around the Mediterranean and Black (Euxine) Seas produced coins, and they often influenced their neighbours to do the same: Persians (see PERSIA) in western Asia Minor, Carthaginians (see CARTHAGE) in North Africa and Sicily, *Etruscans in Italy, Celts in western Europe. The coins of these peoples, although they usually bear images and inscriptions appropriate to their traditions, were in general inspired by Greek models, and they tend to be catalogued as part of Greek coinage. After 334 the

conquest of the Persian empire by *Alexander the Great inaugurated a massive extension of the area covered by coinage, in particular in the successor kingdoms, Syria, Egypt and so on. In effect the term Greek coinage includes most of the non-Roman coinage of the ancient world issued between the Straits of Gibraltar and NW India.

Beginnings

Literary and archaeological evidence combine to show that coinage began in western Anatolia, at the point of contact between Greek cities on the Aegean coast and the Lydian kingdom in the interior. The first coins were of electrum, an alloy of gold and silver occurring naturally in the river Pactolus, which flowed into the Hermus to the west of Sardis, the Lydian capital. A date of c.600 BC or a little later for their introduction fits their appearance in a miscellaneous deposit of jewellery and figurines discovered in the foundations of the temple of Artemis at *Ephesus, and also the subsequent development of coinage in Asia Minor and the wider Aegean world. The first coins of electrum were followed in Lydia by coins of pure gold and silver, with the type of confronting foreparts of a lion and of a bull. Such coins have traditionally been attributed to the Lydian king Croesus (c.561–547), but hoard evidence suggests that most, if not all, are later than his reign and were part of the coinage issued in the area by the Persians.

Purpose

In the modern world the role of coinage in everyday buying and selling is clear, but this does not mean that similar commercial reasons prompted its introduction. Coins were not necessarily advantageous in large transactions, and their usefulness in exchanges between cities was inhibited by various factors, including the diversity of weight-standards in the Greek world. For example, the weight of the drachma differed in cities as close together as Aegina, Corinth, and Athens. As for small transactions, although it is clear that the incidence of small denominations was greater than was once thought, many early coinages were issued only sporadically and even the lowest known denomination of early electrum coinage (1/96) represented a large sum. Given the nature of the earliest coins—in particular their standardized weights and the lion's head that features on many of them—it is a plausible hypothesis that they were issued to make a large number of uniform and high-value payments in an easily portable and durable form, and that the authority or person making the payment, perhaps to *mercenaries, was the king of Lydia. For the original recipients coins were simply another form of movable wealth, but many

pieces might thereafter be exchanged for goods or services and so pass into general circulation as money. But the progress towards a monetary economy was by no means straightforward or immediate. The fact that many of the early electrum coins are covered in small punch-marks suggests that it was some time before such coins were universally acceptable.

Minting technique: Implications for study

The first task of the Greek moneyer was to create from metal of the required quality the blanks, or flans, of suitable shape and correct weight. Blanks were normally made by casting, that is, pouring the molten metal into moulds. (In the Greek world coins themselves were rarely made by casting.) To convert the blank into a coin it was struck with dies made from either toughened bronze or iron, and hand-engraved in negative (*intaglio*). One die, which was to produce the obverse, was set in an anvil. The blank was placed on top of it and the metal forced into the die beneath by a short stout bar (*charaktēr*), its butt resting on the blank while its top was struck with a hammer. On the earliest coins the butt simply reproduced its own rough surface on the reverse; at a later stage, in many places by the end of the 6th cent., the practice arose of engraving the butt also with a device, thus creating a coin with types on both sides.

Minting was thus a relatively simple process, but at each stage there are implications for the modern study of its products. At the preparatory stage great care was generally taken to ensure both the purity of the metal and the accurate weight of the blanks: modern methods of non-destructive metal analysis can detect any significant differences in the composition of a metal alloy and thus help to classify the coins or to signal a change of monetary policy. Sometimes it was not—for whatever reason—convenient to prepare fresh blanks, and new types were overstruck on old coins. In cases where the undertypes were not totally obliterated by the restriking process, such ‘overstrikes’ can provide valuable evidence for relative dating and for the circulation of coins. When the blanks were being struck, the alignment of the two dies might be fixed or it might be variable: similarities or differences in the patterns of alignment may again help to classify or date some coins. Studies of the dies employed are of fundamental importance in modern numismatics. A single coin in isolation can provide a certain amount of information, but the significance of the information is immeasurably enhanced when two or more coins can be shown to have been struck from the same die(s). Coins sharing dies in this way must normally have been struck at the same place and at approximately the same time. Furthermore, since in practice the punch dies were more exposed to

wear and/or damage than anvil dies and tended to be discarded more frequently, it is often possible to build up a sequence of issues sharing either an obverse or a reverse die. Finally, die-studies form the basis of attempts to estimate the size of a coinage. Using a variety of statistical methods, it may be possible to work out from a sample of dies the total number of dies used to produce a given coinage. To estimate the amount of bullion required, that total must be multiplied by the number of coins that were struck from each die. But in any individual case, that figure is elusive. There is no means of telling when a particular die was under-used, though conversely there is frequently evidence for the use of dies in an advanced stage of deterioration, and dies were sometimes recut, to repair them or to update them. The size of an issue of coins depended on many factors, not least the availability of bullion.

Coin types

The type of a Greek coin is a mark of its origin, whether a community or an individual. The earliest coins, found in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, had types only on the obverse and their variety makes it difficult to assign them to a specific minting authority. The commonest type, a lion's head, has been attributed to the kingdom of Lydia; others, such as a seal's head or a recumbent lion, may belong to Phocaea and Miletus (western *Asia Minor) respectively. The significance of the earliest types was not usually reinforced by any letter or inscription. On one coin from the Artemision with the type of two lions' heads the inscription WALWEL has been read. This cannot refer to king Alyattes of Lydia (c.610–560) since another name, KALIL, has been identified on a similar issue. The identity of these persons remains unknown. Rather more revealing are the inscriptions on two early coins showing a stag. One has a simple name in the uncontracted genitive, *Phaneos*, ‘of Phanes’, the other reads *Phanos emi sēma* ‘I am the badge of Phanes’. The identity of the Phanes referred to is not known (a mercenary captain of that name from Halicarnassus employed in Egypt in the 530s is too late for the coin), but with a different name and device the formula occurs on an archaic seal-stone probably from Aegina (J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems* (1968), no. 176). The analogy makes clear the origin of a coin type in the personal seal or badge of the authority responsible for its issue. Apart from these examples coin legends are rare in the 6th cent. By its end the initial letter or letters of an ethnic might be introduced (as a *koppa* on coins of Corinth or *Athe* on those of Athens), and in course of time the tendency was to lengthen the inscription. When written out in full it was frequently



(a)



(b)



(c)



coinage, Greek Greek cities used their coinage to project a local identity in a variety of ways. (a) An issue of Sicilian Naxos (c.530–510 BC) used a grape-cluster and a portrait of *Dionysus to celebrate Naxian wine. East (b) An issue of *Pergamum (AD 180–92) adroitly couples the suckling of its mythical founder Telephus, son of *Heracles, with a portrait of *Commodus, the new Hercules (Roman Heracles). Professor Stephen Mitchell, Dr Ov. Vacano, and Collection H.I. (c) Kings used coins to present the royal image. Here *Eucratides I of *Bactria appears as a warleader and claims the title Great King (*Megas Basileus*). East

in the genitive case, signifying [a coin] of whoever the issuing authority was.

After an initial period of variation the types of individual cities settled down and changed little: familiarity encouraged acceptability. Most coin types are connected with religion in the widest sense. Sometimes a divinity is represented directly, in other cases indirectly, through an animal or an attribute. Even some of the types illustrating a local product belong in this category: for example an ear of barley can symbolize *Demeter, goddess of corn. Many types refer to local myths or religious traditions, for example those connected with the foundation of a city. Only rarely do types refer to historical events, at least in the Archaic and Classical periods. In this respect they share the preference of Greek art in general for the allusive and symbolic, rather than for direct and literal references to political matters.

The spread of coinage

Archaic and Classical

Electrum, with its variable content of gold and silver, did not last long as the primary metal for coining, and in the second half of the 6th cent., with a few exceptions such as Cyzicus, Phocaea, and Mytilene, the coin-producing cities of Asia Minor turned exclusively to silver. Coinage in gold became a rarity both there and elsewhere, although from the early 5th cent. the Persians issued gold darics with the same type as their silver sigloi, a crowned figure representing the king of Persia. ('Darics' were so named by the Greeks after the Persian king *Darius I; 'siglos' is a Greek form of the Semitic 'shekel'.) These coins were issued for use in those parts of the Persian empire in closest contact with the Greeks, and the institution of coinage did not initially travel far to the east of its birthplace in western Asia Minor.

To the west and north the story was different. By c.550 coinage had crossed the Aegean to communities close to the isthmus of Corinth—Aegina, Corinth, and Athens—and not much later had taken root among the Greek cities and the tribes of the Thracio-Macedonian area (see MACEDONIA). The rich metal resources of the latter gave rise to coinage in a remarkable range of denominations, including the heaviest of all Greek silver coins, the double octadrachm. Such coins travelled far, especially to the east, and may have been made for export. The first Athenian coins, the so-called *Wappenmünzen*, share some of the characteristics of the early coins of Asia Minor, notably their changing types, their lack of any indication of origin, and the use of electrum as well as silver for some issues. In the later part of the 6th cent., perhaps under the tyrant Hippias (527–510), these issues were replaced by the famous 'owls', with

obverse helmeted head of *Athena, reverse owl, and the abbreviated name of the city. These coins too travelled a long way, another example of the export in the form of coin of silver mined in the territory of the issuing state.

From the Aegean area the medium of coinage spread rapidly to the western Greeks settled around the coasts of southern Italy and Sicily, France, and Spain. Early Corinthian coinage in particular influenced some of the first coinages in the west both in production technique and because imported Corinthian coins were often used as flans for overstriking. There was also a notable willingness to experiment: the first Italian coins were made using the sophisticated 'incuse' method, unique in the Greek world, in which the obverse type appears normally in relief, while on the reverse a closely similar version of the same type is struck in negative, the two types exactly aligned. To the western cities also belong the first bronze coins, at Thurii (S. Italy) from c.440, at Acragas (Sicily) from c.430, and thus the development of the idea of fiduciary coinage in which the worth of a coin was not related to the intrinsic value of its metal content. The coins of the western Greeks attained the highest standards of artistic excellence and especially in the late 5th and early 4th cents. the careers of many of the artists can be traced from their signatures on dies.

Hellenistic

In the 4th cent. the Greek world of independent city-states began to give way in the eastern and western Mediterranean to the ambitions of individuals and the growing power of Rome. In the east the exploitation by *Philip II of Macedon of the mines of Pangaea after 356 left a rich legacy of coinage in gold and silver which was adapted and expanded by his son *Alexander the Great to cover the whole near east. He adopted the Attic weight-standard for both his gold and silver coinage, and struck coins with the same designs at more than one mint. After Alexander's death in 323, the currency system he had put in place remained remarkably stable. In the world of territorial states and kingdoms that emerged in the 3rd cent. only *Ptolemy I in Egypt introduced major innovations in the types and weights of his coins, to produce an autonomous system of coinage. The change to larger political units, kingdoms, states, and leagues was reflected in the coinage. Many individual cities coined from time to time, but mostly in bronze; only Athens and Rhodes coined continuously in silver down to the 1st cent. BC. Coins with Alexander's types played an important role as international currency, especially in Asia Minor, where 'posthumous Alexanders' were produced in quantity until 175 BC and even later.

The types of Hellenistic coins, like those of earlier periods, are for the most part religious in content; and although they display a strong historical consciousness in line with the culture of the time, they rarely refer directly to historical events. The major innovation was the introduction of the portrait of a ruler. Few portraits of living persons have been recognized on Greek coins before Ptolemy I shortly after 305/4. A reverse of Abdera (north Aegean coast) in the last quarter of the 5th cent. realistically depicts a male head which might be the portrait of an individual (Pythagoras) named on the coin. In the 4th cent. fine portraits occur on the coins of Persian satraps or Lycian dynasts in Asia Minor (e.g. Pericles of Limyra). From the Hellenistic period we have a whole gallery of portraits of rulers in which idealized images of royal power are often combined with realism and insight into character. On the far eastern fringes of the Hellenistic world the kings of *Bactria are known to us largely through their brilliant coin-portraits. See **PORTRAITURE, GREEK**.

In the last two centuries BC, as Roman power spread inexorably eastwards, Hellenistic coinage evolved new forms. League coinages had already played a leading role, for example those of the Arcadian and Achaean Confederacies (see **FEDERAL STATES**) in Greece. At Athens 'New Style' coinage began around 170, and *Pergamum at about the same time began to issue cistophoroi, so called from the adoption as their obverse type of a *cista mystica*, a basket used in the celebration of the rites of Dionysus. After the battle of *Actium (31 BC) Rome's control over the eastern Mediterranean was complete and Greek coinage had virtually ceased. The subsequent plethora of city coinages with Greek legends and local types which were issued in the eastern provinces of the Roman empire (the so-called 'Greek imperials') until well into the later 3rd cent. AD are more Roman in appearance and conception; see **COINAGE, ROMAN**. NKR

coinage, Roman There are two related stories about Roman coinage, the one of its internal evolution, the other of its progressive domination of the Mediterranean world, its use throughout the Roman empire, and finally its fragmentation into the coinages of the successor kingdoms in the west and the Byzantine empire in the east.

Rome under the kings and in the early republic managed without a coinage, like the other communities of central Italy, with the episodic exception of some Etruscan cities; bronze by weight, *aes rude*, with a pound of about 324 g. (11½ oz.) as the unit, served as a measure of value, no doubt primarily in the assessment of fines imposed by a community in the process of substituting public law for private retribution; this stage of Roman

monetary history is reflected in the *Twelve Tables. The progressive extension of Roman hegemony over central Italy brought booty in the form of gold, silver, and bronze; the means to create a coinage on the Greek model were at hand. The stimulus was probably provided by Roman involvement with the Greek cities of Campania, with the building of the via Appia in the late 4th cent. BC; Rome had struck a diminutive coinage of bronze at Neapolis after 326 BC, with the legend *ΠΩΜΑΙΩΝ*; she now struck a coinage of silver pieces worth two (probably) drachmas, with the legend *ROMANO*, otherwise indistinguishable from the Greek coinages of the south. But the continuing irrelevance of coinage to Rome emerges from the fact that there was nearly a generation before the next issue, probably contemporary with the Pyrrhic War. (See **PYRRHUS**.) From this point, there is a virtually unbroken sequence of Roman coinage to the end of the Roman empire in the west.

To the basis of silver didrachms was added a token coinage in bronze; the curious decision was also taken to produce a cast bronze coinage, the unit (or *as*) of which weighed a pound; this coinage is now known as *aes graue*, though the Latin writers who spoke of the bronze coinage of early Rome as *aes graue* probably had little idea of what was involved. Bronze currency bars were also cast for a short time, in the period of the Pyrrhic and First Punic Wars (see **ROME (HISTORY)** §1.4), now very misleadingly known as *aes signatum* (to a Roman, this phrase simply meant 'coined bronze'). It is striking that even now the coinage of Rome remained on a relatively small scale, compared with those of Carthage and the Greek cities of Italy.

The silver coinage with its token coinage in bronze (changing the ethnic in due course from *ROMANO* to *ROMA*) and the heavy cast bronze coinage went on side by side down to the outbreak of the Second Punic War in 218 BC. It is probably in this period after the Samnite wars that Roman coinage penetrated the territories of the peoples of the central Apennines for the first time; and it is likely that, just as military needs may explain much of the production of Roman coinage in this period, so it was returning soldiers who carried it to Samnite and other communities.

The enormous strain of the war against *Hannibal led to a reduction in the metal content of the heavy cast-bronze coinage, an emergency issue of gold and finally the debasement of the silver coinage. The first coinage system of Rome collapsed and in or about 211 BC a new system was introduced; it included a new silver coin, the denarius, which remained the main Roman silver coin until the 3rd cent. AD. The issue was financed initially by

unprecedented state levies on private property, thereafter by booty as the war went better for Rome. The unit (or *as*) of the bronze coinage by this stage weighed only about 54 grams (2oz.), the denarius (or 'tenner') was worth ten of these; there were subsidiary denominations in both silver—including a piece known as the *victoriatus*, without a mark of value, weighing three-quarters of the denarius, but with a low and erratic silver content—and bronze and a short-lived issue of gold. The end of the war saw the virtual cessation of minting by other Italian communities; and coinage other than Roman on the whole disappeared rapidly from circulation in Italy. When the Italians produced a rebel coinage in 90–88 BC, it was modelled on the denarius, apart from a single issue of gold, in which they anticipated *Sulla (see below).

Despite the creation of the denarius, bronze remained the most important element in the Roman monetary system for some years; a belief similar to those held by *Cato the Elder even led to the virtual suppression for a decade of the silver coinage, a symbol of increasing wealth and of declining public morality. But the consequences of Rome's conquest of the world could not be suppressed for ever; the *booty in silver *inter alia* which flowed into Rome from 194 BC onwards and the mines in *Macedonia which Rome controlled from 167 BC found expression in a vastly increased issue of silver coinage from 157 BC. It became normal for Rome to coin in a year as much as a Greek city might coin in a century; and it was only with Sulla that the mint abandoned the practice of producing a large part of what was needed each year as new coin; the mint then went over to what remained standard practice, to top up revenues already in the form of Roman coin with issues largely from newly mined metal. In the years after 157 BC, the coinage came accurately to reflect the position of Rome as ruler of the world by omitting the ethnic: no identification was needed.

The relative unimportance of the bronze coinage after 157 BC led to the cessation of production of the *as* and to the production of its fractions on a very reduced weight standard; and in about 141 BC the bronze coinage was effectively devalued when the denarius was retariffed as the equivalent of 16, not 10, *asses*; its name, however, remained unchanged. By the end of the 2nd cent. BC, *victoriati* in circulation weighed only about half a denarius; and halves of the denarius, or *quinarii*, were henceforth intermittently struck, often for the Po valley or Provence (see below).

The period after the Second Punic War saw the beginning of the process whereby Roman coinage came to be the coinage of the whole Mediterranean world. The denarius rapidly became the silver coin of Sicily, flanked both by Roman bronze and by bronze city issues. In Spain, the

Romans permitted or encouraged the creation of silver and bronze coinages modelled on the denarius coinage, probably in the 150s BC. In the Po valley and in Provence, the Romans accepted for their own purposes the local monetary unit, equivalent to half a denarius, and indeed on a number of occasions struck such a unit for those areas. By way of contrast, the Greek east remained largely uninfluenced by Roman monetary structures until the 1st cent. BC. But as more and more of the Mediterranean world came under direct Roman rule and became involved in the civil wars that brought the republic to an end, so the use of Roman monetary units and Roman coins spread, to Africa, Greece and the east, and Gaul. Only Egypt, incorporated in 30 BC, remained monetarily isolated from the rest of the Roman world.

The military insurrection of Sulla in 84 BC had seen the production of a gold as well as a silver coinage, the availability of the metal combining with an urgent need for coinage to pay his soldiers; the precedent of Sulla was followed by *Caesar in this if in no other respect: the vast quantities of gold derived as booty from Gaul and Britain were converted in 46 BC by Aulus Hirtius (consul 43) into the largest gold issue produced by Rome before the reign of *Nero; by 44 BC the distribution of gold coins, or *aurei*, to the troops was a normal occurrence. Caesar's rival *Pompey had become from the exploitation of the provinces of the east the wealthiest man of his time; in attempting successfully to outdo him in wealth as well as in prestige, Caesar in effect superseded the state as a minting authority.

The civil wars which followed the death of Caesar saw the production of coinage in a variety of metals—including bronze on more than one standard—by most of the rival contenders; unity of minting authority and uniformity of product returned when the last survivor of the civil wars finally suppressed the institutions of the free state and established an autocracy. The coinage of Caesar Octavianus (see AUGUSTUS) became the coinage of Rome.

Meanwhile, the types displayed by the Roman republican coinage had also come to mirror accurately the escalating internal conflict of the nobility. By 211 BC, the production of coinage was in the hands of men called *moneyers*, young men at the beginning of a political career. The possibilities offered by the coinage for self-advertisement gradually became apparent during the 2nd cent. BC and by the last third of the century the issue produced by a moneyer was as far as its types were concerned effectively a private concern; a moneyer might recall his town of origin, the deeds of his ancestors, eventually the contemporary achievements of a powerful patron; with Caesar, the coinage began to display his

portrait, an overtly monarchical symbol; even *Brutus, the self-styled Liberator, portrayed on his last issue two of the daggers which had murdered Caesar on one side and his own portrait on the other side. In striking contrast to Mark *Antony, the future Augustus gradually suppressed on his coinage any reference to his lieutenants; and the coinage with which he paid the troops who defeated Antony and *Cleopatra VII at the battle of *Actium was already a coinage which displayed only the portrait and attributes of a single leader.

One important change in the structure of this coinage took place under Augustus: the silver fractions of the denarius, which had filled the gap between the denarius and the as, were largely replaced by *orichalcum* multiples of the as, the sestertii and dupondii which are among the most familiar components of the Roman imperial coinage. At the same time, the as and the smallest denomination now struck, the quadrans, or quarter, were produced in pure copper. The most probable view is that the letters SC on the new base metal coinage of Augustus reflect the fact that the new structure was endorsed by a decree of the senate (*s(enatus) c(onsultum)*); the reform perhaps involved the revaluation of surviving republican asses, heavier than Augustan asses, as dupondii.

The mainstream coinage of the Roman empire, then, consisted of aurei and denarii, at a ratio of 1:25, and base metal fractions. Although at all periods much, even most, was struck at Rome, this was not necessarily so: it is likely that between Augustus and the changes under *Nero most of the precious metal coinage was struck in Gaul. In addition, the empire continued in the east to produce coinages modelled on the earlier coinages of a number of areas, for instance cistophori in Asia till the 2nd cent. AD, tetradrachms in *Syria till the early 3rd cent. AD, tetradrachms in Egypt till *Diocletian (285–305). But the shift of minting from Gaul to Rome began a process of concentration of minting which lasted till the Severans (*see* ROME (HISTORY)). Thereafter, the evolution of the empire saw an inexorable tendency for more and more of the mainstream coinage to be produced in the provinces, though there were ebbs and flows in the pattern. And the base metal coinage of the east consisted for a long time not of the familiar sestertii, dupondii, asses, and quadrantes of the mint of Rome, but of a range of provincial bronze coinages. The kaleidoscopic variety of the coinage of the empire was completed by hundreds of city coinages, in the west till *Claudius, in the east (the so-called 'Greek imperials', now better known as Roman provincial coinage) till the 3rd cent. AD. All these coinages, however, were probably based on, or compatible with, Roman monetary units. It is less clear how far the empire formed a single circulation area: the most probable view is that

even mainstream coinage, once it had reached an area, tended to stay there, even in the 1st and 2nd cents. AD; but there is no doubt that the compartmentalization of circulation became even more marked with the shift from a monetary to a natural economy in the third century AD (*see* below).

The monetary system of the Roman empire always operated on very narrow margins. It is possible to calculate that in normal times perhaps 80 per cent of the imperial budget was covered by tax revenues, the rest by the topping up of what came in with coins minted from newly mined metal. Prudent emperors managed; the less prudent did not.

In AD 64 Nero reduced the weight of the aureus and the weight and fineness of the denarius; and despite attempts under the Flavians (*Vespasian, *Titus, *Domitian) to reverse the trend, the next century and a half saw a slow decline in the silver content of the denarius, paralleled by a similar or worse decline in that of the provincial 'silver' coinages. *Commodus further reduced the weight of the denarius and *Septimius Severus drastically reduced its fineness; while *Caracalla chose to issue a coin, known to modern scholars as the antoninianus, with the weight of about one and a half denarii, but (probably) the face value of two. Since the imperial portrait bore a radiate crown, not the laurel wreath of the denarius, the coin may have been known as a 'radiate'. The tax-paying population of the Roman empire was not to be deceived and the state found its revenues increasingly arriving in the form of recent issues of poor quality, while older issues of better quality were hoarded or melted down. The combination of this process with the increasing demands on the empire as barbarian pressure increased led from AD 238 onwards to the complete collapse of the silver coinage: the denarius ceased to be produced and by AD 270 the antoninianus had ceased to contain more than a trifling percentage of silver. The weight even of the gold unit fluctuated, presumably as emperors divided what was in the kitty by the number of aurei it was necessary to pay out. In a sense, all that happened was that what had always been the underlying reality was revealed: an agricultural surplus supported an army and a bureaucracy. For on the whole taxes and payments were slow to catch up with the declining value of the coinage; and as the monetary circle—levies of taxes, payments to soldiers and others, payments to cultivators for grain for soldiers and others, providing the source for yet further levies of taxes—became increasingly meaningless, so it became ever more apparent that the 'real' wage of a soldier, for instance, was his ration of corn. And the institutional structures of the empire slowly changed to accommodate this fact.

At the same time, the sheer bulk of coinage produced and its appalling quality facilitated the production of imitations: the *nummularii*, whose profession it had been to test for forgeries, could not cope. A large part of the hoards of the late 3rd cent. AD, particularly in the west, is made up of coins known to modern scholars as 'barbarous radiates'.

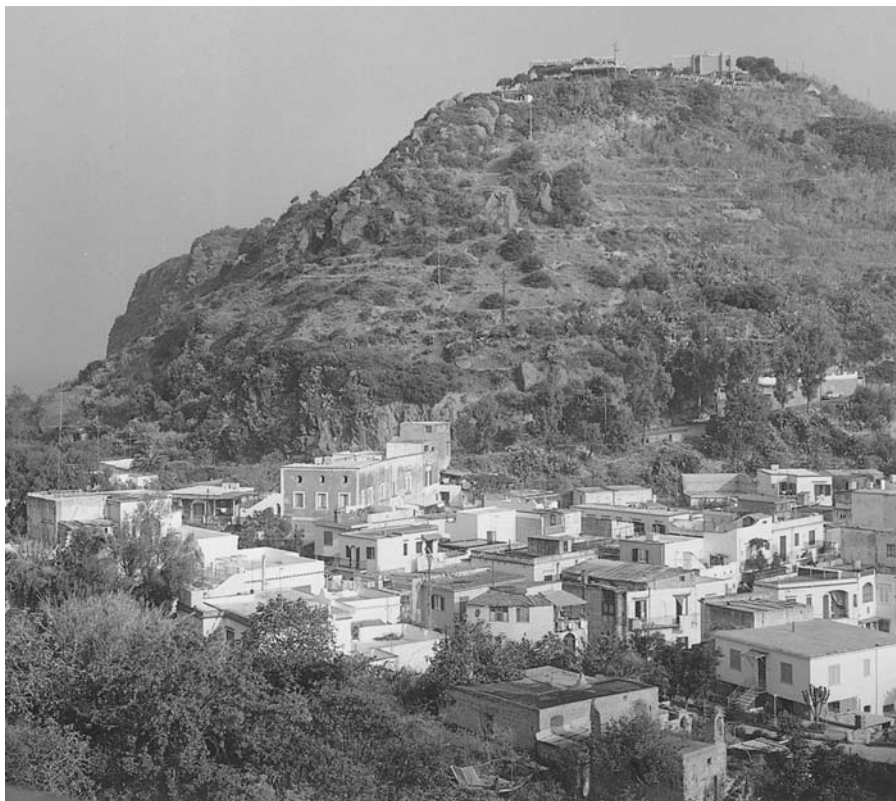
By a series of reforms, the details of which remain obscure, Aurelian and the immediately subsequent emperors attempted to reform and stabilize the coinage. Aurelian produced coins marked *XXI* or *KA* (in Greek), to indicate 5 per cent silver content; and there followed coins marked *XI* or *IA* (in Greek), to indicate 10 per cent silver content. The next major reform is that of Diocletian, who stabilized the gold coinage at 60 aurei to the Roman pound, restored a pure silver coinage at 96 units to the pound, and produced in addition a large bronze denomination with some silver content, known at the time as the *nummus*, and also small bronze pieces, doubles with a radiate head and no silver content, the ultimate descendants of Caracalla's double denarius, and singles with a laureate head. The gold unit was henceforth known as the *solidus*. Further adjustment was necessary in AD 301, the year of the Prices Edict, when Diocletian issued a revaluation edict, attested by the coins and by one of the two texts on a fragmentary inscription from *Aphrodisias. Diocletian also consolidated the distribution of production in twelve to fifteen mints distributed through most of the Roman empire; their products on the whole circulated in the areas where they were struck.

*Constantine I reduced the weight of the *solidus* to 72 to the Roman pound, but managed not to wreck the system completely; his gold coin remained standard for many centuries. A pure silver piece, however, never again played a major part in production or circulation, except to a certain extent between about AD 350 and 400. Nor did the Diocletianic *nummus* really survive, though some of the bronze issues of his successors approach it in diameter. Rather the coinage of the late Roman empire consists essentially of *solidi* and vast quantities of small bronze denominations of changing face value. There is a long series of reforms and revaluations, until some sort of stability is finally achieved in the 5th cent. AD, with the emergence of very small bronze *nummi*, followed by the substantial 'reforms' associated with the names of Anastasius and Justinian (527–65). It is this pattern which is initially replicated by the coinages of the successor kingdoms of the west, before they develop the silver coinages characteristic of the Middle Ages. In the east, the coinages of the Arab successors to much of the territory of the Byzantine empire are likewise of silver. See FINANCE, ROMAN.

MHC

colonization, Greek 'Colonization', in the language of a former imperial power, is a somewhat misleading definition of the process of major Greek expansion that took place between c.734 and 580 BC. In fact, the process itself was not so much 'Greek' as directed in different ways and for different reasons by a number of independent city-states (see POLIS). This at least emerges with relative clarity from both the historical and the archaeological evidence. For the rest, the mass of general and particular information that has accumulated under these two headings is only rarely susceptible to a single uncontroversial interpretation. Although the position has greatly improved since the 1930s, it is still only too true that archaeologists and ancient historians do not always appreciate each other's aims and methods—a problem that is exacerbated by the fact that on the subject of colonization ancient no less than modern authors are more than usually influenced by their own political agenda and accordingly more than usually liable to project the priorities, practices, and terminology of their own times onto the much earlier events they purport to describe.

The actual course of early Greek expansion is reasonably clear, in terms both of the areas colonized and of the identity of the chief colonizing cities: Chalcis, Eretria, Corinth, Megara, Miletus, and Phocaea. Of these, the Euboean cities (Chalcis, Eretria) must rank as pioneers. Eretrian Corcyra was the first Greek colony in the Adriatic, which suggests that it was intended mainly as a way-station on the route to the west; and the primarily Chalcidian foundation of Cumae on the bay of Naples is the most northerly as well as the earliest (before 725) Greek colony on the mainland of southern Italy—known to later historians as Magna Graecia. Cumae was a logical extension of the pioneering Euboean venture at the *emporion* (trading place) of Pithecusae (mod. Ischia), itself a result of earlier commercial experience—not least in a Levant (Al Mina) that had been aware of western resources (Sardinia) since the bronze age. Chalcidians extended their reach to eastern Sicily with the foundation of Naxos in 734, soon followed by Leontini and Catania; on the straits of Messina, they were joined by Cumaeans at Zancle, whence Mylae provided much-needed land, and control of the vital passage was completed at Rhegium c.720. Nearer home, the Chalcidice peninsula takes its name from the early and extensive Euboean presence on the northern shores of the Aegean, notably at Torone (Chalcis; this is controversial) and at Mende, founded by Eretria, as was Methone (for refugees from Corcyra) on the gulf of Salonica (Thessalonica). The Euboean domination of this area, motivated by land hunger rather than commerce, was not broken until c.600, when Corinth established Potidaea to trade with *Macedonia. By then,



colonization, Greek The site of Pitheculasae (mod. Ischia) in the Bay of Naples, an example of a trading place (*emporion*) rather than a colony (*apoikia*). Active from the mid-8th cent. BC, it was the first and most northerly Greek establishment in the west. Estate of Dr. Francesca R. Serra Ridgway

Corinthians (and Corinthian pottery) had long enjoyed a substantial western presence, built on early experience that had extended to expatriate ceramic production at Euboean Pitheculasae. In 733 Corinth evicted the Eretrians from their port of call at Corcyra and founded *Syracuse, which had the best harbour in eastern Sicily and for long conditioned the history of nearby Megara Hyblaea, founded by Corinth's near neighbour at home, Megara—which elsewhere gained control by c.660 of the approaches to the Black (Euxine) Sea with Chalcedon and the superior site of *Byzantium.

Early Euboean and Corinthian achievements in the west concentrated the attention of others, both on the west itself and on other areas as yet unopened. Of the former, the Achaeans were responsible from c.720 for Sybaris, Croton, Caulonia (founded from Croton), Metapontum, and Poseidonia (i.e. *Paestum, probably founded from Sybaris)—the latter, on the Tyrrhenian coast, was situated at the end of an overland route from the south that provided a serious challenge to the well-

established trade (ultimately with Etruria) through the straits. In the last decades of the 8th cent., *Sparta founded its only colony by taking possession of the finest port in south Italy, Tarentum; Rhodians and Cretans (*see RHODES; CRETE*) combined to establish Gela on the south coast of Sicily in 688; Locri Epizephyrii is said to have been founded by settlers from Locris in central Greece in 673, Siris from Colophon in Ionia (western *Asia Minor) before 650. By now, daughter-foundations were a standard feature of the western scene: two of them, Selinus and Acragas, representing extensions into western Sicily by Megara Hyblaea and Gela respectively, boast temples that are no less magnificent than those of Greece itself.

At the other end of the Greek world, the literary evidence is less reliable than it is for the west, and excavation has been less extensive: but it is claimed that Miletus founded a great number of cities along the Turkish coast to Trapezus, north from the Bosphorus to the Danube, and in the Crimea. In a completely different direction, Thera

founded *Cyrene in North Africa c.630. And from c.600, Phocaeans safeguarded their far western trade by founding colonies on the Mediterranean coast on either side of the Rhône delta: Massalia (mod. Marseilles), Nicaea (mod. Nice), and Antipolis (mod. Antibes) in what is now southern France, and the aptly named Emporion in northern Spain.

It is no exaggeration to say that by 580 all the most obvious areas in the then available world had been occupied to at least some extent by Greeks, and that the meeting of Greek and indigenous priorities was in the process of giving rise to new historical realities. The factors that influenced any given colonizing city, or indeed the foundation of any given colony, were inevitably many and various: it is not possible to compile a generally applicable assessment of the interlocking claims of overpopulation and land hunger at home, opportunities for commercial or social advancement abroad, 'internal' (Greek vs. Greek) rivalry and reaction to external pressure. No less various were the relations between colony and mother city, and the effects of Greek colonization on the indigenous inhabitants of the regions colonized. Many different natural resources were doubtless targeted for exploitation, and markets were accordingly made: but the cultural 'Hellenization of the *barbarians' (see HELLENISM) was at no time consciously planned, nor did all the 'barbarians' share the unswerving predilection for the Greek point of view displayed by all ancient and most modern commentators on colonial matters. It remains true that the history of the Greeks abroad is an indispensable element of the history of the Greeks at home.

DWR

colonization, Hellenistic *Plutarch, in the eulogy of his hero *Alexander the Great (*De Alex. fort.*), made the foundation of cities the linchpin of the achievement of Alexander, who wished to spread Greek civilization throughout his realm. Although we must be mindful of the predictable ideology which has structured Plutarch's argument, as well as distrustful of the number of cities attributed to the conqueror (70!), it is nevertheless true that Alexander's conquest opened the countries of the middle east to Greek immigration. The Greeks, however, could only imagine life in cities with Greek-style houses, streets, public buildings, civic institutions, and a rural territory where the colonists could hold plots of land (*klēroi*). Begun by Alexander, usually as military colonies rather than cities proper (*Alexandria in Egypt is an exception), this policy was followed by his successors and developed further by the *Seleucids. Every region of their empire was included, but it is possible to distinguish four arenas in particular: *Babylonia (including Susiana and

the Persian Gulf), where Seleucia on Tigris filled the role of royal residence (Akkad. *āl šarrūti*), and the military colonists of the islet of *Icaros (mod. Failaka) held land-grants; north *Syria, the 'new Macedon', sown with dynastic foundations (*Antioch, Apamea, Seleucia in Pieria, Laodicea-on-the-Sea); *Asia Minor, where new cities were planted on older sites (e.g. Celaenae/Apamea, Laodicea-Lycus, etc.); and, last but not least, central Asia, where the best-documented example is *Ai Khanoum (perhaps originally an Alexandria). All the foundations received a Greek and/or Macedonian population, as the onomastic evidence shows; the Seleucids wanted, in effect, 'to create Greek colonies and to instal citizens of Greek cities in Phrygia, in Pisidia, and even in the Persian Gulf region' (Louis Robert). When Antiochus I wanted to strengthen the city of Antioch-Persis, he asked Magnesia ad Maeandrum (western Asia Minor) to send a contingent of new colonists. Even the most distant foundations remained in direct contact with their Aegean counterparts: we know, for example, that the philosopher Clearchus of Soli, a pupil of Aristotle, stayed at Ai Khanoum, leaving as evidence a copy of the Delphic maxims; the family of the Graeco-Bactrian king Euthydemus I (last quarter of the 3rd cent. BC) came from Magnesia ad Maeandrum, and influences from the Maeander valley are also detectable in a statuette found in the Bactrian sanctuary of Takht-i Sangin; the Greek inscriptions found in Arachosia use a language and syntax which imply regular links with the Aegean cities. However, the Graeco-Macedonian dominance in the new cities implies neither an enforced Hellenization of the local peoples nor their marginalization. (See HELLENISM.) In Babylonia, what is striking is the continuity and survival of traditional social, political, and religious institutions. Anu-uballit, governor of Uruk in the reign of Seleucus II (240–225), is a specially interesting case: he had received permission from the Seleucid king to add to his Babylonian name the Greek 'Nikarchos'; at the same time he continued to watch over and care for the Babylonian sanctuaries of the city.

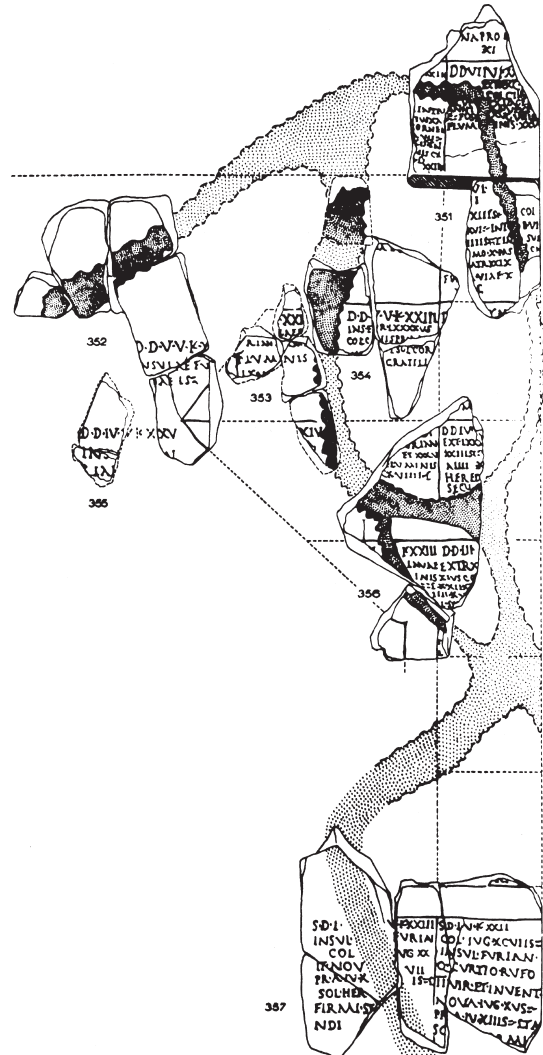
PB

colonization, Roman The earliest colonies of Roman citizens were small groups of 300 families at *Ostia, Antium (mod. Anzio, 338 BC), and Tarracina (mod. Terracina, 329 BC). Others were added as the Roman territory expanded, through reluctance to maintain a permanent fleet. In 218 there were 12 such '*coloniae maritimae*'. The older view that such small communities were to serve as garrisons guarding the coasts of Italy, and even their title, have been disputed and a more political 'Romanizing', or 'urbanizing' purpose envisaged. (See ROMANIZATION; URBANISM.) *Coloni* retained Roman citizenship because

the early colonies were within Roman territory, and were too small to form an independent *res publica*; some colonies, such as those at Antium and Minturnae (295 BC), seem to be part of a double community, rapidly assimilated, even if the relations between the two populations is obscure. Later 'double communities', though often doubted, are attested, as at Interamnina Praetuttiorum (ILLRP 617 f.). Citizen colonies are distinct from Latin, which, though largely manned by Romans, were autonomous states established outside Roman territory and with acknowledged strategic aims, clear for the 6,000 sent to Alba Fucens in 303 BC; the two-*iugera* plots ascribed to Tarracina (however supplemented by access to undistributed land) were smaller than those allotted to Latin colonists (15 at Vibo Valentia (mod. Monteleone) in 192 BC). 'Coloniae maritimae' seem to have been normally exempt from legionary service, though the exemption was revocable, and *coloni* were bound not to absent themselves by night from their colonies in time of war. (Arguments brought against this *vacatio militiae* are not wholly convincing.)

About 177 BC the system of citizen colonies was reorganized. They were assimilated to Latin colonies, and the use of the latter to all appearances abandoned. Henceforth citizen colonies were large—2,000–5,000 men—and were employed for the same purpose as Latin colonies formerly. It should not be assumed, however, that all the original Roman colonies remained small and static. Puteoli (mod. Pozzuoli, 194 BC), though exceptional because of its position, was showing administrative complexity and magisterial jurisdiction in a public building contract of 105 BC (ILLRP 518). It is worth noting too that the first deployment of large Roman colonies is in Cisalpina (2,000 at Parma and Mutina, 183 BC), where the strategic and cultural situation was different from that of 4th-cent. Latium. Generous allotments of land were given to the new colonies and their internal organization was changed also. They remained citizen colonies but received extensive powers of local government for their annual magistrates—*duoviri, praetores, or duoviri praetores*—and council (*consilium*). Not many of the new-style colonies were founded till the time of Tiberius and Gaius *Gracchus, when a further change took place in their employment. Henceforth they were founded for social and political as much as for strategic reasons, either as emigration schemes for the landless or to provide for veteran soldiers. They could, as with the Sullan settlements in Etruria and *Pompeii (see SULLA), cause friction with the original inhabitants and give rise to unrest, notably the revolts of 78 and 63 BC.

The first foundation outside Italy was the Gracchan Junonia at *Carthage (122 BC). Its charter was revoked,



colonization, Roman This marble map shows the colonial plots of land created by *centuriation of islands formed by the river Rhône in the territory of Arausio (Orange), a veteran-colony. As was usually the case with Rome's overseas colonies, Arausio was founded on land taken from subject peoples. Museum of Orange

but the *coloni* retained their allotments. In 118 BC Narbo Martius in Provence was successful despite senatorial objections. In 103 and 100 BC, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus (*tribune of the plebs 103) and *Marius proposed large-scale colonization in certain provinces, and effected a few settlements in Africa, Corsica, and Provence. But extensive colonization outside Italy became regular only under *Caesar and Octavian (the future *Augustus), when, reflecting the change in the locus of political

power, colonies began to adopt the names of their founders and benefactors as titles of honour (so *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*, Cologne, AD 50). Some colonists were still being drawn from the civilian population, notably at the refounding of Carthage and Corinth and at Urso in Spain (all about 44 BC). Such exceptional colonies were known as *coloniae civicae*. Augustus, discharging his veterans and avoiding Italy after 27 BC, established numerous colonies not only in Narbonensis (see GAUL (TRANSALPINE)), the Spanish provinces, *Africa, and Mauretania, but also in the east. There had already been Caesarian foundations in *Asia Minor (e.g. Apamea Myrlea). After Philippi, Octavian gave veterans Italian land (Cass. Dio 49. 14 records the allocation to Capua of Cretan territory in compensation), but the Perusine war (42) showed that if not sent home (*Mon. Anc.* 16) they would have to be settled elsewhere, and the numbers of Antonian troops to be discharged indicated the east. (See ANTONY, MARK.) Augustan colonies were thickly scattered, mainly on the seaboard of Greece and NW Asia Minor. In Pisidia (25 BC), surrounding the mountains that sheltered the rebellious Homanadenses, and at Berytus (c.14 BC) they provided a military presence when legions could not be afforded. In the East an existing *polis* could survive colonization: at Iconium in Phrygia and at Ninica in Cilicia native communities continued; colonization may be seen as part of a movement in populations that included the individual settlement of Italian businessmen, soldiers, and others, as well as the creation of hybrids like *Nicopolis in Epirus: colonization was sometimes unofficial in both east and west. In the later republic, casual immigrants established the *pagus* and *conventus civium Romanorum*, 'community of Roman citizens', in native settlements, thus forming the basis of future *municipia*, municipalities.

Eastern colonies used the standard constitution of *duoviri* and *ordo* (see below); where there was a genuine settlement the use of Latin for official purposes was persistent, and the eastern colonies were a fruitful source of senators and **equites*, for their size, but the overall picture, in language, constitution, religion, and architecture, is of a rich mix. To possess a Capitolium (temple of *Jupiter) was important, and some colonies, Ariminum (268 BC and Augustan), Puteoli, Pisidian Antioch (25 BC), were miniature Romes (Gell. *NA* 16. 13. 8 f.), even organized into seven districts (*vici*). If colonies sent to places where native communities already existed provided the latter with the model of how Romans and Italians lived, and brought some means of following it, that was incidental (see ROMANIZATION). None the less the original communities would often eventually receive citizenship and coalesce with the colony.

Eastern colonization continued under *Claudius and *Vespasian (Ptolemais, AD 51, mod. Acco; Caesarea in Palestine, c.AD 70) but increasingly became a means of enhancing the status of existing cities (even though the concomitant privileges did not include exemption from tribute) rather than of finding homes for veterans or of constructing military outposts. *Colonia Aelia Capitolina* (Jerusalem, AD 135) was a special punitive case (see JEWS). Claudius also began the regular colonization of the Balkan provinces and the northern frontier, which continued till *Hadrian. Thenceforth no new colonies were founded. Instead, the title colony with *ius coloniae* ('colonial status') became a privilege increasingly sought out by *municipia* as the highest grade of civic dignity. The process began when Claudius conferred the title on the capital cities of certain Gallic communities, but only became considerable in the 2nd cent.

The arrangements for local government in Caesarian and imperial colonies were a more complex development of the earlier system. Colonial magistracies were always more standardized than municipal and eventually came to resemble a small-scale replica of the Roman constitution; so the 300 families of early Roman colonies echoed threefold divisions of the Romulan state. (Hence the later popularity of the *ius coloniae*.) However, the evolution of constitutions in Italy was very gradual. *Duoviri iure dicundo* ('two magistrates for interpreting the law') appear under the republic only at Pompeii and Ostia. While there is evidence for standardization in Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2. 92 f., and Caesar was responsible for developments in connection with his agrarian legislation, the *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* (FIRA 12, 138 no. 12), archaic elements persisted ('*manus iniectio*' occurs in the Caesarian law for Urso, 177 no. 21 (= Dessau, *ILS* 6087), 61). Aediles and sometimes quaestors are also attested, the former before republic passed into empire: at Venusia the colony began electing quaestors in 34 BC (*fasti Venusini*, *CIL* 9. 422). The census was taken by *duoviri quinquennales* ('quinquennial magistrates'), replaced in some Italian colonies by *censores*. Even under the empire individuality was not wiped out: Abellinum had *censores*, *praetores duoviri*, and *aediles duoviri*, the last apparently unique, and some colonies in Narbonensis may have had *quattuorviri* (A. Degrassi, *Scritti vari* 1 (1962), 127–143; aediles 179–83). Ex-magistrates passed into the council of *decuriones*, sometimes called *conscripti*. See CENTURIATION; MAGISTRACY, ROMAN. ANS-W/BML/EHB

Colosseum, the medieval name of the Amphitheatrum Flavium, near the colossus of *Nero on the site of the lake of Nero's palace, the Domus Aurea (Golden House). Begun by *Vespasian, it was continued by *Titus, and

dedicated in June AD 80. *Domitian was probably responsible only for the complex substructures of the arena. The building measures 188 × 156 m. (205 × 170 yds.) along the axes, and is 52 m. (170 ft.) high. The travertine façade has three storeys of superimposed arcades framed by half columns of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders, surmounted by a masonry attic decorated with Corinthian pilasters on a low podium; there are windows in the podium and in the spaces between the pilasters, alternating with bronze shields. There were also mast-corbels for the awning, worked by sailors. The seating, supported by concrete vaults, was in three tiers, with standing room above it. The arena was cut off by a fence and a high platform carrying marble chairs for guilds and officials, including boxes for the emperor and magistrates on the short axis. The arena was floored in timber, covering cages for beasts, mechanical elevators, and drains. Audiences, estimated at 50,000, were marshalled outside the building in an area bordered by bollards, and held tickets corresponding to the 76 numbered arcades, whence an elaborate system of staircases serviced all parts of the auditorium.

The amphitheatre was restored by *Nerva and *Trajan (CIL 6. 32254–5), *Antoninus Pius (SHA *Ant. Pius* 8), after the fires of 217 (Cass. Dio 78. 25; SHA *Heliogab.* 17; *Alex. Sev.* 24; *Maximus et Balbinus* 1. 14) and of 250 (Jer. *Ab Abr.* 2268), after 442 (CIL 6. 32094), and in 523 (Casiod. *Var.* 5. 42).

IAR/DES/JD

colour, ancient perception of W. E. Gladstone's 19th-cent. philological studies of Greek colour terms led him to conclude that the Greeks suffered from defective vision (1858). More recently, in the wake of Berlin and Kay (1969), ancient colour perception has been a locus for debating cross-cultural universals and cultural relativism.

Ancient concepts of colour were in fact contested and negotiable even amongst ancient theorists. The Greeks could certainly distinguish hues (*pace* Gladstone), and the etymology of the Greek *chrōma* implies that Greek conceptions of colour were closely related to skin, bodily complexion (*chrōs*, *chroia*), and to the surface of the body as an index of what is subjectively felt or lies within. But Greek colour terms do not organize visual experience primarily according to hue as does the modern English lexicon, but, rather, luminosity, texture, contrast, and further properties of the objects or phenomena they qualify.

Ancient colour vocabulary, then, must be approached with the awareness that 'colour' as an English speaker would understand it, may not be the primary referent at all. Ancient Greek, for instance, furnished its speakers with a system of sensory adjectives that pick out visually and conceptually salient reference points encountered in several

different cognitive domains of sensory experience, of which our 'colour' is only one. Cases in point are: *chlōros*, commonly translated as 'green', but used also of dew, tears, limbs, and blood, and evoking primarily fecundity, freshness or vitality; *porphureos*, commonly translated as 'purple', but also related to the concept of heaving movement (*porphurō*), hence, used of the surging sea; *argos*, 'bright, gleaming white', but also 'nimble' or 'swift-moving' activity, as of dogs and horses, likely because the strobing of light refracted through running legs was felt to approach the term's core concept of bright flashing light.

Philosophers of the 5th and 4th cents. do theorize primary colours between the poles of *leukon* ('bright' or 'light') and *melan* ('dark') but display limited consensus as to their number or identity. Empedocles, Democritus, and *Plato, who can be read as positing four basic colours of which the third is *eruthron*, 'red', notably disagree about the fourth (positing *ōchron*, 'pale', *chlōron*, and *lampron*, 'shining', respectively: Empedocles. A92 DK; Democr. A135. 73–5 DK; Pl. *Tim.* 67c–68b). *Aristotle, in concert with his views on tastes, diverges still further, enumerating seven of which none is *eruthron* (*Sens.* 442a20–8), while beyond his four primaries, Democritus allows for an indefinite further number of colours (A135. 78 DK).

Latin colour categories display analogous cultural idiosyncrasies and present similar headaches for translators. The Latin *color*, from which our 'colour' derives, holds a plethora of meanings. Roman writers of the early empire connect *color* to the surface of an object, pigment, and dye, but also to character and rhetorical self-presentation. For *Ovid, *Seneca, and *Pliny the Elder the discourse of *color* constitutes a potent site for debating the relation between perception and knowledge and the moral and ethical charge of *luxuria*. Artificially coloured surfaces, in particular, draw the attention of Roman moralists as a locus of deception and moral decadence, foregrounding concerns about the epistemological veracity of appearances which also mark late republican and Imperial discussions of rhetorical *color* ('character') in the context of Latin oratory (Cic. *De or.* 3.199; Quint. *Inst.* 2.5.12; 4.2.88; 8.3.6). Roman writers are heavily informed throughout by the philosophical doctrines of the Stoics and the Epicureans. The clearest example is *Lucretius' epic, *De rerum natura*, where he presents colour as a real entity (following *Epicurus), but also recapitulates its epistemic limitations as a stable locus of knowledge about the world (Lucr. 2. 730–841).

AC

comedy (Greek), Old (*see facing page*)

comedy (Greek), Middle (*see page 197*)

comedy (Greek), New (*see page 198*)

OLD, MIDDLE, AND NEW GREEK COMEDY

Old Comedy

1. For practical purposes, 'Old Comedy' is best defined as the comedies produced at Athens during the 5th cent. BC. An early form of comedy was composed in *Sicily, the connection of which with Attic comedy is hypothetical. At Athens itself no transition from Old to Middle Comedy occurred precisely in 400 BC, but the two extant plays of *Aristophanes which belong to the 4th cent. differ in character from his earlier work (see COMEDY (GREEK), MIDDLE). The provision of comedies at the City Dionysia each year was made the responsibility of the relevant magistrate in 488/7 or 487/6 BC; Aristotle's statement (*Poet.* 1449^b₂) that before then comic performances were given by 'volunteers' (*ethelontai*) is probably a guess, but a good one. Comedies were first included in the Lenaea shortly before 440 BC. Before and after the Peloponnesian War (431–404) five comedies were performed at each festival; there is evidence that the number was reduced to three during the war, but this question is controversial. In the 4th cent. comedies were performed also at the Rural Dionysia (cf. Aeschin. 1. 157), and it is likely, given the existence of early theatres in several Attic demes (districts: see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN), that such performances were widespread before the end of the 5th cent. No complete plays of any poet of the Old Comedy except Aristophanes survive, and he belongs to the last stage of the genre, but we have a great many citations from the work of his elders (notably Cratinus, 2nd half of the 5th cent) and contemporaries (notably Eupolis). Some of these support generalizations about Old Comedy based on Aristophanes, but where support is absent or doubtful it is important not to assume that the structural features common to his earliest plays constitute, as a whole, a formula of great antiquity.

2. The chorus, which had 24 members (cf. *Ar. Av.* 297 ff., with scholia (ancient commentaries) and on *Ach.* 211), was of primary importance in Old Comedy, and very many plays (e.g. *Babylonians*, *Banqueters*, *Acharnians*) take their names from their choruses. In Aristophanes (the practice may have been different in Cratinus) the chorus addresses the audience in the parabasis, which has a central position in the play, and again at a later stage. In parts of the parabasis the chorus maintains its dramatic role (as *Acharnians*, knights, clouds, jurymen, etc.), while in others it speaks directly for the poet. It is also possible for the chorus to have one role in one part of a play and a different role in another, as the chorus in *Frogs* plays the part of frogs in its first appearance, but subsequently the ghosts of Greeks who had been initiated at *Eleusis (see INITIATION). The entry of the chorus is sometimes a moment of violence and excitement. It may be (as in *Acharnians* and *Wasps*) hostile to the 'hero' of the play, and it has to be won over; but it is also possible for the chorus to be divided into opposing halves or for it to 'hold the ring' in respect of two opposed individual characters (as in *Clouds* and *Frogs*).

3. The plots of Old Comedy are usually fantastic. Typical features are an indifference to the passage of time, the ease with which a change of scene may be assumed without any complete break in the action (places which in reality would be far apart can be treated as adjacent), and the frequency of their references to the audience, the theatre, and the occasion of performance. In Aristophanes' *Peace*, for example, the 'hero', Trygaeus, arrives in Olympus on the back of a monstrous dung-beetle, and the goddess Peace is hauled by sturdy peasants (where, in the scene so far, have *they* been?) from a pit into which War had cast her. *Lysistrata* is in many ways unrealistic. Can an old woman really intimidate a policeman? As for the sex-strike, did not the men own female slaves? Didn't any of these 'sex-starved' men realize their 'gay' potential, as they do in many modern jokes about soldiers and sailors, and ancient jokes too, e.g. *Eubulus* fr. 118?

4. The comic possibilities of the hero's realization of his fantasy are often exploited by showing, in a succession of short episodes, the consequences of this realization for various professions and types. The end of the play is generally festive in character, a kind of formal recognition of the hero's triumph, but the logical relation between the ending and the preceding events may be (as in Aristophanes' *Wasps*) very loose, as if to drown the question 'But what happened *then*?' in the noise of song and dance and to remind us that we are gathered together in the theatre to amuse ourselves and Dionysus by a cheerful show.

5. An important function of Old Comedy was ridicule of prominent individuals, but the spirit in which this treatment was taken by its victims and by the audience raises (and is likely always to raise) the most difficult question in the study of Old Comedy. There is some evidence (schol. *Ar. Ach.* 67, cf. schol. *Ar. Av.* 1297) for attempts to restrict the

ridiculing of individuals by legislation; the evidence for their scope and effect is scanty. Among the extant plays we find 'Socrates' in *Clouds* and 'Euripides' in *Women at the Thesmophoria* appearing under their own names as comic characters, but *Plato *Apol.* 18D seems not to regard the (unnamed) comic poet's treatment of *Socrates as important; an anecdote represented Eupolis as thrown overboard to drown by *Alcibiades in revenge for the play *Baptai*, but there is a lack of comparable anecdotes about men whose names were given to (presumably uncomplimentary) comedies, e.g. *Hyperbolus*, *Kleophon*. Prominent politicians are always fair game for satire. Equally, artistic or intellectual change is a more obvious and rewarding target for ridicule than traditional practices and beliefs. There is nothing in the comic poets' work to suggest that as a class they positively encouraged an oligarchic revolution, and their own art was characterized by elaborate and continuous innovation.

6. The essential spirit of Old Comedy is the ordinary man's protest—using his inalienable weapons, humour and fantasy—against all who are in some way stronger or better than he: politicians, generals, artists, intellectuals, and also the gods. Mythology and theology are treated with extreme irreverence in Old Comedy; some plays were burlesque versions of myths, and gods (especially Dionysus) were made to appear (e.g. in Aristophanes' *Frogs* and Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*) foolish, cowardly, and dishonest. Yet the spectator or reader must comprehend a civilization in which the *Bacchae* of Euripides and the *Frogs* of Aristophanes were both composed very close in time and for the same theatrical audience. In *Bacchae* the god Dionysus takes terrible revenge, while in *Frogs* the same god falls a victim to diarrhoea when frightened and has to be cleaned up by his (human) slave. Using 'faith' as meaning a belief which the believers choose because they like it, we can say that the Athenians had faith in the gods of Olympus, including faith that most of these gods would be willing on certain festal occasions to play the fool. The gods did that in comedy. See also: ARISTOPHANES. KJD



Old Comedy S. Italian pottery bowl (krater), 400–380 BC, showing a comedy performed on a raised stage by actors wearing comic masks, padding, and phalluses. National Archaeological Museum of Naples / Napoli Soprintendenza

Middle Comedy

The term 'Middle Comedy' was coined by a Hellenistic scholar (? Aristophanes of Byzantium) as a convenient label for plays produced in the years between Old and New Comedy (c.404–c.321 BC). This was a time of experiment and transition; different types of comedy seem to have predominated at different periods; probably no single kind of play deserves to be styled 'Middle Comedy' to the exclusion of all others.

The defeat of Athens in 404 BC vitally affected the comic stage; the loss of imperial power and political energy was reflected in comedy by a choice of material less intrinsically Athenian and more cosmopolitan. In form at least the changes began early. *Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* ('Assemblywomen': probably 393 BC) and *Plutus* ('Wealth': 388), now generally acknowledged to be early examples of Middle Comedy, reveal the atrophy of the comic chorus. The parabasis has disappeared; instead of lyrics specially composed for the chorus, interpolated pieces (*embolima*) were used at points marked in the MSS by the word *chorou*, '(song) of the chorus'. Already in the *Plutus* the lines expressly written for the chorus are virtually reduced to an entrance dialogue and duet. This decline of the chorus was probably gradual but not rectilinear. Throughout the period plays that took their titles from the chorus (e.g. Eubulus' *Stephanopolides*, 'Garland-sellers'; cf. Heniochus fr. 5) continued to be written, and examples can be found of choruses that still conversed with the actors (Aeschin. 1. 157, 345 BC; cf. Alexis fr. 239 KA) or sang specially composed lyrics (Eubulus frs. 102, 103 KA). Yet the typical New Comedy chorus, which took no part in the plot, must have become the norm by the end of the period, together with the five-act structure that its four unscripted interludes made possible.

The dangling phallus and grotesque padding of Old Comedy costume were probably given up during the period, but it is uncertain whether this was the result of legislation (the politician Lycurgus' theatrical reforms 338–c.325/4) or a change in popular taste.

Yet the specific flavour of Middle Comedy remains elusive. The pronouncements of ancient scholarship (e.g. Platonius 10–11 Kaibel = 50 ff. Perusino, emphasizing the lack of political criticism and the popularity of mythological burlesque; *Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 4. 6, 1128^a22 ff., claiming that contemporary comedy had replaced the foul language of Old Comedy with innuendo) seem reasonably accurate, provided they are not interpreted too rigidly. In the absence of any complete play (after the *Plutus*) judgements about Middle Comedy almost entirely depend on the interpretation of a large number of fragments, often quoted along with their play titles, but it cannot be stressed too greatly that the bias of the main preserver of these fragments, Athenaeus, may give a distorted impression of the part that descriptions of food and drink played in Middle Comedy.

Even so titles and fragments, when carefully examined, can be very informative. The variety of subject, especially in contrast with New Comedy, is striking. Plays with political themes were still produced, mainly but not exclusively in the early part of the period (notable titles are Eubulus' *Dionysius*, Mnesimachus' *Philip*), and politicians such as *Demosthenes and Callimedon were frequently ridiculed, if rarely criticized outright. As in Old Comedy, philosophers were pilloried and their views comically misrepresented; *Plato and the Pythagorean sects (see PYTHAGORAS) seem to have been the commonest victims. In the earlier part of the period mythological burlesque played a prominent role, doubtless continuing Old Comedy traditions. There may have been two main types of such burlesque: straight travesty of a myth, with or without political innuendo, and parody of tragic (especially *Euripides') versions. The aim was often to reinterpret a myth in contemporary terms; thus *Heracles is asked to select a book from Linus' library of classical authors (Alexis fr. 140 KA), and Pelops (see OLYMPIA §1) complains about the meagre meals of Greece by contrast with the Persian king's roast camel (Antiphanes fr. 172 KA). Popular also were riddles, long descriptions of food and feasting (often in extravagantly poetic language or anapaestic dimeters), and the comedy of mistaken identity (Middle Comedy originals have been suggested for *Plautus' *Menaechmi*, 'The Brothers Menaechmus', and *Amphitruo*).

Numerous fragments and titles show that the presentation of contemporary types, manners, and pursuits (e.g. *kitharōidos*/lyre-player and singer, *mempsimoiros*/fault-finder, *skyteus*/cobbler, *philothēbaios*/the 'I love Thebes' man) was a characteristic of Middle Comedy. This interest in the details of ordinary life may well have been associated with the development of one particular type of play, which dealt with a series of more or less plausible everyday experiences such as love affairs and confidence tricks, and featured a group of stock characters ultimately (though with the distortions of caricature) drawn from life. This was the type of play that later prevailed in New Comedy. Virtually all its stock figures (e.g. cooks, parasites, pimps, soldiers, courtesans, angry or avaricious old men, young men in love) can be identified in the fragments and titles of Middle Comedy. Although several of these characters can be traced back, at least embryonically, to Old Comedy (thus the braggart soldier has a prototype in the Lamachus of Aristophanes' *Acharnians*; Eupolis named one play *Kolakes*, 'Flatterers', after its chorus; courtesans were title-figures in several of Pherecrates' comedies), it is clear that the middle of the 4th cent. had the greatest influence on their typology. That was the time

when, for instance, the cook began to receive his typical attributes of braggadocio and garrulousness, and the parasite to be called regularly by this name (*parasitos*) in place of the older term *kolax*.

Plots of the standard New Comedy pattern can already be detected in the surviving fragments of Middle Comedy; Alexis' *Agonis* (datable to c.340–330 BC) featured a courtesan named Agonis, a young man in love, and probably too a confidence trick and recognition. Some of the typical plot elements (e.g. low trickery, the clever slave) go back to Old Comedy and probably beyond that to popular farce; others (e.g. recognition scenes) owe much to tragedy, especially Euripides. Although several of the sources are disputed, the part played by Middle Comedy in the complicated story of the development of the typical New Comedy plot must not be underestimated. Aristophanes is said to have introduced rape and recognition into comedy, but only in a mythological burlesque, the *Cocalus*, a late play written in the Middle Comedy period. Rapes and recognitions are likely to have been themes of other Middle Comedy burlesques such as Eubulus' *Auge* and *Ion* and Anaxandrides' *Helen*, all perhaps incorporating parodies of Euripidean tragedies which were famous for their rapes and recognitions. Consequently, when the *Suda* (α 1982) claims that it was Anaxandrides who invented 'love affairs and the rapes of maidens', this probably means that this comic poet was the first to use them as incidents of contemporary life in a non-mythological framework.

To 57 poets Athenaeus attributes more than 800 plays. We know the names of about 50 poets, many of them non-Athenian but writing for the Attic stage. The most important are Alexis (who continued writing well into the New Comedy period), Anaxandrides, Antiphanes, Eubulus, and Timocles. WGA

New Comedy,

comedy written from the last quarter of the 4th cent. BC onwards, but generally regarded as ending its creative heyday in the mid-3rd cent., composed mainly but not exclusively for first performance at Athens. At some stage the author of an anonymous treatise on comedy reckoned to know that there were 64 playwrights of New Comedy, of whom the most distinguished were Philemon, Menander, Diphilus, Philippides, Posidippus and Apollodorus (*Prolegomena de comoedia*, ed. W. J. W. Koster (1975), 10); the first three are commonly seen as the leading playwrights of the period, and above all Menander, who, though not the most successful in his own lifetime, was soon recognized as the outstanding practitioner of this type of drama. The volumes of Kassel and Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*, include nearly 80 playwrights dated with some probability as active between 325 and 200, and over 50 of later date; but many are simply names (or even fragments of names) found on inscriptions. A large number of fragmentary papyrus texts are believed to be from New Comedy (because of their similarity to identifiable texts), but they remain anonymous.



New Comedy Roman *mosaic from Mytilene (*Lesbos) with scene from the play 'Girl from Samos' (*Samia*, inscribed top left) by Menander, a title savouring of the love-interest which the plots of New Comedy favoured. From S. Charitonidis et al., 'Les mosaïques de la maison du Ménandre à Mytilène', *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 6 (Bern 1970) pl. 4.1

Texts of Menander (and perhaps others) circulated widely until the 7th cent. AD but were then completely lost; only with the discovery of papyri in the 20th cent. did it again become possible to form a picture of some plays at first hand. In the mean time, knowledge of the genre was based very largely on the Latin adaptations by *Plautus and *Terence, though there are also echoes in later Greek authors such as Alciphron (2nd or 3rd cent. AD) and *Lucian. Even now we have perhaps 8 per cent of Menander's total output and otherwise very little in Greek except scrappy fragments and short quotations. But there is enough in common between the surviving Greek remains and the Latin adaptations for us to feel confident about picking out certain features as characteristic of the genre as a whole (see COMEDY (GREEK), MIDDLE).

Athens continued (at least at first) to be the magnet that attracted playwrights like Diphilus and Philemon from far away. But the plays themselves were quickly exported all over the Greek-speaking world, as is shown by the large number of terracotta masks and other artistic representations that have been discovered and by the evidence for travelling companies of 'artists of Dionysus'. Although Athenian citizenship and marriage-laws are integral to many of the plays, the presentation of characters, situations, and relationships is true to such universal elements of human experience that the plays could be enjoyed then as now by audiences far removed from Athens. Political references are rare and subordinate to the portrayal of the private and family life of fictional individuals; there are social tensions (between rich and poor, town and country, citizens and non-citizens, free and slave, men and women, parents and children), but they are not specific to one time or place. Love or infatuation (always heterosexual) plays a part and is regularly shown triumphing over obstacles in a variety of contexts. But this is not the only ingredient; Menander excelled at the sympathetic portrayal of many kinds of personal relationship and of the problems that arise from ignorance, misunderstanding, and prejudice. These generate scenes that the audience can perceive as comic because of their own superior knowledge, enjoying the irony of the situation; but Menander often plays games with his audience's expectations as well. Menander may have been exceptional, both in the skill with which he handled all these elements and altogether in the elegance and economy of his plot-construction; but this is the type of play that is accepted as typical of New Comedy.

The playwrights' skill lay partly in their ability to give fresh treatment to familiar material. In some ways comedy had become simpler and tamer by the end of the 4th cent.: there was little metrical variety (and the chorus was reduced to performing interludes that marked the act-breaks in a standard five-act structure) and very little obscenity (the costume of male characters no longer included a phallus), and the exuberant fantasies of Old Comedy were not found. But there were boastful stock characters (such as cooks, parasites, and soldiers), stock situations (such as the rediscovery of long-lost children), and familiar comic routines (such as the door-knocking scene which is central to the presentation of the main character in the third act of Menander's *Dyscolus* and can be traced back to *Aristophanes' *Acharnians*). The terracottas show that there was also a standard repertoire of masks; some correspond closely with the descriptions in the list of 44 'masks of New Comedy' by the scholar Pollux of Naucratis (*Onom.* 4. 143–54, 2nd cent. AD), but the status of that list is unclear since the repertoire must have evolved flexibly. It has been suggested that particular masks were attached to particular names and that in some sense the same character was seen to appear in play after play with the same name and mask; on the whole the evidence of the plays tells against this. PGM

comedy, Latin This term has come to be synonymous with *fabula palliata* ('drama in a Greek cloak'), since the *palliatae* of *Plautus and *Terence are the only complete Latin comedies to have survived from antiquity. But there were other types of comedy in Latin (*Atellana*, a masked drama named after the town Atella in Campania; *togata*, '(drama) in a toga'; mime; and others), and there was clearly some overlap of subject-matter, titles, and style between the various types. *Varro praised Titinius, Terence, and Quinctius Atta for their character drawing, combining authors of *palliata* and *togata* in the same list, and both types were influenced by Menander. The creative heyday of the *palliata* is thought to have been from Livius Andronicus (2nd half of the 3rd cent. BC) to Turpilius (?d. 103 BC), that of the *togata* from Titinius to

Atta; most productions cannot be dated, but the two types probably flourished side by side in the mid-2nd cent. BC. This may reflect a development within the *palliata*; at first happy to allow the inclusion of Roman elements in its Greek setting (as seen most clearly in the plays of Plautus), it came to favour greater consistency and thereby perhaps encouraged the development of a separate type of comedy with an Italian setting.

Plautus and Terence continued to be performed, and new *palliatae* to be written, at least until the time of *Horace, and *togatae* too were occasionally revived; but the comic stage came to be dominated by the coarser *Atellana* (still performed in *Juvenal's day) and above all (for several centuries) the mime. The comedies of Pomponius Bassulus (?early cent. AD) and his ?contemporary

Vergilius Romanus were doubtless written for recitation, like the *togatae* mentioned by Juvenal at about the same time.

*Livy's account of the evolution of drama at Rome (7. 2; cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2. 1. 139 ff.) does not explicitly distinguish comedy from tragedy, and its value is questionable. But it does include an informal tradition of 'jesters in improvised verse' as a relevant factor in the period before Livius Andronicus introduced plays with coherent plots. The Romans were doubtless also familiar with native Italian traditions such as the *Atellana* before they began to enjoy the *palliata*, and there are clear signs of the influence of the former on the latter, at least in our texts of Plautus; in turn, when the *Atellana* became scripted in the time of *Sulla, it was influenced by the *palliata*. Furthermore, knowledge of Greek drama was widespread in southern Italy well before Livius Andronicus, and many Romans must have seen or heard of performances in Greek by travelling 'artists of Dionysus' (though perhaps not normally in Rome itself); such performances may themselves have influenced the native Italian traditions.

It is generally assumed that all actors were male, except in mimes. They certainly wore masks in *Atellana*, almost certainly in *palliata*, and perhaps also in *togata*, but not in mimes.

For an attempt to show that satyr-plays were written and performed at Rome, see T. P. Wiseman, *JRS* 1988.

See also ENNIUS, QUINTUS; NAEVIUS, GNAEUS. PGMB

commerce See TRADE.

Commodus, Lucius Aurelius, sole emperor AD 180–92, one of twin sons born to Marcus *Aurelius and Annia Galeria Faustina in August 161, the first emperor 'born in the purple'. Given the title Caesar in 166, he was summoned to his father's side after the usurpation of Avidius Cassius in 175, received *imperium* and *tribunicia potestas* (see TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS) at the end of 176, and was consul in 177, now Augustus and co-ruler. He was married in 178 to Bruttia Crispina and left Rome with Marcus for the second Marcomannic War. On his father's death on 17 March 180 he became sole emperor, taking the names Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus, rapidly made peace, and abandoned the newly annexed territories, holding a triumph in October 180.

Major wars were avoided during the reign, the exception being in Britain, where, following a breach of the northern frontier, victories were won by Ulpius Marcellus, for which Commodus assumed the title Britannicus in AD 184. There were minor disturbances on the Danube frontier and in Mauretania (NW Africa), and serious problems with *brigandage and deserters, as well as mu-

tinies in the British army. Commodus at first retained his father's ministers, e.g. the guard prefect Tarutienus Paternus, but after an assassination attempt in 182, in which the emperor's sister Annia Aurelia Galeria Lucilla was implicated, Paternus was dismissed and soon killed along with many others. The guard prefect Tigridius Perennis effectively ran the government from 182 to 185, when he was lynched by mutinous troops. Marcus Aurelius Cleander, the freedman chamberlain, was the next favourite to hold power, even becoming guard prefect. After his fall in 190, following riots at Rome, power was shared by the emperor's favourite concubine Marcia, the chamberlain Eclectus, and (from 191) the guard prefect Quintus Aemilius Laetus. Commodus, by now obsessively devoted to performing as a *gladiator, appeared to be dangerously deranged. Proclaiming a new golden age, he shook off his allegiance to his father's memory, calling himself Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, as well as eight other names, including Hercules Romanus: each month was given one of these names; Rome itself became the *Colonia Commodiana*. Numerous senators had been executed; others feared the same fate, and Laetus, probably with the connivance of Publius Helvius Pertinax and others, had Commodus strangled in the night of 31 December 192. His memory was at once condemned, but was restored by *Septimius Severus in 195. ARBI

confederacies See FEDERAL STATES.

Constantine I (see facing page)

Constantinople See BYZANTIUM; CONSTANTINE.

consul, the title of the chief annual civil and military magistrates of Rome during the republic. Two consuls were elected annually for most, if not all, of the republic by the *comitia centuriata* (wealth-based citizen-assembly voting in centuries) at a meeting called for the purpose, normally by a consul, exceptionally by a *dictator, *interrex* (a *patrician senator chosen to supervise consular elections when both consuls died in office), or military tribune with consular power. Before 153 BC their year of office began on 15 March (possibly earlier in the years before c.220), thereafter on 1 January.

According to tradition the dual annual magistracy succeeded immediately to the kingship. Most of the powers of the king (including military command and the right to summon the senate and the people, but excluding certain religious functions, reserved for the *pontifices* (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN))) and the *rex sacrorum* ('king for sacred rites', a patrician priest) fell to a pair of annual magistrates, called originally praetors (Livy 3. 55. 12; Festus 249 Lindsay) and subsequently consuls, the powers now

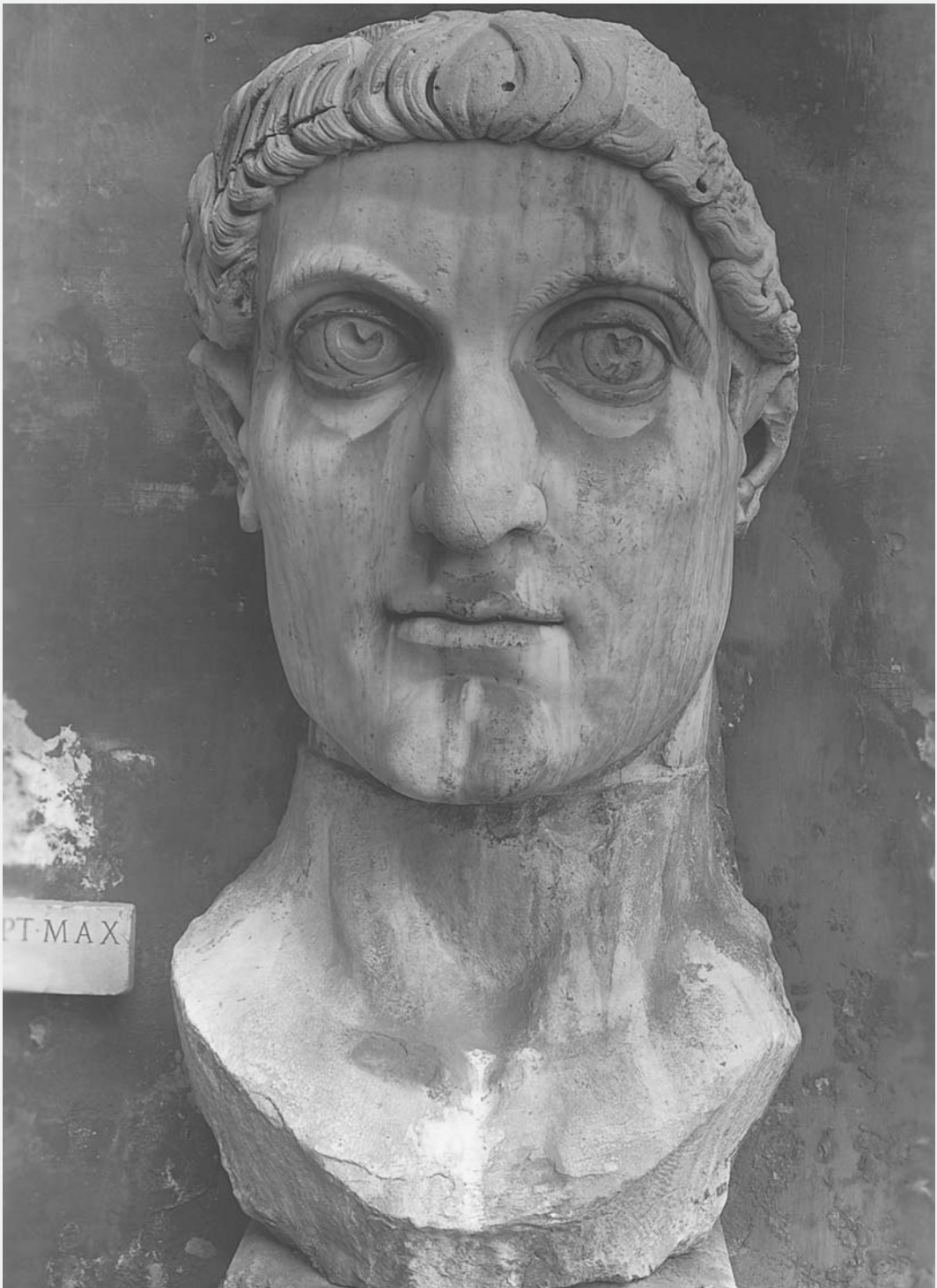
[continued on p. 204]

CONSTANTINE I

Constantine I, 'the Great' (Flavius Valerius Constantinus) (c.AD 272/3–337), born at Naissus, was son of Constantius I and Helena. When his father was appointed Caesar (293) Constantine remained as a tribune at the court of *Diocletian (ruled 285–305). He fought alongside the emperor Galerius against Persia (298) and the Sarmatians (299), and was at Nicomedia (Bithynia) in 303 and again in 305 when Diocletian abdicated. Constantius was now senior Augustus; his eastern partner Galerius reluctantly released Constantine for service with his father. Constantine, fearing interception by the western Caesar, Flavius Valerius Severus, hastened to *Britain to aid his father against the Picts.

When Constantius died at York (Eboracum, 306), his troops proclaimed Constantine Augustus; Galerius gave this rank to Severus, but grudgingly conceded Constantine the title Caesar. Based mainly at Trier (Augusta Treverorum), Constantine ruled his father's territories of Spain, Gaul, and Britain. At Rome Maxentius usurped power; Severus and then Galerius failed to dislodge him. For Constantine an alliance with Maxentius was welcome. The usurper's father, the former emperor Maximian, returned to power, visited Constantine in Gaul (307), and gave him the title Augustus and his daughter Fausta in marriage. Constantine sheltered Maximian when driven from Rome after failing to depose his son (308). At the conference of Carnuntum on the Danube Galerius gave the title Augustus to Licinius; like Maximinus in the east, Constantine spurned the style *filius Augustorum* (son of the Augusti) and retained that of Augustus, which Galerius recognized (309/10). Meanwhile he defended the Rhine, warring against the Franks (306–7), raiding the territory of the Bructeri, and bridging the river at Cologne (Colonia Agrippinensis, 308). He was campaigning against the Franks (310) when Maximian tried to regain power. Constantine forced him to surrender and commit suicide. As the connection with the Herculian dynasty was now discredited, a hereditary claim to the throne was invented for Constantine: it was alleged that his father had been related to Claudius II (268–70). On the death of Galerius (311), Maximinus and Licinius narrowly avoided war when partitioning his territories, and as Maximinus looked for support to Maxentius, Constantine looked to Licinius. In 312 Constantine invaded Italy. Victorious over Maxentius's northern forces near Turin and Verona, he marched on Rome. Maxentius gave battle at Saxa Rubra, was defeated, and was drowned near the pons Mulvius, the Mulvian Bridge across the Tiber. The senate welcomed Constantine as liberator and made him, not Maximinus, senior Augustus. He took over the rule of Italy and Africa, and disbanded the praetorian guard which had supported Maxentius.

Two years earlier it had been given out that Constantine had seen a vision of his tutelary deity the sun-god *Apollo accompanied by Victory (*see* NIKE) and the figure XXX to symbolize the years of rule due to him. By the end of his life Constantine claimed to have seen a (single) cross above the sun, with words 'Be victorious in this'. At Saxa Rubra, Constantine as the result of a dream sent his soldiers into battle with crosses (and no doubt other symbols) on their shields; heavily outnumbered, he defeated Maxentius. No more, yet no less, superstitious than his contemporaries, he saw the hand of the Christian God in this, and the need to maintain such support for himself and the empire. (*See* CHRISTIANITY.) From that moment he not merely restored Christian property but gave privileges to the clergy, showered benefactions on the Church, and undertook a massive programme of church building. At Rome a basilica was provided for the Pope where the barracks of the mounted branch of the praetorians had stood, and other churches, most notably St Peter's, followed. His religious outlook may have undergone later transformations, and was affected by his encounters with problems in the Church. In Africa he confronted the Donatist schism: the Donatists (members of a puritanical church of the martyrs) objected to the largess for their opponents and appealed to him. To the *vicarius* (supreme governor) of Africa, a 'fellow worshipper of the most high God', he wrote (314) of his fear that failure to achieve Christian unity would cause God to replace him with another emperor. Sincerity is not determinable by historical method; it is, in any case, not incompatible with a belief that consequential action may have political advantage. He had been present at Nicomedia when persecution began in 303; he knew that the problem with Christianity was that its exclusiveness stood in the way of imperial unity. If he threw in his lot with the Christians, there could be no advantage if they were themselves not united. Following a papal council in 313, his own council at Arles (Arelate) in 314, and his investigation into the dispute, he saw the refusal of the Donatists to conform as obtuse. From 317 he tried coercion; there were exiles and some executions. Totally failing to achieve his object, he left the Donatists to God's judgement (321). Weakness in the face of a movement widespread in Africa was seen when the Donatists seized the basilica Constantine built for the Catholics at Cirta; he left them in possession and built the Catholics another one.



Constantine I Portrait of Constantine I from Rome. The soldier-emperors of the later 3rd cent. were shown in Roman *portraiture as tough and ill-shaven. With the imperial recovery, Constantine revived the clean-shaven look. DAI Rome, neg. no D-DAI-ROM-57.998

At Milan (Mediolanum, 313) he met Licinius, and gave him his half-sister Constantia in marriage. Back at Nicomedia, Licinius published regulations agreed with Constantine on religious freedom and the restoration of Christian property (the so-called Edict of Milan). Licinius struck down Maximinus, and the two emperors were left to rule in harmony. In 313 the Rhine frontier engaged Constantine's attention; in 314 after attending the council of Arles he campaigned against the Germans; in 315 he spent two months in Rome.

The concord with Licinius was unstable. A first war was decided in Constantine's favour by victories at Cibalae (316) and Campus Ardiensis. Licinius ceded all his European territories except for the diocese of Thrace. In 317 Crispus and Constantine II, sons of Constantine, and Licinius II, son of Licinius, were made Caesars. Constantine spent 317–23 in the Balkans. Licinius became increasingly distrustful of him and suspicious of his own Christian subjects, whom he began to persecute. Constantine defeated a Gothic invasion (323) but was accused by Licinius of usurping his function; war followed. Constantine was victorious at Adrianople, in the Hellespont, and at Chrysopolis, and forced the abdication of Licinius at Nicomedia (324). Though his life was spared after his wife intervened with her brother, Licinius was later accused of plotting and executed, with his Caesar Martinianus (325); the Caesar Licinius II was executed in 326. Implication in the supposed plot may have been the excuse also for Constantine to remove one of the consuls of 325, Proculus. In a mysterious scandal, he even ordered the deaths of his son Crispus and his wife Fausta (326). Only one usurpation is recorded in the rest of his reign: Calocaerus in Cyprus (334), who was burnt alive by the emperor's half-brother Dalmatius.

On 8 November 324 Constantine made his third son Constantius II Caesar and founded Constantinople on the site of *Byzantium. The need for an imperial headquarters near the eastern and Danubian frontiers had been seen by Diocletian, who preferred Nicomedia (mod. Izmit, NW Turkey); Constantine will have recognized the strategic importance of Byzantium in his war with Licinius. The city's dedication with both pagan rites and Christian ceremonies took place on 11 May 330. From the beginning it was 'New Rome', though lower in rank. Pagan temples and cults were absent, but other features of Rome were in time reproduced (Constantius II upgraded the city council to equality with the Roman senate). To speak of the foundation of a capital is misleading; yet a permanent imperial residence in the east did in the end emphasize division between the empire's Greek and Latin parts.

In a reunited empire Constantine was able to complete Diocletian's reforms and introduce innovations. The separation of civil and military commands was completed. A substantial field army was created under new commanders, *magister equitum* (master of the horse) and *magister peditum* (commander of the infantry), responsible directly to the emperor: its soldiers (*comitatenses*) had higher pay and privileges than the frontier troops (*limitanei*). The number of Germans seems to have increased, especially in the higher ranks. Praetorian prefects and *vicarii* (overall governors in charge of the dioceses or groupings of provinces) now had purely civilian functions. In a reorganization of the government, the *magister officiorum* (master of the offices) controlled the imperial bureaux (*scrinia*), a new corps of guards (*scholae*) which replaced the praetorians, and a corps of couriers and agents (*agentes in rebus*); the *quaestor sacri palatii* (quaestor of the sacred palace) was chief legal adviser; the *comes sacrarum largitionum* (count of the sacred largesses) and the *comes rei privatae* (count of the imperial domains) handled those revenues and expenditures not controlled by the praetorian prefects. The Emperor's council (*consistorium*) had the above as permanent members, as well as *comites* (counts). These at first were men who served at court or as special commissioners, but the title 'count' was soon given freely as an honour. He also resuscitated the title of patrician. He tried vainly to stop corruption in the steadily growing bureaucracy. He gave senatorial rank freely, and reopened many civilian posts to senators who began to recover some of their lost political influence. From his reign survive the first laws to prevent tenant farmers and other productive workers, not to mention town councillors, from leaving their homes and work. His open-handedness harmed the economy: taxation (mostly in kind) rose inexorably despite the confiscation of the vast temple treasures. He established a gold coinage of 72 solidi to the pound, but the other coinage continued to depreciate (*see COINAGE, ROMAN*).

Resident now in the more Christianized east, his promotion of the new religion became more emphatic. He openly rejected paganism, though without persecuting pagans, favoured Christians as officials, and welcomed bishops at court, but his actions in Church matters were his own. He now confronted another dispute which was rending Christianity, the theological questions about the nature of Christ raised by the Alexandrian priest Arius. To secure unity Constantine summoned the council which met at Nicaea (mod. Iznik) in 325 (later ranked as the First Ecumenical Council), and proposed the formula which all must accept. Dissidents were bludgeoned into agreement; but bishop Athanasius of Alexandria's view that his opponents had put an unorthodox interpretation on the formula was seen by Constantine as vexatious interference with attempts to secure unity. Even if his success in this aspect was superficial, he nevertheless brought *Christianity from a persecuted minority sect to near-supremacy in the religious life of the empire.

He spent the generally peaceful last dozen years of his reign in the east or on the Danube, though he visited Italy and Rome (326), and campaigned on the Rhine (328/9). Victory over the Goths (332) was followed (334) by a campaign against the Sarmatians, many thousands of whom were then admitted within the empire as potential recruits. In 336 he fought north of the Danube, even recovering part of the lost province of Dacia. The empire's prestige seemed fully restored; a Persian war loomed but did not break out until after his death.

His youngest son Constans gained (333) the title Caesar already held by Constantine II and Constantius II. A believer in hereditary succession, Constantine groomed these to succeed along with his nephews Dalmatius (Caesar 335) and Hannibalianus, hoping they would rule amicably after his death. Baptized when death approached (such postponement was common at the time), he died near Nicomedia (22 May 337). RPD

tempered by the principle of collegiality and limited tenure of office. Against this it has been held that the dual collegiate system must have been some time in developing, and scholars have pointed to the fact that for most of the years from 448 to 368 there were more than two chief magistrates (the military tribunes) and to Livy 7. 3. 5, where an 'ancient law' (*lex vetusta*) is referred to that mentions a *praetor maximus*, taken to refer to a sole (or pre-eminent) chief magistrate. The title praetor (from *prae-ire*, to go before; the etymology of 'consul' is not clear) suggests military leadership, and many have seen in the *praetor maximus* the supreme magistrate of the early republic, with the fully collegiate magistracy appearing in its final dual form only much later, perhaps as late as 367. The traditional view that republican and dual magistracy were coeval is supported by the *fasti* (inscribed records of consuls), which show a succession of two annual consuls in the years before 451, and was apparently in place by the time *Polybius wrote (see 3. 22. 1–2). The testimony of the *fasti* has yet to be successfully impugned, and modern supporters of the traditional view have seen in Livy's *praetor maximus* a descriptive reference to the senior (but not more powerful) of the two collegial magistrates or an indication of the superiority of their office. The Greek translations (*stratēgos* for praetor and *stratēgos hypatos*, or *stratēgos* or *hypatos* alone, for consul) may be indicative, but they are not attested before the early 2nd cent. BC and seem more likely to reflect contemporary Greek perceptions than Roman antiquities.

As the highest office of state the consulship figured in the 'struggle of the orders' between patricians and plebeians (see PLEBS). Analysis of the *fasti*, however, suggests that the tradition may have been wrong in regarding the consulship as an office from which plebeians were at one time excluded by law. Plebeian consuls were, nevertheless, few in the 5th cent., and it was not until 367 BC that a Licinian plebiscite required the election of at least one plebeian consul and not until 342 that this became regular in fact. The first entirely plebeian college held office in 172.

The consul's power, or **imperium*, was effectively that of the king, limited by the period of office and the presence of a colleague with the same *imperium*. The importance of the principle of collegiality here is reflected in the fact that if a consul died or resigned, his colleague was bound to hold an election to fill his place for the remainder of the year (as *suffect consul*). Over time, some functions were removed from the consuls. The conduct of the census was taken over by the censors from 443, and civil jurisdiction passed effectively to the praetor from 366. In the city consuls could exercise *coercitio*, a general power of enforcing order and exacting obedience to their commands, but the extent of their power within the city (*imperium domi*) was subject from the earliest times to *provocatio* (appeal made to the Roman people against the action of a magistrate). The power of the consul in the field (*imperium militiae*) was virtually unrestricted, as symbolized by the addition of the axe to the *fasces* (bundles of rods—emblems of magisterial authority) when the consul left the city on campaign. It was probably not until a law of Cato Censorius in the 190s that the citizen's right of *provocatio* was extended beyond the precincts of the city. The consuls could and usually did act together, for example in calling the senate or an assembly, and use of the veto (*intercessio*) against one another was rare. When division of labour in the city was indicated, this might be arranged by agreement or by lot, or by use of the custom whereby each assumed duties (and the *fasces*) for a month at a time. When both consuls were on campaign together, the normal practice was for each to assume overall command for a day at a time.

Under the empire consuls continued, but in an appropriately attenuated way. With *Augustus consular *imperium* came to be part of the emperor's arsenal and to be held by the emperor independently of the office of consul itself. With the suppression of the centuriate assembly and popular election, the emperors either recommended the candidates or held the office themselves. The position continued to confer honour, as is indicated by the increasing use of pairs of *suffect consuls*

during the same year after the initial brief tenure of the *consules ordinarii* (ordinary consuls), who gave their name to the year as the republican consuls had done. The republican age limits (fixed initially by the *lex Villia annalis* of 180 BC and later by a law of *Sulla's dictatorship; in the late republic no one under 42 could be elected) were often disregarded as imperial relatives and protégés were signalled by the bestowal upon them of the consulship. In these circumstances children might become consuls, and Honorius was made consul at his birth in AD 384. The consulship continued in the western empire for 150 years after that. PSD

contraception played a minor role in Hippocratic medicine, where the emphasis was rather on helping women to conceive. (See MEDICINE §4.) The exception is a substance called 'misy', possibly copper ore, recommended as having the power to prevent conception for a year (e.g. Hippoc. *Mul.* 1. 76 and *Nat. mul.* 98). It was erroneously believed that the most fertile time of the month was just before or just after a menstrual period, when the womb was open to receive semen. Any attempt to use this information in reverse, in order to avoid conception, would thus in fact have led to intercourse at the most fertile days of the month.

However, it has been argued that many of the remedies given as general gynaecological cures (see GYNAECOLGY) in the ancient medical tradition did in fact contain substances, mostly of plant origin, effective both as contraceptives and as early-stage abortifacients. Some substances were used as barriers; for example, sponges soaked in vinegar or oil, or cedar resin applied to the mouth of the womb. These could have acted as spermicides. Others could either be taken orally or used as pessaries, and included pomegranate skin, pennyroyal, willow, and the squirting cucumber, which forcefully ejects its seeds. The degree to which these would have been effective is, however, very difficult to assess. The widespread practice of polypharmacy, by which a combination of several different remedies were used at once, together with the use of amulets, other magical techniques, and non-fertile sexual positions would have made it difficult to judge which method was responsible in the event of a long period without pregnancy ensuing. There is considerable debate also over the use of coitus interruptus, which is not discussed in the sources (see however 'landing in the grassy meadows' in *Archilochus, *PColon.* 7511 = *SLG* 478²) but which is nevertheless assumed by some modern commentators to have been widespread. The physician Soranus (early 2nd cent. AD) recommends a form of withdrawal by the female partner, in order to prevent the ejection of semen deep into the

womb, as well as sneezing after intercourse, washing the vagina, and drinking cold water (*Gynaecia* 1. 20).

An additional problem is that, although some distinction between *abortion and contraception was made in the ancient world—at least by Soranus (*Gynaecia* 1. 20)—conception was often seen as a process, and any intervention in early pregnancy could thus be seen as 'contraceptive'. This confusion is heightened by the fact that the substances used as contraceptives or abortives would perhaps also work as emmenagogues. What was envisaged as action to bring on a delayed period could thus have been an early abortion—or, indeed, vice versa. See BOTANY. HK

conversion In classical Greek *metanoia* signifies change of heart or purpose rather than renunciation of one way of life or worship for another. Latin *conversio* may suggest alteration of principle, but not a metamorphosis (Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.27; Plin. *Ep.* 9.13). It is possible, as Apuleius boasts (*Apol.* 55), to be an adept of numerous mysteries; Nock read too much history into his tongue-in-cheek romance the *Golden Ass*, in which the hero's return from asinine to human shape, perfunctorily explained as an allegorical deliverance from the sins of the flesh, is crowned by initiation into the cult of his saviour Isis. This fanciful scenario at least confirms Nock's maxim that in ancient times philosophy did the work that we associate with religion. Change could be incremental or instantaneous. The Stoic Polemon is said to have turned from debauchery to austerity after breaking in on a lecture; Antisthenes and Plotinus, already bent on philosophical studies, had frequented a number of schools without profit before a single audience convinced them that they had found their teacher at last. These are dramatic counterparts to the inward phenomenon characterized by Platonists as turning the eye of the soul (*Resp.* 533b).

In the Old Testament Abraham is the archetype of the Gentile convert, Moses of the returning Israelite. In Philon's reading one is the embodiment, one the amanensis of philosophic virtue. Paul of Tarsus, however, was a Jew no longer once he had met the risen Christ in a scene reminiscent of Moses' burning bush (Acts 9.3–5). Acts of other apostles and later saints suggest that miracles outweighed preaching with the vulgar, but testimonies of educated neophytes were more likely to commence with a philosophical apprenticeship. Thus Justin, after trying various schools, espouses Platonism only to meet an old man who exposes the poverty of this system and persuades him to seek the truth in a single book (*Trypho* 4 ff.). In a hereditary Christian, 'conversion' means the rekindling of belief. The *Confessions* of *Augustine offer a circumstantial history of his transition from lukewarm

acquiescence to Manichaeism, then to Platonizing Christianity and at last to biblical faith. His final shift, occasioned by a voice and a single text, is anticipated in the story of Antony's departure for the desert, while Augustine himself records the conversion of Victorinus from wary Platonism to open churchmanship (*Conf.* 8.3). It would appear, then, that even this narrative of a sincere conversion derives its shape from antecedents. The sign that converted Clovis the Frank is similarly modelled on the vision that promised Constantine victory at the Mulvian Bridge. His imitators, Ethelbert and Reccared, were moved by desire for alliance with Christian dynasties; nevertheless, accounts of the mass conversion of barbarians teem with miracles, and under Christian rulers it was the pagan Hierocles (*Golden Verses*, proem) who represents philosophy as the fruit of *metanoia*. MJE

cookery The religious importance of *sacrifice gave cooking a powerfully expressive role in ancient society: the order of the exposing of meat to different sources of heat, especially boiling and roasting, mattered ritually. The public meat-cook (*mageiros*) was a man; other food preparation was among the private, household tasks of an adult woman (see *HOUSEWORK*). Food could be prepared at the hearth of the city and consumed as a public activity, like the meals of the Athenian *prytaneion* (state dining facility); it was more normally regarded as a household matter. But the staples of domestic diet (see *MEALS*), especially grains (of which there was a considerable variety), could also be cooked in special forms as offerings (a wide range of sacred breads and *cakes is known).

Cereals could be boiled (like pulses, which were also important) or made into coarse or fine flours, which could also be boiled; the heat necessary for bread-making makes provision of communal ovens desirable outside very large households. The spread of bakeries is a part of a gradual, partial, controversial, and never very advanced displacement of cookery from the household, reaching its acme in the Roman tavern, with its cheap wine and cooked food a sign of the advantages available to urban populations. Even in urban settings much cooking was still done in the household on a brazier, using techniques like the sealed broiling of the *clibanus* or roasting-pot; samovar-like water-heaters, often highly ornamented, were also used. Casual finds and the kitchens of *Pompeii and *Herculaneum have provided copious information on practical technique, not for all that yet exhaustively studied.

The standard pattern of meals remained the combination of nutritious staples with tasty condiments.

Quality in food reflected the excellence of these, and became—by 5th-cent. BC Athens if no earlier—an ingredient in social stratification. Raw materials were carefully calibrated: their places of origin acquired precise reputations. The preparation of speciality vegetables or meats through careful tending was part of the process. The combination of condiments, often exotic—for instance as sauces based on fish products (see *FISHING*), *wine and its derivatives, *olive oil, or the cooking juices of fish or meat—was also a matter for considerable ingenuity and skill, and this (rather than the precise execution of the cooking and serving of the food) was the base of the claim of the ancient connoisseur to knowledge of an *ars*.

Ancient *cuisine* did therefore become *haute*, and resembled the high style in the cooking of other élites in being to some extent regional (the specialities of the various homes of *truphē*, 'luxury', such as south Italy, are an example). There was therefore a considerable literature, much of it comic or semi-serious; but although Athenaeus provides a huge store of culinary anecdote and quotation from earlier sources, and the moral indignation of the Roman writers spices it with tales of culinary excess, reinforced by occasional description like Trimalchio's parody meal in *Petronius Arbiter's *Satyricon*, the reconstruction of *system* and *style*, as opposed to the understanding of individual recipes, in ancient cooking still rather eludes us, and the only surviving text on cookery [Apicius] *De re coquinaria*, with its odd combination of the bizarre and the everyday, helps surprisingly little. NP

Coriolanus (Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus) (Gaius in Dion. Hal. and Plut.), a Roman aristocrat who supposedly received his surname from his part in the Roman capture of Corioli from the Volsci (493 BC). According to the story he went into exile when charged with tyrannical conduct and opposing the distribution of grain to the starving *plebs. Welcomed by the Volscians of Antium he became their leader in a war against Rome. In two devastating campaigns he captured a series of Latin towns and led his forces to the gates of Rome, where he was persuaded to turn back by his mother Veturia and his wife Volumnia (in *Plutarch they are named as Volumnia and Vergilia respectively). He was then killed by the Volscians (although Quintus Fabius Pictor, fr. 17 Peter, believed that he lived into old age). It is uncertain how much, if any, of this famous story is based on fact. Coriolanus does not appear in the *fasti*, and although *Livy makes him a

cookery Bronze cooking pots in the cramped kitchen servicing the House of the Vettii at *Pompeii, a relatively lavish Italian *house equipped with two or three dining areas. Archivi Alinari-archivio Alinari, Florence



*patrician (as indeed the plot of the story requires), in historical times the Marcii were a plebeian clan (*see* PLEBS). The setting of the story recalls a time when the Volscians overran southern Latium and threatened the very existence of Rome; this conforms to what is otherwise known (partly from archaeological evidence) of the situation around 490 BC. Finally, the tale of a Roman becoming leader of the Volsci is an example of ‘horizontal social mobility’, a phenomenon that occurs in other stories of this period (e.g. Tarquinius Priscus, Appius Claudius Crassus Inregillensis Sabinus, Mastarna) and may be a genuine feature of the society of central Italy in the archaic period. TJCO

corn supply *See* FOOD SUPPLY.

corruption is a difficult term; its use largely a matter of perspective. Indeed, from a modern, western point of view, many practices widely accepted in antiquity seem both immoral and detrimental to good government. But beyond underlining the difference between classical societies and our own, the imposition of expectations or prescriptions derived from contemporary ideals does little to advance our understanding of the past.

Charges of corruption (fraud, *bribery (*ambitus*), double-dealing, speculation, or the sale of offices) must always be viewed against the norms of the society in which the accusation is made. It should also be recognized that the majority of the surviving classical evidence comes from works whose primary purpose is denigration. Accusations of corruption—along with other vices and depravities—were part of a complex moralizing rhetoric of execration intended to damn an opponent in as many memorable ways as possible. These claims should be accorded the same degree of credibility as invective concerning dubious ancestry, sexual perversion, or physical deformity.

It is within this framework that texts on corruption should be read. The insults traded between the 4th-cent. BC Athenian orators *Demosthenes and *Aeschines were an accepted part of their rivalry and their advocacy of competing political programmes (Dem. *De cor.* 126 ff.; Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 102 ff.). Such abuse was unexceptional. In his speech against Verres (governor of Sicily, 73–71 BC) *Cicero included accusations of extortion, bribery, and taxation fraud (Cic. *Verr.* esp. 2. 3). These were aspects of a long, lurid, and highly rhetorical description of Verres’ vices—indispensable elements in any properly constructed character assassination. More broadly, before accepting Cicero’s version, it should be noted that provincial governorships were widely regarded as a legitimate source of income (Cicero himself did well while gov-

ernor of Cilicia) and that very few cases of maladministration were ever successfully prosecuted in the Roman courts.

Of course, in the ancient world there were those who acted illegally or immorally. Sometimes they were caught and punished. In AD 38, the citizens of *Alexandria secured the conviction of Avillius Flaccus, a former prefect of Egypt, on charges of extortion (but see entry on him). He was exiled and later—in a display of imperial probity—executed on the orders of the emperor *Gaius (Philo, *In Flacc.* esp. 125 ff.). In the early 3rd cent. AD, the emperor *Severus Alexander discovered an official receiving money for his (apparently illusory) influence at court; a practice known colloquially as *fumum vendere*—selling smoke. In one of the blunter examples of imperial wit, Severus ordered a fire of wet logs to be made. The offender was suffocated to death (SHA *Alex. Sev.* 36). But, again, these incidents must be seen in context. On the whole, they represent isolated reactions. They are attempts to police particularly blatant or excessive abuses or to eliminate rivals, rather than evidence of any widespread condemnation of these practices themselves. No doubt the majority played safe, following the maxim of the emperors Septimius Severus and *Caracalla that governors should be careful to take ‘neither everything, nor every time, nor from everyone’ (*Dig.* 1. 16. 6. 3).

The continued acceptance of activities which we would regard as corrupt has been seen by some commentators as a sign of an unchecked moral and administrative malaise. These conclusions should be handled with care. It is not clear that officials who profited from their offices were any less reprehensible, or any less effective, than early modern tax farmers. For officials—otherwise unsalaried—the charging of fees for their services was a convenient way both of securing an income and of regulating the many demands on their time. Equally, in societies where access to power and position was dominated by networks of influential connections (*see* PATRONAGE (NON-LITERARY)), it may be that the payment of money offered an important, alternative channel of advancement. In turn, for peasants, the payment of fees—albeit irksome—offered a simple and affordable means of mollifying a hostile and ever-threatening officialdom.

These are possibilities. But when dealing with highly emotive or unashamedly moralizing terms, they indicate the importance of viewing the Classical world in its own context. Sweeping condemnations of the persistence or toleration of ‘corruption’ should be resisted. If we insist on judging the ancient world against contemporary standards, we will not achieve much—other than a misplaced smugness as to our own superiority. CMK

court, in medieval and early-modern times the ruler's household and retinue, its spatial and institutional setting, and, by extension, the ruling power as constituted by monarch and helpers in governance. Ancient Greek *'aulē'*, a domestic 'hall' or 'courtyard', acquired some, if not all, of this abstract sense of 'court': cf. *'hoi peri tēn aulēn'*, literally 'the people about the courtyard', to describe *Alexander the Great's courtiers (Diod. Sic. 17.101.3). Having come to denote the courts of the Hellenistic monarchs, the word, Latinized as *'aula'*, was taken over by the Romans as the normal term for the imperial court.

Courts are best understood as 'universal social configurations' (G. Herman) which arise in societies where power becomes the monopoly of a monarch. Modern court studies owe much to the sociologist Norbert Elias. In *The Court Society*, based on a German PhD first published in 1933, Elias used the Versailles of Louis XIV of France to construct a model of the court as a system of power. The seemingly trivial routines of palace life, along with tight control of access to his person, help the ruler to consolidate his hold on the élites; king and courtiers constitute a 'court society' with its own social codes, offering a 'trickle-down' school of manners for everyone else. This ideal type has since been much debated. Anthropological emphasis on the 'theatre of power' underscores the importance of 'trappings' in sustaining monarchy: ceremonies and spectacle, *dress, palaces and the arts, the main fields of 'court culture'. Modern historians of Greece and Rome have always been interested in ancient rulers' courts. In recent years their focus has begun to shift from the descriptive and from unspoken assumptions to a conscious engagement with the agenda of court studies.

In the historic period the earliest Greek courts formed de facto around the archaic tyrants. The elaborate and hierarchical court of the Persian Achaemenids made a great impression on the ancient Greeks (*Herodotus; Ctesias; Dinon). Thereafter court life, along with *kingship, became an enduring site of moralizing discussions in classical literature about *tyranny, flattery, luxury, and the illegitimate exercise of power (especially by *women, eunuchs and, at Rome specifically, *freedmen). The Persian court formed an inevitable model for lesser courts on its western periphery, e.g. *Xanthus and, to some extent, Pella. Four years into his invasion of the Persian empire, the Macedonian king Alexander started (330 BC) to remodel his court ceremonial on Persian lines as part of a larger bid to win consensus among Asian, especially Persian, élites used to a court culture expressing near eastern ideals of monarchy. Surviving Alexander historians discuss this move in (mainly negative) moral terms, emphasizing Macedonian and Greek resistance, especially to

prostration (*proskynēsis*), seen as unacceptably Oriental and despotic. Unsurprisingly, the Persian model was not adopted by the Hellenistic royal courts, heavily dependent on Greek-speaking regions for the recruitment of élite administrators and soldiers. In other ways they perpetuated certain features of the Macedonian court which are among the closest instantiations from classical antiquity of Elias's 'domestication of the nobility' thesis: the élite groupings of *hetairoi*, now known as *philoi* (Friends), and the corps of 'royal boys' (*basilikoi paides*, so-called pages). These courts influenced Roman republican nobles during their encounter with *Hellenism in the 2nd and 1st cents. BC: e.g. the practice of grouping friends by grades of admission at the morning *salutatio* (note Sen. *Ben.* 6.34). Paradoxically the political revulsion for monarchy felt by the Roman élites required *Augustus to present his new position as *primus inter pares*. Nonetheless his household, including his influential wife *Livia Drusilla, at once became the real centre of power, towards which the Roman élites, in competing for his all-encompassing *patronage, were compelled to orientate themselves socially and politically. The early emperors routinely made themselves available to the élites through the court rituals of the *salutatio* and the *convivium*. Emperors deemed more or less reputable by the senatorial élite steered clear of courtly practices associated with 'Oriental despotism'. Even so, the vast and luxurious villa at Tibur of *Hadrian, a ruler who claimed to model himself on Augustus, demonstrates the inexorable growth in the functional and organizational complexity of the imperial court by the 2nd cent. AD. Freed from the pretence of social equality with the old senatorial class, late Roman emperors used court ceremonies to display the hierarchies of their new service aristocracy and to construct a more autocratic image, possibly turning to eastern, Sasanid, models (cf. 'the adoration of the purple': Amm. Marc. 15.5.18). AJSS

Crassus, (Marcus Licinius Crassus), son of Publius Licinius Crassus (consul 97 BC), escaped from Lucius Cornelius Cinna's occupation of Rome (87) to Spain, joined *Sulla after Cinna's death, played a prominent part in regaining Italy for him, and made a fortune in Sulla's *proscriptions. After his praetorship he defeated Spartacus, leader of the slave revolt (72–71 BC), but *Pompey, after crucifying many fugitives, claimed credit for the victory, deeply offending Crassus. Formally reconciled, they were made *consuls 70 and presided over the abolition of Sulla's political settlement, though his administrative reforms were retained. During the next few years Crassus further increased his fortune and, relying on his connections, financial power, and astuteness, gained consider-

able influence. After 67, overshadowed by Pompey's commands (which he had opposed), he is associated by our sources with various schemes to expand his power and perhaps gain a military command. As censor 65, he tried to enrol the Transpadanes (*see GAUL (CISALPINE)*) as citizens and to have *Egypt annexed; he was foiled by his colleague Quintus Lutatius Catulus and their quarrel forced both to abdicate. Always ready to help eminent or promising men in need of aid, he shielded the suspects in the 'first conspiracy' of *Catiline and supported Catiline until the latter turned to revolution and a programme of cancelling debts. He may have supported the law of Publius Servilius Rullus (63). A patron of *Caesar (without, however, detaching him from Pompey), he enabled him to leave for his province in 62 by standing surety for part of his debts. On Caesar's return, he was persuaded by him to give up his opposition to Pompey, which during 62–60 had prevented both of them from gaining their political objectives, and to join Pompey in supporting Caesar's candidacy for the consulship. As consul (59), Caesar satisfied him by passing legislation to secure remission of one third of the sum owed by the *publicani* of Asia for their contract (Crassus presumably had an interest in their companies), and he now joined Pompey and Caesar in an open political alliance. After Caesar's departure for Gaul he supported Publius *Clodius Pulcher, who soon proved to be too ambitious to make a reliable ally and tried to embroil him with Pompey and Cicero. He welcomed Cicero on his return from exile, but in 56 alerted Caesar to the attempts by Cicero and others to recall him and attach Pompey to the *optimates* (lit. 'the best men'). Caesar and Crassus met at Ravenna and Pompey was persuaded to meet them at Luca (mod. Lucca) and renew their alliance. The dynasts' plans were kept secret, but it soon became clear that Pompey and Crassus were to become consuls for a second time by whatever means proved necessary and to have special commands in Spain and Syria respectively assigned to them for five years, while they renewed Caesar's command for five years.

Late in 55, ignoring the solemn curses of the tribune Gaius Ateius Capito, Crassus left for Syria, determined on a war of conquest against *Parthia. He won some early successes in 54 and completed financial preparations by extorting huge sums in his province. In 53 he crossed the Euphrates, relying on his long-neglected military skills and the recent ones of his son Publius Licinius Crassus. Although deserted by King Artavasdes II of Armenia and the king of Osroëne, he continued his advance into unfamiliar territory. After Publius died in a rash action, he himself was caught in a trap by the Surenas (the Parthian king's hereditary commander) near Carrhae (Mesopotamia) and, trying to extricate himself, died fighting.

After playing the game of politics according to the old rules, in which he was a master, he in the end found that unarmed power no longer counted for much in the changed conditions of the late republic, and he died while trying to apply the lesson. His death helped to bring Caesar and Pompey into the confrontation that led to the Civil War.

EB

creolization is a term referring to the process by which elements of different cultures are blended together to create a new culture. The word creole was first attested in Spanish in 1590 with the meaning 'Spaniard born in the New World'. In the 1970s the term was widely adopted by linguists, who used it to denote a contact language or 'pidgin' that is spoken as a first language by subsequent generations. Since that time creolization has emerged as an important paradigm throughout the social sciences. It is employed today in varied ways by anthropologists, ethnographers, and archaeologists working on multicultural adjustment in a wide range of colonial and post-colonial contexts.

Creolization models have been advanced with reference to provincial material culture change in the Roman world, particularly among non-élites. In common with cognate concepts such as cultural hybridity, bricolage and discrepant experience, creolization enjoys popularity among scholars questioning the value of *Romanization, the traditional paradigm for acculturative cultural change in the Roman world. Similar concepts have in fact existed in Roman studies for decades but whilst 'Romanization' models assume a largely intact transposition of Roman culture into a given area, creolization models envisage a creative fusion of Roman and local culture, resulting in a unique, third entity.

The term creolization was first explicitly employed in a Roman context in 2001, in work on Romano-Celtic religion. The notion of Romanization has perhaps been most fully challenged by British archaeologists, and this may help to explain why British scholars have also shown a particular interest in creolization. In recent years, for example, creolization theory has explicitly informed the study of Romano-British 'small find' assemblages.

In the Americas, creolization models have found particular favour among archaeologists exploring the material world of slaves. Since the 1990s some archaeologists with an interest in Greek and Roman slavery have drawn on these North American studies in developing a cross-cultural or comparative approach to classical slavery. Examples here include the analysis of the material culture of Thracian and Phrygian slaves in Attica and recent studies on the material culture of slaves in Roman Britain.

Whilst creolization has emerged as a major theme in historical archaeology, some linguists and anthropologists have begun to question its value. Despite these doubts—

perhaps inevitable as a new paradigm emerges—the creolization concept remains a fertile one, and may prove to be of lasting value in modelling contact and cultural change in the Roman world. jwe

Crete, Greek and Roman (see ◀ Map 4, Cc ▶) (for prehistoric Crete, see MINOAN CIVILIZATION). Evidence for the history of the island comes both from literary sources, inscriptions, and coins, and from excavation and (increasingly) field survey. The transition from bronze to iron age is still not fully understood, but some sites go back into the Dark Ages (Dictaeon cave; the Idaean cave—finds start in the 8th cent.; refuge sites, e.g. Karphi and Vrokastro), but in historical times the island was predominantly Dorian (Eteocretan, a non-Greek language, was used in places in the Archaic period, and traces survived into the 2nd cent. BC). Cretans prided themselves that *Zeus was born on Crete, they developed a peculiar temple form, and also eschewed the hero-cults found on the Greek mainland. Of *Homer's 'Crete of the hundred cities' over 100 names survive, but there seem to have been in the Classical and Hellenistic periods only about 40 city-states: Archaic Dreros, Prinias, and Axos, and 5th–2nd-cent. Lato, are well known archaeologically; Knossos, Gortyn, and Lyttus were initially the most important, along with Cydonia and Hierapytna. The island's position on the sea-routes to and from *Cyprus, the Levant, and *Egypt secured it an important place in the development of Archaic Greek art: important innovations were attributed to the mythical Cretan Daedalus. It had a reputation as the home of mercenary slingers and archers, and of lawgivers (see LAW IN GREECE). Aristocratic society persisted in the island, and the constitutions (though without kings) resembled that of *Sparta, which was said to have been derived from Crete, and impressed *Plato and *Aristotle. In the Classical period the island lay outside the mainstream of Greek history. From the mid-3rd cent. her foreign relations centred on the new and unstable Cretan League, the Attalid dynasty (see PERGAMUM), and the intrigues of Macedon. In 216 BC the cities accepted King Philip V of Macedon as protector, but strife soon returned, both against Rhodes and still more between the cities, especially Knossos and Gortyn. By this time Crete was reputed as a home of pirates second only to Cilicia (see PIRACY). Their activities were encouraged by Philip, who realized his hope of thereby injuring Rhodes. The pirates supported *Mithradates VI of Pontus against Rome, and when Marcus Antonius (Creticus) intervened to punish them, he was beaten off Cydonia (71), but Quintus Caecilius Metellus (Creticus) crushed the islanders (69–67). Crete became a Roman province, united with *Cyrene, under a senator of praetorian rank, and the old league became the provincial

council; from the 4th to 7th cent. AD Crete formed a province on its own in the diocese of Macedonia. *Jews are known on Crete from the 1st cent. BC to the 5th cent. AD, and Christians from the earliest times (St Paul's Epistle to Titus). The prosperity of the island under Roman rule was disrupted by major *earthquakes in the 4th cent., though between c.450 and 550 numerous Christian basilicas were built. From the early 7th cent. Crete was increasingly vulnerable to raids by Slavs and then Arabs, to whom it fell in AD 827–8. WAL/LFN/SRFP

curses A curse is a wish that evil may befall a person or persons. Within this broad definition several different types can be distinguished, according to setting, motive, and condition. The most direct curses are maledictions inspired by feelings of hatred and lacking any explicit religious, moral, or legal legitimation. This category is exemplarily represented by the so-called curse tablets (Gk. *katadesmos*, Lat. *defixio*), thin lead sheets inscribed with maledictions intended to influence the actions or welfare of persons (or animals). If a motive is mentioned it is generally inspired by feelings of envy and competition, especially in the fields of sports and the (amphi)theatre, litigation, love, and commerce. Almost without exception these texts are anonymous and lack argumentation or references to deserved punishment of the cursed person(s). If gods are invoked they belong to the sphere of death, the Underworld, and witchcraft (*Demeter, *Persephone, Gaia, *Hermes, Erinyes, Hecate). In later times the magical names of exotic demons and gods abound. Spirits of the dead are also invoked, since the tablets were often buried in graves of the untimely dead as well as in chthonian sanctuaries and wells. The tablets might be rolled up and transfixed with a needle and sometimes 'voodoo dolls' were added. These tablets first appear in the 6th cent. BC with often simple formulas ('I bind the names of...') and develop into elaborate texts in the imperial age. More than 1,500 have been recovered.

Also included in the well-known collections of *defixiones*, although in fact a distinct genre, are prayers for justice or 'vindictive prayers'. Often inscribed on lead tablets, but also in other media, they differ from the binding curses in that the name of the author may be mentioned, that as a rule the action is justified by a reference to some injustice wrought by the cursed person (theft, slander), that the gods invoked may belong to the great gods (including for instance *Helios), and they are supplicated in a submissive way to punish the culprit and rectify the injustice. This variant becomes popular only in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and is found all over the Roman empire, but especially in *Britain.

Both these types of curse are concerned with past and present occurrences. Another type refers to future



cursus A Latin curse tablet on lead from the Sacred Spring at Aquae Sulis (Bath) in Roman *Britain. Springs and wells, since they gave access to the Underworld, were popular sites for depositing curses. © Bath & North East Somerset Council

events. Conditional curses (imprecations) damn the unknown persons who dare to trespass against certain stipulated sacred or secular laws, prescriptions, treaties (e.g. the famous curses from Teos in W. *Asia Minor, *Syll.*³ 37–8). They are prevalent in the public domain and are expressed by the community through its representatives (magistrates, priests). The characteristic combination of curse and prayer, a feature they share with judicial prayer, is already perceptible in the Homeric term *ara*. The culprit thus found himself in the position of a man guilty of sacrilege and so the legal powers could enforce their rights even in cases where only the gods could help. A special subdivision in this category is the conditional self-curse as contained in oath formulae. Here, too, the person who offends against the oath invokes the curse he has expressed himself and the wrath of the gods. Similar imprecations, both public and private, are very common in funerary inscriptions against those who violate graves, especially in Asia Minor. All these curses may be accompanied with ritual actions, and most of them have left traces in literature, especially in ‘curse poetry’.

HSV

cursus honorum, ‘career path’ at Rome. See CAREERS, ROMAN.

Cybele (Gk. *Kybelē*; Lydian form *Kybebē*, Hdt. 5. 102), the great mother-goddess of Anatolia, associated in myth,

and later at least in cult, with her youthful lover Attis. Pessinus in Phrygia was her chief sanctuary, and the cult appears at an early date in Lydia. The queen or mistress of her people, Cybele was responsible for their well-being in all respects; primarily she is a goddess of fertility, but also cures (and sends) disease, gives oracles, and, as her mural crown indicates, protects her people in war. The goddess of mountains (so *Mētēr oreia*; Meter Dindymene), she is also mistress of wild nature, symbolized by her attendant lions. Ecstatic states inducing prophetic rapture and insensibility to pain were characteristic of her worship (cf. especially Catull. 63).

By the 5th cent. BC Cybele was known in Greece; she was soon associated with *Demeter (H. Thompson, *Hesp.* 1937, 206) and perhaps with a native ‘Mother of the Gods’, but—except possibly at such places as Dyme and Patrae in the NW *Peloponnese (Paus. 7. 17. 9; 20. 3), and private cult associations at Piraeus, the port of *Athens, where Attis also was honoured—it is likely that the cult was thoroughly Hellenized. (See HELLENISM.) Cybele was officially brought to Rome from Asia Minor in 205–204 (for the conflicting legends see H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle* (1912), ch. 1), but under the republic she was limited to her Palatine temple and served only by oriental priests (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 19. 3 ff.) apart from the public games, the Megalesia, which were celebrated by the aediles and the old *patrician families, and processions of the priests of Cybele with the participation of one of the colleges of Roman *priests, the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* (Lucr. 2. 624 f.; Luc. 1. 599f.). The consultation of the Sibylline books and the cult of Cybele were under the control of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*. The cycle of the spring festival, mentioned in public documents from *Claudius’ reign, when it began to take form, is not fully attested till AD 354. The rites began on 15 March with a procession of the Reed-bearers (*cannophori*), and a sacrifice for the crops. After a week of fasting and purifications, the festival proper opened on the 22nd with the bringing of the pine tree, symbol of Attis, to the temple. The 24th was the Day of Blood, commemorating the castration and probably the death of Attis. The 25th was a day of joy and banqueting, the Hilaria, and after a day’s rest the festival closed with the ritual bath (*Lavatio*) of Cybele’s image in the Almo. The rubric for the 28th (*Initium Caiani*) is apparently unrelated. The relation of this spring festival to the Hellenistic mysteries of Cybele is uncertain. Of the later mysteries, in which Attis figured prominently, we again know little. The formulae preserved (Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. rel.* 18; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2. 15) mention a ritual meal; the carrying of the *kernos*, a vessel used in the *taurobolium* (‘bull sacrifice’) to receive the genitals of the bull; and a descent into the *pastos*, prob-

ably an underground chamber where certain rites were enacted; but one can also think in terms of a metaphor for *initiation.

The ritual of the *taurobolium* originated in Asia Minor, and first appears in the west in the cult of Venus Caelesta (i.e. -is) at Puteoli (mod. Pozzuoli) in AD 134 (*ILS* 4271, but cf. 4099 of AD 108). From the Antonine period, numerous dedications to Cybele and Attis record its performance in this cult 'ex vaticinatione archigalli' (i.e. with official sanction), on behalf of the emperor and the empire. From Rome the rite spread throughout the west, notably in *Gaul (Transalpine). It was performed also on behalf of individuals, up until the later 4th cent. AD. It was sometimes repeated after twenty years; one late text (*ILS* 4152) has 'taurobolio criobolium in aeternum renatus', 'reborn into eternity through the *taurobolium*, and *criobolium*' (a concept possibly borrowed from Christianity). According to a hostile account in Prudentius (*Perist.* 10. 1011–50), the recipient descended into a ditch and was bathed in the blood of a bull, or ram (*criobolium*), slain above him. There has been much speculation, ancient (e.g. Julian, *Orationes* 5. 9. 168df.) and modern, about Cybele and her cult, but these theories are either late allegorizations or in recent times, inspired by the modern 'myth' of the Great Mother.

A belief in immortality was perhaps part of the cult from early times, and the after-life may at first have been thought of as a reunion with Mother Earth. Later, Attis became a solar god, and he and Cybele were regarded as astral and cosmic powers; there is some evidence that the soul was then thought to return after death to its celestial source.

Thanks to its official status and early naturalization at Rome and in *Ostia, the cult spread rapidly through the provinces, especially in Gaul and *Africa, and was readily accepted as a municipal cult. Its agrarian character made it more popular with the fixed populations than with the soldiery, and it was especially favoured by women.

Cybele is generally represented enthroned in a *naiskos* ('shrine'), wearing either the mural crown or the *calathos* ('basket'), carrying a libation bowl and drum, and either flanked by lions or bearing one in her lap. FRW/JSch

Cynics ('the doggish'), term used of the philosopher Diogenes (c.412/3–c.324 BC) 'the dog' (by-word for shamelessness) and his followers. The genesis, status, significance, and influence of Cynicism were already anciently controversial. Interpretative problems arise from Cynic behaviour and sayings, from the loss of nearly all Cynic writings (admittedly less important than in the case of other philosophies), and from diverse distortions in the tradition (invention of sayings and anecdotes; arti-

ficial integration of Cynicism into a formal philosophical succession from *Socrates to the Stoics (see STOICISM); bowdlerization; polemical misrepresentation).

Cynicism was less a school than a way of life grounded in an extreme primitivist interpretation of the principle 'live according to nature'. Diogenes having discovered the truth, there was relatively little diversity or development within Cynicism, though 'hard' Cynics (adherents of the original prescription, found at all periods) can be distinguished from 'soft' (who compromised varyingly with existing social and political institutions), practical Cynicism from literary, and Cynics (in whatever sense) from the Cynic-influenced.

'Hard' Cynicism was expounded by Diogenes and (to some extent) Crates of Thebes (d. c.288/285 BC). From 320 to 220 BC 'soft' Cynicism was represented by Onesicritus, whose *History* portrayed *Alexander the Great as a Cynic philosopher-king; the eclectics Bion of Borysthenes, court philosopher of *Antigonus Gonatas, and Teles, schoolteacher; and Cercidas, politician, lawgiver, and social reformer. Practical Cynicism declined in the 2nd and 1st cents. BC but revived in the early empire. Greek cities swarmed with Cynics. Cynicism produced remarkable individuals (Demetrius, friend of *Seneca; *Dio of Prusa; in the 2nd cent. AD Demonax, Peregrinus, and Oenomaus). The Roman authorities clashed with 'hard' Cynics (*qua* anarchists). Cynics are mentioned until the 6th cent.

Cynicism greatly influenced Greek and Roman philosophy, rulership ideology, literature, and (later) religion. Crates' follower Zeno founded *Stoicism, a development of Cynicism with a proper theoretical grounding: Stoic ethics are essentially Cynic ethics, Stoic cosmopolitanism a development of Cynic; Diogenes' *Republic* influenced Zeno's and Chrysippus'. Stoic reactions to Cynicism ranged from nearly total acceptance (Ariston of Chios) to partial acceptance (Zeno, Chrysippus), to rejection (Panaetius of Rhodes), to bowdlerizing and idealizing redefinition (Epictetus). The very extremeness of Cynic positions on material possessions, individual ethics, and politics catalysed the definition of other philosophies' positions: the Epicureans (see EPICURUS), though greatly influenced by Cynic ethics, polemized against Cynicism. Diogenes and Crates are heroes of popular philosophy. While Cynic kingship is a moral concept opposed to worldly kingship, Onesicritus (following Antisthenes, the associate of Socrates, and *Xenophon) facilitated its appropriation and redefinition by rulership ideology (as in Dio of Prusa's Kingship Oration); see KINGSHIP. Cynic ethics influenced Christian asceticism from Jesus onwards. European philosophy has shown interest in Cynicism.

To maximize mission the anti-intellectual Cynics wrote more voluminously and variously than any other ancient philosophers: relatively formal philosophical treatises, dialogues, epitomes, tragedies, historiography, letters, diatribes, various kinds of poetry and parody, prose-poetry hybrids (Menippus). The Cynic diatribe, anecdotal tradition, satiric spirit, and serio-comic discourse had enormous and varied philosophical and literary influence (e.g. on the diatribes of *Seneca and *Plutarch; philosophical biography and the gospels; Roman satire; the epistles of *Horace, St. *Paul, and Seneca; *Lucian). JLMO

Cyprus, (see ◀ Map 2, Cc ▶) third largest *Mediterranean island (9,282 sq. km.: 3,584 sq. mi.) was of strategic and economic importance to the Mediterranean and near eastern powers, and significant both to their relations with western Asia and with one another. It is vulnerable to the power politics of its neighbours, by one or other of whom it has often been occupied or governed, and whose mutual conflicts have sometimes been fought out on its soil or its seas. Though mountainous (the highest points on its Troödos and Kyrenia ranges are 1,951 and 1,023 m. (6,403 and 3,357 ft.) respectively), its central plain (Mesaoria) is fertile, while its extensive piedmont and river-valley systems are suited to crop and animal husbandry. The island suffers intermittently from serious seismic disturbance. Rainfall is uncertain, drought endemic, and fertility dramatically responsive to irrigation capacity. Copper ore, chiefly located in the Troödos foothills at the junction of igneous and sedimentary deposits, has been exploited since prehistory. *Timber resources played a major role in the region's naval history.

The character of the first human traces, found with extinct pleistocene animal species at the Akrotiri (*Aetokremnos*) rock-shelter, with a carbon-14 date of c.8500 BC, is uncertain, as is their relationship with the c.6000 BC pre-ceramic neolithic phase, best seen at the type-site, Khirokitia, but distributed at numerous other locations, coastal and inland. Successive phases of neolithic and chalcolithic settlement embrace a 3,500-year period; excavation has established the general character of several sites spanning this period, yet origins and interrelationships between its successive episodes are alike uncertain. The gradual introduction of metal technology during the third millennium greatly accelerated social and material development; the main stimulus may have been the disruption and dispersal of more advanced societies in adjacent Anatolia (see ASIA MINOR). The 1,500 years of the Cypriot bronze age (early, middle, and late) were marked by a progression from isolated rural communities linked by shared traits in material civilization (typifying the late third mil-

lennium) to what by the 13th cent. had become an urbanized hierarchical society, enriched by the international exchange systems in which raw copper played a major role (symbolized by the cargoes of the wrecked Ulu Burun and Cape Gelidonya ships off SW Turkey). This change saw a shift from the north and south piedmont of the Kyrenia mountains to the south and east coasts, to new towns founded at the end of middle Cypriot (17th cent.) at river mouths (Enkomi, Maroni, Palaepaphos) or on natural harbours (Citium, Hala Sultan Tekke). While Egypt and the cities of the Levant (notably the kingdom of Ugarit, SE Turkey) enjoyed regular exchanges with Cyprus, Minoan Crete played a part and, from c.1400 Mycenaean Greece was prominent, even dominant (see MINOAN CIVILIZATION; MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION). The island was literate during late Cypriot, using the Cypro-Minoan script. Objective proof of the identification of Cyprus with the 'Alasya' of Hittite, Egyptian, Ugaritic, and other documents remains elusive, for all its appeal. The final bronze age years (1200–1050) knew turbulence, violence—and remarkable prosperity, in which there was a fruitful coalescence of the native Cypriot with migrant Aegean and Levantine elements that produced a distinguished but short-lived material civilization whose ceramic design, metalwork, *ivory carving, and glyptic were pre-eminent; perhaps iron technology was disseminated westward at this time. By 1050 virtually all the old settlements had been abandoned, in some cases to be replaced nearby by communities under the strongest Greek influence yet seen, including Mycenaean types of tomb and, very probably, the Arcadian dialect. This process may dimly be reflected in the legends, where figures from the *Nostoi* (returns of various Greek heroes after Troy) are credited with the foundation of the later cities—Teucer at Salamis, Agapenor at Paphos, etc. Classical Cypriot script, adapted from Cypro-Minoan, lasted for some purposes almost to 200 BC (and was the vehicle too for the undeciphered Eteo-Cyprian of Amathus, east of mod. Limassol).

The iron age settlement-pattern was based on a nexus of city-kingsdoms (sometimes seen as a Mycenaean legacy)—Salamis, Citium, Amathus, Paphos, Curium, Soli, Marion, Tamassus, Idalium, Chytri—which largely lasted throughout antiquity. Citium was for long a *Phoenician city (Phoenician influence was very strong elsewhere in the island), Amathus was 'Eteocypriot'. The kings ruled as autocrats; only at Idalium may power have been shared with a 'dēmos'. The 8th- and 7th-cent. 'royal' tombs at Salamis suggest both the wealth and foreign connections of these rulers. From the late 8th cent., if no earlier, Cyprus was sucked into east Mediterranean politics; its kings acknowledged at least the nominal suzerainty of a succession of great powers. The Sargon II stela

said to have been found at Citium (Larnaka) reports the submission of the kings to Assyria in 709; the information is repeated on other Assyrian documents. While the 7th cent. seems to have been largely a period of independence, the island was dominated by *Egypt in the earlier 6th cent. In 545 came voluntary submission to *Persia; there was Cypriot help for the Persians in the Carian War, the conquest of *Babylonia and, in 525, their attack on Egypt. Sufficient independence remained for the kings to issue their own coinage, starting c.538 with Euelthon of Salamis (the same Euelthon to whom Pheretime of *Cyrene vainly appealed for help against her son Arcesilas III—further symptom of independence). When *Darius I reorganized the empire, Cyprus found itself in the fifth satrapy with Phoenicia and *Syria-Palestine; tribute was imposed, but the amount is unknown. The cities (except Amathus) joined the *Ionian Revolt, egged on, it seems, by dissidents who gained control in Salamis, where crucial land and sea battles were fought. Though the Ionian fleet was victorious, ashore the Cypriots were defeated, and their leader, Onesilus, killed. The cities were reduced by the Persians, Soli holding out the longest. The Cypriots had an uncomfortable time in the subsequent long struggle between Greece and Persia; their ships fought poorly on the Persian side in the Persian Wars of 480–79 (see GREECE (HISTORY)). The island was constantly campaigned over during Athenian efforts under the statesman Cimon to deny it to the Persians, but Cimon's death during the 449/8 campaign raised the siege and, temporarily, pro-Persian rulers became everywhere dominant; but the Teucrid king of Salamis, Evagoras I (c.411–374), was conspicuously pro-Greek, in fact as well as theory. Later, the kings intervened decisively on behalf of *Alexander the Great at the siege of Tyre in 331, where their ships were badly mauled. Alexander's successors (the Diadochi), usually violently, abolished the city-kings, and with them any pretence of an independent Cyprus. The island became part of the Ptolemaic share of Alexander's legacy (see PTOLEMY I) and thereby lost most of what remained of its idiosyncratic material civilization. In the 1st cent. BC the island passed to and fro between Roman and Ptolemaic rule until its final annexation after *Actium by Octavian, the future *Augustus; in 22 BC it was ceded as a minor public province. Its Roman history was (apart from serious *earthquakes and the Jewish revolt of 115/16 (see JEWS)) relatively tranquil and—to judge from surviving monuments at Salamis, Curium, and Nea Paphos—prosperous. HWC

Cyrene (mod. Shahat) (see ◀ Map 2, AC ▶), the major Greek colony in Africa (see COLONIZATION, GREEK), was founded from Thera (mod. Santorini) c.630 BC, and reinforced by later groups of colonists, who were, before the

Hellenistic period, predominantly Dorian. It gave its name to the surrounding territory (mod. Cyrenaica), apparently claiming authority (sometimes resisted) as *mētropolis* of all Greek settlements there; it is not always clear whether ancient references to Cyrene are to the city or to this territory. Information about it has been significantly increased by 20th-cent. excavation; there is now material evidence from at least the 7th cent. BC to at least the 7th cent. AD, but its interpretation is often debatable.

For the foundation, the account in Herodotus (4. 150–8) is supplemented by an inscription purporting to give the substance of the Theraean decree which organized the colonial expedition (SEG 9. 3, 20. 714); after two initial failures, a site was found, with Libyan help, on the northern edge of the Gebel Akhdar, 621 m. (2,037 ft.) above and c.12 km. (7½ mi.) from the sea, in a fertile area with a freshwater spring and normally good rainfall, but shading into pre-desert southwards; other Greek settlements followed swiftly, for example a dependent port near by, the city of Taucheira farther off. Communications with these and exploitation of the country required Libyan co-operation, which was withdrawn on arrival of a new wave of colonists in the 6th cent. Libyan/Egyptian opposition was defeated c.570 and Greek expansion continued, with more dependent settlements and the cities of Barca and Euhesperides. Evidence for the Libyan relationship is unsatisfactory. Within city territories they presumably provided dependent labour; outside them they were free, although in the adjacent pre-desert perhaps tributary, and, apparently, peaceable; Herodotus notes their Hellenization (see HELLENISM), as well as their cultural influence on Greeks (4. 170–1, 186, 189), there was intermarriage and, by the Hellenistic period, marked racial mixture. Hostile raiding, sometimes serious, may have been initiated by more distant tribes (Diod. Sic. 3. 49). Cyrene's own territory became unusually large for a *polis, with organized villages reminiscent of Attic demes (i.e. constitutional subdistricts as well as rural districts); its cereals, vines, olives, and grazing were notable, and the grazing extended into the pre-desert, which was also the source of silphium, Cyrene's characteristic export and emblem; like silphium-collection, animal husbandry must often have been in the hands of Libyans. The horses were particularly famous, horse-drawn chariots became a feature of Cyrene's armies, and chariot-racing, with teams victorious in Greek *games (Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 5), a predilection of the rich. The resultant wealth financed buildings, sculptures, painting, and a tradition of learning and literature; if the great names (e.g. Aristippus, Carneades, *Calimachus, *Eratosthenes) cluster in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, Roman Cyrene made some contribution to Hadrian's Panhellenion and in late antiquity produced Synesius (c.AD 370–413).

The founder (Aristoteles Battus) and his heirs ruled as kings. The dynasty survived civic unrest and revolution as well as family infighting, submitted to *Persia in 525, but recovered independence in the 5th cent.; it was finally overthrown c.440. The subsequent republican regime is obscure; 4th-cent. monuments suggest a prosperous élite and further expansion, perhaps including an extension of influence, to Great Catabathmus (Sollum) in Marmarica, and Arae Philaenorum (Ras el Aali) in Syrtica; this, it has been suggested, would open access to trans-Saharan trade-goods. All Cyrenaica offered allegiance to *Alexander the Great. After his death, and an attempted coup by the adventurer Thibron, it became a dependency of the Ptolemaic kingdom of *Egypt. *Ptolemy I gave Cyrene a moderately oligarchic constitution under which his own authority was ensured by his permanent office as *stratēgos* ('general') (SEG 9. 1). A date in 322–1 is now generally accepted for this, but almost all dates and many details after that are disputed. He and his successors aroused some local opposition, and their representatives tended to assert independence (Ophellas, Magas); briefly, in the middle of the 3rd cent., there was, apparently, a free interlude when Demophanes and Ecdeclus established a federation of the cities; but it ended when Magas' daughter Berenice married Ptolemy III. Cyrene seems to have been the royal capital but must have lost prestige through Ptolemaic patronage of the other cities (Berenice/Euhesperides, Arsinoë/Taucheira, Ptolemais/Barca), especially if it was a Ptolemy who raised her port to city status as Apollonia (but the earliest evidence for this is of 67 BC); all cities presumably lost cohesion by the introduction of new colonists beholden to the Ptolemies (certainly Jews and probably ex-soldiers of the Ptolemaic army); while in the 2nd cent. Ptolemy Physcon (later Ptolemy VIII of Egypt) enlisted diplomatic support from Rome and reinforced it by bequeathing Cyrenaica to Rome should he leave no heir (SEG 9. 7). At his death in 116 there were in fact heirs, two of whom, as is now known, succeeded him in turn, Ptolemy IX of Egypt and Ptolemy Apion; but when Apion died in 96 the kingdom did pass to Rome, who accepted the royal property but gave the cities freedom.

Internal factions and external pressures (piratical assaults, perhaps coinciding with Libyan raiding) caused a breakdown of order; the senate authorized annexation in 75/4, but the organization of the new province is uncertain. *Pompey's defeat of the pirates (see PIRACY) in 67 relieved one pressure but the Roman Civil Wars brought others, especially severe when Mark *Antony garrisoned Cyrene and restored Cyrenaica to the Egyptian crown. After *Actium, Cyrenaica was combined with *Crete in a public pro-

vince governed by an annual praetorian proconsul, whose main seat in Cyrenaica was at Cyrene, where the provincial council also met. The imperial-period monuments suggest modest prosperity, evoking standard signs of élite loyalty to Rome; but it was sharply interrupted c.2 BC–AD 2 by a Marmaric war, after which a small Roman garrison was introduced to guard the Syrtican approaches to Cyrenaica, again in 115–17 by a Jewish Revolt (see JEWS), after which legionary veteran colonists were sent to compensate for the casualties, and under Claudius II Gothicus when there was another Marmaric war (SEG 9. 9), from whose effects Cyrene may have been slower to recover; that perhaps explains why *Diocletian preferred Ptolemais as metropolis of his new province of Upper Libya. This was a loss of status to Cyrene which altered her civic character, but the life and works of Synesius seem to show that intellectual pursuits continued there; and, despite severe earthquake damage in the late 4th cent. and further Libyan raiding in the 5th, her Christian monuments are not negligible. Some life survived on the site after the Arab invasions in the 7th cent. JMR

Cyrus the Great (OP *Kurus*), son of Cambyses I, who became c.557 BC king of the small kingdom of Anshan in *Persia, at that time subject to the Median king. Beginning in 550 he fought extensive campaigns in which he conquered, respectively, Media (550/49), Sardis and Lydia (W. *Asia Minor) (546), *Babylonia, and the neo-Babylonian empire (539). At some point (before or after 539?) he conquered central Asia. He was thus the first Persian king to bring together territories into an imperial framework, to whose organization he contributed substantially. In general, the Greek (especially the *Cyropaedia* of *Xenophon), Babylonian ('Cyrus cylinder'), and Judaean sources (Ezra) present him as a conqueror welcomed by the local inhabitants. This apologetic tendency reflects both the expectations nourished by certain groups (e.g. the *Jews later associated permission to rebuild the Jerusalem temple with Cyrus' Babylonian conquest) and a policy continued by his successors: i.e. forging collaborative links with the local élites. This willingness to accommodate local conditions went hand-in-hand with tight control, as shown by the fact that land was confiscated to benefit the crown and Persian nobility. The royal administration also maintained a close watch over the fiscal obligations of the Babylonian sanctuaries. His achievement as founder of the empire was symbolized by the building of a royal residence in Persia, Pasargadae, where his tomb was also constructed. He was buried here by his son, Cambyses II, after his death in 530 following a campaign in central Asia. PB

D

dance (reception) Recent scholarship on ancient pantomime has led to an interest in its impact on the development of modern ballet, *ballet d'action*, in the 18th cent. When the dancing masters and choreographers John Weaver and Jean-Georges Noverre sought to dignify dance as an art form *sui generis* (after its generic separation from opera from the end of the 17th cent. onwards), it was to the ancient treatises of *Lucian (*Salt.*) and Libanius that they turned. The 'first' modern attempts to revive ancient pantomime were a danced version of Act IV of Corneille's *Horace* by Louis XIV's daughter-in-law, the Duchesse du Maine (nr. Paris, 1714) and John Weaver's *Loves of Venus and Mars* (London, 1717). But the most prolific, and notorious, choreographer of *ballets d'action* was Noverre whose treatise, *Lettres sur la danse* (1803–1804) was the first serious account of modern dance. Noverre looked to ancient pantomime for its mimetic and expressive power in order to demonstrate that ballet was no mere virtuoso art form, but a potential rival to both painting and opera in its ability to deal with serious subjects and tell a story with gesture and movement alone. Many of Noverre's *ballets d'action* draw the source of their inspiration from Greek tragedy, the most famous of which is *Medée et Jason* (1776). In his collaborations with the composer C. W. Gluck (notably with *Alceste*, 1767 and *Iphigénie en Aulide*, 1777), Noverre could be said to have been the first to bring ancient tragedy's synthesis of word, music, and dance to the modern stage.

The impact of ancient dance on modern dance was evident before the 18th cent., notably in the 15th-cent. mimed or danced interludes known as *moresche* and in the Stuart masques, where ancient mythological subjects and ancient dance metres afforded new political and aesthetic possibilities. The moral taint associated with the ancient dancer provided much ammunition for those who found dance offensive and/or subversive in the modern world. Prejudices from the Church Fathers are recycled in early modern Europe, especially in the

baroque period, and resurface again very acutely in the age of Modernism when there was a counterblast in the Anglo-Saxon world to the cult of the body (*Körperkultur*) that emanated from the German-speaking world.

Ancient mythology has proved the staple of the modern dance repertoire down to the modern day, but it was during the Modernist period, above all, that the ancient dancer was to prove most alluring. Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) privileged the ancient choric dancer and at the end of the century the Cambridge Ritualists put the dancing maenad centre stage, when they designated dance a form of primitive prayer and maintained that Greek tragedy had grown out of the ritual dances in honour of *Dionysus. Also very influential was the research of the French musicologist Maurice Emmanuel who claimed in the wake of experiments in chronophotography that the dance images on Greek vases could provide a key to the revival of Greek dance. The pioneers of Modern Dance, notably Isadora Duncan, were said to have danced like maenads, straight off a Greek vase.

Even if much dance, from George Balanchine's mid-20th-cent. works onwards, has striven to resist the mimetic function of dance that Noverre sought to privilege, the ancients have remained central to the dance repertoire. Developments in modern psychology have very often paralleled those in Modern Dance and Martha Graham's Greek-tragic ballets not only provided new insights into Greek tragedy at a time when it was rarely performed on stage (e.g., *Cave of the Heart* (= E. Med.) 1946, *Night Journey* (= S. OT) 1947, *Clytemnestra* 1958, *Phaedra* 1962, *Phaedra's Dream* 1983), they did so by taking their cues from the psychoanalytical theories of Freud, Jung, Klein, and Fromm. Dance theory has often adopted the Nietzschean terminology of the Apolline and the Dionysiac in order to analyse the work of 20th- and 21st-cent. choreography; yet by striving to privilege one element at the expense of the other (in Balanchine's case, the formal, Apolline; in Graham and other women choreographers,



very often the visceral, Dionysiac), the choreographies regularly move beyond the agonistic and mutually inter-related terms set out in *The Birth of Tragedy*. Recent scholarship on the ancient singing and dancing chorus has been matched by a resurgence of interest in choruses in performance—both in non-western theatrical traditions and within western theatre, where collective movement is often sought as an antidote to the modern, atomized world.

FM

dancing From earliest times, the dance played an important role in the lives of the Greeks, and was sometimes regarded by them as the invention of the gods. It was generally associated with music and song or poetry in the art called *mousikē*, and frequently made use of a body of conventionalized gestures, *cheironomia*. The dance had a place (usually ritualized) in religious festivals, in the secret rites of *mysteries, in artistic competitions, in the education of the young, and even in military training, especially in *Sparta. People danced at weddings, at funerals, at the 'naming-days' of infants, at harvests, at victory celebrations, in after-dinner merrymaking, in joyous dance processions (*kōmos*) through the streets, in animal mummery, and even in incantations. Performances by professional dancers were enjoyed, especially at the *symposium; such dancers were almost all slaves and *hetairai* (lit. 'companions'; a type of female prostitute: see PROSTITUTION, SECULAR).

Among particularly famous dances of the Greeks were the *geranos* (a nocturnal serpentine dance the name of which is probably derived from the root †*ger-*, 'to wind', and not from the word for 'crane'); the pyrrhic and related dances by men and boys in armour; the *partheneion*, a song-dance performance by maidens; the *hyporchēma*, a lively combination of instrumental music, song, dance, and pantomime; the skilful 'ball-playing' dance; and the uproarious *askōliastos*, performed on greased wineskins. In the worship of *Dionysus the wild *oreibasia*, or 'mountain-dancing' of frenzied women, by classical times was toned down into a prepared performance by a thiasos, or group of trained devotees.

In the Athenian theatre, the *tyrbasia* of the cyclic choruses, the lewd *kordax* of comedy, the stately *emmelleia* of tragedy, and the rollicking *sikinnis* of the satyr-play were distinctive. The actors in the *phlyakes*-plays of Magna Graecia (S. Italy) apparently at times burlesqued the dignified dances of the religious festivals.

The Romans were much more restrained than the Greeks in their use of the dance. Some of them, including *Cicero (*Mur.* 6. 13), openly expressed contempt for dancers. There are records of a few ancient dances used in religious ceremonies—e.g. the leaping and 'three-foot'

dances (*tripudia*) of the armed Salii and the Arval Brothers, and the 'rope dance' of maidens in honour of *Juno (Livy 27. 37. 12–15). *Etruscan and Greek dancers, from the 4th cent. BC on, exerted some influence, and the introduction of various oriental cults brought noisy and ecstatic dances to Rome. Dancing by professionals, usually slaves, often furnished entertainment at dinner-parties. With the coming of the pantomime, popular interest in the dance became great. See MUSIC.

LBL/AJSS

Darius I (OP *Darāyavauš*), son of Hystaspes, a Persian of noble lineage already known in the reigns of *Cyrus the Great and Cambyses. He seized power after a bloody struggle against an individual said by him to have been the magus Gaumata. It is quite possible that the person he in fact assassinated was Bardiya (Gk. Smerdis), the brother of Cambyses (522 BC). He then had to quell numerous revolts by subject peoples and deal with the in-subordinate Oroites, satrap of Sardis (W. *Asia Minor). His achievements were commemorated for posterity, in text and picture, on the rock of Bisitun in Media (SW of the Caspian Sea). To mark what he presented as a refoundation of the empire, he created two new royal residences: Susa in Elam (SW Iran) and *Persepolis in *Persia. He also extended the empire in the east (Indus valley) and west (Thrace). Soon after his brutal crushing of the *Ionian Revolt (c.500–493), he put Datis in command of an army which conquered the Aegean islands, before meeting a setback at the battle of Marathon (490; see GREECE (HISTORY)). Until his death in 486, Darius worked to perfect the administration and tributary structure of the empire, as shown by a famous passage in *Herodotus (3. 89–97). It is illustrated even better by the thousands of Elamite tablets found in the treasury and fortifications of Persepolis.

PB

dead, disposal of Correct disposal of the dead was always a crucial element in easing the *soul of the deceased into the next world. However, the forms of burial varied enormously. Great significance was attached to the choice of inhumation, cremation, or some other rite (e.g. Hdt. 3. 38; Lucr. s 3. 888–93), but there is rarely any reason to see a direct correlation between specific methods and specific racial, class, or religious groups.

Greece

In prehistory there was enormous variation. An inhumation burial is known from mesolithic times in the Franchthi cave (Argolid), while in Thessaly cremation cemeteries go back to early neolithic. In the early bronze age rich grave goods were sometimes used, particularly in the multiple inhumation tombs of the Cyclades and

*Crete. In the late bronze age, there was for the first time considerable uniformity on the mainland, with multiple inhumations in rock-cut chamber-tombs being the norm. In early Mycenaean times a few people were buried in spectacular tholos- (beehive-) tombs. Very large cemeteries of chamber-tombs have been found at Mycenae and other sites. This pattern extended as far north as *Thessaly, but in *Macedonia and Epirus (NW Greece) individual inhumation in stone-lined cist-graves, grouped together under mounds of earth, was normal. After the destruction of the Mycenaean world c.1200 BC, regional variations returned in the 'Dark Age'. Inhumations in cists with the body contracted were normal at Argos; cremation on a pyre with just a handful of the ashes scattered in the grave at *Lefkandi; on Crete, chamber-tombs with multiple inhumations until about 1000, and then multiple cremations with the ashes placed in urns. At Athens, adult rites changed frequently—inhumations in cists in the 11th cent.; cremations with the ashes in urns, c.1000–750; inhumations in earth-cut pit-graves, c.750–700; cremations in the grave itself, c.700–550; and then inhumations in pit-graves, tile-covered graves, or sarcophagi from about 550 onwards. Early archaeologists associated both cist burial and cremation with the Dorian invasion (mythical Greek migration into the *Peloponnese after *Troy's fall) at various times, but these correlations are not convincing.

There were, however, a few generally observed rules. Cremation with the ashes placed in a metal urn (usually bronze), in the Homeric style, tended to be associated with warrior burials throughout antiquity. Children were rarely cremated, and in most places infants were buried inside amphoras or storage pots. Starting in the 6th cent. there was a general trend towards simpler burials, which may have been accompanied by sumptuary laws. Inhumation in pit-graves or tile-graves was adopted for adults in most parts of Greece by the 6th or 5th cent. The main exception was western Greece, where adults were inhumed in giant storage pots from the Dark Age to Hellenistic times.

Rich grave-goods and elaborate tomb-markers went out of style everywhere for most of the 5th cent., but returned around 425. There was a great flowering of funerary sculpture at Athens in the 4th cent. Funerary spending escalated still further after 300, and in the 3rd–1st cents. BC the massive 'Macedonian'-style vaulted tombs, often with painted interiors, are found all over Greece. The most spectacular of these are the late 4th-cent. royal tombs, possibly of *Philip II and his court, at Vergina in Macedonia (see AEGAE). Athens was an exception to this general pattern. *Cicero (*Leg.* 2. 66) says that Demetrius of Phalerum banned lavish tombs, probably in

317, and indeed no monumental burials are known from Attica between then and the 1st cent. BC. *Lucian (*On Mourning* 21) called cremation a 'Greek custom', but he was probably thinking in purely literary terms, drawing on classical passages such as *Hdt.* 3. 38. In Roman times inhumation was the strict rule throughout the whole Greek east, although the precise forms varied—from tile-graves at Athens to chamber-tombs at Cnossus, built tombs at Dura Europus (*Syria), and spectacular rock-cut tombs at Petra (Arabia). Greek settlers in the near east, from *Egypt to *Bactria, generally adopted rites very similar to the local population's practices.

Rome

Burial customs in prehistoric *Italy were as varied as those in Greece. The earliest graves found at Rome date to the 10th cent. BC, and include both urn cremations and inhumations. There is, however, no reason to see these as belonging to different racial groups. Roman burials were until about 100 BC generally rather simple, in marked contrast to their neighbours the *Etruscans, who built complex chamber-tombs which often housed cremations in unusual urns, accompanied by rich grave-goods. From the 8th cent. on the customs of southern Italy were heavily influenced by Greek settlers, and inhumation generally replaced cremation. Impressive local traditions of tomb-painting developed, particularly in Campania.

At Rome itself, few burials are known from republican times, suggesting that rites were so simple as to leave few archaeological traces. Across most of Europe in the 5th–3rd cents. the bulk of the population was disposed of relatively informally, often by exposing the body on platforms. In Italy there is some evidence for mass burial of the poor in huge open pits. The use of these *puticuli* at Rome in the late republic is mentioned by *Varro (*Ling.* 5. 25; cf. *Hor. Sat.* 1. 8; *Festus*, entry under 'puticuli'), and a few were excavated in the 1880s. By the 3rd cent. BC some of the rich were being cremated with their ashes placed in urns and buried in communal tombs. By the 1st cent., cremation was the norm, and according to *Cicero (*Leg.* 2. 57) and *Pliny the Elder (*HN* 7. 187) even the ultra-conservative Cornelia gave up inhumation in 78 BC. At about the same time, Roman nobles began building very elaborate tombs modelled on those of the Greek east, with monumental sculptures and elaborate stone architecture.

The spiralling cost of elite tombs ended abruptly under *Augustus, who built himself a vast mausoleum. Other nobles were careful to avoid being seen as trying to rival the splendour of the imperial household. Simpler tombs, organized around modest altars, came into fashion for the very rich, while the not-quite-so-rich and the growing

number of funerary clubs (*collegia*) adopted the *columbarium* (a word meaning 'dovecot', coined by modern scholars). The earliest example dates to c.50 BC, but they became common after c.AD 40. They were barrel-vaulted brick and masonry tombs with niches for urns, usually holding 50–100, although one example found at Rome in 1726 held 3,000 urns.

Urn cremation was adopted all over the western empire in the 1st and 2nd cents. AD, although there were always significant local variations. By about AD 150, the empire can be divided into a cremating, Latin-using west and an inhuming, Greek-using east. But during the 2nd cent. members of the Roman élite adopted inhumation, probably as a conscious emulation of Hellenistic practices, and in the 3rd cent. this rite gradually swept across the whole west. The change has no obvious links to *Christianity or any other religious movement. However, it was certainly convenient for the spread of Christianity, which generally opposed cremation, which destroyed the body and posed difficulties for some visions of the day of resurrection. By the late 4th cent., certain practices found widely in western cemeteries—an east–west orientation, the use of lime on the walls of the grave, and the decline of grave-goods—might indicate the presence of Christians. At Rome itself, there was a general shift around 300 away from traditional cemeteries in favour of *catacombs and burial within basilicas. See ART, FUNERARY, GREEK; ART, FUNERARY, ROMAN; DEATH, ATTITUDES TO. IMO

Dead Sea Scrolls, documents made of leather and papyrus, and, in one case, of copper, found between 1947 and 1956 in caves near Qumran by the Dead Sea. The scrolls, written by Jews, are mostly in Hebrew and Aramaic, but a small number are in Greek. Many are fragments of biblical texts from the Old Testament and from Jewish religious compositions otherwise only preserved through Christian manuscript traditions. The scrolls were written in the last centuries BC and 1st cent. AD.

Of particular significance in the study of Judaism in this period are the texts composed by sectarians, whose relationship to the nearby settlement site at Qumran is debated. These texts include community rules, hymns, liturgical texts, calendars, and works of bible interpretation. Among this last group is found the *pesher* type of interpretation, characteristic of this sect and rarely found elsewhere in Jewish literature, in which the real meaning of scriptural passages is alleged to lie in hidden allusions to more recent events.

The Community Rule (1QS, also called the Manual of Discipline), a composite work found in various manuscripts in different caves, laid down the rules for initiation into the community and for living within it. The Rule

of the Congregation or Messianic Rule (1QSa) gives regulations for the eschatological integration of the 'congregation of Israel' into the sectarian community. The Damascus Rule (CD) is also attested in a medieval manuscript (the Zadokite Fragments) discovered in Cairo in 1896. The War Rule (1QM) is a rather different text which regulates the behaviour of the 'sons of light' in the eschatological war against the 'sons of darkness'. The Temple Scroll (11QT) contains a systematic statement of the regulations pertaining to the Temple cult, derived from the Pentateuch but with frequent non-biblical additions which are presented as the direct words of God. 4QMMT, found in six copies (all very fragmentary), takes the form of a letter in which legal views, mostly on issues of purity, are presented to authorities external to the sect.

How many of those documents were originally composed by adherents of one particular sect is debated. If the scrolls were deposited in the caves for safe keeping, they may have been placed there by more than one group, perhaps after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in AD 70. The contents of the Copper Scroll (3Q15), a prosaic list of the hiding-places of an immensely valuable treasure, might support this hypothesis, but finds of multiple copies of some sectarian texts in different caves may suggest that only one sect was responsible for placing them there. In that case doctrinal differences between texts must be accounted for by supposing either variant branches of the sect or a gradual development of the sect's ideas over time.

Many attempts have been made to connect the scrolls to the Jewish groups of this period known from other sources. Most such attempts assume that the scrolls were deposited by the inhabitants of the site at Qumran, where excavation may have revealed a small community, isolated in the desert, with a deep concern for ritual purity. The most plausible of such identifications is with the Essenes, who are known primarily from descriptions by Philo of Alexandria, *Josephus, and Pliny the Elder. However, the classical evidence is equivocal and contradictory, and some aspects of the Essene society depicted there do not fit the evidence from the scrolls, so that those who hold this hypothesis have to consider the scrolls community as Essenes of a peculiar type. It may be better to take the sectarian material in the scrolls as evidence of a type of Judaism otherwise unknown. See RELIGION, JEWISH. MDG

death, attitudes to

Greek

The Greek attitude towards *Hades is best summed up by *Achilles, 'I'd rather be a day-labourer on earth working

for a man of little property than lord of all the hosts of the dead' (*Od.* 11. 489–91). The Homeric dead are pathetic in their helplessness, inhabiting draughty, echoing halls, deprived of their wits (*phrenes*), and flitting purposelessly about uttering batlike noises (*Od.* 24. 5 ff.). Athenian law-court speeches urge the jury to render assistance to the dead as if they were unable to look after their own interests (e.g. *Lys.* 12. 99). The precise relationship between the living body and the *psychē* (spirit of the dead) is unclear, since the latter is only referred to in connection with the dead. The necessity of conducting burial rites (e.g. *Il.* 23. 71) and the insult to human dignity if they are omitted (cf. *Soph. Ant.*) are frequently mentioned in literature. Except in philosophy and Orphism (cf. *Pind. Ol.* 63–88; *Pl. Resp.* 2. 363c–e, *Phaedo* 113d–114c; see ORPHEUS), belief in a dualistic after-life is largely absent from Greek eschatology. In *Homer the Underworld judge Minos merely settles lawsuits between the litigious dead (*Od.* 11. 568–70). Only gross sinners (e.g. Tantalus, Tityus, and Sisyphus) receive retributive punishment, while the favoured few end up in the Elysian Fields (4. 561 ff.). Fear of the after-life was therefore largely absent (but cf. *Pl. Resp.* 1. 330d). Though powerless in themselves the dead had access to the infernal powers, notably Pluto (Aedoneus) and Persephone, for which reason folded lead plaques (*katadesmoi*) inscribed with *curses bearing the name of the person to be 'bound down' were occasionally placed in graves.

The deceased's journey to the next world was effected by elaborate ritual conducted by the relatives of the deceased, primarily women. The funeral, from which priests were debarred for fear of incurring *pollution, was a three-act drama which comprised laying out the body (*prothesis*), the funeral cortège (*ekphora*), and the interment. We only rarely hear of undertakers (*nekrothoptoi*, *nekrophoroi*) and other 'professionals'. We know of no burial 'service' as such. Cremation and inhumation were often practised concurrently in the same community, with no apparent distinction in belief. From c.500 BC intramural burial was forbidden in Athens (cf. *Plut. Lyc.* 27 for Sparta). No tomb-cult was practised in early times, but in Classical Athens women paid regular visits to the grave. Offerings included cakes and *choai*, i.e. libations mainly of pure water. The attention that the dead received from the living in this period was judged to be so important that it constituted a reason for adopting an heir (*Isae.* 2. 36, 7. 30). In the Archaic period a funeral provided a perfect showcase for the conspicuous display of aristocratic wealth, power, and prestige, and many communities passed legislation designed to limit its scope and magnificence (e.g. [Dem.] 43. 62 and *Plut. Sol.* for *Solon's legislation; *Syll*³ 1220 for *Delphi).

Funerary ritual was substantially modified for those who died in their prime, the unburied dead, victims of murder, suicides, heroes, etc. Special sympathy was felt towards women who died at a marriageable age but unmarried. To underline their pathos, a stone marker in the form of a *loutrophoros* (i.e. vase used in the nuptial bath) was placed over the grave. Victims of murder were vengeful and malignant, as indicated by the grisly practice of cutting off their extremities. Most powerful were the heroic dead, who even in *Plutarch's day still received blood *sacrifice (*Plut. Arist.* 21).

Geometric vases depict only the *prothesis* and *ekphora*, whereas Athenian white-ground *lēkythoi* (oil flasks) frequently depict tomb-cult. Hades is rarely represented in Greek art (but cf. *Paus.* 10. 28–31 for Polygnotus' lost painting, the *Nekyia*) or in literature (*Od.* 11 and *Ar. Frogs* are notable exceptions; cf. too 'Orphic' gold leaves). Though the belief in Hades as the home of the undifferentiated dead predominated and never lost its hold over the popular imagination (cf. its persistence as a theme in epitaphs), other concepts include the transformation of the dead into stars (e.g. Castor and Pollux), their absorption into the upper atmosphere or aether (e.g. *IG* 1³. 1179), the Pythagorean (e.g. H. Diels and W. Kranz 14, 8a) and Platonic (e.g. *Phd.* 107d) belief in transmigration, and the indistinct 'blessedness' promised to initiates in the mysteries of *Eleusis. See PLATO; PYTHAGORAS.

Roman

In the Roman tradition death is conceived of essentially as a blemish striking the family of the deceased, with the risk of affecting all with whom it had contact: neighbours, magistrates, priests, and sacred places. For this reason ritual established a strict separation between the space of the deceased and that of the living. Cypress branches announced the blemished house, and on days of sacrifices for the dead sanctuaries were closed.

The time of death spanned above all the period when the deceased's corpse was exposed in his or her home, its transport to the cemetery, and its burial. These operations were usually completed after eight days. The transformation of the corpse was achieved in the course of 40 days. The deceased did not, in the course of the funerary ritual, arrive at life eternal, but joined, as it were, a new category: those members of the community, the *di manes*, who lived outside towns on land set aside for this purpose and managed by the *pontifices* (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)). The legal status of these tombs was that of the *religiosum* (see RELIGION, ROMAN). The *di manes* were thought of as an undifferentiated mass or (rather) a collective divinity (Romans spoke of the *di manes* of such-and-such a person), and received regular cult during

the Parentalia of 13–21 February and at other times. The immortality which they enjoyed was conditional on the existence of descendants, or at least of a human presence (a proprietor of the land on which the tomb was located, or a funerary *collegium* or club), since it was the celebration of funerary cult, in the form of sacrifices, which ensured the deceased's survival.

The unburied dead were called *lemures* and thought of as haunting inhabited areas and disturbing the living. Usually anonymous (being no longer integrated into any social context) they none the less received cult at the Lemuria in May, supposedly to appease them.

Along with these forms of survival, conceived generally as menacing and undesirable, there existed a third belief about life after death—deification. Combining Roman tradition with Hellenistic practices and ideas deriving from Hellenistic philosophy, the deification of exceptional individuals was instituted at Rome after *Caesar's assassination. Thereafter elevation to the status of a god (*divus*) by a senatorial decree (*senatus consultum*) became the rule for emperors and some members of their families (see RULER-CULT).

To these traditions was added, from the last centuries of the republic on, a series of Hellenistic concepts, ranging from speculation about the immortality of the soul to images of hell. Verse epitaphs prove that these ideas were rarely exclusive and coherent. We are dealing with speculations rather than beliefs capable of shaping a person's whole existence. See DEAD, DISPOSAL OF; EPIGRAM, GREEK.

RSJG/JSch

debt, the creation of obligations in cash or kind, existed at all levels of society throughout the ancient world: from loans of seed and implements between peasants (Hes. *Op.* 396 ff., 453 ff.) to lending of small sums and household objects between city-dwellers (Theophr. *Char. passim*), from borrowing to cope with unforeseen crises (Dem. 53. 4 ff.) to substantial cash loans between the wealthy to support an élite lifestyle (Ar. *Nub.*; Plut. *Mor.* 827 ff.). More generally, the partly random testimony of papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman *Egypt hints at the likely frequency of loan transactions in other times and places, largely concealed by the perspective of surviving sources. The part played by debt in funding *trade and commerce is disputed; but always to the fore were the socio-political implications of widespread indebtedness, plausibly linked with the so-called 'Solonic Crisis' (see SOLON) in Archaic Athens and the 'Struggle of the Orders' in early *Rome. In time of siege or revolution, the indebted could be a force to be reckoned with (Aen. *Tact.* 5. 2, 14. 1; Thuc. 3. 81.). Athens after Solon was exceptional in its successful prohibition of loans secured on the

person (*Ath. pol.* 6. 1); debt-bondage and other forms of debt-dependence were common throughout the remainder of the Greek and Roman worlds. Frequent laws intended to regulate debt were rarely enforceable and generally had only limited or temporary effect. Forms of debt-bondage continued in Rome long after the *lex Poetelia de nexis* (326 BC), which reputedly prohibited imprisonment for debt. Wider implications of indebtedness were also apparent at the upper end of society. Wealthy Athenians risked their status by raising loans on the security of property to fulfil *eisphora* (tax) and prestigious liturgy obligations. In the late Roman republic, indebtedness was intertwined with élite politics: the massive debts incurred by politicians in the pursuit of power could result in credit crises (49 BC, on the eve of the Civil War) and, in extreme cases, point the way to revolution (the conspiracy of *Catiline). A possible alternative was exploitation of the provincials: *Cicero, while governor in Cilicia (S. *Asia Minor), records with more dismay than surprise loans at usurious rates of interest by *Brutus to the nearby city of Salamis on *Cyprus, and by *Pompey to Ariobarzanes III, king of neighbouring Cappadocia (*Att.* 5. 21; 6. 1).

PCM

Delian League, modern name for the alliance formed 478/7 BC against the Persians (also known as the 'Athenian empire'). In 478 the Greeks, led by the Spartan Pausanias, campaigned in *Cyprus and secured *Byzantium; but Pausanias abused his power and was recalled to Sparta. At the request of the allies, who pleaded Pausanias' behaviour and 'Ionian kinship' (Thuc. 1. 95. 1), Athens accepted leadership. The Peloponnesians acquiesced (some evidence suggests reluctance), and a new alliance was formed with its headquarters on the sacred island of *Delos—a traditional Ionian festival centre but one which had appeal for Dorian islanders also. Athens provided the commander of the allied forces and settled which cities were to provide ships and which money; the treasurers also, ten *hellēnotamiae*, were Athenians, and the Athenian politician Aristides made the first assessment. But at the outset policy was determined at meetings on Delos at which every member, including Athens, had just one equal vote. The nucleus of the alliance was formed by the Ionian cities of the west coast of *Asia Minor, the Hellespont (Dardanelles), and the Propontis (mod. sea of Marmara), and most of the Aegean islands. Chios, *Samos, *Lesbos, and some other states with a naval tradition provided ships; the remainder brought annual tribute to the treasury at Delos. Members took permanently binding oaths of loyalty. From 454 we have (often) securely dated lists of the one-sixtieth fractions of tribute paid to Athena, the so-called 'Athenian tribute

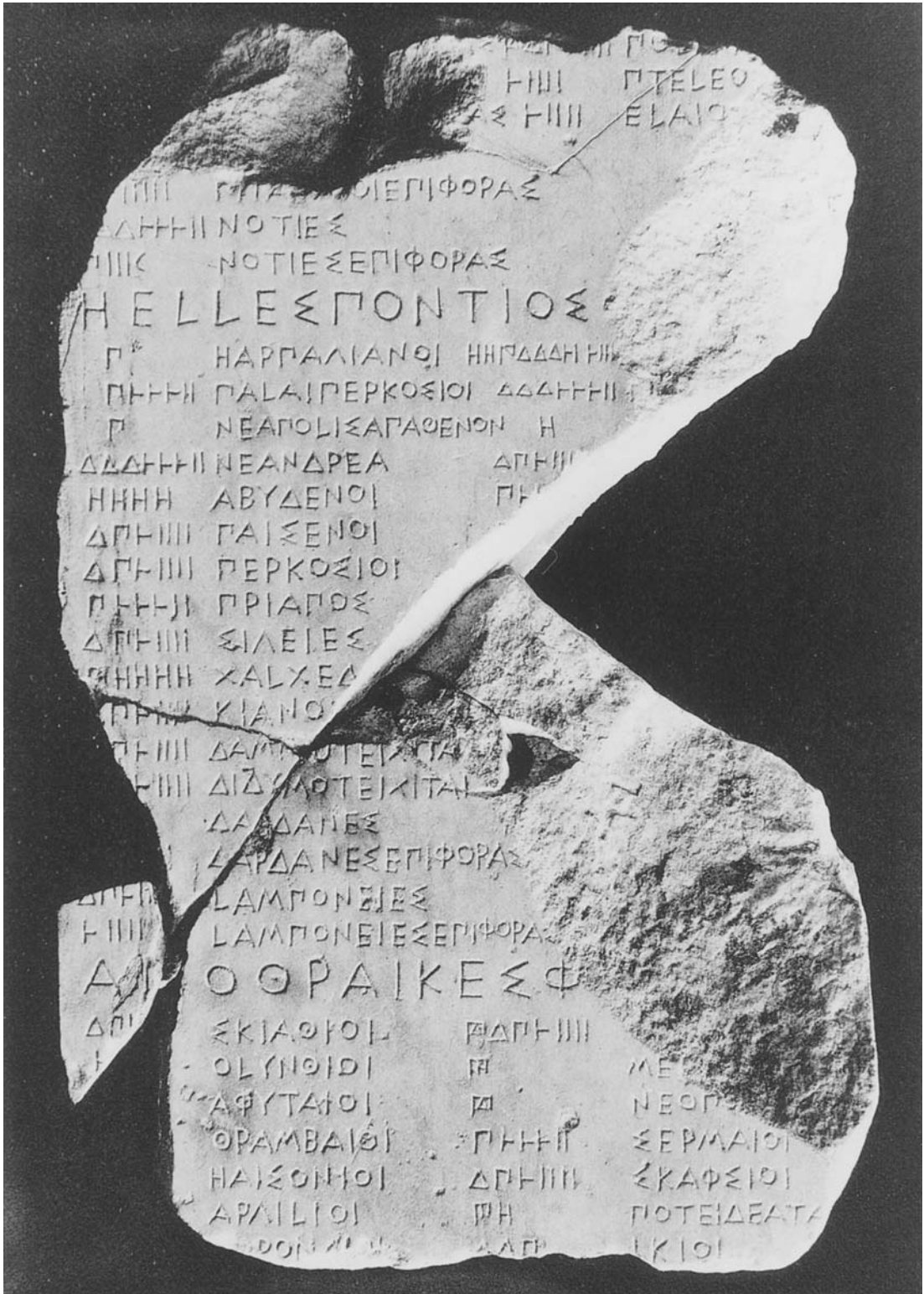
lists', and though this evidence is both fragmentary and also incomplete in that not every year survives, it has been intensively and fruitfully analysed.

At first the anti-Persian objectives were vigorously pursued. Persian garrisons were driven out of Thrace (except at Doriscus on the Hebrus) and Chersonesus; Greek control was extended along the west and south coast of Asia Minor; new members joined until there were nearly 200. The climax was the Athenian general Cimon's victory at the Eurymedon, SW Asia Minor (466). Meanwhile Carystus in Euboea was forced to join (c.472), the Cycladic island of Naxos tried to secede and was forced back in (c.467), and in 465 wealthy Thasos (N. Aegean) revolted because of Athenian encroachment on Thasian mainland holdings. Thasos surrendered 462 and stiff terms were imposed, but nearby on the Strymon a large colony of Athenian allies was wiped out by the local inhabitants. If Cimon made a first peace of Callias after Eurymedon it ended with his *ostracism and fighting against Persia resumed in 460, when a strong Athenian force sailed to Cyprus but was diverted to Egypt to support Inarus, a Libyan prince in revolt from Persia. The Egyptian expedition ended in disaster for Athens in 454, and it was perhaps in that year that the treasury was moved from Delos to Athens (?for security in this moment of peril; but the date of the move is not absolutely certain). But Athenian power spread in Greece and the Aegean: the Dorian island of Aegina was coerced in 458, and the First Peloponnesian War gave Athens control over Boeotia 457–446: the Boeotian towns Orchomenus and Acraephnum were actually tributary members of the league, which was therefore not purely maritime. At sea Cimon, back from ostracism, led a force to Cyprus but this phase of resumed expansion ended with his death at the end of the 450s.

The main Callias Peace of 450, if historical, restricted Persian movement west of Phaselis (SW Asia Minor) and outside the Black (Euxine) Sea, and Persia made other concessions. The removal of the original justification of the league seems, on the evidence of the tribute lists, to have led to restlessness among Athens' allies, but this was checked and tribute-levying (perhaps discontinued for a year) was resumed. Cleruchies (a type of Athenian citizen colony) and other repressive institutions were now imposed, though the greater bulk of epigraphic evidence after mid-century creates a risk of confusing first occurrence with first attestation (and see below for dating problems). The first known cleruchy was at Andros 450, also perhaps Naxos and Euboea (Carystus); Chersonesus was settled by *Pericles in 447. By now only Chios, Samos, and Lesbos contributed ships, the rest paid tribute and had no effective means of resisting.

Traditionally, Athenian inscribed decrees, dated by letter-forms, have been used to trace changes in Athenian policy, and in particular an increasing tendency towards mid-century harshness: on this view, Pericles turned the 'league' into an 'empire'. Critics (notably M. Finley, *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* (1981), ch. 3) had already insisted that Athenian behaviour had never been anything but harsh (see Cimon for the coercion of Scyros etc., 470s). But now the criteria for dating 5th-cent. Attic inscriptions has been radically and generally questioned (one scholar had long argued on these lines: see H. Mattingly, *The Athenian empire restored* (1999), a collection of older papers). In particular, a key text has been, ever more confidently, down-dated from 458/7 to 418 (ML no. 37, an Athenian alliance with Sicilian Segesta; see *SEG* 39. 1 and 52. 44. The crucial letter form here is that of sigma). The result, assuming that the case has been proved, has been to make it extremely difficult to write a narrative history of the Delian League based solely or even primarily on the evidence of inscribed decrees (as opposed to securely dated tribute lists). The recent tendency has been to lower the datings of many such decrees, often from the 440s to the 420s (but not all: see Rhodes, *CQ* 2008, 500 ff. a useful attempt to sort out which inscriptions should and which should not be down-dated). There is a risk, in all this, of a kind of scholarly reversion to an old-fashioned, personality-based, association of tough measures with identifiable tough men—but now with demagogues such as Cleon, rather than with Pericles. This should probably be resisted (against personality-based reconstructions of any sort, see esp. Kallet in J. Ma, N. Papazarkadas and R. Parker (eds.), *Interpreting the Athenian empire* (2009)). Despite these uncertainties, the position is not desperate: in favour of gradual deterioration and growing Athenian unpopularity is Thucydides 1. 99, an important chapter. And a structural and institutional, rather than narrative, approach may be preferable anyway. We are at an exciting time in the history of the study of Athenian imperialism, and it will be interesting to see what sort of history of it can now be written.

Boeotia revolted in 447 or 446, the Athenians were defeated at Coronea, and the ensuing crisis—revolts by Megara and Euboea, and a Spartan invasion—was settled by the Thirty Years Peace (446). In 440 Samos defied Athens, was besieged and subdued and forced to pay a large indemnity. Whether or not a technical democracy was now installed or an *oligarchy tolerated is unclear; it was perhaps more important to Athens, here and elsewhere, that the governing group should be pro-Athenian. Back at Athens, the people's courts or *dikastēria* (see *LAW AND PROCEDURE, ATHENIAN*) played a major part in the control of empire.



Delian League Fragment from one of the inscribed lists set up on the Athenian Acropolis as a record of the quotas set aside for *Athena from the annual payments of the allies. The lists give a valuable indication of which states paid tribute, and how much they paid, from one year to another. From J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, Gebr. Mann Verlag. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

When the Peloponnesian War began (431), this Athenian control was firm; Spartan hopes for large-scale revolt from Athens were disappointed, nor did the Spartans make best use of their opportunities, e.g. on Lesbos, which Athens crushed. In 425 the Athenians increased the tribute assessment to nearly 1,500 talents (the original assessment is said to have been 460 talents). In 416 when the Cycladic island of Melos refused to join the alliance, Athens reduced the island, executed the men, and enslaved the women and children, a small-scale atrocity but one long remembered against Athens. After the Sicilian disaster of 415–413 Chios, Miletus, Thasos, Euboea, and other key places revolted, but even this wave of revolt was contained, partly because of Persian behaviour and Spartan limpness, partly because Athens had learned to avoid counter-productive reprisals.

The Athenian empire brought benefits to the poorer cities: *piracy was suppressed to the great advantage of trade, and the Athenian navy offered well-paid service, particularly attractive to the population of the islands. Pride in Athenian imperial success and cultural achievement may not have been confined to Athens' own citizens, though these are not aspects on which our main source Thucydides dwells. He does not even bring out the extent to which the upper classes at Athens benefited (as inscriptions like *Hesperia* 1953, 225ff. attest) from overseas territorial possessions in the empire, acquired in defiance of local rules. But such possessions help to explain why there was so little principled objection to the empire, and the democracy which ran it, on the part of the Athenian social and intellectual élite. They also show that the literary picture of solidarity between the Athenian *dēmos* (common people) and the *dēmos* in the allied states is too simple. Thucydides or rather one of his speakers hints that the allies would prefer independence from either Athens or Sparta. Nevertheless, and in Athens' favour, the same chapter (8. 48) is surely right to acknowledge that at worst, arbitrary judicial process and violent killings could be expected from the oligarchies which Sparta had to offer instead.

The allies did not in fact contribute much to Athens' defeat, and when Sparta took Athens' place the cities soon had reason to regret the change. In less than 30 years they again united under Athenian leadership in the Second Athenian Confederacy. But it is a significant indicator of the reasons for Athenian unpopularity in 431 (Thucydides 2. 8) that in 377 Athens repudiated cleruchies, garrisons, and overseas possessions. RM/SH

Delos (see ◀Map 1, Cc▶), a small island (3 sq. km.: 1.2 sq. mi.) between Myconos and Rheneia, regarded in antiquity as the centre of the Cyclades. Composed of gneiss

and granite, it is barren and almost waterless and was incapable of supporting its inhabitants.

Delos, the only place to offer shelter to Leto, was the birthplace of *Apollo and *Artemis, as recounted in the Archaic *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. This was the basis of its historical importance. It was also the burial-place of the Hyperboreans (a legendary race of Apollo-worshippers in the far north). Anius was its heroic founder, son and priest of Apollo, later associated with the Trojan cycle.

Early bronze age occupation on Mt. Cynthus was succeeded by a Mycenaean settlement on the low ground later occupied by the sanctuary. Two Mycenaean graves were later identified as the tombs of the Hyperborean maidens (the Theke and the Sema). Continuity of cult into historic times is unlikely.

Delos was colonized by Ionian Greeks c.950 BC but the sanctuary's prominence originates in the 8th cent. It became the principal cult centre of the Ionians of the Cyclades, *Asia Minor, Attica, and Euboea, and was perhaps the centre of an Ionian amphictiony (cultic league of neighbours). Naxos and Paros were its most conspicuous patrons in the early Archaic period. In the later 6th cent. first *Pisistratus and then the tyrant Polycrates of *Samos asserted their authority. The Athenians purified the island by removing burials within view of the sanctuary and perhaps built a temple of Apollo (the *pōrinos naos*). Polycrates dedicated Rheneia to Apollo, providing the basis for the sanctuary's subsequent wealth. Delos emerged unscathed from the Persian Wars (490–479 BC) and subsequently became the meeting-place and treasury of the *Delian League. After their removal to Athens in 454 BC the Athenians assumed administration of the sanctuary but did not impose tribute. In 426 BC Athens carried out a second purification, clearing all burials and depositing their contents in the Purification Trench on Rheneia. Henceforth women about to give birth and the dying had to be removed to Rheneia. They also reorganized their quadrennial festival (the Delia), celebrated with particular splendour by *Nicias in 417 BC, perhaps to inaugurate the new temple of Apollo. In 422 BC the Delians were expelled by Athens on a charge of impurity but were soon recalled. Its independence following liberation in 405 BC was short-lived, administration of the sanctuary reverting to Athens from 394 BC.

Athenian domination lasted until *Antigonos the One-eyed's foundation of the League of Islanders in 314 BC, championed by the Ptolemies in the early 3rd cent. but redundant after the Chremonidean War (260s). For a century and a half Delos was independent and functioned as a normal city-state, with an archon as its chief magistrate and the sanctuary's administration entrusted to a board of *hieropoioi* (religious officials). This was a

period of extensive new public building, some provided by foreign patrons (e.g. the stoas of *Antigonus Gonatas and Philip V of Macedon). These and the festivals instituted by successive Hellenistic kings were more a display of religious patronage than an assertion of political domination. Although Delos' population remained relatively small (c.3,000–4,000) it began to develop as a commercial centre, attracting foreign bankers and traders, Italians prominent among them.

Independence ended in 166 BC when Rome handed control of Delos to Athens. Its inhabitants were expelled and replaced by Athenian cleruchs (citizen-colonists). Delos was made a free port to the detriment of Rhodian commerce (see RHODES). In conjunction with its commercial growth in the later 2nd and early 1st cent. its population expanded enormously and it became increasingly cosmopolitan, merchants and bankers from Italy and the Hellenized East forming distinct communities. Delos became the most important market for the slave trade (see SLAVERY). Although Athenians filled the civic posts (chief magistrate, the *epimelētēs*), guilds and associations of the foreign communities and trading groups administered their own affairs. Sacked in 88 BC by Archelaus, *Mithradates VI's general, and again in 69 BC by pirates (see PIRACY), Delos never recovered its former greatness. By the end of the 1st cent. BC its importance as a sanctuary as well as a commercial centre were lost. Its decline, which became a *topos in Roman literature, owed as much to shifts in trading patterns as the destructions. A small community survived into late antiquity.

The cults of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto were naturally the most prominent and among the most ancient, though none need be earlier than the 8th cent. Apollo was the focus of the annual Ionian festival (the *panēgyris*) celebrated with games, singing, and dancing. Individual cities sent delegations to the major festivals and some, such as Andros, Ceos (mod. Kea), and Carystus (Euboea), had their own *oikoi* (buildings) within the sanctuary. It was administered by boards of officials responsible for managing the property of Apollo and guarding the temple treasures, as well as maintaining the buildings of the officially recognized cults. However, as in any normal *polis, the gods charged with other communal concerns were given due attention, each having its own cult and annual festival. From the late 3rd cent. and especially after 166 BC foreign cults multiplied, reflecting the cosmopolitan character of the city. Most were of oriental origin, such as Sarapis, Isis (see EGYPTIAN DEITIES), and the Syrian gods Hadad and Atargatis, but Italian divinities, such as the *Lares compitales*, also occur and, from the early 1st cent. BC, a *synagogue served the Jewish community. Many were the concern of private groups and not officially recognized.

Among the more curious cult rituals were the sacred offerings sent to Delos by the Hyperboreans, passed from city to city along a fixed route, apparently modified under Athenian influence to pass through Attica. The 'crane' dance (*geranos*; see DANCING; PYGMIES), initiated by *Theseus and the Athenian youths returning from *Crete, was performed at the Altar of Horns. *Callimachus alludes to self-flagellation around the altar and gnawing the trunk of the sacred olive.

The archaeological exploration of Delos, conducted by the French school since 1873, has unearthed the sanctuary and large parts of the ancient city. Its public buildings, commercial installations, and residential quarters, combined with a mass of epigraphic documentation from the 4th cent. BC, give a detailed picture of its political, religious, social, and economic history. Nevertheless, the identification of many of the monuments is disputed.

Most of the ancient cults lay in the low ground on the sheltered west side of the island. Here were the temples of Apollo, the Artemision, and, to the north, the Letoon, as well as the Dodekathemon (sanctuary of the twelve gods) and others not securely identified. In the same area are the *oikoi* of various cities, dining-rooms, and the altars; the site of the Altar of Horns (the *keratinos bōmos*), reputedly built by Apollo himself, is debated. The Heraion, one of the earliest temples, stood apart at the foot of Mt. Cynthus, whose peak was crowned by a sanctuary of *Zeus and *Athena. The cult of Anius was housed in the *archēgesion* (founder's shrine) in the north-east. Originally the sanctuary was approached from the north, passing the Lion Terrace, but subsequently it was entered from the south. The later cults, especially those of oriental origin, were for practical and religious reasons concentrated below Mt. Cynthus and around its peak. The synagogue, on the north-east coast, was isolated from the other sacred areas. Many of the associations named after a particular divinity (e.g. the Poseidoniasts of Berytus (mod. Beirut) and the Hermaists) combined cult with commercial and social functions.

The sanctuary of Apollo was also the focus for the city's political institutions, housing the *prytaneion* (town hall), the *bouleutērion* (council chamber), and *ekklēsiastērion* (assembly hall). Associated with the social and religious life of the city were the hippodrome, *stadium, and *gymnasium on the low ridge north-east of the sanctuary. North of the Sacred Lake were two palaestras and on the lower slopes of Cynthus, in the old town, was the theatre. Around the sanctuary and encroaching on the sacred precincts were many of the commercial establishments, such as the markets of the Delians and the Italians. Warehouses fringed the shore south of the port. Residential areas surrounded the sanctuary on the north,

east, and south. No trace of the early city remains. The old town of the 3rd cent., with its unsystematic plan of winding streets and irregular houses, lay to the south at the base of Mt. Cynthus. The expansion of habitation in the later 2nd and early 1st cent. matched the increase in population after 166 BC. Houses of this period are larger, more regular, and organized on a rectilinear street grid. Their affluence testifies to the wealth of the city. Many contain *mosaics and traces of wall-paintings and the largest have colonnaded courts. Some 15,000 clay sealings found in one house are all that remains of a private *archive. Delos remained unwallled until 69 BC when, following the pirate sack, the Roman commander Triarius constructed a wall encompassing the main sanctuary and the residential areas to its north and south. The city's vast necropolis covered the SE shore of Rheneia. RWVC

Delphi (see ◀ Map 1, BC ▶) (See also DELPHIC ORACLE). Delphi, one of the four great Panhellenic *sanctuaries (the others are Isthmia, *Olympia, Nemea), is on the lower southern slopes of Mt. Parnassus, c.610 m. (2,000 ft.) above the gulf of Corinth.

Before 300 BC

There was an extensive Mycenaean village in the *Apollo sanctuary at the end of the bronze age; the area was resettled probably during the 10th cent., and the first dedica-

tions (tripods and figurines) appear c.800. The settlement was probably relocated after the first temple was built (late 7th cent.). The first archaeological links are with Corinth and Thessaly. The 6th cent. Homeric hymn to Apollo says Apollo chose Cretans for his Delphic priests, and early Cretan metal dedications have been found, but Cretan material could have come via Corinth, and Cretan priests may have been invented because *Crete was distant i.e. this is a way of stressing the end of local domination. The first Pythian Games were held in either 591/0 or 586/5.

The sanctuary, for which our main literary evidence is *Pausanias 10, consisted of a *temenos* (sacred precinct) enclosed by a wall. Inside it were the monuments dedicated by the states of Greece to commemorate victories and public events, together with about twenty 'treasuries' (the oldest are those of Cypselid Corinth; Sicyon (northern *Peloponnese), c.560; Cnidus (SW *Asia Minor), c.550; and the Cycladic island of Siphnos, c.525), a small theatre, and the main temple of Apollo to which the Sacred Way wound up from the road below. The Persian Wars (490–479) were architecturally celebrated with special panache, and heroes like the Athenian general Miltiades were commemorated more assertively here (Paus. 10. 10) than was possible back at democratic Athens. The first temple was destroyed by fire in 548 BC; debris, including many votives (notably chryselephantine statuary), was buried under



Delphi The panhellenic prestige of Archaic Delphi and the wealth of its clientele are reflected in this lifesize dedication of a silver-gilt bull, made somewhere in the E. Aegean or W. *Asia Minor c.600–550 BC. French School at Athens. Photo: Efa/H. P. Coulon.

the Sacred Way. This destruction led to an architectural reorganization of the *temenos*. The great new temple was constructed in the late 6th cent. with help from the noble Athenian Alcmaeonid clan, and was itself destroyed by *earthquake in 373. A new temple was built by subscription. The physical organization of the *Delphic oracle is controversial.

Delphi was attacked by the Persians in 480 and by the Gauls in 279 BC, but suffered little damage. Excavations were begun by French archaeologists in 1880, when the village of Kastri was moved from Delphi to its present site some way away. Apart from the revelation of the main buildings of the enclosure and the remains of numerous buildings (such as the base of the Serpent Column and the Spartan general *Lysander's victory-monument for the battle of Aegospotami), there have been notable finds of sculpture: the metopes of the Sicyonian building and the metopes of the Athenian treasury, the frieze of the Siphnian treasury, pedimental sculptures of the 'Alcmaeonid' temple, the bronze Charioteer, and the remnants of the 4th-cent. sculptor Lysippus' memorial for a Thessalian dynast (the 'Daochos monument'). Below the modern road and the Castalian Spring are public buildings (palaestra, etc.), the mid-7th-cent. temple of Athena Pronaia, the 4th-cent. tholos, and the treasury of Massalia (mod. Marseilles, c.530), in the area called the Marmaria, where there are also boulders which have fallen from the rocks above (the Phaedriades).

The affairs of the sanctuary were administered by an ancient or ostensibly ancient international organization, the Delphic amphictiony (cultic league of 'dwellers-around'). Influence at Delphi could be exercised in various ways and (mostly) via this amphictiony: by imposing fines for religious offences, by declaring and leading Sacred Wars, and by participation in prestigious building projects. Thus from the age of Archaic *tyranny to the Roman period, Delphi (like other Panhellenic sanctuaries but more so, because of its centrality and fame) was a focus for interstate competition as well as for contests between individuals. The four Sacred Wars are therefore only the moments when such competition flared up into overt military clashes. But even 'conventional' wars like the Peloponnesian Wars had a religious aspect: *Sparta's foundation of Heraclea Trachinia (in central Greece) during the Archidamian War (431–421) was arguably an attempt to increase Sparta's influence in the amphictiony. And at all times in Greek history, control of *Thessaly was desirable because Thessaly had a built-in preponderance of amphictionic votes. In the 3rd cent. BC the power of Aetolia (see FEDERAL STATES) was linked to its possession of Delphi, and significantly

Rome's first alliance with a Greek state (212 or 211) was with Aetolia.

Delphi was also a *polis (IACP no. 177) and issued decrees that survive on stone. Finally, Delphi had military importance as a place of muster in central Greece (e.g. Thuc. 3. 101).

After 300 BC

New Hellenistic powers used patronage of Delphi to gain legitimation; the Aetolian Confederacy certainly (see FEDERAL STATES), and perhaps Attalus I of *Pergamum, made dedications promoting their victories against the Gauls as Panhellenic services. The appropriation (168 BC) by the victorious Lucius Aemilius Paullus of a monument destined for King Perseus of Macedonia announced *de facto* Roman domination of the sanctuary. Although *Augustus reformed the amphictiony (mainly to serve the interests of *Nicomolis) and *Domitian repaired the temple (AD 84), the only emperor to take a real interest in Delphi was *Hadrian, who held the city's archonship twice, toyed with enlargement of the amphictiony (ending up instead founding the Panhellenion, an Athens-based organization of Greek cities), and sponsored building (Syll³ 830); whether the orchestrator (*kathēgemōn*) of Roman Delphi's beautification in a debated passage of *Plutarch (*De Pyth. or.* 409c) is Hadrian or the author himself, a Trajanic priest of Apollo, is debated. A regional Greek interest in the cult endured into the 3rd cent. AD, but international attention was now confined largely to *tourism and the Pythian Games. Delphi was still a 'sacred city' (*hiera polis*) under Constantine (Syll³ 903D); the steps in the installation of *Christianity remain obscure.

CAM/SH/AJSS

Delphic oracle, *oracle of *Apollo. Its origins are dated to the very end of the 9th cent. BC and eventually it developed into the most important Greek oracle. It was consulted by *poleis* (see POLIS) as well as individuals, and played an important guiding role in the formation of the Greek *poleis* and in *colonization; it gave guidance on *pollution, 'release from evils', (rarely) laws, and, above all, cult. The story that Apollo was not the original owner of the oracle, but replaced an earlier deity (different versions naming different deities, but all including Gaia or Themis, or both) is unlikely to reflect cult history; it is a myth, expressing the perception that at Delphi the chthonian (lit. 'of the earth'), dangerous, and disorderly aspects of the cosmos have been defeated by, and subordinated to, the celestial guide and lawgiver. Apollo's oracle has tamed the darker side of the cosmos—both at the theological (Gaia's defeat) and at the human level: it therefore

gives men divine guidance through which they can cope with this side of the cosmos.

The earliest temple for which there is evidence belongs to the second half of the 7th cent. The temple whose remains are visible was built in the 4th cent. Its predecessor was built in the last quarter of the 6th cent. after the earlier temple had been burnt down in 548/7. The full oracular consultation, available regularly on only nine or perhaps twelve days each year, took place in the *adyton* (innermost sanctuary), in which stood the *omphalos* (navel) marking the centre of the world as determined by *Zeus, who released two eagles, one from the east and one from the west, which met at Delphi (cf. Pind. fr. 54). Another story makes the *omphalos* the mythical Python's (see APOLLO) or *Dionysus' tomb. The *adyton* also included a living laurel tree and, according to an ancient tradition which recent geological discoveries support, a chasm emitting vapours (see Y. Ustinova, *Ancient Caves and the Greek Mind* (2009), 121–53). The inquirer had to pay a consultation tax called *pelanos* (which had begun as a bloodless offering and kept the name when it became a monetary contribution). At the altar outside the temple was offered the preliminary sacrifice before the consultation, the *prothesis*, which was offered either by the Delphic *polis* on behalf of all inquirers, or sometimes by the inquirer—to be more precise, on behalf of the inquirer by the *proxenos* (local representative) of his city, who necessarily introduced him to the sanctuary: non-Delphians were treated at the Delphic oracle as *xenoi*, foreigners, worshipping at the sanctuary of another *polis*. If the preliminary ritual was successful, i.e. if the animal had reacted as it should when sprinkled with water (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 437a, 438a–b), it was sacrificed, and the inquirer entered the temple, where he offered a second *sacrifice, depositing either a whole victim or parts of one on a *trapeza*, offering-table, at the entrance of the *adyton*. He then probably went with the *prophētai* (interpreters) and other cult personnel to a space from which he could not see the Pythia in the *adyton*. The Pythia, who had prepared herself by purification at the Castalian Spring, burnt laurel leaves and barley meal on the altar called *hestia* inside the temple (which came to be seen as the common hearth of Greece); crowned with laurel, she sat on the tripod, became possessed by the god, and, shaking a laurel, prophesied under divine inspiration—a state which may correspond to what in non-religious explanatory models would be considered a self-induced trance. Her pronouncements were then somehow shaped by the *prophētai*. Exactly what form the Pythia's pronouncements took and what the *prophētai* did are matters of controversy. One possibility is that she felt that she received partial signs transmitting fragmentary

visions—not gibberish—and that the *prophētai* interpreted these, shaping them into coherent, if ambiguous, responses; this was not an attempt to hedge their bets, but a result of the ambiguity inherent in the god's signs and the Greek perception that ambiguity is the idiom of prophecy, that there are limits to man's access to knowledge about the future: the god speaks ambiguously, and human fallibility intervenes and may misinterpret the messages.

The most important of the oracle's religious personnel (consisting of Delphians) were: the Pythia, an ordinary woman who served for life and remained chaste throughout her service; the *prophētai*; the *hosioi*, who participated in the ritual of the consultation and shared tasks with the *prophētai*, and the priests of Apollo. The Pythia is not mentioned in the oldest 'document' informing us about the Delphic cult and oracle, the *Homeric hymn to Apollo*, where the god gives oracular responses 'from the laurel tree' (393–6), an expression that corresponds closely to that ('from the oak tree') used in the *Odyssey* (14. 327–8; 19. 296–7) for the prophecies at Dodona (NW Greece), where the oak tree spoke the will of Zeus, which was interpreted by priests. A similar practice involving the laurel may perhaps have been practised at Delphi at an early period. Whether divination by lot was practised at Delphi as a separate rite is a matter of controversy. Control of the oracle was in the hands of the Delphic amphictiony (cultic league of 'dwellers-around'), run by the amphictionic council, whose duties included the conduct of the Panhellenic Pythian Games, the care of the finances of the sanctuary, and the upkeep of the temple. The amphictiony, we are told, fought a war against Crisa and defeated it; this is the First Sacred War, the historicity of which has been doubted, but the traditional date for its end (c.590 BC) coincides with the beginning of a period of transformation, a serious upgrading of the sanctuary, not the least of its manifestations being the building of several treasuries. The first Pythian Games were held to celebrate the amphictiony's victory. Other Sacred Wars took place subsequently, of which the fourth ended in 338 with the victory of *Philip II of Macedon at the battle of Chaeronea. It is not true that the oracle's influence had diminished as a result of its suspect position in the Persian Wars (490–479). Its influence continued, only its 'political' role inevitably diminished in the radically changed circumstances of the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman world.

CS-I

deme, local district/village. At Athens, see CLEISTHENES.

Demeter, the Greek goddess of corn, identified in Italy with Ceres. The second part of her name means 'mother', and *dē* (or *da*) was thought to mean 'earth' in antiquity,

but the Greeks had a separate goddess of the Earth, and Demeter came later in the pantheon, as granddaughter of Ge (Gaia) and sister of *Zeus. An alternative modern theory connects *dē* with *dēai*, the Cretan word for 'barley' (cf. *zeia*, 'spelt'), but this is linguistically doubtful. She is, however, certainly the goddess who controls all crops and vegetation, and so the sustainer of life for men and animals. In early epic corn is called 'Demeter's grain' (*Dēmēteros aktē*), and in a Homeric simile 'blonde Demeter' herself winnows grain from chaff (*Il.* 5. 500 f.). Her daughter by Zeus, *Persephone (Attic Pherrephatta), was called simply *Korē*, 'the Girl', and the two were so closely linked that they were known as 'the Two Goddesses' (*tō theō*) or even sometimes as 'the Demeters' (*Dēmēteres*). Because the life of plants between autumn and spring is one of hidden growth underground, Persephone was said to have been carried off by her uncle *Hades, lord of the Underworld, and compelled to spend the winter months with him as his wife, returning to the upper world with the flowers of spring. Thus as *Kore* she was a deity of youth and joy, the leader of the nymphs (young women divinities), with whom she looked after the growth of the young, but as Hades' wife she was also queen of the dead, governing the fate of souls, and thus an awesome and dread goddess.

As deities of *agriculture and growth, associated with a settled rhythm of life, Demeter and *Kore* were regarded as important influences in the development of civilization. Their title Thesmophoros was traditionally interpreted as due to their role as givers of law and morality. The Greek religious calendar was closely linked to the farmer's year, and many of their festivals coincided with the seasonal activities of ploughing, sowing, reaping, threshing, and storing the harvest. One of the most important and widespread, the Thesmophoria, normally took place in autumn (11–13th of the month Pyanopsion in Athens), near to sowing-time, and included ceremonies intended to promote fertility. Like many festivals of Demeter, it was secret and restricted to women. Their secrecy seems to have been due primarily to the sense of awe and fear generated by contemplation of the powers of the earth and Underworld.

The most important festivals of Demeter and *Kore* were the ceremonies of *initiation known as 'mysteries', the most famous of which were those of *Eleusis. By guaranteeing to initiates the favour of the goddesses, they offered above all the promise of a better fate after death, but they also promised prosperity in life, personified by Plutus (Wealth), who was the child of Demeter, born from her union with the Cretan hero Iasion 'in a thrice-ploughed field' (*Hom. Od.* 5. 125–8; cf. *Hes. Theog.* 969–74, *Hym. Hom. Cer.* 486–9).

Many legends told how, when Demeter was searching for her daughter after Hades had carried her off, she received information or hospitality from the local inhabitants of different places in Greece, and in gratitude taught them how to practise agriculture and to celebrate her rituals. The chief claimants for this honour were Eleusis and *Sicily, her most important cult centres. The oldest and best-known version of the myth is the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, an epic poem probably of the Archaic period. This tells how, after *Kore* was carried off, Demeter wandered the earth in search of her, disguised as an old woman, until she came to Eleusis where she was welcomed by the family of King Celeus. She became the nurse of his baby son Demophon, and tried to immortalize him by anointing him with ambrosia and holding him in the fire at night to burn away his mortality. She was interrupted by Metanira, Celeus' wife, and so prevented from making him immortal. Instead, she revealed her true identity, promised Demophon heroic honours after death, and ordered the Eleusinians to build her a temple and altar. She then withdrew to her new temple and caused a universal *famine, until Zeus was forced to order Hades to release her daughter. Hades, however, gave Persephone a pomegranate seed to eat, and because she had tasted food in the Underworld she was compelled to spend a third part of every year there, returning to earth in spring. Demeter then restored the fertility of the fields and taught the princes of Eleusis how to perform her mysteries, whose absolute secrecy is stressed. The poem closes with the promise of divine favour to the initiates both in life and after death.

The Great Mysteries at Eleusis were celebrated in early autumn (in the Athenian month Boedromion), and were preceded by the Lesser Mysteries at Agrae, just outside Athens, in spring (in the month Anthesterion). Some modern scholars have rejected the predominant ancient view which connected Persephone's absence with winter, arguing that her descent should coincide with the storing of seed-corn in underground granaries after harvest, during the period of summer dryness, to be taken out in autumn for sowing. This fits some near eastern myths of a similar type about a disappearing deity, but the story was never understood in this way by the Greeks, and the traditional explanation agrees much better with the agricultural condition of Greece itself.

The famine, in the *Homeric Hymn*, reflects another form of the belief that the death of vegetation has a divine cause. Persephone's absence and Demeter's anger and grief both combine to create sterility. The hymn assumes the existence of agriculture already before the Rape, but the Athenians in the Classical period claimed that Demeter had given to Triptolemus, one of the princes

of Eleusis, the gifts of corn and the arts of agriculture, and that he then travelled over the world teaching these to other nations.

Sicily was always regarded as especially consecrated to the Two Goddesses, and in the Hellenistic and Roman periods versions of the myth of Kore which placed her Rape and Return here became popular. She was said to have been carried off from a meadow near Enna in the centre of the island, and to have disappeared underground at the site of the spring Cyane (*Kuanē*) near *Syracuse, where an annual festival was held. Other major festivals took place at the times of harvest and sowing.

In Arcadia (central *Peloponnese) Demeter was worshipped with *Poseidon. The Black Demeter of Phigaleia and Demeter Erinys of Thelpusa were both said to have taken the form of a mare and to have been mated with by Poseidon in horse shape, and at Phigaleia she was shown as horse-headed. Their offspring were Despoina ('the Mistress') and (at Thelpusa) the horse Arion. At Phigaleia she was also said to have caused a universal famine because of her anger both with Poseidon and over the loss of her daughter (Paus. 8. 25 and 42).

These motifs of Demeter's anger and a consequent famine recur in the story of Erysichthon, who incurred her wrath by trying to cut down a grove sacred to her, although warned by the goddess in disguise not to do so. She punished him with an insatiable hunger which ruined all his household (Callim. *Hymn* 6).

A unique genealogy of Demeter makes her the mother of *Artemis (Aesch. fr. 333 S. Radt): Herodotus says that this was due to syncretism (mingling) with Egyptian mythology (2. 156. 5–6).

In art Demeter is shown both on her own and with Persephone, with related figures of cult such as Hades and Triptolemus, and in groups with the other Olympian deities. Particularly popular scenes are those of the Rape and Return of Persephone, and the Mission of Triptolemus. She carries a sceptre, ears of corn and a poppy, or torches, and she and her daughter are often portrayed as closely linked and similar in iconography. NJR

democracy, Athenian (*see following page*)

Demosthenes (*see page 237*)

diagrams Illustrations were extremely rare in ancient literary texts. They were only occasionally used in medical texts (Apollonius of Citium, Dioscorides, perhaps Soranus; lost works by *Aristotle). Illustrations, or diagrams, were mandatory in the exact sciences—the unique genre of illustrated text in antiquity. Such diagrams were formed by a network of straight and curved

lines (certainly drawn with ruler and perhaps by compass as well; the few extant arcs on papyri are drawn free-hand). In the extant literature, diagrams are always labelled by letters of the alphabet, standing typically at the intersection points of the lines. The diagrams are crucial to the logical development of the text and encode some of the information the text takes for granted, in a non-verbal way. At the same time, diagrams are drawn schematically so that the apparent metrical relations of the diagram are not meant to represent the metrical relations of the object studied. Thus, diagrams encode topological rather than metrical properties. The major editions of the late 19th and early 20th cents. ignored the manuscript evidence for diagrams, but now it is considered essential to produce a critical edition of the diagrams as part of the edition of a text in the Greek exact sciences. RN

Diana (root †*dyw*-‘the bright one’ (cf. *Jupiter), originally a moon goddess, *contra* Altheim, *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* (1930), 93 ff.), an Italian goddess anciently identified with *Artemis, from whom she took over the patronage of margins and savageness. But the modalities of this evolution remain puzzling (moonlight as the contrary of daylight, and so of civilized life?). Her cult was widespread; see Birt in Roscher, *Lex.* 1. 1003–4 for details. One of her most famous shrines was on Mt. Tifata near Capua (Vell. Pat. 2. 25. 4 and elsewhere in literature, supported by much inscriptional evidence); the name Tifata means ‘holm-oak grove’ (Festus (Paul) *Glos. Lat.* 54), which suits Diana's character as a goddess of the wilderness. Most famous of all was her ancient cult near Aricia (on the shore of the volcanic lake known as the Mirror of Diana, *Speculum Dianae*, below the modern Nemi, i.e. *nemus*, ‘grove’). Her temple stood in a grove, which was recorded as dedicated to her by Egerius Baebius (?) of Tusculum, *dictator Latinus* (Cato, *Orig.* 2, fr. 28 Chassignet). It was therefore an old religious centre of the Latin League and it is probable, though direct proof is lacking, that the foundation of her temple (probably preceded by an altar) on Rome's Aventine hill, traditionally by Servius *Tullius (Livy 1. 45. 2 ff.), was an attempt to transfer the headquarters of this cult to Rome, along with, what Livy mentions (*ibid.* 3), the headship of the league. For the Massiliote and Ephesian connections of the Aventine temple, *see* ARTEMIS.

That she was later largely a goddess of women is shown by the processions of women bearing torches (symbols of her name and original function) in her honour at Aricia (Prop. 2. 32. 9–10; Ov. *Fast.* 3. 268–9), also by the character of many of the votive offerings there, which have clear reference to children and *childbirth (Wissowa,

[*continued on p. 236*]

ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

democracy, Athenian from 508/7 to 322/1 BC is the best known example in history of a 'direct' democracy as opposed to a 'representative' or 'parliamentary' form of democracy.

1. Ideology

Today democracy is invariably a positive concept, almost a buzzword, whereas *dēmokratia* in ancient Greece was a hotly debated form of constitution, often criticized by oligarchs and philosophers (see PHILOSOPHERS AND POLITICS) alike. The Athenian democrats themselves, however, connected *dēmokratia* with the rule of law (Aeschin. 1. 4–5) and, like modern democrats, they believed that democracy was inseparably bound up with the ideals of liberty and equality (Thuc. 2. 37). Democracy was even deified, and in the 4th cent. BC offerings were made to the goddess Demokratia (*Inscriptiones Graecae* 2². 1496. 131–41).

Dēmokratia was what the word means: the rule (*kratos*) of the people (*dēmos*), and decisions of the assembly were introduced with the formula *edoxe tō dēmō*, 'it seemed good to the people' (IG 2². 28). When an Athenian democrat said *dēmos* he meant the whole body of citizens, irrespective of the fact that only a minority turned up to meetings of the assembly (Aeschin. 3. 224; Thuc. 8. 72). Critics of democracy, on the other hand, especially the philosophers, tended to regard the *dēmos* as a class, i.e. the 'ordinary people' (Arist. *Pol.* 1291^b17–29; *Ath. pol.* 41. 2) or the 'city poor' who by their majority could outvote the minority of countrymen and major property-owners (Pl. *Resp.* 565a).

The fundamental democratic ideal was liberty (*eleutheria*; see FREEDOM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD), which had two aspects: political liberty to participate in the democratic institutions, and private liberty to live as one pleased (*zēn hōs bouletai tis*) (Arist. *Pol.* 1317^a40–^b17; Thuc. 7. 69. 2). The most important aspect of liberty was freedom of speech (*parrhēsia*) which in the public sphere was every citizen's right to address his fellow citizens in the political assemblies, and in the private sphere was every person's right to speak his mind (Dem. 9. 3). The critics of democracy, especially the philosophers, took democratic *eleutheria* to be a mistaken ideal that led to a deplorable pluralism and prevented people from understanding the true purpose in life (Pl. *Resp.* 557b–558c).

The democrats' concept of equality was not based on the view that all are equal (although the philosophers wanted to impute this view to the democrats, Arist. *Pol.* 1301^a28–35). The equality advocated by the democrats was that all should have an equal opportunity to participate in politics (*isonomia*, Hdt. 3. 80. 6; Eur. *Supp.* 353, 408, 441), especially an equal opportunity to speak in the political assemblies (*isēgoria*, Hdt. 5. 78; Dem. 15. 18) and that all must be equal before the law (*kata tous nomous pasi to ison*, Thuc. 2. 37. 2). The concept of equality was purely political and did not spread to the social and economic sphere of society.

2. Institutions

A description of the political system must focus on the 4th cent. BC, especially on the age of *Demosthenes (355–322) where the sources are plentiful enough to allow a reconstruction of the democratic organs of government.

Political rights were restricted to adult male Athenians. Women, foreigners, and slaves were excluded (Dem. 9. 3). An Athenian came of age at 18 when he became a member of his father's deme (constitutional subunit) and was enrolled in the deme's roster (the *lēxiarchikon grammateion*, Aeschin. 1. 103); but, as *ephēboi* (see GYMNASIUM), most young Athenians were liable for military service for two years (*Ath. pol.* 42) before, at the age of 20, they could be enrolled in the roster of citizens who had access to the assembly or *ekklēsia* (the *pinax ekklēsiastikos*, Dem. 44. 35). And full political rights were only obtained at the age of 30 when a citizen was allowed to present himself as a candidate at the annual sortition of magistrates (Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 35) and jurors (*Ath. pol.* 63. 3) (who served as both legislators and judges).

The citizen population totalled some 30,000 adult males over 18, of whom some 20,000 were over 30 and thus in possession of full political rights. The population of Attica—citizens, foreigners, and slaves of both sexes and all ages—may have amounted to some 300,000 persons. (See POPULATION, GREEK.)

Any citizen over 20 had the right to speak and vote in the people's assembly (*ekklēsia*) (Xen. *Mem.* 3. 6. 1). The people met 40 times a year (*Ath. pol.* 43. 3), mostly on the Pnyx hill (Aeschines 3. 34); a meeting was normally attended by at

least 6,000 citizens, the quorum required for (among other things) ratification of citizenship decrees (Demosthenes 59. 89), and a session lasted a couple of hours only (Aeschines 1. 112). The assembly was summoned by the 50 *prytaneis* (see below) and chaired by the nine *proedroi*, 'chairmen' (*Ath. pol.* 44. 2–3). The debate consisted of a number of speeches made by the politically active citizens, and all votes were taken by a show of hands (*cheirotonia*), assessed by the *proedroi* without any exact count of the hands (*ibid.* 44. 3) (see ELECTIONS AND VOTING). The Athenians distinguished between laws (general and permanent rules, called *nomoi*) and decrees (temporary and/or individual rules, called *psēphismata*, Andoc. 1. 87); see LAW AND PROCEDURE, ATHENIAN. The assembly was not allowed to pass *nomoi* but did, by decree, make decisions on foreign policy and on major issues of domestic policy (*Ath. pol.* 43. 6). Furthermore, the people in assembly were empowered (a) to elect the military and financial magistrates (*ibid.* 43. 1, 44. 4); (b) to initiate legislation (*nomothesia*) by appointing a panel of legislators (*nomothetai*, Dem. 3. 10–3); and (c) to initiate a political trial (*eisangelia eis ton dēmon*) by appointing a panel of judges (a *dikastērion*, *Ath. pol.* 43. 4).

Citizens over 30 were eligible to participate in the annual sortition of a panel of 6,000 jurors (*hoi omomōkotes*, Ar. *Vesp.* 662) who for one year served both as legislators (Dem. 24. 21) and as judges (*ibid.* 148–51). When a *nomos* was to be enacted, the assembly decreed the appointment, for one day only, of a board of e.g. 1,000 legislators (*nomothetai*) selected by lot from the 6,000 jurors (Dem. 24. 20–38; Aeschin. 3. 38–40). Having listened to a debate the *nomothetai* decided by a show of hands all amendments to *Solon's laws', i.e. the Solonian law code of 594/3 as revised and codified in 403/2 (Andoc. 1. 82–5). Boards of *nomothetai* were appointed only infrequently, and to legislate once in a month was considered excessive (Dem. 24. 142).

Jurisdiction was much more time-consuming. The popular courts (*dikastēria*) met on roughly 200 days in a year. On a court day members of the panel of 6,000 jurors showed up in the morning in the Agora (see ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY)), and a number of courts were appointed by sortition from among those who presented themselves. These courts consisted of 201 or 401 judges each in private actions and 501 or more in public actions. Each court was presided over by a magistrate and in a session of some eight hours the judges had to hear and decide either one public action or a number of private actions (*Ath. pol.* 63–9). The two most important types of political trial were (i) the public action against unconstitutional proposals (*graphē paranomōn*), brought against proposers of decrees (Aeschin. 3. 3–8), and (ii) denunciation to the people in assembly (*eisangelia eis ton dēmon*, Hyp. 3. 7–8), used most frequently against generals charged with treason and *corruption (Dem. 13. 5).

In addition to the decision-making organs of government (*ekklēsia*, *nomothetai*, *dikastēria*) Athens had about 1,200 magistrates (*archai*), elected from among citizens over 30 who presented themselves as candidates (Lys. 6. 4). About 100 were elected by the *ekklēsia* (Aeschin. 3. 14) whereas the other 1,100 were chosen by lot (Dem. 39. 10), viz. 500 councillors and c.600 other magistrates, often organized in boards of ten with one representative from each tribe (*IG* 2². 1388. 1–12). The period of office was restricted to one year and a magistrate selected by lot could only hold the same office once whereas elected magistrates could be re-elected (*Ath. pol.* 62. 3). Before entering office magistrates had to undergo an examination (*dokimasia*) before a *dikastērion* (*ibid.* 55. 2–5) and, on the expiration of their term of office, to render accounts (*euthynai*) before another *dikastērion* (*ibid.* 54. 2; 48. 4–5).

The magistrates' principal tasks were to summon and preside over the decision-making bodies, and to see to the execution of the decisions made (Arist. *Pol.* 1322^b12–17). Apart from routine matters, the magistrates could not decide anything but only prepare the decisions (*ibid.* 1298^a28–32). The council of 500 prepared business for the *ekklēsia* (*Ath. pol.* 45. 4) and the *nomothetai* (Dem. 24. 48), the other magistrates for the *dikastēria* (Aeschin. 3. 29).

By far the most important board of magistrates was the council of 500 (*hē boulē hoi pentakosioi*). It was composed of 50 persons from each of the ten tribes who for a tenth of the year (a *prytany* of 36 or 35 days) served as *prytaneis*, i.e. as executive committee of the council, which again served as executive committee of the assembly. The council met every day except holidays in the *bouleutērion* on the Agora to run the financial administration of Athens and to consider in advance every matter to be put before the people (*Ath. pol.* 43. 2–49. 5).

Of the other boards of magistrates the most important were the ten generals (*stratēgoi*) who commanded the Athenian army and navy (*ibid.* 61. 1–2), the board for the Theoric Fund (*hoi epi to theōrikon*) who in the 350s under the politician Eubulus supervised the Athenian financial administration (Aeschin. 3. 24–5), and the nine archons, who in most public and private actions had to summon and preside over the popular courts and supervised the major festivals, e.g. the Panathenaea and the Dionysia (*Ath. pol.* 55–9).

In all matters the initiative was left to the individual citizen, in this capacity called *tōn Athenaiōn ho boulomenos hois exestin* (*SEG* 26. 72. 34). At any time about 1,000 citizens must have been active as speakers and proposers of *nomoi* and *psēphismata* or as prosecutors and *synēgoroi* before the people's court. But it was always a small group of about twenty



democracy, Athenian This inscribed law against *tyranny (337/6 BC), passed at Athens in the tense period following *Philip II's victory at Chaeronea, stresses the democratic context with a relief of Demokratia (democracy) crowning Demos (the people). American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

citizens who more or less professionally initiated Athenian policy. They were called *rhētores* (Hyp. 3. 4, 8) or *politeuomenoi* (Dem. 3. 29–31), whereas the ordinary politically active citizen is referred to as an *idiōtēs* (Dem. *prooemium* 13). There were no political parties and the people did not just vote according to the crack of their leaders' whip. But by persuasion and charisma major political leaders sometimes succeeded in dominating the political assemblies for a longer period, as did *Pericles from 443 until his death in 429 (Thuc. 2. 65. 10), and *Demosthenes in the period 341–338 (Dem. 18. 320).

The ordinary citizens were reimbursed for their political activity as *ekklēsiastai*, or *nomothetai* or *dikastai* or *bouleutai* (Ath. pol. 62. 2; Dem. 24. 21). Very few of the magistrates were paid on a regular basis, but many obtained perquisites instead (Isoc. 7. 24–7). Speakers and proposers in the political assemblies were unpaid, and those who attempted to make a profit out of politics were regarded as *sycophants and liable to punishment (Dem. 59. 43).

The council of the Areopagus was a survival of the Archaic period and in the period 461–404 mainly a court for cases of homicide (Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 64). In the 4th cent., however, the activity of the Areopagus was again progressively enlarged in connection with the attempts to revive the 'ancestral' or 'Solonian' democracy (Din. 1. 62–3; Lycurg. 1. 52).

3. History

In 510 BC the Pisistratid tyrants (*see* PISISTRATUS) were expelled from Athens, but the revolution ended in a power struggle between the returning aristocrats led by *Cleisthenes and those who had stayed behind led by Isagoras. With the help of the ordinary people (the *dēmos*) Cleisthenes successfully opposed Isagoras (Hdt. 5. 66–73) and, reforming the Solonian institutions of 594 BC, he introduced a new form of popular government which was in fact arising in several Greek city-states at the time. The term *dēmokratia* can be traced back to c.470 (SEG 34. 199; Aesch. *Supp.* 604) and may go back to Cleisthenes' reforms of 508/7 (Hdt. 6. 131. 1). Cleisthenes' major reforms were to divide Attica into 139 municipalities (demes or *dēmoi*) which, in turn, were distributed among ten tribes (phylai). Citizen rights were linked to membership of a deme, and a council of 500 (*boulē*) was introduced, with 50 representatives from each of the ten tribes, and a fixed number of seats assigned to each of the demes (Ath. pol. 21. 2–6). Finally, to avoid a repeat of the power struggle of 510–507 Cleisthenes introduced *ostracism (ibid. 22. 1, 3–4).

During the next century the new democracy was buttressed by other reforms: in 501 command of the army and navy was transferred from the polemarch to a board of ten popularly elected generals (*stratēgoi*) (Ath. pol. 22. 2). In 487/6 the method of selection of the nine archons was changed from election to selection by lot from an elected shortlist (ibid. 22. 5). The politician Ephialtes' reforms of 462 deprived the council of the Areopagus of its political powers, which were divided between the assembly, the council of five hundred, and the popular courts (ibid. 25. 2). Shortly afterwards, on the initiative of Pericles, political pay was introduced for the popular courts (Arist. *Pol.* 1274^a8–9) and the council or *boulē* (*Inscriptiones Graecae* 1³. 82. 20), so that even poor citizens could exercise their political rights. Athenian citizenship became a much-coveted privilege, and in 451 Pericles had a law passed confining *citizenship to the legitimate sons of an Athenian mother as well as father (Ath. pol. 26. 4).

The defeats in the Peloponnesian War (431–404) resulted in a growing opposition to democracy and twice the antidemocratic factions succeeded for some months in establishing an *oligarchy, in 411 a moderate oligarchy led by the council of Four Hundred (Thuc. 8. 47–98, Ath. pol. 29–33) and in 404–3 a radical oligarchy under a junta which fully earned the name 'the Thirty Tyrants' (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 2–4; Ath. pol. 35–8; Diod. Sic. 14. 3. 7). In 403/2 democracy was restored in a modified form. Legislation (in 403) and all jurisdiction in political trials (in c.355) were transferred from the people in assembly to the panel of 6,000 jurors acting both as legislators (*nomothetai*) and judges (*dikastai*). In the 330s a kind of minister of finance was introduced (*ho epi tē dioikēsei*) (SEG 19. 119). He was elected for a four-year period and could be re-elected, and for twelve consecutive years the administration of Athens was entrusted to the politician Lycurgus (Hyp. fr. 139 Sauppe). These and other reforms were allegedly a return to the 'ancestral' or 'Solonian' democracy (Andoc. 1. 83; Aeschin. 3. 257), but the gradual and moderate transformation of the democratic institutions came to an abrupt end in 322/1 when the Macedonians after their victory in the Lamian War (323–322 BC) abolished the democracy and had it replaced by a 'Solonian' oligarchy (Diod. Sic. 18. 18. 4–5). During the Hellenistic age democracy in some form was restored several times i.e. in 318/7, 307–298(?), 287–103, and 88–85.

4. Tradition

Between 322 BC and c.AD 1850 Athenian democracy was almost forgotten, and, if mentioned, the focus was on the mythical 'Solonian democracy' known from *Plutarch's *Life of Solon* and *Aristotle's *Politics* (1273^b35–1274^a21). It was

not until c.1800, when history began to emerge as a scholarly discipline, that the Athenian democratic institutions were studied seriously and reconstructed, e.g. by August Böckh, from sources such as *Thucydides, Demosthenes, and inscriptions. And it was only from c.1850 that the new understanding of Classical Athenian democracy was connected, principally by George Grote, with a budding interest in democracy as a form of government, though now in the form of a 'representative' or 'parliamentary' democracy and no longer as an 'assembly' democracy in which power was exercised directly by the people.

MHH

RK 248). Her links with women, along with slaves (Festus 460. 33 ff. *Gloss. Lat.* 432) and asylum (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4. 26. 3), seem to inscribe her within the frame of her real field of action—namely, margins.

At Aricia she was associated with Egeria, and Virbius, an obscure male deity (Ov. *Met.* 15. 544; Servius on *Aen.* 7. 84 and 761). Identifications with foreign deities are common all over the west.

HJR/JSCh

dictator, an extraordinary supreme magistracy at Rome, used first in military, later in domestic crises.

In Latin cities we find the name 'dictator' given to a regular magistracy, but there is no evidence that this was ever Roman practice. As an emergency magistracy the dictatorship is found frequently in the annals of the Roman republic down to the end of the 3rd cent. BC; it was not used during the 2nd cent. but reappeared in a more powerful form, when granted to *Sulla and then *Caesar. Possible parallels are the Oscan (see ITALY) *med-dix tuticus* and the *Etruscan *zilath* or *purth*, but there is no reason to derive the Roman office from them. Although Quintus *Fabius Maximus Verrucosus is said to have been elected dictator in the centuriate assembly (*comitia centuriata*, Livy 22. 8), normally dictators were simply nominated in public by a magistrate with *imperium (*consul, praetor, or *interrex*) after authorization by the senate—for Sulla and Caesar the authorization was provided by a law. The dictator's function was either to command the army or to perform a specific task, such as holding elections or dealing with a sedition. His 24 licitors (attendants) indicated not so much a revival of the kingship, as *Appian *Bella civilia* 1. 98–9 suggests, as a concentration of the powers of the consuls. The dictator (who was also known as *magister populi*, master of the infantry, and had to get permission to mount a horse while in office) immediately appointed a cavalry commander (*magister equitum*) as his subordinate. Existing magistrates remained in office but were generally subordinate to him. Originally dictators resigned as soon as their task was completed, being permitted at most to remain in office for six months. They were therefore not appropriate for emergency overseas commands, and specially chosen proconsuls were used instead. Contrary to the

antiquarian tradition about the origin of the dictatorship, in the middle and later republic the dictator's actions were in theory exempt neither from veto by the *tribunes of the plebs (Livy 27. 6. 5) nor from *provocatio* (appeal to the Roman people) (Livy 8. 33. 8). Nor was he himself free from prosecution after leaving office (*CIL* 1². 583. 8–9). Although after 202 BC no short-term dictators were appointed, it appears that this was contemplated in 54/3 BC, and in 52, on the senate's advice, *Pompey was created sole consul instead (senators apparently feared he might abuse dictatorial power). Both Sulla and Caesar, when they were appointed to this office in order to lend constitutional form to their *de facto* supremacy, were given the task of restoring the constitution. Cicero portrays *Scipio Aemilianus dreaming that he would be appointed to a dictatorship with this function (*Rep.* 6. 12), and the anachronistic fiction suggests that in the 50s BC such a wide-ranging office was now acceptable to many of Cicero's readers. However, when Caesar was eventually appointed *dictator perpetuus*, this completely subverted the original notion of the dictatorship as an emergency office: it became a quasi-monarchy.

ANS-W/AWL

Dio (Cassius), historian. See CASSIUS DIO.

Dio of Prusa (Dio Cocceianus, later called Dio Chrysostom ('Golden-Mouthed')) (c.40/50–110/120 AD), Greek orator, writer, local politician and moralist, pursued a double career, as member of the governing élite of his home town of Prusa (mod. Bursa, NW Turkey) in Bithynia, and as public speaker and intellectual in pursuit of an international reputation. His oratorical ability took him at a relatively young age to the fringes of the Imperial court, where his contacts included the future Emperor *Nerva. Under *Domitian, another connection earned him a sentence of exile from Italy and Bithynia that was not rescinded until Nerva's accession in late 96. After his recall, Dio re-established himself at Prusa, and as an international speaker, making appearances in Tarsus and at *Olympia, as well as in the cities of Bithynia. *Pliny the Younger's letters to *Trajan (*Epp.* 10.81–2) show him still engaged in local wrangles in 109/10. How close a relationship with Trajan he himself enjoyed in his later career is debatable.

[continued on p. 240]

DEMOSTHENES

Demosthenes (384–322 BC), the greatest Athenian orator. When Demosthenes was 7 years old his father died, leaving the management of his estate to his brothers, Aphobus and Demophon, and a friend, Therippides. The trustees mismanaged the business, and Demosthenes at the age of 18 found himself almost without resources. He claimed his patrimony from his guardians, who spent three years in attempts to compromise. In the mean-time, he was studying rhetoric and legal procedure under *Isaeus and at 21 he brought a successful action against his guardians, but two more years elapsed before he received the remnants of the property. By now he was engaged in the profession of *logographos* (speech-writer) and the reputation gained in private cases led to his being employed as an assistant to prosecutors in public trials.

From 355/4 onwards he came more and more to devote himself to public business. It is not clear how far Demosthenes' sympathies were engaged in his first public trials, the prosecutions of the politicians Androtion and Leptines in 355 and of Androtion's associate, Timocrates, in 353: *Against Androtion* and *Against Timocrates* he wrote for a Diodorus, and in any case the political tendency of the trials is unsure; *Against Leptines* Demosthenes did deliver himself, and, since Leptines' law was defended by the politician Aristophon, it is possible that all three trials centred on his policy and that Demosthenes was one of his opponents. This would be consistent with the policy he supported in *On the Symmories* in 354/3: a rumour came that the king of Persia was preparing to attack Greece, as he had threatened to do in 356/5, and Demosthenes, arguing that the city was not properly prepared, opposed the advocates of war, certainly not the Eubulus group, possibly that of Aristophon. In 353/2 he turned on the politician Eubulus: *On the Syntaxis* seems directed partly against the allocation of surpluses to the *theōrika* (state grants to Athenian citizens to attend major festivals at the Theatre)—at § 30 he sneers about the public works of Eubulus—and partly against the policy of abstaining from all but essential military enterprises.

For the next few years Demosthenes was regularly on the losing side and of minor importance. Early in 352 in *For the Megalopolitans* he argued in favour of promising to support Arcadia, if Sparta carried out her plan of exploiting Thebes' preoccupation with the Third Sacred War: since Athens based her policy on concord with Phocis and *Sparta, the decision to do no more than give a guarantee to Messenia was probably right. A few months later Demosthenes wrote *Against Aristocrates* for use in the attack on a proposal to honour Charidemus in gratitude for his offices in the cession of the Chersonesus by Cersobleptes: the speech is notable both as a source of information about the law of homicide and also for the manner in which it regards Cersobleptes, not *Philip II of *Macedonia, as the real enemy in the north. Demosthenes did not yet see what was plain to those he opposed. In late 352 Philip's attack on Cersobleptes carried him very near the Chersonesus, and Demosthenes' eyes were opened. In 351 he delivered the *First Philippic* which pleaded for more vigorous prosecution of the war for Amphipolis: his proposals were not accepted; deeper involvement in the long fruitless struggle may have seemed to endanger the power to defend the vital areas of Thermopylae and Chersonesus. Late in 351 in *On the Liberty of the Rhodians* he urged support of the Rhodian *dēmos* against the oligarchs supported by the Carian dynasty (see RHODES): but the Persian attack on Egypt prompted caution, and Demosthenes' arguments were far from strong. In mid-349 Olynthus (Chalcidice), which had by then lapsed from Philip's alliance, was attacked by Philip and appealed to Athens for help: in the three *Olynthiacs*, delivered in quick succession, Demosthenes demanded the fullest support and, in the last, an end to the law assigning surpluses to the *theōrika*; again he scathingly alluded to the works of Eubulus. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the three expeditions voted were not supported by Eubulus or indeed that they satisfied Demosthenes, and the implementation of his proposals might have brought even greater disaster than the loss of Olynthus. Early in 348 the party of Eubulus involved the city in a costly and inconclusive intervention in Euboea to prevent the island falling into the control of those hostile to Athens: Demosthenes later claimed to have been alone in opposing the expedition; either he was not truthful or he had taken a curious view of Athens' interests. One consequence of his opposition to Eubulus was that he became embroiled in an absurd wrangle with Midias, a prominent supporter of Eubulus, who had slapped his face at the Dionysia of 348: the case was settled out of court and the speech *Against Midias* was never delivered.

In mid-348, before the fall of Olynthus, Demosthenes successfully defended Philocrates when he was indicted under the *graphē paranomōn* for his proposal to open negotiations with Philip, and in 347/6, when Demosthenes like

*Aeschines was a member of the *boulē*, the partnership continued and Demosthenes played a leading part in securing acceptance of the Peace of Philocrates. On the two embassies to Macedon he cut a poor figure before Philip and got on badly with his fellow ambassadors, but the decisive moment came after the second embassy's return when in the assembly on 16 Scirophorion, it was known that Philip had occupied the Gates of Thermopylae and that Phocis could not be saved. Demosthenes was shouted down and Aeschines made the speech to which Demosthenes constantly recurred. What Demosthenes wanted that day is not clear: if he did want the city to denounce the new Peace, to march out to support Phocis attacked by the Macedonians and Thessalians from the north and the Thebans from the south, his judgement was seriously awry. From that day Demosthenes determined to undo the Peace. Shortly after, however, in *On the Peace* he counselled caution, and for the moment contented himself with the attack on Aeschines from which he was forced to desist by the successful countercharge against his own associate, Timarchus.

The year 344 brought Demosthenes his opportunity to attack the Peace. Rumours reached Athens that Philip was preparing to intervene in the Peloponnese in support of Argos and Messene, and Demosthenes went on an embassy to those cities to warn them of the dangers of consorting with Philip: Philip protested, and shortly after Demosthenes' return the embassy of Python and all Philip's allies protested against his misrepresentations, and offered to turn the Peace into a Common Peace (i.e. applicable to all cities); first reactions were favourable, but in the assembly Hegesippus succeeded in having the status of Amphipolis referred to Philip—an oblique way of sabotaging the whole affair—while Demosthenes' contribution was the *Second Philippic* in which he denounced Philip as not worth an attempt at negotiation. (The alternative reconstruction would deny this conjunction and put Python's embassy in early 343.) In mid-343, after the success of Hyperides' prosecution of Philocrates, Demosthenes judged the moment suitable to resume his attack on Aeschines; *On the False Embassy* sought to exploit the support of Eubulus' party for continuing the Peace and to suggest that Aeschines was really responsible for Philip's use of the peace negotiations to intervene in Phocis in 346. With the support of Eubulus and Phocion, Aeschines was acquitted by a narrow margin.

With the final collapse in early 342 of proposals to amend the Peace, Philip either began to intervene directly in Greece or was represented by Demosthenes as so doing, and amidst mounting hostility to Macedon Demosthenes went on an embassy to the Peloponnese to set about the organization of an Hellenic alliance for the war he was determined to have. For the moment his efforts came to little, but in 341 in *On the Chersonese* and shortly after, in the *Third Philippic*, he defended the aggressive actions of Diopieithes against Cardia in the NE Aegean by arguing that, since Philip's actions already amounted to war, it was absurd to heed the letter of the Peace. Not long after, he delivered the *Fourth Philippic* (of which the authenticity was long doubted but is now widely accepted); in it Demosthenes appears so confident of his control that he dismissed the notion of harm being done by the theoretic distributions in words inconceivable in 349, and he successfully demanded an appeal to Persia to join in attacking Philip. In 341/0 he also formed an alliance with *Byzantium, and by autumn 340, when Philip finally declared war and seized the Athenian corn fleet, Demosthenes was in full charge of the war he had sought, though he was unable to restrain Aeschines from his unwise intrusion at Delphi into the rivalries of central Greece (see AESCHINES). In mid-339 he moved the suspension of the allocation of surpluses to the *theōrika*, and with Thebes unlikely to side with Philip after having expelled the Macedonian garrison from the Gates, Demosthenes could expect not to have to face Philip in Greece. The sudden seizure of Elatea in Phocis threw Athens into horrified perplexity, but Demosthenes proposed and effected alliance with Thebes, which he later pretended always to have wanted, and Athens and Thebes fought side by side at Chaeronea in autumn 338.

Demosthenes was present at the battle, and returned so quickly to organize the city's defences that Aeschines could accuse him of running away. He provided corn, repaired the walls, and was so much the man of the hour that he was chosen to deliver the Funeral Oration for 338. With Philip in Greece, the people looked to Demosthenes and he successfully met the frequent attacks on him in the courts. In 337/6 he was theoretic commissioner, and Ctesiphon proposed that he be crowned at the Dionysia for his constant service to the city's best interests: perhaps encouraged by the opening of the Macedonian attack on Persia, Aeschines indicted Ctesiphon, but with the changing events of the next few months he preferred for the moment to let the case lapse. Demosthenes, hoping that the death of Philip was the end of Macedonian domination in Greece, sought to foment troubles for his successor, but *Alexander the Great quickly marched south and Demosthenes had to accept the new monarch. In 335 Demosthenes actively aided the Thebans in their revolt and narrowly escaped being surrendered to Alexander. From then on he seems to have looked to Persia to accomplish the liberation of Greece: such at any rate seems to be the meaning of the many charges of receiving money from the Persians. Demosthenes gave no support to the Spartan king Agis III at any stage and, when Persia was crushed at Gaugamela (331) and the revolt of Agis collapsed, Athens was left in disastrous isolation. Aeschines seized the opportunity to renew his attack on Demosthenes through Ctesiphon. The case was heard in

mid-330, and Demosthenes defended his acts in *On the Crown*, which is his masterpiece. He declined to fall into the trap of discussing recent events and with supreme art interspersed his discussion of events long past with lofty assertions of principle. Fewer than one-fifth of the jury voted for Aeschines, and he retired to Rhodes. Demosthenes was left in triumph, and the city settled down to acceptance of Macedonian rule, until in 324 word reached Greece that at the coming Olympian Games Alexander's emissary Nicanor was to make public a rescript ordering the restoration of exiles. Since this would affect the Athenian cleruchy (citizen colony) on *Samos, an agitation began which was to end in the Lamian War (323–322 BC). Demosthenes led a deputation as *architheōros* to protest. Subsequently he engaged in the discussion at Athens about divine honours (*see* RULER-CULT) for Alexander, having also taken the lead in dealing with the sudden appearance of Alexander's fugitive treasurer Harpalus by proposing first that Harpalus be kept prisoner and his money stored on the Acropolis, and later that the Areopagus investigate the losses. It is difficult to assess Demosthenes' policy in this year: he may have foreseen the new uprising under Leosthenes and planned to involve Athens, but, since the especial ally of Leosthenes was Hyperides, who led the attack on Demosthenes in the prosecution of early 323, Demosthenes appears to have been at odds with the war-party. Equally unsure is his guilt in the Harpalus trial: the Areopagus declared him guilty of appropriating 20 talents, and he was found guilty and fined 50 talents, but, even if he did take the money, he may have intended to use it in service of the state; the whole affair is most obscure. He retired into exile, and lent his support to Hyperides in the creation of the alliance for the Lamian War. He was then recalled to Athens, but after the Macedonian victory at Crannon in 322 he left the city again, and was condemned to death by the decree of Demades. Pursued by the agents of Antipater, he committed suicide in Calauria (*mod. Poros*) (322).

Modern opinions of Demosthenes' political importance have varied greatly, often in discernible relation to contemporary events. He has been lauded as a solitary champion of liberty and censured as the absurd opponent of progress. With the latter view English scholars have, happily, had little sympathy, but the high esteem in which the works of Demosthenes have been rightly held as works of art has tended to obscure the possibility that, while his devotion to liberty is one of the supreme monuments of liberty, his methods and his policies were not the best suited to attain their end, and that those of his opponents, which we must largely infer from his attacks, were no less directed to maintaining the city's power and independence, and perhaps more apt.

Demosthenes has much to say about Philip's success being due to *bribery and was convinced that his own opponents had been corrupted, but in his obsession with this dubitable view he seems blind to the real problem of his day, which was how Greece could be united to counter effectively the military power of the new national state so far greater than the power of any single city-state. There was much to be said against Demosthenes' determination to involve the full military resources of Athens in a war in the north, in particular that in such a war Athens stood to gain most and the other Greeks would not unite for that result. For the defence of Greece itself against invasion there was a real hope of uniting the cities in a Common Peace, and this appears to have been the policy of Demosthenes' opponents. There was perhaps more enthusiasm than judgement in his military assessments, and since the defeat of Chaeronea appears to have produced a Greece that could never wholeheartedly unite in a war of liberation, it is possible that, if such a decisive battle was inevitable, his opponents might have united Greece for it more effectively. But the situation of Greece was tragic, and Demosthenes was certainly of heroic stature.

Private lawcourt speeches

(*dikai*). The series of private speeches begins with those against Aphobus and Onetor (363–362), in which Demosthenes claimed recovery of his property from his guardians, and continues throughout his life (*Against Dionysodorus*, 323–322). Several private speeches attributed (perhaps wrongly) to Demosthenes were delivered on behalf of the Apollodorus who was his opponent in the *For Phormion*. The speech *For Phormion* (350) and the first *Against Stephanus* (349; the second *Stephanus* is undoubtedly spurious) raise a question of professional morality. Pasion, the banker, appointed his chief clerk Phormion trustee for his sons; the elder son, Apollodorus, subsequently claimed a sum of money allegedly due to him, but Phormion proved that the claim had been settled some years previously. Apollodorus then prosecuted Stephanus, one of Phormion's witnesses, for perjury. If, as *Plutarch states, Demosthenes wrote *Stephanus A* as well as *For Phormion*, he was guilty of a serious breach of faith, for while the earlier speech extols Phormion's character, the later one contains insinuations against him. The evidence for the authenticity of *Stephanus A* is, however, inconclusive (cf. L. Pearson, *Antichthon* (1969), 18–26). Aeschines asserts that Demosthenes showed to Apollodorus a speech composed for Phormion, but this may be a misrepresentation of some attempt by Demosthenes to act as mediator.

The subjects of the private speeches include guardianship, inheritance, claims for payment, maritime loans, mining rights, forgery, trespass, assault, etc. In the *Callicles* (which has flashes of humour, seldom found in Demosthenes) the plaintiff alleges that the defendant has flooded his land by blocking a watercourse; in the *Conon*, a brilliant piece of writing, combining Lysianic grace (see *LYSIAS*) and Demosthenic force, some dissolute young rowdies and their father are summoned for assault.

Demosthenes had many rivals in his lifetime; but later critics considered him the greatest of the orators. His claim to greatness rests on his singleness of purpose, his sincerity, and his lucid and convincing exposition of his argument. In many instances he produces a great effect by the use of a few ordinary words. In his most solemn moments his style is at its plainest and his language most moderate. A master of metaphor, he uses it sparingly, and hardly at all in his most impressive passages. His style varies infinitely according to circumstances; sometimes as simple as *Lysias, now polished like *Isocrates, again almost as involved as *Thucydides, he follows no scholastic rule; long and short periods follow each other, or are mingled with passages in the running style not according to any regular system. Thus his carefully prepared utterances give an impression of spontaneity. Such was his control of language that he was generally able to avoid hiatus without any dislocation of the order of words. He had an instinctive aversion to a succession of short syllables, and even tribrachs are of comparatively rare occurrence. GLC

Dio's works are divided by the manuscript tradition into (i) the *Kingship* and *Diogenic Orations* (1-6, 8-10); (ii) the major city orations (7, 11-13, 31-6); (iii) the local-political orations delivered in Bithynia, principally in Prusa (38-51); and (iv) a collection of largely moral-philosophical addresses, essays, dialogues and excerpts (14-30, 52-80). Other oratorical pieces (e.g. *Against the Philosophers*, *Encomium of a Parrot*) and a work *On the Goths* (*Getica*) are attested but now lost. This range makes Dio a hugely valuable source for many aspects of the culture of his times, from local city politics to the history of literary taste, via the diffusion and uptake of philosophical thinking about kingship, social harmony, the good community, and personal values in the later first and early second centuries AD.

How he himself is best characterized has been controversial since antiquity. For Philostratus (*VS* 1.7) he was an example of a philosopher with a name also for sophistic (i.e. epideictic rhetorical) virtuosity. Synesius, building on the image projected by Dio himself in his later (post-exilic) work, saw him as a mid-career convert from irresponsible sophist to weighty philosopher (*Dion* 1). A notable strand in modern scholarship has highlighted his use of the figure of Diogenes, and given him an important place in the history of Cynicism (see *CYNICS*). His doctrinal affinities are in fact fundamentally Stoic (see *STOICISM*), conveyed in forms and styles that owe much to Platonic dialogue and other early Socratic writing. Ultimately, neither 'sophist' nor 'philosopher' seems exactly the right way to describe Dio at any stage of his career, and this may be due to deliberate effort on his own part to avoid easy characterization as either. His subsequent high reputation in later antiquity and the Byzantine period rested both on his achieve-

ment as a prose stylist ('Golden-Mouthed') and on his morally improving content. MBT

Diocletian (Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus), originally named Diocles. Of obscure origins, born in Dalmatia perhaps in the early 240s AD, he rose to command the *domestici* (bodyguard) of the emperor Numerianus on the Persian campaign of 283-4. When Numerianus was killed by his praetorian prefect Aper, the army proclaimed Diocles Augustus at Nicomedia (20 November 284); he killed Aper. He campaigned (285) against Numerianus' brother Carinus, who was killed at Margus. A usurper Iulianus was also removed, and Diocletian was sole emperor. Visiting Italy, he proclaimed his comrade-in-arms Maximian as Caesar and sent him to suppress the Bacaudae. Maximian was made Augustus (286) and spent the next years defending Gaul. Diocletian spent most of his reign on the Danube or in the east. In 287 he installed Tiridates III as king of Armenia and reorganized the Syrian frontier. He campaigned on the Raetian frontier (288); he fought the Sarmatians (285 or 289), and the Saracens (290).

But the problems of the empire remained serious. On 1 March 293 he established the 'tetrarchy'. To the two Augusti, now known as Iovius and Herculius respectively to emphasize their quasi-divine authority, were added Caesars, Constantius and Galerius; these were adopted into the Jovian or Herculian houses by the marriage of Galerius to Diocletian's daughter Valeria and of Constantius to Maximian's (?step-)daughter Theodora. The arrangement would provide an imperial presence in different areas; it might deter usurpers; and the Caesars might become acceptable to the armies and live to succeed as Augusti (but it is most unlikely that the Augusti had yet

planned to abdicate). To raise the dignity of the imperial office Diocletian adopted an oriental court ceremonial (*adoratio*) and seclusion. Each tetrarch had his own staff (*comitatus*), and was often on the move in his territory, though Nicomedia, Trier (Augusta Treverorum), and Sirmium (on the Sava river in Pannonia (Inferior)) often provided an imperial residence; Rome was of lesser importance. In practice the empire was divided into two; Maximian and Constantius ruled the west, Diocletian and Galerius the east. Diocletian employed Galerius in Oriens until 299, thereafter on the Danube. Diocletian defeated the Sarmatians (294) and campaigned against the Carpi (296); many Bastarnae (a German tribe) and Carpi were settled on Roman soil. In Egypt a revolt broke out (297) under Domitianus and Aurelius Achilleus; present in person, Diocletian suppressed this after a long siege of *Alexandria, reorganized the administration of *Egypt, and negotiated with the Nobatae on the extreme southern frontier (298). Meanwhile he had sent Galerius to deal with the situation on the Syrian frontier: the Persian king Narses had expelled Tiridates from Armenia. Though defeated in his first campaign, Galerius won a total victory (298) and added significant territories to the empire. Campaigning by Constantius continued on the Rhine, but from 298 there was a general lull in rebellions and wars; tetrarchic authority was secure.

Diocletian pursued systematically a long-established policy of dividing provinces into smaller units; by 314 there were about 100, twice the number of a century earlier (see *PROVINCIA*). The purpose was to ensure closer supervision, particularly over law and finance, by governors and their numerous staffs; critics saw it as leading to never-ending condemnations and confiscations. All provinces were governed by equestrian *praesides* except Asia and Africa (by senatorial proconsuls) and the divisions of Italy (by senatorial officials called *correctores*). To oversee the *praesides*, Diocletian grouped the provinces into twelve new 'dioceses', each under a new equestrian official, the *vicarius* or 'deputy' of the praetorian prefects. In the later part of his reign, Diocletian began an important reform, separating military from civil power in frontier provinces; groups of provincial armies were put under the command of *duces* ('dukes'), so that *praesides* were left with civilian duties only. Senators remained excluded from military commands. His conception of defence was conservative; he made little or no effort to increase the size of the élite field army (*comitatus*), which had been formed in the late 3rd cent. But a huge programme of building and reconstruction of defensive works was undertaken on all frontiers, and these were to be held by sheer force of numbers; the size of the Roman army was perhaps nearly doubled.

The army and the increase of administrative personnel were a heavy financial burden. Diocletian reformed the system of taxation to take inflation into account and to regularize exactions in kind. Taxation was now based on the *iugum*, a new concept, a unit of land calculated from its productivity as much as by its area, and on the *caput*, the unit of human resource. Most revenue and expenditure was now in kind; every year an assessment of all levies payable on each fiscal unit was declared (*indictio*) by the praetorian prefects. By the Currency Edict (301) Diocletian attempted to create a unified currency, doubling the value of at least some coins and decreeing that the retariffed currency be used both for paying debts to the *fiscus* (central imperial treasury) and in private contracts. But he could not establish confidence in this revaluation. Late in 301 he tried to halt inflation by the Price Edict. In great detail this fixed maximum prices and wages; despite savage penalties it became a dead letter, as goods disappeared from the market.

Many legal decisions show Diocletian's concern to maintain or resuscitate Roman law in the provinces. He was an enthusiast for what he understood of Roman tradition and discipline, to reinforce imperial unity: hence he decreed the suppression of the theosophical sect known as the Manichees. This policy forms the backdrop to the persecution of Christians, undertaken possibly on the insistence of Galerius. (See *CHRISTIANITY*.) Earlier attempts had been made to purge the court and the army, but the first persecuting edict, issued at Nicomedia (23 February 303), was designed to prevent the Church from functioning, by requiring the burning of Scriptures and the demolition of churches, and the banning of meetings for worship; recusants were deprived of any rank, and thus made liable to torture and summary execution and prevented from taking action in court; imperial freedmen were re-enslaved. In Gaul and Britain Constantius contented himself with demolishing churches, and the later edicts were not promulgated outside the areas controlled by Diocletian and Galerius. The second edict imprisoned all clergy; the third released them, but they were to sacrifice first. The fourth edict ordered a universal sacrifice, but implementation was patchy, most severe it seems in Palestine and Egypt.

Late in 303 Diocletian visited Rome for the only time, to celebrate with Maximian his *vicennalia* (the 20th anniversary of his accession). A collapse in health caused him to return to Nicomedia, where on 1 May 305 he abdicated (Maximian reluctantly did the same at Milan), leaving Constantius and Galerius as Augusti, with Flavius Valerius Severus and Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximinus as Caesars. He attended Galerius' conference at Carnuntum (308) but refused to reassume the purple and spent his

last years at Saloniae (mod. Split); remains of the palace he built survive. He died about 312. His wife Prisca and only child Valeria were exiled by Maximinus and beheaded by Valerius Licinianus Licinius. Diocletian's genius was as an organizer; his measures did much to preserve the empire in the 4th cent., and many lasted much longer in the east. The co-operation between rival emperors broke down when Diocletian's personality was removed, but for most of the 4th cent. more than one emperor was the rule. His reforms were completed by *Constantine I, who introduced further innovations, most notably in the army and in religion. RPD

Diodorus (Diodorus Siculus) of Agyrium, *Sicily (hence *Siculus*), is the author of the *Bibliothēkē* ('Library'), a universal history from mythological times to 60 BC. Only 15 of the original 40 books survive fully (bks. 1–5; 11–20); the others are preserved in fragments. Despite his claim to cover all of known history, Diodorus concentrates on Greece and his homeland of Sicily, until the First Punic War (264–241 BC), when his sources for Rome become fuller. But even in its fragmentary state, the *Bibliothēkē* is the most extensively preserved history by a Greek author from antiquity. For the period from the accession of *Philip II of Macedon to the battle of Ipsus (301 BC), when the text becomes fragmentary, it is fundamental; and it is the essential source for classical Sicilian history and the Sicilian slave rebellions of the 2nd cent. BC. For many individual events throughout Graeco-Roman history, the *Bibliothēkē* also sheds important light.

Diodorus probably visited *Egypt c.60–56 BC, where he began researching his history. By 56, he may have settled in Rome, completing the *Bibliothēkē* there around 30. He read Latin and had access to written materials in Rome, but, despite his admiration for *Caesar, there is no evidence that he personally knew Romans of prominence. Diodorus originally intended to cover events to 46; perhaps the dangers of writing contemporary history of a turbulent period influenced his decision to conclude with the year 60.

Books 1–6 include the geography and ethnography of the *oikoumenē* ('inhabited world') and its mythology and paradoxology (descriptions of marvels) prior to the Trojan War; bks. 1–3 cover the east, bks. 4–6 the west. Of special significance are the description of Egypt in bk. 1, drawn from Hecataeus of Abdera; the discussion of *India in bk. 2, drawn from Megasthenes; passages from the works of Agatharchides in bk. 3; and the highly fragmentary material in bk. 6, derived from Euhemerus of Messene.

The fully preserved historical books cover 480–302 and are organized annalistically, with Olympian, Athenian

archon, and Roman consular years synchronized—often erroneously. The fragmentary final books, which draw on Posidonius, are probably organized episodically. Occasionally including the same incidents from different authorities or failing to understand the organizational habits of an individual author, Diodorus created numerous, sometimes serious doublets.

The main source for most of the narrative of the Greek mainland is *Ephorus; *Hieronymus of Cardia is the prime authority for the outstanding narrative of the Diadochi (*Alexander the Great's successors). Sicily receives important attention, in which Diodorus employs *Timaeus extensively. For much of the later Roman period, Diodorus follows *Polybius closely, as the preserved Polybian text shows; he employs Posidonius for many events after 146. But the 19th-cent. belief that all of Diodorus' sources could be identified proved over-confident and attempts to make such identifications continue to provoke great controversy. Further, because few of his sources survive outside his own work, precisely what Diodorus has taken verbatim, what he has confused and entered in error, and what he has consciously interpolated are matters of great dispute. It appears at least that certain themes recur throughout the *Bibliothēkē* independently of Diodorus' current source. Character assessments, with a strong insistence on personal and collective morality, and an emphasis on the civilizing power of individual benefactors suggest late Hellenistic influence and therefore Diodorus' own philosophy. KSS

diolkos, stone trackway across the isthmus of Corinth, for transporting ships and/or cargoes between the Saronic and the Corinthian gulfs. Archaeology suggests a date under the tyrant Periander (c.627–587 BC); there is literary evidence that he considered a canal. Wheeled wagons (see TRANSPORT, WHEELED) ran in carved grooves c.1.5 m. (5 ft.) apart; traffic probably moved in one direction at a time. *Triremes used it during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC), perhaps after modifications; but it was probably constructed for merchant vessels. It may quickly have become incapable of transporting most vessels fully laden, so that cargoes alone were carried. It was used by a fleet as late as AD 883. JBS

Dionysius I, born c.430 BC, son of Hermocritus, a well-to-do Syracusan; wounded (408) in Hermocrates' attempted coup; secretary to the generals (406), he distinguished himself in the Acragas (mod. Agrigento) campaign. By unscrupulous demagoguery he secured the dismissal of the generals and his own election as general plenipotentiary (a title he may have used until 392),



diolkos View of the *diolkos*, the stone haulway across the isthmus of Corinth probably built c.600 BC. Its chief aim was probably to levy dues on *trade, especially the long-distance seaborne commerce between the Aegean and Italy and the west. From Ralf Krumeich, 'Porträts und Historienbilder der klassischen Zeit', in *AM* 71 (1956) 209–240, fig. 5. © WBG Darmstadt.

obtained a bodyguard, occupied and fortified the citadel (Ortygia), and assumed control of the state. With a large allied army, he failed to raise the siege of Gela (405), but crushed a revolt of the aristocracy (confiscating their properties), and concluded the Peace of Himilco, which stripped Syracuse of her possessions. Besieged in Ortygia by the rebellious Syracusans (404–3), he came to terms with them (less the exiled aristocracy), giving them, although disarmed, a measure of autonomy. After subjugating eastern Sicily (south of Messina (mod. Messina)) with a mercenary army (402–399), he prepared for war with *Carthage, fortifying Epipolae, amassing war-material, building a huge fleet, rearming the Syracusans, hiring mercenaries, and forming matrimonial alliances with Syracuse (Andromache, sister of his father-in-law Dion) and Locri Epizephyrii (Doris). He invaded the Carthaginian province (397) and stormed Motya (Mozia), but (396) retired before Himilco to Syracuse; here, following the defeat of his navy off Catania (Catania), he was besieged until 395, when, with some Corinthian and Spartan aid,

he overthrew Himilco's plague-stricken forces. He restored his east Sicilian empire (incorporating Messina), attacked Rhegium (Reggio) and countered a new Carthaginian threat (395–2); but when the Syracusan army mutinied, he concluded a peace with Carthage (392) that recognized his suzerainty of eastern Sicily. He again attacked Rhegium (390) and starved it into surrender (387), allied himself with the Lucanians (mod. Basilicata), crushed the forces of the Italiot League on the Eleporus (Galliparo) (389), and incorporated Iapygia (southern Calabria) in his empire. The year 388 (or 384) witnessed the fiasco of Dionysius' attempt to compete at *Olympia. In 387 he helped Sparta to impose the King's Peace on Greece; and in 386 a palace conspiracy (probably) led to the banishment of some of his courtiers, including his brother Leptines (later recalled) and the historian Philistus. To improve his supply of silver, timber, horses, and mercenaries, he extended his power into the Adriatic, founding colonies and establishing friendly relations with the Senones. He raided Pyrgi (384), the port of Caere (mod. Cerveteri). The chronology and details of his greatest war (383–probably 375), against the Italiots and allied Carthage, are unclear, owing to a failure in the transmission of *Diodorus' text (15.15–17, 24). Attacking Thurii, he lost his fleet in a storm, but he gained Croton. In Sicily he routed the Carthaginians at Cabala but was totally defeated at Cronium (Leptines was killed), and made a peace that established the Halycus (Platani) as the common frontier. He sent expeditions to Greece (369, 368), to assist Sparta against the Boeotians; and Athens, hitherto hostile, voted him a crown and (368) conferred her citizenship on him and his sons. He again invaded western Sicily (368) and besieged Lilybaeum (Marsala), but his fleet was captured at Drepana (Trapani) and he concluded an armistice. At the Lenaea at Athens in 367 his play, *The Ransom of Hector*, won the prize, and a mutual defence treaty was negotiated, whose ratification was perhaps prevented by his death.

Dionysius, who probably styled himself *archōn* (ruler) of Sicily, was a born leader of men, in peace and war; orator and diplomat, planner and administrator, patron of religion, of his native city, of literature and the arts, a dramatist perhaps no worse than the generality in an age of decline—above all, the greatest soldier that, apart from the Macedonians, ancient Greece produced. He applied his mind to warfare, introducing *artillery, Phoenician siege-technique, and the quinquereme (warship rowed by oarsmen grouped in fives). He could handle large *mercenary armies and small light-infantry detachments; he appreciated the importance of reconnaissance. If his subordinates had not constantly let him down, he might well have achieved his life's ambition, to drive the Carthaginians from Sicily. Dionysius represents the irruption onto

the historical scene of the new individualism of his age. Portrayed by the anecdotal tradition, above all by the *Academy, as the archetypal tyrant—paranoid, oppressive, obsessed with power—he looms through the historical tradition (Diodorus and Polyaeus), going back through *Ephorus and *Timaeus to Philistus) rather as the first of the Romantic ‘great men’; the precursor of *Alexander the Great, *Hannibal, and Napoleon: obsessed not with power but with glory. BMC

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Greek critic and historian, lived and taught *rhetoric at Rome, arriving ‘at the time *Augustus put an end to the civil war’, and publishing the first part of his *Roman Antiquities* (*Rhōmaikē archaiologia*) 22 years later (*Ant. Rom.* 1. 7). This great work was in twenty books, going down to the outbreak of the First Punic War; we have the first eleven (to 441 BC), with excerpts from the others. Dionysius used the legends of Rome’s origins to demonstrate that it was really a Greek city, and his whole history is an erudite panegyric of Roman virtues. It is also very rhetorical, abounding in long speeches. He doubtless thought of it as exemplifying his literary teaching, which was directed towards restoring Classical prose after what he saw as the aberrations of the Hellenistic period. The treatises in which he developed this programme seem mostly to have been written before the *Antiquities*, though their chronology is much disputed. These are: (1) *On imitation* (*Peri mimēseōs*), in three books, of which only fragments survive; the judgements on individual authors coincide largely with those in *Quintilian *Inst.* 10. 1; (2) a series of discussions of individual orators (*Lysias, *Isocrates, *Isaeus, *Demosthenes), prefaced by a programmatic statement of distaste for ‘Asiatic’ rhetoric, hope for an ‘Attic’ revival, and the writer’s consciousness that this happy change is due to the good taste of the Roman governing class; (3) a group of occasional works: *On Dinarchus*, *On *Thucydides* (important), two letters to Ammaeus (one on Demosthenes’ alleged indebtedness to *Aristotle, the other on Thucydides), and a letter to Gnaeus Pompeius on *Plato, of whose ‘dithyrambic’ style Dionysius was very critical; (4) *On Arrangement of Words* (*De compositione verborum, Peri suntheseōs onomatōn*), the only surviving ancient treatise on this subject, full of interesting observations on euphony and onomatopoeic effects (note especially ch. 20, on *Odyssey* 11. 593–6); this was a fairly late work, but the second part of *Demosthenes* (35 ff.) presupposes it.

For all the traditional terminology and character of Dionysius’ criticism—he frequently gives the impression of ‘awarding marks’ for good qualities narrowly and unimaginatively defined—he is an acute and sensitive styl-

istic critic, whose insights deserve attention; and he understood the importance of linking historical study (e.g. on questions of authenticity) with the purely rhetorical and aesthetic. DAR

Dionysus (Linear B Diwonosos), is the twice-born son of *Zeus and Semele. His birth alone sets him apart. Snatched prematurely from the womb of his dying mother and carried to term by his father, he was born from the paternal thigh. Perceived as both man and animal, male and effeminate, youthful as well as mature, he is the most versatile and elusive of all Greek gods. His myths and cults are often violent and bizarre, a threat to the established social order. He represents an enchanted world filled with extraordinary experiences. Always on the move, he is the most epiphanic god, riding felines, sailing the sea, and even wearing wings. His most common cult name was *Bakch(e)ios* or *Bakchos*, after which his ecstatic followers were called *bakchoi* and *bakchai*. Adopted by the Romans as *Bacchus*, he was identified with the Italian Liber Pater. While modern scholars inevitably regard Dionysus as a construct of the Greek imagination, in the eyes of his ancient worshippers he was a god—immortal, powerful, and self-revelatory.

Throughout antiquity, he was first and foremost the god of *wine and intoxication. His other provinces include ritual madness or *ecstasy (*mania*); the mask, impersonation, and the fictional world of the theatre; and, almost antonymically, the mysterious realm of the dead and the expectation of an after-life blessed with the joys of Dionysus. If these four provinces share anything in common that reflects the nature of this god, it is his capacity to transcend existential boundaries. Exceptionally among Greek gods, Dionysus often merges with the various functions he stands for and thus serves as a role model for his human worshippers. In the Greek imagination, the god whose myths and rituals subvert the normal/social identities of his followers himself adopts a fluid persona based on illusion, transformation, and the simultaneous presence of opposite traits. Both ‘most terrible and most sweet to mortals’ in Attic tragedy (Eur. *Bacch.* 861), he was called ‘Eater of Raw Flesh’ (*Ōmēstēs*) on *Lesbos as well as ‘Mild’ (*Meilichios*) on Naxos in actual cult (Alc. fr. 129.9 L.-P., P. Oxy. 53.3711; *FGrHist* 499 F 4).

The name Dionysus appears for the first time on three fragmentary Linear B tablets from Mycenaean Pylos (W Peloponnese) and Khania (*Crete) dated to c.1250 BC. The tablets confirm his status as a divinity, but beyond that they reveal little about his identity and function in Mycenaean religion. One of the Pylos tablets may point to a tenuous connection between Dionysus and

wine; on the Khania tablet, Zeus and Dionysus are mentioned in consecutive lines as joint recipients of libations of honey. However, thus far no physical remains of his cult have been identified with absolute certainty. A Dionysiac connection has been claimed for several archaeological finds. The most spectacular is the discovery in the early 1960s of a large number of terracotta statues in a Late Cycladic shrine at Ayia Irini on Ceos (mod. Kea). Tentatively dated to 1500–1300 BC, these fragmentary, nearly life-sized figures represent mature women who stand or, perhaps, dance. A much later deposit of Attic drinking-vessels was found in the same room; among them is a scyphus of c. 500 BC inscribed with a dedication to Dionysus by Anthippus of Iulis (*SEG* 25.960). According to the excavators, the temple was in continuous use from the 15th to the 4th cent. BC. This remarkable find does not prove, however, that Dionysus was worshipped on the site before the Archaic period, let alone continuously from the bronze age to the classical period. Given the prominence of women in Minoan (i.e. bronze age Cretan) religion generally, it is equally far-fetched to identify these figures as Dionysus' female attendants, whether nymphs (young female divinities), nurses, or *maenads. Yet it is striking that typical features of Dionysus and his religion—including wine and ivy; divine epiphanies and ecstatic forms of worship; women dancing, handling snakes, or holding flowers; the divine child surrounded by nurturing females; and bulls with and without anthropomorphic features—are all prominent in Aegean, especially Cretan religion and art. The earliest Dionysus may indeed be sought in the culture of Minoan Crete.

If we had more information on the bronze age Dionysus, he would probably turn out to be a complex figure with a substantial non-Greek or Mediterranean component. Absolute 'Greekness' is a quality that few, if any, Greek gods can claim. This is especially true of their names. If Dionysus signifies '†nyssos (son?) of Zeus', as some linguists believe, the god's name would be half Greek and half non-Greek (not Thracian however, as its occurrence in Linear B demonstrates). But such etymological neatness is just as improbable as a divine name derived from the god's genealogy. Hardly more plausible is the derivation from *nysai*, the dubious designation for three nymph-like figures on a vase fragment by Sophilos (Beazley, *ABV* 39.15). Attempts to derive the name Semele from Phrygian, *bakchos* from Lydian or *Phoenician, and *thyrsos*—the leafy branch or wand carried by the god and his followers—from Hittite (see *ASIA MINOR*), though highly speculative, reflect the wide spectrum of potential cross-cultural contacts that may have influenced the early formation of Dionysus and his cult.

In Archaic epic, Dionysus is referred to as a 'joy for mortals' (*Il.* 14.325) and 'he of many delights' (*Hes. Th.* 941). The source of all this pleasure is wine, the god's ambivalent 'gift' (*Hes. Op.* 614) which brings both 'joy and burden' (*Hes. fr.* 239.1). Dionysus 'invented' wine, just as *Demeter discovered *agriculture (*Eur. Bacch.* 274–83). By a common metonymy, the wine-god is also synonymous with his drink and is himself 'poured out' to other gods as a ritual liquid (*Bacch.* 284). Libations (liquid offerings) of mixed or, occasionally, unmixed wine normally accompanied animal *sacrifice; wineless libations were the exception. In vase-painting, Dionysus is never far from the wine. Surrounded by cavorting *satyrs and silens, nymphs, or maenads he presides over the vintage and the successive stages of wine-making on numerous black-figure vases. Holding in one hand a grapevine and in the other one of his favourite drinking vessels, either a cantharus or a rhyton, he is often depicted receiving wine from a male or female cupbearer such as Oenopion, his son by Ariadne, or pouring it on an altar as a libation, or lying on a couch in typical symposiast posture (see *SYMPOSIUM*). Yet he is never shown in the act of consuming his own gift. His female followers, too, keep their distance from the wine, at least in maenadic iconography. While maenads may carry drinking-vessels, ladle wine, or pour it, they are never shown drinking it.

Longus' Dionysiac love story of Daphnis and Chloe (see *NOVEL, GREEK*) culminates in the celebration of the vintage on the Lesbian estate of Dionysophantes, whose name evokes the divine epiphanies (appearances) of Dionysus. Wine festivals were celebrated in many regions of the Greek world; in Elis (W *Peloponnese) as well as on the Aegean islands of Andros, Chios, and Naxos, they were accompanied by wine miracles. The oldest festival of Dionysus, the Ionian-Attic Anthesteria, was held each spring. In Athens, the highlight consisted of the broaching of the new wine followed by a drinking-contest. On this occasion, as on others, citizen women were excluded from the ceremonial drinking of wine. The admixture of wine and water was allegorized as the nurturing of Dionysus by his mythical nurses (*FGrHist* 325 F 12, 328 F 5), or more ominously, as the 'mixing of the blood of *Bakchos* with fresh-flowing tears of the nymphs' (Timoth., *PMG* fr. 780). In Attica, myths were told which connected the arrival of Dionysus and the invention of wine with the murder of Icarus (schol. *D Il.* 22.29; *LIMC* Dionysos/Bacchus no. 257). Here and elsewhere, Dionysiac myths emphasize the darker aspects of the god, and the perversion of his gifts.

Of Dionysus' four provinces, wine is the most dominant; it often spills over into the other three. Drunkenness

can cause violence and dementia (Pl. *Leg.* 2.672d, 6.773d, *mainomenos oinos*). Yet the ritual madness associated with Dionysus in myth and cult had nothing to do with alcohol or drugs. Seized by the god, initiates into Bacchic rites acted much like participants in other possession cults. Their wild dancing and ecstatic behaviour were interpreted as 'madness' only by the uninitiated. As numerous cultic inscriptions show, the actual worshippers did not employ the vocabulary of madness (*mania*, *mainesthai*, *mainades*) to describe their ritual ecstasy; rather, they used the technical but neutral language of *bakcheia* and *bakcheuein*. The practitioners of *bakcheia* were usually women; the exception is Scyles, the 'mad' Scythian king who danced through the streets of Olbia—an early centre of Dionysiac cult—as a *bakchos* (Hdt. 4.79). While men, too, could 'go mad' for Dionysus, they could not join the bands (*thiasoi*) of maenadic women who went 'to the mountain' (*eis oros*) every other year in many Greek cities to celebrate their rites. Their notional leader was always the god himself (Eur. *Bacch.* 115 f.; 135 ff.; Diod. Sic. 4.3.2–3), who appears already in the Homeric version of the Lyncurus myth—the earliest reference to maenadic ritual—as Dionysus *mainomenos*, 'the mad god' (*Il.* 6.132). Known mainly from post-classical inscriptions and prose authors like *Plutarch and *Pausanias, ritual maenadism was never practised within the borders of Attica. Athenian maenads went to *Delphi to join the Delphic Thyiads on the slopes of Mt. Parnassus (Soph. *Ant.* 1126–52; Plut. *De mul virt.* 13, 249e–f; Paus. 10.4.3). Halfway between Athens and Delphi lies Thebes, the home town of Dionysus and 'mother city' (*mētropolis*) of the Bacchants' (Soph. *Ant.* 1122), from where professional maenads were imported by other cities (*IMagn.* 215). Erwin Rohde and E. R. Dodds were the first scholars to take a comparative approach to the psychological and anthropological aspects of maenadic ritual and behaviour, but they ignored the fundamental distinction between myth and *ritual.

In poetry and vase-painting, Dionysus and his mythical maenads tear apart live animals with their bare hands (*sparagmos*) and eat them raw (*ōmophagia*). But the divinely inflicted madness of myth was not a blueprint for actual rites, and the notion that maenadism 'swept over Greece like wildfire' (Rohde, Nilsson, Dodds) is a Romantic construct that has now been abandoned along with the suggestion that the maenads sacramentally consumed Dionysus in the shape of his sacred animal. The 'delight of eating raw flesh' (Eur. *Bacch.* 139 *ōmophagōn charin*) appears in maenadic myth, where it can escalate into cannibalism. In the entire cultic record, however, omophagy is mentioned only once. In a maenadic inscription from Miletus (SW *Asia Minor), the following

directive occurs: 'Whenever the priestess performs the rites of sacrifice on behalf of the [entire] city, no one is permitted to "throw in" (deposit?) the *ōmophagion* before the priestess has done so on behalf of the city' (LSAM 48, 276/5 BC). Although the ritual details escape us, a piece of raw meat was apparently deposited somewhere for divine or human consumption. The mere reference to eating raw flesh is significant, given that sacrificial meat was normally roasted or cooked. In this instance, the perverted sacrifice, a mainstay of Dionysiac myth, has left its mark also on Dionysiac cult.

Dionysiac festivals were ubiquitous throughout the Greek world; in Athens alone there were seven such festivals in any given year, five of which were dedicated chiefly to Dionysus as wine god and patron god of the theatre—Oschophoria, Rural Dionysia, Lenaea, Anthesteria, and City Dionysia. The name Oschophoria involved cross-dressing and the ritual carrying of vine branches hung with bunches of grapes. The Lenaea and both Dionysia featured performances of *tragedy and *comedy. Apart from the new wine, the Anthesteria celebrated the spring-time arrival of Dionysos from across the sea. Less is known about two other Dionysiac festivals at Athens, the *Theoinia* and the *Iobakcheia* ([Dem.] 59.78). Festivals of Dionysus were often characterized by ritual licence and revelry, including reversal of social roles, cross-dressing by boys and men, drunken komasts in the streets, as well as widespread boisterousness and obscenity. In Athens, as throughout Ionian territory, monumental phalli (erect penises) stood on public display, and phallophoric processions paraded through the streets (Semos of Delos *FGrHist* 396 F 24). But, unlike *Pan or the *Hermes of the herms (pillars surmounted with a bust and, when male, given genitalia), Dionysus himself is never depicted with an erection. The god's dark side emerged in rituals and aetiological myths concerned with murder and bloodshed, madness and violence, flight and persecution, as well as gender hostility (as during the Agrionia). Throughout the Athenian Anthesteria festival, merrymaking predominated, but it was punctuated by ritual reminders of a temporary suspension of the normal structures of daily life—the invasion of the city by strangers perhaps called 'Carians'; the silent drinking at separate tables, explained by the myth of the matricide Orestes' arrival in Athens and the fear of pollution it provoked; the 'sacred marriage' (*hieros gamos*) of the wife of the *basileus* (an Athenian magistrate) to Dionysus; and the cereal meal prepared on the festival's last day for Hermes Chthonios and the survivors of the Great Flood.

Tragedy and comedy incorporate transgressive aspects of Dionysus, but they do so in opposite ways. While comedy re-enacts the periods of ritual licence associated

with many Dionysiac festivals, tragedy dramatizes the negative, destructive traits of the god and his myths. Innocent and humorous in comedy, wine and inebriation are problematized in tragedy. *Aristotle connected the origins of tragedy and comedy with two types of Dionysiac performance—the *dithyramb and the phallic song respectively. Yet, in his own analysis of the tragic genre, he ignored not only Dionysus but also the central role of the gods in the drama. In addition to the mask worn by the actors in character, including the disguised god himself in both *Bacchae* and *Frogs* (see ARISTOPHANES), the choral dance is the most palpable link between Attic drama and Dionysiac ritual. Tragic and comic choruses who refer to their own dancing invariably associate their choral performance with Dionysus, *Pan, or the maenads. Despite Aristotle's silence, tragedy in particular has a lot to do with Dionysus. The tragedians set individual characters, entire plays, and indeed the tragic genre as a whole in a distinct Dionysiac ambience (see COMEDY (GREEK); TRAGEDY, GREEK).

The god so closely associated with exuberant life is also connected with death, a nexus expressed as 'life-death-life' in one of the Dionysiac-Orphic (see ORPHEUS) bone inscriptions from Olbia. '*Hades and Dionysus are the same' according to Heraclitus (fr. 15 DK). On an Apulian funerary crater (4th cent. BC) by the Darius painter, Dionysus and Hades are shown in the underworld each grasping the other's right hand while figures from Dionysiac myth surround them (Toledo 1994.19). A 'sacred tale' ascribed to *Orpheus and modelled on the Osiris myth describes the dismemberment of Dionysus Zagreus by the Titans and his restoration to new life; his tomb was shown at Delphi (Orph. 322 F Bernabé; Callim. fr. 643 Pf.). According to another myth, Dionysus descends to the underworld to rescue Semele from Hades (Iophon, *TrGF* 22 F 3); Aristophanes' comic parody of the god's catabasis (descent) has Dionysus retrieve *Aeschylus (Ar. *Frogs*). In a related ritual, the Argives summoned Dionysus ceremonially 'from the water' with the call of a trumpet hidden in thyrsi 'after throwing a lamb into the abyss for the gate-keeper', i.e. for Hades (Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 35, 364 F). Dionysus loomed large in the funerary *art and afterlife beliefs of Greeks and Romans alike. In many regions of the ancient world, tombs were decorated with Dionysiac figures and emblems like the maenad, the *kantiaros*, and the ivy, or bore inscriptions with a Dionysiac message. The tombstone of Alkmeionis, chief maenad in Miletus around 200 BC, announces that 'she knows her share of the blessings' (*kalōn moiran epistamenē*)—a veiled reference to her eschatological hopes (GVI 1344). Found in tombs from southern Italy to *Thessaly, the so-called Bacchic gold tablets contain ritual instructions and

underworld descriptions for the benefit of the deceased. Two ivy-shaped specimens refer to a ritual rebirth under the aegis of Dionysus and to wine-drinking in the after-life; a third identifies the dead person as a Bacchic initiate (*mystēs*) (see DEATH, ATTITUDES TO).

No other deity is more frequently represented in ancient art than Dionysus. Until about 430 BC, Dionysus is almost invariably shown as a mature, bearded and ivy-wreathed adult wearing a long chiton often draped with the skin of fawn or feline, and occasionally presenting a frontal face like his satyrs; later he usually appears youthful and beardless, effeminate, and partially or entirely nude. From his earliest depictions on vases by Sophilos and Clitias (c.580–570 BC) to the proliferating images of the god and his entourage in Hellenistic and Roman imperial times, Dionysiac iconography becomes more varied while remaining remarkably consistent in its use of certain themes and motifs. Major mythical subjects comprise the Return of *Hephaestus and the Gigantomachy (see GIANTS); Dionysus' birth and childhood; his punishments of Lycurgus, Pentheus, and the impious sailors whom he turns into dolphins; and his union with Ariadne (as on the Derveni crater of c.350 BC). Cult scenes in vase painting include those on the so-called Lenaia vases, which show a makeshift image of Dionysus—fashioned from a mask attached to a pillar—surrounded by women carrying or ladling wine. It is unclear whether these settings refer to a single festival or represent an artistic montage of authentic ritual elements. The Hellenistic friezes of his temples at Teos and Cnidus displayed the *thiasos* (group of worshippers) of satyrs, maenads, and centaurs; at Perge (S. Asia Minor) we find scenes from the god's mythical life. Most conspicuously, sarcophagi of the imperial period abound with scenes from Dionysiac mythology such as the god's birth and his Indian triumph—the theme of Nonnus of Panopolis' monumental epic.

The very existence in the bronze age of a divinity named Dionysos came as a complete surprise when it was first revealed by Michael Ventris in 1953. His discovery disproved the widespread theory of Dionysus as a latecomer who arrived on the Greek scene just in time to receive the barest mention in Homeric epic. Throughout antiquity Dionysus was considered a foreign god whose original home was Thrace or Asia Minor and who was unknown in Greece before the 8th cent. BC. Modern scholarship followed suit. Friedrich Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* (1872) fundamentally changed the perception of the god in literature and art by contrasting the 'Apollinian' with the 'Dionysian' and emphasizing the suffering Dionysus as the divine archetype of the tragic hero. Nietzsche's essay remains a milestone

in the modern reception of the god. Nevertheless, like Friedrich Creuzer before him, Nietzsche believed that the Greeks had Hellenized the 'Asian' worship of Dionysus by mitigating it. The non-Greek origin of Dionysus achieved the status of scholarly dogma with the second volume of Rohde's *Psyche* (1894). In Rohde's view, which echoes Nietzsche's, the Thracian Dionysus invaded Greece, where his wild nature was ultimately civilized and sublimated with the help of the Delphic *Apollo, a process commemorated in the myth of Dionysus' exile abroad, the resistance with which his cult was met upon its arrival in Greece, and his ultimate triumph over his opponents. Rohde's Dionysus—*barbarian but happily Hellenized, occasionally wild but mostly mild—appealed to successive generations of scholars from Jane Harrison to Dodds. Wilamowitz derived Dionysus from Phrygia and Lydia rather than Thrace, while Nilsson adopted a theory of multiple foreign origins. As early as 1933, however, Walter F. Otto (*Dionysus: Myth and Cult*, (1965), Eng. trans.) dissented, emphasizing instead the Greek nature of Dionysus as the epiphanic god who comes and disappears. According to Otto, the myths of Dionysus' arrival—with their dual emphasis on resistance to his otherness as well as on acceptance of his gifts—articulate the essential aspects of the god's divinity rather than the historical vicissitudes of the propagation of his cult. Otto's notion of a polar and paradoxical Dionysus categorizes the diversity of Dionysiac phenomena, thus making them more intelligible. It has been argued, after Otto, that the 'foreign' Dionysus is a psychological rather than a historical entity which has more to do with Greek self-definition and the 'Dionysus in us' than with the god's actual arrival from abroad. More recently, Dionysus has emerged as the archetypal 'Other'—in a culturally normative sense—whose alterity is an inherent function of his identity as a Greek divinity. However, if such abstractions are pushed too far, Dionysus ceases to be the god he was to the Greeks—present in his concrete manifestations, and in the perplexing diversity of his myths, cults, and images—and is reduced to a modern concept. AH

disease, the main cause of death in antiquity, is a topic for which there are more sources than for most aspects of life in the ancient world, thanks principally to the Hippocratic corpus (see **MEDICINE** §4), Aretaeus of Cappadocia, and the numerous works of his contemporary, Galen of Pergamum (2nd cent. AD). Additional information may be obtained from palaeopathology, the study of diseases found in human skeletal remains. Ancient medical literature concentrates on chronic and endemic diseases, rather than the major epidemic diseases. In fact the Greek word *epidēmios*, in a medical context, means 'endemic' rather than 'epidemic'.

Malaria and tuberculosis are the most prominent diseases in ancient literature. Malaria occurred in antiquity in three forms, vivax, the commonest, falciparum, the most dangerous, and quartan, which has the longest periodicity. All three produce periodic fevers recurring every two or three days which were noticed easily, if not understood, by ancient doctors. The epidemiology of malaria in antiquity resembled that of recent times. In the highly seasonal Mediterranean



disease Disease was one of the chief reasons for the prevalence of congenital deformity in antiquity. This Hellenistic ivory statuette depicts a hunchback with Pott's disease. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

climate malaria occurs mainly in the summer and autumn and affects adults at least as much as children, helping to explain its importance for ancient doctors. It depends for its transmission on certain species of mosquitoes, and was probably absent from some regions where these vectors did not occur. It is not necessarily associated with marshy environments. The chronology of the spread of malaria in the Mediterranean is disputed. All three types existed in Greece in the 4th cent. BC, but it is uncertain how long before that falciparum malaria had been present. The disease which struck the Athenian forces outside *Syracuse during the Peloponnesian War (see ATHENS (HISTORY)) may have been falciparum malaria, which was not yet present in Attica, but this interpretation is controversial. The hypothesis of W. H. S. Jones that the spread of malaria caused the decline of ancient Greek civilization is an exaggeration. However there is no doubt that malaria spread widely in central and southern Italy during the late republic and early Roman empire and had a major impact on human populations. It has also been argued that malaria did not exist in Sardinia before *Phoenician and Roman colonization.

Tuberculosis mostly affected young adults. One Hippocratic text describes it as invariably fatal, probably an exaggeration, but Aretaeus gives the best ancient description of tuberculosis. Both human pulmonary and bovine tuberculosis were present in antiquity. It was probably common in crowded urban centres.

Ancient authors say hardly anything about childhood diseases, but enteric diseases such as infantile viral diarrhoea and amoebic dysentery probably accounted for most of the high infant mortality observed in cemeteries. Chickenpox, diphtheria, mumps, and whooping cough are all described in connection with attacks on adults, but there is no definite evidence for measles or rubella in antiquity. Cholera was absent. The presence of influenza is uncertain, but the common cold certainly existed. Leprosy was probably endemic in the near east in the bronze age and spread slowly westwards in the Hellenistic period. It probably only occurred sporadically. There is no conclusive evidence for gonorrhoea or syphilis, but some sexually transmitted diseases certainly existed, such as genital herpes and trachoma. The latter was also the main infectious cause of blindness. Brucellosis from contaminated goat's milk was common at Herculaneum. Heart disease is not prominent in ancient literature, but palaeopathology suggests that underlying conditions such as atherosclerosis were common. Some cancers were well known. Galen states that breast cancer was common. Aretaeus described diabetes.

Some chronic malnutrition diseases were quite common, especially in childhood, e.g. iron-deficiency

anaemia, rickets, bladder-stone disease, and night blindness. The Greeks and Romans also took an interest in diseases of plants and animals because of their importance in agriculture. See PLAGUE. JRS

dissection See ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY §4; ANIMALS, KNOWLEDGE ABOUT; VIVISECTION.

dithyramb, choral song in honour of *Dionysus; the origins of dithyramb, and the meaning of the word itself, have been the subject of speculation since antiquity. There are three phases in the history of the genre: (1) pre-literary dithyramb; (2) the institutionalization of dithyramb in the 6th cent. BC; and (3) the latest phase, which began in the mid-5th cent.

Already in phase (1) dithyramb was a cult song with Dionysiac content. It was sung by a group of singers under the leadership of an *exarchōn*, as shown by the oldest piece of literary evidence, *Archilochus fr. 120 West. Phase (2) has its roots in the cultural and religious policies of the tyrants (see TYRANNY; PISISTRATUS) and the young Athenian democracy (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN; TRAGEDY, GREEK). *Herodotus (1. 23) says that the musician Arion in late 7th-cent. Corinth was the first to compose a choral song, rehearse it with a choir, and produce it in performance, and that he finally gave the name 'dithyramb' to this new kind of choral song. (Some scholars take *ōnomasanta* to mean 'he gave it a title', but titles are not associated with dithyrambs before the 5th cent.) Lasus of Hermione (6th cent. BC) is connected with dithyramb at Athens: he organized a dithyrambic contest in the first years of the democracy. Each of the ten Athenian tribes entered the competition with one chorus of men and one of boys, each consisting of 50 singers. The financing of the enterprise (payment for the poet, the trainer of the chorus (*chorodidaskalos*), and the pipe-player; and the cost of equipping the chorus) was the responsibility of the *chorēgos* (financial backer). The winning *chorēgos* could put up a tripod with a dedicatory inscription in the Street of the Tripods. The dithyrambic contest was a competition between the tribes, not the poets, who are never mentioned on the victory inscriptions. Dithyrambs were performed at the following Athenian festivals: the City or Great Dionysia, the Thargelia, the (Lesser) Panathenaea, the Prometheia, the Hephaestia; cf. Lys. 21. 1–4; ps.-Xen. *Constitution of the Athenians* (Old Oligarch) 3. 4; Antiphon 6. 11. The first victor at the Dionysia at Athens was the otherwise unknown Hypodicus of Chalcis (509/8 BC). In the first part of the 5th cent. *Simonides (with 56 victories), *Pindar, and *Bacchylides were the dominant dithyrambic poets. Pindar's dithyrambs (frs. 70–88 Maehler) are recognizable

as such by their Dionysiac character. The standard content of a Pindaric dithyramb included some mention of the occasion which had given rise to the song, and of the commissioning *polis; praise of the poet; narration of a myth; and some treatment of Dionysiac theology. By contrast, Bacchylides' dithyrambs, with the exception of *Io*, lacked these topical allusions. Hence the difficulties of classification which have been felt since Alexandrian times (see ALEXANDRIA): there was a discussion between Aristarchus and *Callimachus over whether the *Cassandra* of Bacchylides (fr. 23 Snell–Maehler) was a dithyramb or a Paean: *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 2368. From the mid-5th cent. (phase 3), dithyramb became the playground of the musical avant-garde, as we see from the criticisms of Pherecrates (fr. 155 K–A) and the reaction of Pratinas (fr. 708 Page). Melanippides, Cinesias, Timotheus, and Philoxenus are the best-known exponents of phase (3): they introduced astrophic form (i.e. their poems were not arranged according to strophe and antistrophe), instrumental and vocal solos, and 'mimetic' music. In the course of the 4th cent., a recognizably dithyrambic manner and idiom developed, and penetrated other lyric genres also. Songs with dithyrambic content were composed, like Philoxenus' *Banquet*; and in Middle comedy (see COMEDY, GREEK (MIDDLE)) we find fairly long passages in dithyrambic style. In the Hellenistic period dithyrambs were performed at the festivals of the Delia and Apollonia on *Delos; and at the City Dionysia in Athens until the 2nd cent. AD. But post-Classical fragments (citations) allow no confident judgement about these compositions.

Our knowledge of dithyrambic poetry, esp. Pindar and Bacchylides, is based chiefly on papyrus finds. For phase (3) we are chiefly dependent on citations by Athenaeus and on the criticisms of the comic poets and *Plato.

BZ

divorce See MARRIAGE LAW.

Domitian (Titus Flavius Domitianus), son of the emperor *Vespasian, was born on 24 October AD 51, and remained in Rome during his father's campaign against Aulus Vitellius. Surrounded on the Capitol with his uncle, Flavius Sabinus, he managed to escape and on Vitellius' death was saluted as Caesar by the Flavian army, though the real power lay in the hands of Gaius Licinius Mucianus until Vespasian's arrival. In 71 he participated in the triumph of Vespasian and *Titus, and between 70 and 80 held seven consulships, being twice ordinary consul (73 and 80; see CONSUL). Although Domitian exercised no formal power, he was clearly part of the dynastic plan, and there is no convincing evidence that he was kept in

the background or consumed by jealousy of his brother, whom he succeeded smoothly in 81.

The literary sources, especially *Tacitus and *Pliny the Younger, represent a senatorial tradition hostile to Domitian. But this is a legitimate and important viewpoint, illustrating the tension between aristocratic officials and autocrat. *Suetonius' account, though basically hostile, is more balanced and suggests that a more favourable view did exist, apart from the flattery of poets like *Statius and *Martial.

Domitian was conscientious in the performance of his duties, adopting a stance of moral rectitude, maintaining public decency at shows, and showing respect for religious ritual; three Vestal virgins (see VESTA) suffered capital punishment for breaking their vows of chastity; later, Cornelia, the chief Vestal, was buried alive. He promoted festivals and religious celebrations, showing particular devotion to *Jupiter and *Minerva, and performed the Secular Games; many public buildings were erected, completed, or restored, including the Capitol, the *Colosseum, and a great palace on the Palatine. For the people there were frequent spectacles and banquets, though his cash grants were restrained. He raised military pay by a third, and bestowed by edict additional privileges on veterans and their families; he remained popular with the army and praetorians.

Domitian administered legal affairs diligently and tried to suppress corruption. Suetonius' contention that he achieved equitable provincial administration through careful supervision of officials and governors (*Dom.* 8. 2) has been challenged, but other evidence indicates that Domitian, although authoritarian in his attitude to the provinces (e.g. his abortive order to cut down at least half the provincial vineyards), tried to impress probity and fairness on his appointees; he sensibly granted rights of ownership to those who had appropriated tracts of unused land (*subseciva*); Pliny the Younger's letters to *Trajan show that Domitian's administrative decisions were generally endorsed. The role and influence of equestrians in the administration increased in his reign, but as part of a continuing trend rather than deliberate policy. The effectiveness of his management of imperial finances is disputed, but he probably left a surplus in the treasury; his confiscation of the property of his opponents was for political rather than financial reasons.

Domitian was the first reigning emperor since *Claudius in 43 to campaign in person, visiting the Rhine once, and the Danube three times. Frontinus in his *Strategemata* reports favourably on Domitian's personal control of strategy and tactics. In 82/3 he fought a successful war against the Chatti on the middle Rhine, brought the Taunus area under Roman control, and accepted a

triumph and the name 'Germanicus'. But the military balance was shifting towards the Danube, and in 85 the Dacians, under king Decebalus, invaded Moesia killing its governor, Oppius Sabinus. Domitian came in person in 85 and 86; and after the defeat and death of Cornelius Fuscus (praetorian prefect), Tettius Iulianus, governor of Upper Moesia, won a victory at Tapae in 88. Since Domitian was facing trouble from the Marcomanni and Quadi in Pannonia, he made peace with Decebalus before launching a campaign against them (spring 89); at the end of 89 he celebrated another triumph. Then early in 92 a legion was destroyed in Pannonia by an incursion of the Sarmatian Iazyges and the Suebi, which was eventually contained under Domitian's personal direction. There was also considerable military activity in Britain, where Gnaeus Iulius Agricola continued the invasion of northern Scotland; his recall in 84 after an unusually long governorship of seven years, probably reflects military needs elsewhere rather than imperial jealousy.

Domitian failed to find a working relationship with the *senate. He was sometimes tactless and did not conceal the reality of his autocracy, holding ten consulships as emperor, wearing triumphal dress in the senate, having 24 lictors, and becoming *ensor perpetuus* in 85, symbolically in charge of the senate; his manner was arrogant, and he allegedly began an official letter: 'Our lord god orders that this be done'. There was a conspiracy in 87, and a rebellion in 89 by Lucius Antonius Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany. He apparently had little support among his troops and was easily crushed, but Domitian thereafter forbade two legions to be quartered in one camp. He became more ruthless against presumed opponents, and factions in the aristocracy produced many senators willing to act as accusers. The executions of at least twelve ex-consuls are recorded in the reign, mainly for dissent or alleged conspiracy, and not because they were Stoics (see STOICISM), although Domitian did expel philosophers. The emperor himself observed: 'no one believes in a conspiracy against an emperor until it has succeeded'. The execution in 95 of Flavius Clemens, his cousin, whose sons he had adopted as heirs, was a mistake since it seemed that no one now was safe. A plot was formed by intimates of his entourage possibly including his wife, Domitia, and he was murdered on 18 September 96; his memory was condemned by the senate. JBC

drama See COMEDY (GREEK) OLD; COMEDY (GREEK) MIDDLE; COMEDY (GREEK) NEW; COMEDY, LATIN; TRAGEDY, GREEK; TRAGEDY, LATIN.

dreams fascinated the ancients as much as they do us, though it is illegitimate to employ Freudian categories in

interpreting ancient dreams: their categories must not be subverted by our own culturally relative theories. Most ancients accepted that there were both significant and non-significant dreams (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 19. 562–7: true dreams come from gates of horn, delusory dreams from gates of ivory; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 893–6). This basic division might itself be subdivided, most elaborately into a fivefold classification: non-predictive dreams, subdivided into *enhyphnia* caused by the day's residues and *phantasmata* or distorted visions that come between sleeping and waking states; predictive dreams subdivided into: *oneiroi* that need symbolic interpretation, *horamata* or prophetic visions, and *chrēmatismata* or advice from a god (e.g. Macrob. *In Somn.* 1. 3). The last category is well attested epigraphically by votives put up by people as the result of successful advice or instructions from a god received in a dream, and in the remarkable diary kept by Aelius Aristides which included numerous visions of *Asclepius and other gods. Dreams were indeed an important aspect of diagnosis in sanctuaries of Asclepius.

The idea that dreams could be significant, but might need professional interpreters, is found from Homer onwards (*Il.* 1. 62–7, 5. 148–51; Hdt. 5. 55–6; Theophr. *Char.* 16. 11). Dream-books were written from the 5th cent. BC onwards; the only surviving example from antiquity is that by Artemidorus.

Philosophers and others discussed whether dreams had a divine origin. The Hippocratic author of the treatise *On the Sacred Disease* urged that dreams were caused merely by disturbances in the brain, and the author of *On Regimen* 4 explained how to use dreams for medical diagnosis. *Plato argued that some dreams came from the gods and were reliable sources of knowledge, *Aristotle that physiological explanations applied, while *Epicurus and *Lucretius located dreams in a theory about the nature of sense perceptions. For *Cicero the possibility of prophetic dreams was an example of divination that worked in practice, but which was impossible to justify theoretically (*Div.* 1. 39–65, 2. 119–48, with Pease's comm.). Cicero also used a dream narrative (the Dream of Scipio) as part of his *Republic*, the part to which Macrobius devoted his commentary.

Christian texts also developed the importance of dream visions, in a variety of styles: the Book of Revelation or the *Shepherd* of Hermas both stand as reports of visions; the *Martyrdom of St Perpetua* includes a vivid firsthand report of a dream vision she had of her martyrdom; Synesius, *On Dreams* (AD 405–6) offered an allegorical interpretation of dreams. Eight handbooks of dream interpretation survive from the Byzantine period. SRFP

dress In classical antiquity, items of clothing and jewellery were major personal possessions. The prominence of drapery, i.e. clothing, in Greek and Roman art reflects the importance of dress in daily life.

Most garments were made of wool, though linen was used for some tunics and underclothing and silk was worn by richer women; most frequently, the fibre was left undyed, though women's clothes were more colourful than men's; the clothing of both sexes commonly had areas of decoration in wool dyed either with 'real purple' from sea snails or in imitation of purple; such decoration was generally very simple, consisting of woven bands and geometric motifs; figurative decoration, where it occurred, was usually tapestry-woven and only rarely embroidered. Clothes were made of large pieces of cloth with simple outlines which had been woven to shape on traditional looms; though certain garments were characteristic of the Greeks and others of the Romans there was no real difference between Greek and Roman clothes in techniques or materials; most classical garments belonged either to the category of mantles and cloaks that were 'thrown around' and for which the general terms were *periblēma* and *amictus*, or to those items, including tunics, that were 'entered into', *endyma* and *indumentum*; the former often served at night as blankets; all clothes were cleaned by washing and were stored folded-up in chests.

Draped mantles were the characteristic garment of freeborn citizens. The mantle worn by Greek men, and eventually by men and women throughout the eastern Mediterranean and by Roman women, was the *himation*, in Latin *pallium* or *palla*. This was a rectangle, measuring approximately 2.8 × 1.75 m. (9 × 6 ft.), which could be draped in various ways but which was usually supported on the left arm, leaving the right arm free. The mantle worn by Roman men, the Etruscans, and, originally, Roman women too was the *toga, a semicircular piece of cloth which over time became extremely large.

Cloaks were worn by men, either pinned on the right shoulder or joined at the front of the body. Pinned cloaks, used especially by horsemen, could be rectangular or semicircular: two Roman military cloaks, the *paludamentum* and the *sagum* (of Celtic origin), were rectangular; *chlamys*, the old Greek term for a pinned cloak, had by the 1st cent. AD come to mean specifically a semicircular cloak. The closed cloaks, in Latin *birrus* and *paenula*, were also based on semicircles and, being hooded, were suitable for travellers.

The traditional Greek woman's garment, the *peplos*, somewhere between a mantle and a tunic, was an approximately square piece of cloth worn with the top third or so folded over and pinned on both shoulders. By the 4th cent. BC the *peplos* had been largely replaced in the cities by the *himation* but was still worn in the country and by all women during cold weather.

According to tradition, the *peplos*, *himation*, and toga had all at first been worn without a tunic. However, the tunic, *chiton* or *tunica*, had an early history as an independent garment and by the 4th cent. the combination of draped mantle and tunic was the normal form of civilian dress for both men and women. Most tunics were sleeveless, made of two rectangular pieces joined at the sides and on the shoulders or of a single piece folded lengthways or widthways. An alternative to sewing, used to fasten women's tunics on the shoulders, was a series of button-like discs around which fabric from both front and back was wrapped and tied. Sleeved tunics only became common in the late Roman period, when two clearly defined varieties emerged, the narrow-sleeved tunic known in Latin as *strictoria*, and the wide-sleeved *dalmatica*. While the dalmatic was worn ungirt, tunics generally were worn with a belt, *zōnē* or *cingulum*, as had been the *peplos*.

Underclothes, like tunics, were probably worn more widely than ancient art or literature suggests. A tunic of linen was often worn under a tunic of wool and men probably mostly wore a triangular loincloth (*perizōma*, and perhaps also *zōnē*; Lat. *subligar* or *licium*), as did women in menstruation. A number of cloth bands were also used as underclothes, notably the *strophion* or *mamil-lare*, with which women bound their breasts.

Garments used on the extremities of the bodies illustrate a number of non-woven techniques: the Greek woman's *sakkos* or hairnet was made by a method now known as sprang; stretchy socks, *sokkoi*, employed a looping technique resembling knitting; certain men's hats and some foot-coverings were made of felt, *pilos* or *pilleus*. Leather was the usual material for shoes and sandals but, except in the army, was not employed for clothing. Fur, characteristic of barbarian dress, was not used at all.

The simplicity and conservatism of classical dress was set off, in the case of women, by elaborate coiffures, jewellery, and make-up. For both men and women, hairstyles and footwear shapes changed more rapidly than those of clothing and are consequently a better guide when dating works of art. See TEXTILE PRODUCTION. HG-T

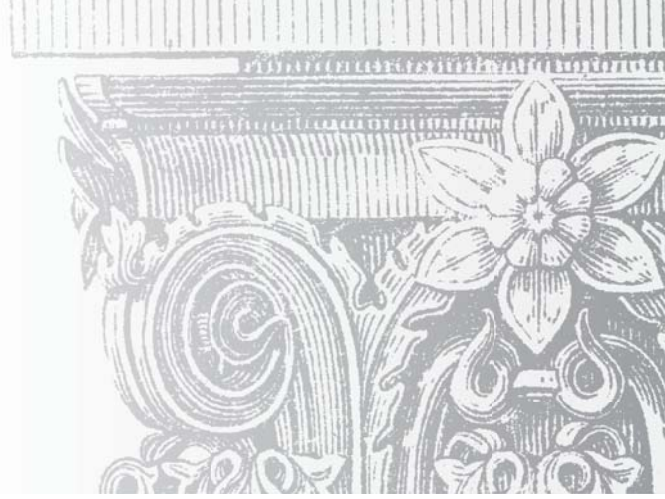
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earthquakes The Mediterranean is a zone of intense earthquake activity because the plates carrying Africa and Europe are slowly moving together, according to the theory of plate tectonics. Notable earthquakes in antiquity include: *Sparta c.464 BC, where several thousands may have perished; Helice in Achaëa 373 BC, where the city was submerged under the sea; *Rhodes 227/6 BC, when the Colossus statue collapsed; *Pompeii AD 62, which suffered severe damage. Some destructions of Mycenaean and Minoan palaces are also attributed to earthquakes. Earthquakes were associated with *Poseidon in mythology: Poseidon the Homeric 'earth-shaker' (*ennosigaios*) was fervently worshipped also as 'earth-holder' (*gaiaochos*) and 'stabilizer' (*asphalios*), in Sparta and elsewhere. King Agesipolis of Sparta was as distinctly unusual in his pragmatic approach to an earthquake in the Argolis in 388 BC (*Xen. Hell.* 4. 7. 4–5) as Herodotus (7. 129. 4) was in his rationalist, seismological explanation of Thessalian geomorphology (see **THESSALY**). Ancient philosophers and 'scientists', however, frequently speculated about the causes of earthquakes (*Sen. QNat.* bk. 6). Thales thought that the earth moved upon the primeval waters. Anaximenes reckoned that variations in wetness and aridity caused cracks in the earth. Several philosophers, including Anaxagoras, Democritus, *Aristotle, and Posidonius, produced theories which involved water or air entering the earth and causing explosions. PAC/JRS

ecology (Greek and Roman) A modern concept with numerous antecedents in antiquity, when attitudes towards nature (*physis*) varied greatly. Empedocles devised the theory of the four elements, leading to the idea of opposites and the theory of the four humours (*Hippoc. Nature of Man* 4–8), in which an imbalance of the humours causes disease. Different climates cause different humours to prevail in different peoples, producing the theory of environmental determinism in Hippocrates (*Aer.*). The observed regularities in nature led to a belief

in purpose in nature. *Herodotus (3. 107–9) thought that different types of animal had different rates of reproduction appropriate to their natures, an argument for purposeful creation. Other arguments invoked in favour of purposeful creation included the unity and harmony of the universe; the apparent design of human organs, e.g. the eye (*Socrates in *Xen. Mem.* 1. 4. 4–15); the regularities in astronomical phenomena, which led to *astrology and Ptolemy's theory (*Tetr.*) of cosmic environmentalism in which the stars influence life on earth; and the idea that the creator acted like an artisan, a theory—very important for *Plato (*Ti.* 27–33), *Cicero, and the younger *Seneca—that was adopted by the early Christian Fathers and laid the foundations for natural theology in later ages. *Aristotle (e.g. *Pol.* 1256^{a-b}) turned the concept of purpose in nature into an all-embracing teleology, but rejected Plato's artisan deity. Possibly Aristotle thought that nature advances unconsciously towards ends. Theophrastus expressed doubts about teleology in biology, invented plant biogeography, and considered climatic change caused by human modification of the environment. The Epicureans (see **EPICURUS**) rejected design in nature. The Stoics (see **STOICISM**) fused the aesthetic attitude towards nature, evident in Hellenistic bucolic poetry, with utilitarian attitudes. The earth is beautiful and useful. JRS

economic theory (Greek) It is a commonplace that the Greek philosophers had no economic theory. Three reasons are advanced for this absence: (1) the merely embryonic existence of the relevant institutions, especially the market; (2) upper-class disdain for personal involvement in *trade and exchange; (3) the priority assigned to ethical and political concerns over technical considerations of exchange and accumulation. While each of these claims contains some truth, the third assumes a modern conception of the autonomy of economics against which ancient theory may make a pertinent challenge.



*Plato's discussion of the market is sketchy. The *Republic* describes the creation of a market in the 'first city'; money (see COINAGE, GREEK) will be used for internal exchange, and barter for foreign trade. In the Ideal City the lowest class, ruled by bodily appetites, is also called the moneymaking class. The ideal city of *Laws* 5 will have no money, and strict lower and upper limits on amount of ownership. The market legislation of bks. 8 and 11 permits money, but most transacting is done by aliens; again, the state fixes strict limits to acquisition and ownership.

Economic analysis proper begins in *Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*. Fundamental to the entire discussion is the idea that material goods are tools of human functioning. Their proper use has a limit set by those requirements. Poverty placing one beneath this limit is a problem for public planning; accumulation above this limit for its own sake is 'unnatural' and morally problematic. Thus Aristotle criticizes the saying of *Solon, 'Of wealth no boundary stands fixed for men.' The accumulation of goods began as a way of ensuring the presence of needed resources. Because some of these had to be imported from a distance, barter arose; barter led, in turn, to the temporary accumulation of surpluses useful for trade. Eventually coin money was introduced to facilitate deferred exchanges. This, however, gave rise to the idea of accumulating a surplus without reference to need or limit, as if wealth were an end in itself.

Aristotle's analysis is pertinent to recent criticisms of welfare and development economics which appeal to notions of human functioning in interpreting economic notions such as 'the standard of living' and 'the quality of life.'

Elsewhere in the *Politics*, Aristotle analyses the relationship between level of wealth and political behaviour, arguing that the essential difference between *democracy and *oligarchy lies in whether rule is by the poor or the rich; it happens that in every city the poor are many and the rich are few.

Hellenistic thought about money focuses on limiting the desire for possessions. Stoic teleology (see STOICISM) is the background for Adam Smith's conception of the 'invisible hand', which should not be understood apart from Stoic ideas of providence and justice. See ECONOMY, GREEK; ECONOMY, HELLENISTIC; WEALTH, ATTITUDES TO. MCN/PAC

economy, Greek Even if there was 'an economy' in ancient Greece (see CAPITALISM), Greece itself was not a single entity, but a congeries of more than a thousand separate communities. One should therefore speak of Greek economies rather than the Greek economy, and for simplicity's sake it is convenient to divide them into three groups, types, or models. First, there is the 'Archaic'

group of which *Sparta can stand as the representative instance. At the opposite extreme is Athens, distinguished both by the exceptional size and number of its economic transactions, and by the exceptional sophistication of its economic institutions. In between fall the vast range of 'normal' Greek cities or communities, differentiated from the latter chiefly in the scale, and from the former principally in the nature, of their economic arrangements.

Consider the last group first. Our 'economy' is derived from the ancient Greek word *oikonomia*, but this meant originally and usually the management of a private household (*oikos*) rather than that of a 'national' economy (see HOUSEHOLD (GREEK)). Ideally, for sound prudential reasons as well as ideological, moral, or political ones, each 'normal' Greek household (comprising a two-generation nuclear family, free and unfree dependants, slaves, animals, land, and other property) aimed to be as self-sufficient as possible, making all due allowance for the basic constants of the changing domestic life-cycle, and the amount and nature of available land and labour. Household economy in Greece was overwhelmingly rural economy, the number of genuine cities or even genuinely urban residential centres being countable on the fingers of a single hand. See URBANISM (Greek and Hellenistic).

Most Greeks living in 'normal' communities were peasants of one description or another, farming a couple of hectares (say, 5 acres) planted to a mix of cereals (mainly barley, some wheat) and xerophytic crops (*olives, grapevines (see WINE), figs above all). Small stock animals, especially sheep and goats (see PASTORALISM, GREEK), constituted a necessary, not a purely optional, complement to agriculture and herbiculture in the absence of artificial fertilizers. In some areas local conditions favoured specialization in one or other crop, or an exceptional amount of stockraising. In coastal settlements there were always some specialist fishermen (see FISHING), but, apart from the Black Sea, Greek waters were not especially favourable to sizeable and predictable shoals of easily catchable fish. Fish remained something of a luxury food by comparison with the staple 'Mediterranean triad' (grain, wine, olive oil) of the Greek peasant diet.

In practice, of course, self-sufficiency remained for most an ideal rather than a lived actuality, so that economic exchange of various kinds was obligatory (see TRADE, GREEK). But such exchanges were typically conducted between individuals—neighbours or at any rate members of the same community—either directly and by barter in kind or through the use of some monetary medium in the local village or town market. The economy of Athens was wholly exceptional in the degree to which

the very viability of the civic community depended on the exchange through long-distance trade of a staple commodity, grain (*see* FOOD SUPPLY). Fortunately, and not incidentally, Athens was exceptionally blessed with a near-unique means of paying for such imports in the shape of the silver (strictly, argentiferous lead) deposits in the Laurium district of SE Attica. The mines were worked almost entirely by chattel-slave labour (*see* SLAVERY). To ensure that the silver bullion was channelled productively into the grain trade the Athenian community instituted a wide range of preferential measures backed by severe and enforceable legal sanctions against both citizen and non-citizen miscreants. Athens was also fortunate, and unusual, in that much of Attica's soil and climate was peculiarly well suited to olive cultivation; the export of olive oil was officially encouraged from as early as 600 BC.

These factors permitted the development in the course of the 5th cent. BC of a genuinely urban sector of the Athenian citizen population, concentrated in what was almost a second city around the port of Piraeus. But most of those directly and exclusively engaged in Piraeus commerce, as in the other non-agricultural sectors of Athenian economy, were non-Athenian and often non-Greek foreigners, resident (free *metics and slaves) and transient. Both absolutely and as a proportion of the total population (which itself was hypertrophied by 'normal' Greek standards) the foreign element was sensibly greater in Athens than in any other Greek community.

Sparta in its economy as in some other respects represented the opposite pole from Athens. So far from being encouraged as economically desirable or even necessary, foreigners—Greek as well as non-Greek—were periodically expelled from Sparta (*xenêlasiai*). The Spartans did regularly practise economic exchange, but within rather than outside their territory, and with a politically subordinate free population known as *perioikoi*, on whom they depended, not least, for supplies of iron. Agriculture and stockraising were left to, or rather forced upon, a subjugated local population of helots, Greek in speech and culture but servile in status. By dint of exploiting the helots, the Spartans themselves contrived to do no economically productive work whatsoever (except in the sense that war, 'the business of Ares', was itself a means of production). Some other Greek communities exploited workforces of a similar collective character and servile status, but none combined that exploitation with the Spartans' peculiar disdain of all non-military forms of economic activity. The Spartans were not unique in refusing to coin silver or bronze for economic or political purposes, but their retention of a non-convertible domestic 'currency'

of iron spits nicely symbolizes their economic eccentricity. *See* COINAGE, GREEK. PAC

economy, Hellenistic The regions brought under the control of the Hellenistic kingdoms showed little economic unity or uniformity. Land-use systems ranged from irrigation regimes in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and parts of Iran (Polyb. 10. 28) through widespread dry farming to the nomad or transhumant *pastoralism of the deserts and the mountains. Land tenure arrangements included, besides private beneficial ownership at all levels of magnitude, land owned by cities, cantons, or temples but rented out to individuals or worked by 'slaves of the shrine' (*hierodouloi*), and above all land owned by the kings. Such land might be held in direct tenure and worked by serfs, or alienated to large-scale proprietors (e.g. Austin nos. 164 and 173), or bestowed as allotments (*klêroi*) in various ways on individuals in return for military service, or have its use and revenues assigned to individuals (*dôrea*). Such lands mostly had arable and arboricultural use in producing the basic Mediterranean triad (cereals, vines (*see* WINE), *olives) and other supplementary foodstuffs, while other land uses included pasturage, ornamental ground such as the ex-Persian *paradeisoi*, quarries, *mines, and forests.

Most foodstuff production will have been consumed locally, but some established long-distance flows continued, such as corn from Egypt to the Aegean, cattle and slaves (*see* SLAVERY) from the Black Sea (Polyb. 4. 38), or spices and precious stones from India to the Mediterranean. They may well have grown in importance in the Hellenistic period, thereby assisting the growth and enrichment of entrepôt and trading cities such as *Rhodes, *Alexandria, and Petra. Such cities seem also to have become the main centres of both the production and the consumption of fine decorative goods such as silverware, *glass, and jewellery, while the creation and use of more basic artefacts remained local unless used, as amphorae universally were, as containers for transport and storage. The growth in the numbers of coin-hoards and of shipwrecks during the period, together with the development of institutions (e.g. public and private *banks) and installations (harbours, lighthouses, etc.), suggest an increase both in the volume of trade and in the monetization of some transactions: the activities of Cretan and other pirates (*see* PIRACY) increased accordingly.

Rulers and polities affected all such economic activities by their needs, exactions, and benefactions. Old and new Greek cities levied taxes and rents on transactions, statuses, properties, and commodities, but rarely covered expenses comfortably. They tended instead to elicit loans, donations, or endowments from wealthy and benevolent

citizens or outsiders, whose services prompted honorary decrees (e.g. Austin nos. 116 and 132) and shifted power relationships in their favour (see *EUERGETISM*). On a larger scale kings and rulers did the same, redistributing resources via systematic taxation to pay for armies and wars, courts and bureaucracy, gifts and benefactions, disaster relief and city foundations. For fiscal reasons all royal governments showed some interest in increasing the productive capacity of their territories, e.g. by opening mines, extending the agrarian base or transplanting species, but the older picture of a managed 'royal economy' is not now accepted, even for Egypt. The political act with the biggest impact on the Hellenistic economy was probably Rome's creation of a free port at *Delos in 166 BC, which moved some trade routes and badly damaged Rhodes (Polyb. 30. 31). JKD

economy, Roman The economic history of Rome from the first, like all ancient Mediterranean economies, involved the interaction of the circumstances of local *agriculture with the available *labour supply in the context of opportunities for interregional redistribution in which the exchange of other commodities was involved. It is now certain that from the 7th cent BC. Rome was privileged among other Tiber valley communities as a centre for the movement of people and materials from peninsular Italy out into the world of Mediterranean contacts. The Romans believed that they had imported cereals from Campania from at least the early 5th cent., and that they had freed their citizens from the risk of debt-bondage (*nexum*; see *DEBT*) at the end of the 4th. It was important to their self-image that they considered the area around their city to be of only moderate productivity, and that it had been assigned in lots from an early period to citizens who worked them independently. Historically, this enthusiasm for the lot was of more significance in the concept of public ownership of land, and the practice of dividing and assigning it (*ager publicus*). This was attested in the formation of new *tribus in the 4th cent. and widely practised in the establishment of *coloniae* in the 3rd and 2nd cents., especially on land which had belonged to defeated opponents of Rome (see *COLONIZATION, ROMAN*). But the exploitation of allotted land was perhaps never intended to be in theory, and was certainly not in practice, a matter of basic household subsistence. It rapidly became linked with the formation of estate centres (*latifundia*) for the production of cash crops for mass-marketing, the *villas of the late republican landscape, which were also central to the cultural life of the wealthy families which owned them. The cities grew as *markets and centres of processing, administration, and consumption of the products of this

agriculture, and as centres for the control and management of a mutable labour force which included, as a result in part of the victories of the 2nd cent. BC, significant numbers of slaves (see *SLAVERY*), though their large-scale use in agriculture was generally perceived by the Roman tradition as undesirable. From the beginnings of the large-scale export of *wine from Italy in the mid 2nd cent. the network of economic exchanges involved entrepreneurs, Roman military forces in the field, more or less dependent consumers inside and outside Roman territory, and the city of Rome itself in an increasingly complicated web, in which the non-agricultural resources of the growing imperial state, especially metals (see *MINES AND MINING*), were an important ingredient. The development over the next centuries of this state of affairs saw frequent changes in the specifics of the geography of the centres of exchange, and the favoured places of investment in production: *olive oil and wine remained important, though we should recall that they are particularly visible archaeologically, and the production of Baetica, *Africa, and Tripolitania transformed these regions, with concomitant gain to their market centres and port outlets. The economy of the empire included significant connections with networks of exchange reaching across northern Europe, central Asia, and the Sahara, but most importantly via the Red Sea with the increasingly complex economy of the Indian Ocean area, to which *Alexandria was central. Rome itself was a consumer on an enormous scale, and therefore exerted a considerable influence on Mediterranean production and exchange, which were also promoted by the need to pay state exactions in cash. But the complexity of the network, the continued local interdependence of the regions of the empire, and the existence of very many smaller centres of consumption, management, and marketing, ensured that the economic life of the Roman world was not wholly oriented on Rome. The social and political forms of economic life were sophisticated and various, though they did not much resemble the practices of early modern Europe: the role of ex-slaves (see *FREEDMEN*) and the public contract may be singled out, while the availability of credit and the nature of accounting deserve further investigation. See *ARTISANS AND CRAFTSMEN*; *COINAGE, ROMAN*; *INDUSTRY*; *TRADE, ROMAN*. NP

ecstasy In classical Greek the term *ekstasis* may refer to any situation in which (part of) the mind or body is removed from its normal place or function. It is used for bodily displacements, but also for abnormal conditions of the mind such as madness, unconsciousness, or 'being beside oneself'. In the Hellenistic and later periods the notion is influenced by the Platonic concept of 'divine

madness', a state of inspired possession distinct from lower forms of madness and as such providing insights into objective truth. *Ekstasis* now acquires the notion of a state of trance in which the soul, leaving the body, sees visions (Acts 10: 10; 22: 17). In later, especially Neoplatonist theory (Plotinus, Porphyry), *ekstasis* is the central condition for escape from restraints of either a bodily or a rational-intellectual nature and thus becomes the gateway to the union with the god (*unio mystica*); see DIONYSUS. HSV

education, Greek (see following page)

education, Roman (see page 262)

Egypt (See ◀ Map 2, Bd ▶)

Pre-Ptolemaic

Egypt began its historic period c.3200 BC. By a convention derived from Manetho this era is divided into 31 dynasties which are currently grouped into several phases: the Thinite or Archaic period (Dynasties 1–2, c.3200–2700) is the formative stage of pharaonic civilization. The Old Kingdom (Dynasties 3–4, c.2700–2159) sees the establishment of a highly centralized state which peaked in the Fourth Dynasty with the builders of the Giza pyramids. Foreign relations, peaceful and otherwise, were maintained with Nubia to the south, Libya, and Asia, but there was no attempt to establish an empire. Culturally, this age is distinguished by work of the highest quality in architecture, sculpture, and painting. The fabric of government collapsed at the end of the Sixth Dynasty to create the First Intermediate period (Dynasties 7–mid-11, c.2159–2040), an age of political dissolution and cultural decline. The country was reunited by Montuhotep II c.2040 to create the Middle Kingdom (mid-Dynasty 11–12, c.2040–1786). The major new initiative of this period was the integration into the Egyptian state of Lower Nubia as far as the Second Cataract. This development was paralleled by significant involvement in Asia, but this stopped short of imperial control. As in the Old Kingdom, there is ample evidence of high-quality work in the visual arts, but this epoch is distinguished culturally above all as the classic age of Egyptian language and literature. The Middle Kingdom disintegrated in the Thirteenth Dynasty to inaugurate the Second Intermediate period, the most important event of which was the establishment of Asiatic control by the Hyksos over most of Egypt, an episode which conferred major military and cultural benefits as well as providing the impetus for expansion into Asia during the New Kingdom (Dynasties 18–20, c.1575–1087). This great age of Egyptian militarism created in the Eighteenth Dynasty an empire

which stretched from the Euphrates to beyond the Fourth Cataract in Nubia, and the resources generated made possible a great flowering of achievement in the visual arts, in particular great temples such as those of Karnak and Luxor and the mortuary temples of western Thebes as well as the brilliantly decorated tombs in the Valleys of the Kings and Queens. The decline in Egypt's imperial position at the end of the dynasty was reversed by Seti I and Ramesses II in the early Nineteenth Dynasty, but they never succeeded in recovering all the lost territory in Asia. The later New Kingdom is largely characterized by gradual decline generated by internal divisions, economic difficulties, and foreign aggression. The Late Dynastic period (Dynasties 21–31, c.1087–332) is marked by long periods of foreign occupation by Libyans, Nubians, and Persians punctuated by short, if sometimes brilliant, periods of national resurgence. It terminates with the occupation by *Alexander the Great in 332. ABL

Ptolemaic

In the period from the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC until Octavian's conquest and the death of *Cleopatra VII in 30 BC the Egyptian throne was held by Macedonians, and from 304 by the one family, the Ptolemies (who were descended from Alexander's general *Ptolemy I son of Lagus). Externally the main problem remained the extent of the kingdom, while internally the nature of administrative control and relations with the native Egyptians formed the major concerns of this new resident dynasty of foreign pharaohs. For the modern observer it is the incomplete nature of the historical record which presents problems. Contemporary historical analysis is limited in period (*Polybius, *Diodorus Siculus), much of it concentrating on the scandalous and sensational (Pompeius Trogus, Justin), and while numerous papyri and ostraca, preserved through the dry desert conditions, join with inscriptions to make Egypt better documented than other Hellenistic kingdoms, these illustrate the details of administration and everyday life without its wider context.

Territorially the Nile valley formed a natural unit. Ptolemy I added *Cyrene and *Cyprus to the kingdom, both significant territories in Ptolemaic history. Under *Ptolemy II control was extended over much of the Aegean and the coast of *Asia Minor organized as the Island League; this was later lost. But the territory most fought over with the Seleucid rulers of Syria was Coele ('Hollow') Syria: Palestine and the Gaza strip. This strategic area was Ptolemaic until the battle of Panion in 200, when it passed to Seleucid control. The final episode in the struggles of these two kingdoms came in 168 when

[continued on p. 264]

GREEK AND ROMAN EDUCATION

education, Greek

1. Early period

Greek ideas of education (*paideia*), whether theoretical or practical, encompassed upbringing and cultural training in the widest sense, not merely schooling and formal education. The poets were regarded as the educators of their society, particularly in the Archaic period, but also well into the classical, when *Plato could attack *Homer's status as educator of Greece (e.g. *Resp.* 606e, and generally, bks. 2, 3, 10; cf. *Xen. Symp.* 4. 6 for the conventional view). Much education would have taken place in an aristocratic milieu informally through institutions like the *symposium (as in the poetry of Theognis or festivals (cf. the children reciting *Solon's poetry at the Apaturia, *Pl. Ti.* 21b), backed up by the old assumption that the aristocracy possessed inherited, not instructed, excellence. Important educational functions were seen by some in the relationship of a boy and an older lover (see HOMOSEXUALITY); or in the very institutions of the city-state (*polis), the city festivals and rituals (e.g. *Aeschin.* 3. 246; see N. Loraux, *Invention of Athens* (1986; Eng. trans.). Even in the 4th cent. BC, Plato (*Laws*), for instance, saw the laws as performing educational functions, Lycurgus of Athens the democratic processes; cf. DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN.

There is a tendency in modern work to overformalize Greek education. Before the 5th cent. BC, there must have been some sort of training for any specialized skills (cf. the scribal skills needed by the Mycenaean), but most of this was probably on an ad hoc and quite individual basis (more like an apprenticeship, as was surely the case with oral epic bards). The evidence for early schooling (i.e. formal group teaching) is remarkably slight: the school laws attributed to Solon (594 BC) by Aeschines (1. 9 ff.) may be later and are in any case primarily about morality; the traditions about Chiron (see CENTAURS) and Phoenix (cf. *Il.* 9. 443) as ideal educators, teaching their charges all the known skills may reflect some form of early aristocratic instruction. The earliest school mentioned is at Chios, in 494 BC (*Hdt.* 6. 27); we also hear of schools at Astypalaea (an Aegean island between Amorgos and Nisyros) in 496 BC (*Paus.* 6. 9. 6), at Troezen in 480 (*Plut. Them.* 10), at Mycalessus in Boeotia in 413 (*Thuc.* 7. 29), and less reliably, among allies of the Mytilenaeans in c.600 (*Ael. VH* 7. 15). Fifth-cent. Attic vase-paintings show scenes of schooling. But it is likely that at least before the mid-5th cent., education was elementary in our terms, probably confined to the aristocratic strata, and organized simply for individuals (the figure of the later *paidagōgos* may have retained something of an earlier individual tutor; cf. *Xen. Mem.* 2. 2. 6 on home education). That education would also be non-technical, and, as indicated by discussions of the 'old' and the 'new' education in the 5th cent. (cf. *Ar. Clouds*), would be primarily concerned with music and gymnastics. This type of education, or at least its higher levels, was transformed by the *sophists and their successors into one involving the techniques of prose rhetoric, which then came to form the most typical part of ancient education at the higher level.

2. Sparta

Certain Dorian states like *Crete and Classical *Sparta practised a totalitarian and militaristic form of education controlled by the state. By Classical times, Sparta had adapted its educational system entirely for the purposes of maintaining military strength. From the age of 7 the child was entirely under the control of the state, living in barracks away from parents. The aim of education was to produce efficient soldiers, and though their training included *music and how to read and write, physical education received first priority (see *Xen. Respublica Lacedaemoniorum*; *Plut. Lyc.*). Girls, too, were also educated in the interests of the state, to be the future mothers of warriors (*Xen. Lac.* 1. 3–4): gymnastics and sport were emphasized, as well as music and *dancing.

3. Classical Athens

Elementary education

It is unclear how early elementary schooling began in Athens (from which most evidence comes): explicit evidence for schools (see above) is much later than the introduction of the alphabet to Greece in the mid-8th cent. BC, and though it has been thought that the alphabet implies schools to teach it, instruction at this low level could have been

carried out without formal institutions. However, *ostracism at Athens may presuppose widespread basic *literacy in the time of *Cleisthenes, and schooling is definitely attested for early 5th-cent. Greece.

There were three main elements to elementary education, normally taught in different establishments. The *paidotribēs* dealt with gymnastics, games, and general athletic fitness, mainly in the palaestra (e.g. Pl. *Grg.* 452b, *Prt.* 313a). The *kitharistēs* taught music and the works of the lyric poets, the lyre school inheriting the musical education of the Archaic period. The *grammatistēs* taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as literature, which consisted of learning by heart the work of poets, especially Homer, who were regarded as giving moral training (see Protagoras on the moral function of music and poetry, *Prt.* 326a). Thus after learning the alphabet (see Pl. *Resp.* 402a–b; *Plt.* 227e–278b, for the methods of learning to read), pupils would progress to learning the poets by heart (*Prt.* 325e). Gymnastics and music (including poetry), then, were the fundamentals. The ‘Old Education’ parodied in *Aristophanes *Clouds* (961–1023) gives most emphasis to physical education and music, saying nothing about letters, either because it was a minor element or too basic to mention. But the predominance of music—which included poetry and dance, and emphasized actual performance—and physical training in the basic Greek education is attested elsewhere (e.g. Pl. *Resp.* 376e); the conservative Plato sees lack of musical training (*achoreutos*) as synonymous with lack of education (*apaideutos*) (*Leg.* 654a–b).

In a single day, the pupil might start with gymnastics, then proceed to the lyre school, and end with letters. But the system was private and fee-paying, far from rigid, and parents might not want their children to participate in all three. Girls as we see from vase-painting, might be educated in all three elements, as well as dancing, though not normally in the same schools as boys or to the same extent. The teacher was normally a free man enjoying the same social status (and remuneration) as a doctor—though in fact often not so highly regarded (cf. *Demosthenes on *Aeschines, *De cor.* 265). Assistants might be slaves or free men. Boys were always accompanied to school by a *paidagōgos*, a slave and highly trusted part of the family (cf. Themistocles’, *Hdt.* 8. 75), who helped to bring up the child and at school must have been a helpful overseer. Discipline at school was strict: the symbol of the *paidotribēs*’ power to punish was the



education, Greek Learning to write, along with reading, dominated Greek elementary education. This wooden tablet (2nd cent. AD) shows a Greek maxim in the master's hand (top) and the pupil's two copies. Such maxims were used as school texts. © British Library Board/Robana/TopFoto.

forked stick, of other teachers the *narthēx* (cane). Pupils regularly had to recite what they had learned, and the regular public competitions (all illustrated in vase-scenes), whether literary, musical, or athletic, were an important forum for proving their skill.

The development of group schooling, in which the education previously reserved for the aristocracy is spread to other citizens, may be related, at least in Athens, to the development of the *democracy, but cannot have originated with it. The balance between the physical and intellectual aspects may not have been as harmonious as some modern observers have suggested; it was certainly disputed by Greek thinkers, and the military uses of physical education may have given that side ascendancy (cf. *Prt.* 326 b–c, on gymnastics as useful training for war). Xenophanes (c.500) (DK 21 B 2) and *Euripides scoffed at the *athletic (and aristocratic) ideal, while *Pindar, perhaps Aristophanes, and *Xenophon (*Cyn.* 13) supported it. Plato, *Isocrates, and Aristotle (*Pol.* 8) subordinated the physical side to the intellectual.

Higher education

From the late 5th cent. it was possible to pursue further and more specialist education by joining one of the courses offered by the sophists, or listening to their lectures and disputations. Or there were the specialized schools of *rhetoric or philosophy or of *medicine (possible early ‘schools’ (e.g. of medicine, *Hdt.* 3. 129, 131), may have been more like loose semi-religious foundations). The most famous were Isocrates’ school of rhetoric, founded about 390 BC, Plato’s *Academy with its scientific, mathematical, and philosophical curriculum founded soon after, and Aristotle’s Lyceum (see ARISTOTLE, para. 5), founded in 335 BC. Some of these higher schools prescribed propaedeutic courses (e.g. geometry for Plato’s Academy), which have been seen as the origin of ‘secondary education’.

The great educators and theorists

The sophists were itinerant teachers, who offered education for a fee on a variety of specialized and technical subjects. In general, they claimed to teach political virtue (*aretē*), and most laid great stress on skills useful for political life, especially rhetoric (e.g. *Prt.* 318e–319a). In that sense they rivalled the poets’ claim as educators; they offered techniques useful in the Athenian democracy (and open to anyone who could pay), and in charging for their services, aroused much distrust. They were progressive and pragmatic in their views and methods, and belonged to the liberal, democratic tradition of Greek education. They were effectively the first to create a standard teaching system at an advanced level, and the first to include the basic sciences in their schema (note especially the polymath Hippias, *Prt.* 318e). But they were part of the mainstream of Greek cultural heritage, which they accepted, taught, and enhanced, and against which *Socrates and Plato reacted so violently. Their ideas initiated and propelled the ferment of discussion about education—including the ‘nature versus nurture’ debate—that continued so intensely in the 4th cent.

Socrates, on the other hand, distrusted the sophists’ claim to be able to teach everything, or indeed even to know anything. Socrates sought not to impart a body of knowledge, but to progress, with his followers, in seeking it. In the educational sphere, he seems to have had a rather conservative reliance on innate gifts; his great influence lies in the famous ‘Socratic’ method of teaching (below), and in his equation of virtue with knowledge. Plato, however, gives us the most extensive theory of education, in the *Republic* and, in a less extreme form, the *Laws*, where he sets forth the ideal state of a totalitarian mould, influenced by Sparta, and a corresponding system of education in which everything, including most forms of literature and art, which does not serve the interests of the state, is rigidly excluded: his elementary education, for all citizens to the age of 17 or 18, was otherwise rather conservative. Plato’s *Timaeus* provided the Middle Ages with the rationale for their quadrivium: though this in fact derived ultimately from Hippias’ insistence (*Prt.* 318e) on the four sciences, namely arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. In his early works he strongly opposed the teaching of rhetoric, but later allowed it to be taught in the Academy alongside the more important scientific, mathematical, and philosophical studies. His concept of an educational establishment with permanent buildings, specialist teachers, and an integrated curriculum, may be seen as a precursor of the secondary school (see *Resp.* 536–41 for the appropriate age-range for each stage in Plato’s scheme), his founding of the Academy, an association of scholars, as the first university. It was, however, the Lyceum (see ARISTOTLE, para. 5), which became the greatest research institute of antiquity. In Isocrates’ educational innovations, one sees the further development of the rhetorical side of late 5th-cent. culture, as opposed to the philosophical emphasized by Plato and left by Isocrates as marginal to the ultimate rhetorical focus. He owed much to the sophists in subject-matter and teaching methods; his educational aims were to train (a few) students in morality and political skill, hence rhetoric (e.g. *Panath.* 30–2; *Antid.* 231; *C. Soph.* 21), and ultimately to produce political leaders. Other subjects were subservient to the pursuit of rhetorical skill: among these was knowledge of the past, and he distinguished between useful, or cultural, and purely disciplinary subjects like

eristic and mathematics (*Antid.* 261–9). His teaching methods also laid immense stress on the literary composition of prose, seeking to oust the dominant position of the poets in education. It was this primarily rhetorical basis of further education that became the dominant characteristic of ancient education.

Teaching methods

Private tuition, individual tuition, and teaching in small groups are all attested, even for gymnastics (Pl. *Plt.* 294d–e). Learning by heart, for the purposes of recitation, was standard. Even Pl. accepted the usefulness of games in elementary education (arithmetic), though he was generally hostile to any experimentation in scientific teaching. At a higher level, pedagogic techniques were most developed in rhetorical teaching. Students memorized commonplaces, stock situations, and stock phrases, along with sample passages like *Gorgias's *Funeral Oration* as material for later improvisation (on which much store was set). Psychology, techniques of persuasion, and the art of arguing both sides of a case were also taught. In addition, the sophists, and in particular, Isocrates, supplemented this with further general knowledge (see RHETORIC, GREEK).

The sophists developed both the dialectical method and the lecture, which might take the form of the display *epideixis* or the full technical lecture, which even Plato frequently used though he preferred dialectic. The dialectic method involves question and answer, in which the respondent makes a real contribution to discussion (as opposed to the Socratic technique). This method was developed by Isocrates into a seminar technique of group discussion and criticism. The Socratic method proceeds by reducing the pupil to a state of *aporia* (or puzzlement) and admission of complete ignorance (not to mention irritation), and then drawing out knowledge by a process of questioning, a process of intellectual 'midwifery' (Pl. *Tht.* 150c). It is well illustrated in the geometry lesson of Plato's *Meno* (see *Meno* 85d–86b for the Socratic explanation given there). *Xenophon advocated the 'activity' method in the *Cyropaedia* where pupils learn justice by practising it in real-life group situations.

4. Hellenistic education

For the Hellenistic period, there is a wealth of inscriptions which illuminate the public side of education, and rich papyrological evidence for school activity (e.g. school exercises). The pattern of education established in Classical Athens was brought in the early years of the Hellenistic era to a definitive form which endured with only slight changes to the end of the ancient world. Greater attention was paid to the education of the ordinary citizen, as reflected in the many separate philosophical treatises on education by thinkers such as Aristippus, Theophrastus, Aristoxenus, Cleanthes, Zeno, Chrysippus, Clearchus, and Cleomenes. There is definitely an extension of elementary education, with generous foundations set up in some cities to fund teachers: at Teos (*Syll.*³ 578 = Austin no. 139) all free boys were to receive education; *Rhodes, funded by Eumenes II (Polyb. 31. 31), probably came nearest to universal public education (for boys) in antiquity (cf. also at *Delphi, *Syll.*³ 672 (= Austin no. 242), and Miletus, *Syll.*³ 577 (= Austin no. 138)). Girls also received more education than before (e.g. Teos, *Pergamum), but cannot have been educated everywhere as fully as boys. But how far one can really claim universal education among Greek children in the period is controversial, and formal education was surely mostly confined to the cities. Greek *paideia* was now regarded as the essential badge of Greekness, and educational institutions—particularly the *gymnasium—were thought necessary to maintain, or assert, Greek identity.

Organization

Education was still mostly paid for by parents, but generous private benefactions in some cities provided for teachers' salaries (esp. Teos, Miletus, Delphi, Rhodes, above), and the cities seem to have taken more formal interest in education, organizing ephebic institutions (see GYMNASIUM) and regulating private benefactions themselves. Most had one gymnasium, some more. This would be the focus for physical training, which became transformed into an educational centre with schooling for *paidēs* (12–17) and ephebes: some space was devoted to schooling and lectures, with teachers of literature, philosophy, music (though the evidence suggests that this was not universal: the law from Beroea (*BÉ* 1978, 274 = Austin no. 137) implies the activity was overwhelmingly athletic). Thus it was a centre for Greek culture in the widest sense. The gymnasiarch (*kosmētēs* in Athens), a state official, was elected for a year to run the gymnasium, and to supervise all aspects of the education (public or private) of the *ephēboi* or *neoi* (ex-ephebes, i.e. in their twenties). He might be expected to contribute financially, buying oil or providing extra oil for athletic activity (very widely attested), and paying for one or more teachers' salaries. The increasing financial burdens of the office led to its decay in imperial times to a mere liturgy with wealth the only qualification. The *paidonomos* had similar duties for elementary

education. Girls also sometimes had special officials (e.g. Smyrna, Pergamum). These officials organized numerous public competitions and awards, sometimes paid for by the gymnasiarch: preserved lists of prizewinners mention (among others) those successful in reading, writing, painting, recitation, verse and song-writing, running, boxing. Class loads tended to be high, as the recorded complaints of teachers indicate, and the social standing of teachers rather low.

Other innovations of this period were the concentration of all educational activity into a single building; examinations; and the formal division of pupils into educational age groups, though these seem to vary from place to place: *paides* (boys), aged 12–17, *ephēboi*, aged 18–20 in Athens (younger elsewhere), and *neoi*, ex-ephebes, in their twenties. The ephebate, which began as a predominantly military training organized for young men by the state, and in Athens was reinvigorated in the 330s as a two-year training, spread over the Greek world with enormous vitality, and became a kind of cultural-athletic institution for the leisured classes. This came (in Athens from the late 2nd cent. BC) to include intellectual studies in its make-up, though as sport took first place, it is questionable how intellectual any of this education really was.

Elementary and secondary education

Elementary education was dominated by learning to read and write, and learning by heart, by what seem from the papyri to be unnecessarily tedious methods (sport, of course, was also important). At secondary level, adolescents progressed to an overwhelmingly literary curriculum that still involved learning by rote and recitation, and was dominated by the reading and exposition of texts under the care of the *grammaticus*. The canonization of classical literature progressed rapidly, and anthologies used for teaching crystallized certain authors and passages in the educational curriculum. Physical education and music continued; the ancient idea of the *enkyklios paideia*, or general education, was evolved to include the four main sciences, following Hippias, and looking forward to the Seven Liberal Arts of the Middle Ages (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music). But it is unclear how keenly the scientific subjects were really pursued, and literary studies seem to oust the others. The Classics, particularly Homer, were studied in minute detail and according to rigidly formal rules. The study of grammar (in the modern sense) was added later (1st cent. BC), also composition, and preliminary rhetorical material.

Higher education

After secondary level there were several options of varying levels. The *ephēbeia* did include further cultural studies (literature, rhetoric, philosophy) accompanied by lectures and *libraries; similarly with the older *neoi*. But for really serious 'higher education' in the recognizably modern sense, there were the great centres of learning—Athens, Pergamum, and Rhodes for philosophy and rhetoric; Cos, Pergamum, or Ephesus for medicine; *Alexandria for the whole range of higher studies.

The teachers

Teachers were elected by the cities for a year at a time and supervised by the gymnasiarch and *paidonomos*. There were three grades of literary teacher: the *grammatistēs* (elementary level), *grammaticus* (secondary), and rhetor or sophist (higher). The *paidonomos* and ephebes might engage skilled itinerant teachers for short periods. Ordinary teachers received little more pay than a skilled workman, private ones less than those provided with a salary by the city: music teachers received most, then the literary teacher, then the *paidotribēs*. A good teacher would receive gifts, prizes, and sometimes tax-exemption (teachers were exempt from the salt tax in Ptolemaic Egypt).

See also LITERACY; ORALITY.

FAGB/RT

education, Roman

1. Early Italy and the republic

There is very little reliable evidence bearing upon formal education in the early period. Education was then certainly centred on the family and was probably based upon apprenticeship supervised by the father—in poorer homes an apprenticeship to agriculture or trade, in more aristocratic circles to military service and public life (what later became known as the *tirocinium militiae* and the *tirocinium fori*). The authority of the father, legalized as *patria potestas*, was absolute and could only in theory be questioned by the censors. The Roman mother had a more restricted, domestic role but she too was traditionally expected to take a personal, central responsibility and to set a strong moral example. It is not certain when reading and writing became a serious part of Roman education: the 7th-cent. BC ivory writing-

tablet with inscribed alphabet found at Marsiliana d'Albegna and 6th-cent. *bucchero* (pottery) models of wooden writing-tablets (*tabulae ansatae*) from Etruria may imply that *literacy was then already making some headway. Institutions like the religious calendars, the census, and the codification of the *Twelve Tables point in this direction and by the end of the 4th cent. BC it would certainly have been hard for a Roman senator to do without reading and writing. It is not known how such elementary instruction was given though it was often reckoned to be a parental responsibility; references to schools in the 5th and 4th cents. BC are probably anachronistic.

2. The later republic and the empire

As Rome's contacts with the Greek-speaking world grew in the 3rd and 2nd cents. BC, a predominantly Greek pattern of education evolved (see EDUCATION, GREEK), omitting however the *gymnasium and emphasis on competitive physical education. Aristocratic Roman families often employed Greek-speaking tutors for their children (Livius Andronicus and *Ennius were early and conspicuous examples) and these tutors—often slaves or freedmen—commonly taught both Greek and Latin; competence in both languages remained a feature of an upper-class education until the western and eastern empires parted company. This tradition of tutors in wealthy families continued alongside the growth of schools. A freedman, Spurius Carvilius, is credited with opening the first fee-paying school for elementary reading and writing in the second half of the 3rd cent. BC and thereafter the elementary teacher (*ludi magister* or *litterator*) running a small school became a lowly, noisy, and familiar part of Roman life. The Greek custom of a family *paedagogus* who took the children to and from school and supervised their life and habits was also adopted; the custom burgeoned especially after the Third Macedonian War when cheap, well-qualified Greek slaves became easily available. The second stage of education was in the hands of the *grammaticus* who taught language and poetry and who might be either a private tutor with a family or a teacher with his own school. He could be a person of some learning and consequence. Teachers of *rhetoric, the third stage of Greek and Roman education, first appear in the 2nd cent. BC at Rome—Crates of Mallus was said to have been influential—and, in the absence of Latin instructional material, taught Greek theory and practice. Latin materials corresponding to the Greek rhetorical manuals appeared in the 1st cent. BC (e.g. the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*) and Plotius Gallus is said to have opened the first school for teaching rhetoric in Latin about 94 BC. Cicero's works on oratory were a major contribution to teaching rhetoric in Latin and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* published about AD 95 includes a developed and humane picture of Roman rhetorical training at its best. From the middle of the 2nd cent. BC, when three visiting Greek philosophers made a great impression with their lectures in Rome, philosophy could play a significant part in the education of some wealthier young Romans. Teachers were soon available in Italy, though no philosophical schools were founded in Rome until Plotinus and Porphyry attracted pupils in the 3rd cent. AD: the young were glad to travel and to visit one of the four famous schools in *Athens or other centres where philosophers taught. From the 1st cent. AD there were law schools at Rome which founded an important tradition of legal education culminating in the great law school at Berytus (mod. Beirut) in the eastern empire. Augustus attempted with some success to use Roman and Italian traditions to create a Roman counterpart to the Greek *ephebeia* (see GYMNASIUM) in the revival of the *lusus Troiae* at Rome and the *collegia iuvenum* in the Italian cities; in this there was more than a hint of political education. Later emperors, local communities, and benefactors like *Pliny the Younger sometimes subsidized charitable and educational activity from personal interest, generosity, public duty, or political expediency but there was nothing like national or regional provision for education.

3. Levels and subjects of study

The three levels of Roman education represented by the *ludi magister*, the *grammaticus*, and the rhetor were probably never rigidly differentiated. Although formal education usually began when children were about 7 years old and transfers to the *grammaticus* and rhetor frequently happened at about the ages of 12 and 15 respectively, progress between the levels was often more a matter of achievement than age group; the roles of teachers sometimes overlapped considerably. All three levels followed a Greek pattern: the elementary teacher, for instance, taught reading by the familiar progression—letters, syllables, words—with much use of the gnomic example sentence (*sententia*). Writing and some basic mathematics were also his province. Echoes of the ancient schoolroom can be heard in the *colloquia* ('discourses') which occur in the bilingual school-books known as the *Hermeneumata*. The *grammaticus* advanced the study of both language and poetry (rarely prose). As Roman grammarians like *Varro and Remmius Palaemon adapted Alexandrian grammatical theory to Latin (especially that of Dionysius Thrax), some systematic morphology was taught; syntax was rather diffusely approached via correctness of speech and the avoidance of solecism. In teaching poetry, attention was paid to expressive reading (*lectio*) followed by the teacher's explanation (*enarratio*) and, where

appropriate, analysis (*partitio*). Homer's pre-eminent place in Greek schools was originally taken by poets like Livius Andronicus (who supplied the *Odyssey* in Saturnian verse translation), Naevius, and Ennius. Quintus Caecilius Epirota is credited with the introduction of contemporary poetry to Roman schools in 26 BC and later Virgil supplanted most earlier poets (Terence becoming the Roman counterpart to Menander. The teaching of rhetoric followed the Greek model closely with a series of preliminary exercises (*progymnasmata*—sometimes taught by the *grammaticus*) leading on to the theory and practice of declamation with the two major groupings of *suasoriae* (advice offered in historical or imaginary situations) and *controversiae* (courtroom cases). The five traditional parts of rhetoric were the basis of instruction: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, and *actio* (see RHETORIC, LATIN). The teaching of philosophy which young Romans encountered seems to have been based very much upon studying the works of the founder of a philosophical school and the commentaries of his successors.

4. Schools and teachers

Elementary teachers usually seem to have worked in suitable spaces in public porticoes or squares, in hired accommodation off the street, or in their own rooms; the idea of the school as a dedicated building is misleading. The *grammaticus* and the rhetor probably commanded better but not institutional accommodation. It is likely that most schools were small and though the monthly fees doubtless varied, such evidence as there is suggests that elementary teachers of some kind were affordable by all but the poor. Towns but not villages under the empire might be expected to have teachers and schools. Boys were almost certainly in a majority but some girls did attend too. The regular equipment for pupils consisted of waxed or whitened wooden writing-tablets, pen, and ink (though exercises were certainly written on papyrus when it could be afforded). In the elementary school lessons began at dawn and discipline was strict and unashamedly physical. There is some evidence for the education of slaves in *paedagogia* or training-schools attached to wealthy houses; the training sometimes included reading and writing as well as the household tasks required of them.

The status of elementary teachers was low; many were ex-slaves and had only a small and hazardous income. The *grammaticus* was better respected and *Suetonius' *De grammaticis* gives sketches of a poor but not ill-regarded profession. The rhetor could charge higher fees and the most famous could become men of some consequence under the empire. The ratio of maximum fees payable to the *ludi magister*, the *grammaticus*, and the rhetor in *Diocletian's Price Edict was 1:4:5. The rhetor was at first an object of some suspicion in Rome; in 161 BC rhetors were expelled from the city and Latin rhetoricians suffered the same fate in 92 BC. However, from the time of *Caesar teachers were more favoured; now and then they received various immunities, exemptions, and privileges by imperial edict, though imperial patronage was largely reserved for the highest levels. *Vespasian for instance endowed imperial chairs in Greek and Latin rhetoric at Rome, *Quintilian being the first holder of the Latin chair; Marcus *Aurelius endowed four chairs of philosophy and a chair of rhetoric at Athens. Emperors and politicians looked for visibility and prestige in exchange for their generosity.

JVM

Antiochus IV's successful invasion of Egypt was halted at Eleusis (a suburb of *Alexandria) by Roman intervention. To the south the doubtful loyalty of the Thebaid proved an ongoing threat to the traditional unity of Upper and Lower Egypt. The area was in revolt from 206 to 186, under the control of rebel kings Haronnophris and Chaonnophris and again for three years from 88. The destruction of Egyptian Thebes by Ptolemy IX brought relative peace to the south for 55 years. See NATIONALISM (Hellenistic and Roman).

Internally the Ptolemies used local expertise as they set up their royal administration based on the traditional divisions or nomes of Egypt. Self-governing cities were few: *Alexandria, which served as capital from 312 BC, the Greek Delta port of Naucratis and Ptolemais Hermiou (mod. El-Menshā) founded by Ptolemy I as a Greek city

in the south. Through a hierarchical bureaucracy, taxation of rich agricultural land and of the population and their livestock was based on a thorough census and land-survey. Greek was gradually introduced as the language of the administration and Greeks were privileged, both socially and in the tax-structure. The categorization however of Greek was now not an ethnic one, but rather one acquired, through employment and education. The wealth of the country (from its irrigation-agriculture and from taxes) was employed both for further development in the countryside (with agricultural initiatives and land-reclamation, especially in the Fayūm) and, in Alexandria, for royal patronage and display. The cultural life of the capital, with the Museum and *Library strongly supported under the early Ptolemies, played an important role in the definition of contemporary Hellenism.

Like other Hellenistic monarchs, the Ptolemies depended for security on their army, and Ptolemaic troops were tied in loyalty to their new homes by land-grants in the countryside. From the reign of Ptolemy VI local *politumata* were also founded as settlements for both soldiers and attached civilians. As the flow of immigrant recruits grew less, Egyptian troops were increasingly used, a development Polybius noted (5. 107. 3) as dangerous to the country. These troops too might become settlers (cleruchs) in the countryside (with smaller plots), as might the native police and other security forces. Land was further used in gift-estates to reward high-ranking officials; the *dioikētēs* ('finance minister') Apollonius under Ptolemy II was one of these.

In a soft approach to Egyptian ways, the Ptolemies early recognized the importance of native temples, granting privileges, and supporting native cults. For the Ptolemies were both Egyptian pharaohs and Greek monarchs. The new god Sarapis with his human aspect, an extension of the native Osiris-Apis bull, typifies this dual aspect of the period. Royal co-operation—for mutual ends—with the high priests of Memphis, central city of Lower Egypt where from the reign at least of Ptolemy V the king was crowned Egyptian-style, contrasts with the problems posed by the breakaway tendencies of Thebes and Upper Egypt. General tolerance and even financial support for native temples characterize the religious policy of the regime. In the important field of law two separate legal systems continued in use.

The sister-marrying Ptolemaic dynasty is, from the late 3rd cent., consistently represented as in decline. From the mid-2nd cent. the shadow of Rome loomed large, yet Egypt was the last Hellenistic kingdom to fall under Roman sway. DJT

Roman

After two centuries of diplomatic contacts, Egypt was annexed as a province of the Roman people in 30 BC by Octavian (the future *Augustus) after his defeat of Mark *Antony and *Cleopatra VII. Although the Romans adapted many individual elements of the centralized bureaucracy of the Ptolemaic kingdom, and although the emperor could be represented as a pharaoh, the institutions of the Ptolemaic monarchy were dismantled, and the administrative and social structure of Egypt underwent fundamental changes. The governor (prefect) and other major officials were Roman **equites* appointed, like the administrators of other 'imperial' provinces, by the emperor for a few years. Egypt was garrisoned with three, later two, legions and a number of auxiliary units. For private business pre-existing Egyptian and Greek legal forms and traditions were generally respected, but under

the umbrella of the principles and procedures of Roman law. A closed monetary system based on the Alexandrian silver tetradrachm was maintained, but the tetradrachm was made equivalent to the Roman denarius. The Egyptian temples and priesthood were allowed to keep most of their privileges, but in tacit return for the ubiquitous spread of the Roman imperial cult (*see* RULER-CULT). Local administration, previously entrusted to salaried officials and private contractors, was gradually converted to a liturgic system, in which ownership of property brought an obligation to serve. This was enabled by Augustus' revolutionary conversion of the category of 'cleruchic' land, allotments held in theory at royal discretion in return for military service, into fully private property, of which there had been very little in Ptolemaic Egypt. The Romans also increased the status of the towns and their inhabitants. Alexandria enjoyed the greatest privileges, but the *mētropolis* ('mother-city', i.e. chief town) of each regional administrative unit (nome), was under Augustus given some self-administration through liturgic magistrates, then encouraged to erect public buildings and to behave like cities elsewhere, until in AD 200/1 *Septimius Severus granted *boulai* (councils) to Alexandria and all the *mētropoleis*. As part of this urbanization the Romans introduced a strict social hierarchy with ethno-cultural overtones: Roman and Alexandrian citizens were legally marked off, mainly by their exemption from the poll-tax, from the other inhabitants, who were called 'Egyptians'. Within the category of 'Egyptians' the metropolitans (original residents of the *mētropoleis*) enjoyed some privileges, principally a reduced rate of poll-tax, and within them a theoretically hereditary group of 'Hellenic' descent, defined by membership of the *gymnasium, formed the socio-political élite of each *mētropolis*. Large private estates developed in the 2nd cent. and flourished in the 3rd, so that Egypt, like other eastern provinces, was dominated and run by a local 'Greek', urban-based land-owning aristocracy. Despite urbanization, the bulk of the population remained peasants, many of them tenant-farmers of 'public' (previously 'royal') and 'sacred' land for the traditional, variable, but quite high, rents in kind. The imperial government exported some of this tax-wheat to feed Rome, but it was equally if not more interested in the cash revenues of Egypt. Roman tax-rates often followed Ptolemaic precedent, though the annual poll-tax in cash was a striking novelty; the chronic fiscal problems uniquely documented in the papyri were probably typical of much of the ancient world. Whether economic conditions were better or worse than in previous periods is difficult to judge. The single greatest disaster of the Roman period was the Antonine *plague of the mid-160s to 170s, but the country seems to have recovered

fully by the early 3rd cent. Generally Roman Egypt had a vigorous and increasingly monetized economy. The main cultural division was between the 'Hellenic' life of the metropolitans and the village life of the Egyptian-speaking majority, even after the universal grant of Roman citizenship in 212. But most peasants were involved in the money economy, many acquired some literacy in Greek, and the scale of urbanization implies considerable social mobility. The political and fiscal reforms of *Diocletian at the end of the 3rd cent., capping longer-term developments such as the growth of *Christianity—which led to the re-emergence of Egyptian as a literary language (Coptic)—brought about another social, administrative, and cultural revolution which marked the end of 'Roman' Egypt. Egypt remained a province of the Byzantine empire until it came under Arab rule in AD 642. (See RACE; FOOD SUPPLY (Roman))

DWR

Egyptian deities the Graeco-Roman view of Egyptian religion is sharply fissured. Despite Herodotus 2. 50. 1 (comm. A. B. Lloyd, 1975–88), many writers of all periods, and probably most individuals, found in the Egyptians' worship of animals a polemical contrast to their own norms (though cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* 1. 29. 81 f.), just as, conversely, the Egyptians turned animal-worship into a symbol of national identity (cf. Diod. Sic. 1. 86–90). The first Egyptian divinity to be recognized by the Greek world was the oracular Ammon of the Siwa oasis (Hdt. 2. 54–7); but *oracles have a special status. The only form of Late-period Egyptian religion to be assimilated into the Graeco-Roman world was to a degree untypical, centred on anthropomorphic deities—Isis, Sarapis, and Harpocrates—and grounded in Egyptian vernacular enthusiasm quite as much as in temple ritual. The other gods which became known in the Graeco-Roman world, Osiris, Anubis, Apis, Horus, Bubastis, Agathodaemon, Bes, etc., spread solely in their train. Moreover, especially in the Hellenistic period, a nice balance was maintained between acknowledgement of their strangeness (Isis *Taposirias*, *Memphitis*, *Aigyptia*, etc.) and selection of their universal, 'hearkening', 'aiding', 'saving' roles.

From the late 4th cent. BC, these cults were most commonly introduced into the Greek world, primarily to port- and tourist-towns, by (Hellenized) Egyptians, i.e. immigrant metics: cf. *IG* 11. 4. 1299, comm. H. Engelmann (1975²). Sometimes they were introduced by Greeks who had served or lived in Egypt (e.g. *SEG* 38. 1571, 217 BC). There is a growing consensus that they were often indirect beneficiaries of Ptolemaic political suzerainty. Within a generation or two they became sufficiently attractive to Greeks of some social standing to be able to press for recognition as *thiasoi* (groups of worshippers of

a god): it was when they proselytized among the citizen body that they were regulated by city governments and incorporated as civic deities. Full-time Egyptian priests were then obtained for larger temples, and subordinate *synodoi* (associations) formed, e.g. *melanophoroi* (lit. 'the black-clad'), *pastophoroi* ('shrine-carriers'), analogous to a development widespread in Late-period Egypt. In many smaller communities the Greek model of annual priesthoods was adopted (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)). In the west, Isis reached Campania from *Delos in the late 2nd cent. BC. At Rome the situation was initially volatile: the private *Isium Metellinum* (75–50 BC) and an illegal shrine on the Capitol were pulled down in 53 BC (Dio Cass. 40. 47. 3, cf. 42. 26. 2). The first public temple was the *Isium Campense* (43 BC). The cults became attractive to members of the decurial class in the 1st cent. AD, spreading from Italy unevenly into the western empire. Neither slaves nor the poor are anywhere much in evidence.

RLG

ekklesia, democratic assembly at Athens. See DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN, §§2 and 3.

ekphrasis, an extended and detailed literary description of any object, real or imaginary. 'There are *ekphraseis* of faces and objects and places and ages and many other things' (Hermog. *Prog.* 10; cf. Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* 10. 17, Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 20, Athonius, *Progymnasmata* 12). The rhetoricians thus systematized into a rhetorical exercise (*progymnasma*) a poetic technique stretching from the description of the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* to that of Hagia Sophia by Paulus Silentiarius. Most were of works of art. *Ekphraseis* was a work by Callistratus, and *Eikones* was the title of works by Philostratus, *Lucian, and others.

JSR

Elagabalus (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus), emperor (AD 218–22) was the son of Sextus Varius Marcellus and Iulia Soaemias Bassiana, niece of Iulia Domna. Born probably in 203, as Varius Avitus Bassianus, he was holding the priesthood, hereditary in his mother's family, of the presiding deity of Emesa in Syria, in 218, when his mother and grandmother Iulia Maesa used him as figure-head of a rebellion against Macrinus. He was proclaimed to be son of his mother's cousin *Caracalla and renamed Marcus Aurelius Antoninus after him. After the victory, he took the cult of the god by whose name he is known to Rome, which he reached in July 219. In late 220 his intention to make Elagabalus ('deus Sol invictus', 'the invincible sun god') supreme god of the empire aroused open hostility at Rome when he divorced his first wife Iulia Paula and married the Vestal virgin Aquilia Severa, a 'sacred marriage' to match the union of the god with Juno

Caelestis. He was forced to adopt his cousin Alexianus, renamed Alexander (26 June 221), and to divorce Aquilia in favour of a descendant of Marcus *Aurelius, Annia Faustina; but by the end of 221 took Aquilia back and tried to get rid of Alexander. This provoked renewed outrage, which came to a head with his murder on 11 March 222 and replacement by Alexander. His flouting of conventions in the choice of officials, combined with disgust at the orgiastic ceremonial of the Syrian cult had proved too much for senate, praetorians, and *plebs alike. See SEVERUS ALEXANDER. ARBI

elections and voting

Greek

In the Greek states voting was used in councils, assemblies, and lawcourts; appointments were made by election or by allotment or sometimes by a combination of the two. In Athens and elsewhere *psēphisma* (from *psēphos*, 'voting-stone') became the standard word for a decree of the council (*boulē*) or assembly (*ekklēsia*), and *cheirotonia* ('raising hands') was used for elections; but in *Athens voting was normally by show of hands (not precisely counted) in the council and assembly both for decrees and for elections, but by ballot in the lawcourts (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN). Ballots seem first to have been used on occasions when a count was necessary to ensure that a quorum was achieved, but by the end of the 5th cent. BC it had been realized that voting by ballot could be secret voting. In *Sparta voting by acclamation survived to the Classical period for elections and for decrees of the assembly. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods some decrees of some states report numbers of votes cast for and against. PJR

Roman

At Rome adult male citizens had the right to vote to elect the annual magistrates, to make laws, to declare war and peace, and, until the development of the public courts in the late republic, to try citizens on serious charges. But the remarkable feature of the Roman system was that matters were never decided by a simple majority. Votes were always cast in assigned groups, so that a majority of individual votes decided the vote of each group, and a majority of groups decided the vote of the assembly as a whole. The three groupings of the 30 *curiae* (the most ancient divisions), centuries (*centuriae*), and tribes (*tribus) made up the different types of *comitia* (assembly).

In the two important *comitia* the overall procedures for voting were similar. Cicero (*Flac.* 15) noted that Romans considered matters and voted standing up, whereas the Greeks sat down. The vote was preceded by a *contio*, a

public meeting, to present the issues or the candidates involved. The presiding magistrate dissolved this by the command to the citizens to disperse (*discedere*) into the areas roped off for each group. From their enclosures the groups of citizens proceeded, when called, across raised gangways (*pontes*), erected at the site of the assembly. Originally each voter was asked orally for his vote by one of the officials (*rogatores*), who put a mark (*punctum*) against the appropriate name or decision on his official tablet. From 139 to 107 BC a series of four laws introduced the secret ballot. Now the voter was handed a small boxwood tablet covered in wax on which he recorded his vote with a stylus. In most cases a single letter was sufficient: in legislation, V for assent (*uti rogas*) and A for dissent (*antiquo*); in judicial cases L for acquittal (*libero*) and C for condemnation (*condemno*); in elections the voter was expected to write the names for himself (*Cato the Younger is supposed to have rejected many votes clearly written in the same hand, Plut. *Cat. Min.* 46). The completed tablet was then dropped into a tall wickerwork voting-urn (*cista*) under the control of guardians (*custodes*), who forwarded it to the tellers (*diribitores*). The process of casting the vote is illustrated on a coin of Publius Licinius Nerva of the late 2nd cent. BC. In the *comitia centuriata* people voted successively, class by class, and the results were announced as they went along. In the *comitia tributa* successive voting was used in legislative and judicial assemblies, but simultaneous voting probably in elections. This may explain why legislative assemblies regularly took place in a variety of places, some quite restricted, such as the *forum Romanum, Capitol, and Circus Flaminius (see CIRCUS), while the large spaces of the Campus Martius were needed for elections. It was here that Caesar planned a huge building, the Julian Enclosures (Saepta Iulia), to house the electoral process. The project was continued by the triumvir *Lepidus and completed in 26 BC under Augustus by *Agrippa, who was also responsible for beginning a connected building to house the tellers (the Diribitorium).

The lot played a vital role in the electoral process. It was used to pick the tribe (designated as the *principium*) or the century (*centuria praerogativa*) which voted first and provided a lead for the other voters. The lot also determined the order of voting by the tribes or the order in which the votes were announced. This was important, because the first candidates to achieve a simple majority of the groups were declared elected up to the number of posts available, even though they might not have polled the largest number of votes, if all the votes of all the groups had been counted.

The significance for Roman politics of this elaborate and time-consuming voting process has often been

played down by historians. However, the great lengths to which members of the élite went to win votes is testimony to the fact that the voting assemblies represent a truly democratic element in republican Rome. In typical Roman fashion the voting procedures, in a modified form, remained under the Principate, even when the substantive decision-making had passed to the emperor and the senate. JJP

Electra, in mythology: (1) daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, wife of Thaumias, mother of Iris and the Harpyiae (Harpyliae; Hes. *Theog.* 265 ff.).

(2) Daughter of Atlas and Pleione, and one of the Pleiades (Apolloclod. 3. 10. 1); mother by Zeus of Dardanus and Iasion (ibid. 3. 12. 1).

(3) Daughter of *Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, and sister of Orestes. She does not appear in epic, the first certain mention of her being in the *Oresteia* of *Stesichorus (fr. 217 Davies, *PMGF*), although she was said to be Homer's Laodice, renamed because of her long unwedded state (*Il.* 9. 145; cf. Xanthus fr. 700 *PMG* Page). Our major source for her story is Athenian tragedy, where she plays a central role in Orestes' vengeance on Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus for the murder of Agamemnon. Her first appearance is in the *Choephoroe* of *Aeschylus, where she is unalterably hostile to her mother and Aegisthus, welcoming her brother, joining with him in an invocation to Agamemnon's ghost, but not actively involved in the killings. In fact here the focus is still mainly on Orestes, with Electra disappearing from view once the vengeance begins. But her role is very much developed in *Sophocles and *Euripides.

In Sophocles' *Electra*, the main focus of the play is Electra herself, a steadfast, enduring figure, passionately grieving over her father's murder and passionately set on revenge. She rescued Orestes, then a young child, from his father's murderers (12, 296–7, 1132–3), and now longs for his return. The move from despair to joy in the scene where she laments over the urn, believing it to hold the ashes of her dead brother, then learns that the man beside her is in fact the living Orestes himself, gives us perhaps the most moving recognition scene in extant tragedy. She is a strong and determined character who, when she believes Orestes dead, is willing to kill Aegisthus entirely unaided (947 ff., 1019 ff.); then, when it comes to the murder of Clytemnestra, she urges Orestes on, shouting out to him at the first death-cry of her mother, 'Strike, if you have the strength, a second blow' (1415).

In Euripides' *Electra* she is even more active in the murder: Orestes is weak and indecisive, and it is Electra who is the dominant figure, driving him to kill Clytemnestra and even grasping the sword with him at the

moment of murder (1225), although afterwards she is full of remorse as before she was full of lust for revenge. In Euripides' *Orestes* she appears as a desperately faithful nurse and helper to her mad brother, abetting him and his comrade Pylades in their attacks on Helen and Hermione. In some accounts she later marries Pylades (Eur. *El.* 1249; *Or.* 1658 f.; *Hyg. Fab.* 122, where she also meets Orestes and Iphigenia at Delphi and, failing to recognize them, nearly murders Iphigenia, who she thinks has killed Orestes).

There is no certain representation of Electra in art before the beginning of the 5th cent. BC, where she is present at the murder of Aegisthus; later her meeting with Orestes at the tomb of Agamemnon became popular: see I. McPhee, *LIMC* 3/1. 709–19; Gantz, *EGM* 676–85. HJR/JRM

elegiac poetry, Greek This may be initially defined as poetry in elegiac couplets (hexameter followed by a pentameter), one of the most popular metres throughout antiquity. The term *elegeion*, normally meaning 'elegiac couplet', is derived from *elegos*, a sung lament that must have been characteristically in this metre, but the metre was always used for many other purposes. We also find the feminine *elegeia*, 'elegy', i.e. a poem or poetry in elegiacs.

A stricter definition distinguishes between elegiac poetry (elegy) and epigram (which was often but not necessarily in elegiac metre). Elegy, in the early period, was composed for oral delivery in a social setting, as a communication from the poet to others; an epigram was information written on an object (a tombstone, a dedication, etc.). The distinction was not always so clear after the 4th cent. BC, when the epigram came to be cultivated as a literary genre, but on the whole it can be sustained. As Greek *epigram has its own entry in this volume, we shall concentrate here on elegy.

All archaic elegy is in (epic-)Ionic dialect (see GREEK LANGUAGE, § 4), whatever the author's provenance, and the form must have evolved among Ionians side by side with hexameter poetry. It is already established on both sides of the Aegean by c.650 BC when the first recorded elegists appear: *Archilochus, Callinus, and Tyrtaeus. From then till the end of the 5th cent. BC elegy was a popular medium; some poets used no other. Extant poems vary in length between two lines and 76 (*Solon fr. 13 West); Solon's *Salamis* was of 100 (Plut. *Sol.* 8. 2), while such poems as Mimnermus' *Smyrneis* and *Simonides' *Battle of Plataea* may have been longer still.

Many pieces presuppose the *symposium as the setting in which they were designed to be heard (e.g. Thgn. 467, 503, 825, 837, 1047, 1129; Xenophanes 1; Simon. eleg. 25 W;

Dionysius Chalcus 1–5; Ion 26–7). Theognis (239–43) anticipates that (his elegies addressed to) Cyrnus will often be sung by young men at banquets in a fine, clear voice to the accompaniment of *auloi* (flutes, oboes). There are other mentions of an aulete accompanying the singing of elegy in the symposium (Thgn. 533, 825, 941, 943, 1056), and an early 5th-cent. vase-painting (Munich 2646) shows a reclining symposiast with words of an elegiac verse issuing from his mouth while an aulete plays. Presumably there were conventional melodies that the aulete could repeat or vary for as long as required, without his having to know what verses were to be sung, as he would need to in the case of lyric. Certain elegists (Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus) are said to have been auletes themselves. Other settings are occasionally suggested: carousal through the streets after the party (Thgn. 1045, cf. 1065, 1207, 1351); a military encampment (Archil. 4; Thgn. 887, 1043); a public square in the evening (? Thgn. 263). Elegiac laments may sometimes have been sung at funerals, and these or other elegiac compositions at certain festivals where prizes were awarded for aulody, i.e. singing to *aulos* accompaniment, as happened at the Pythian festival (held at *Delphi) in 586 BC (Paus. 10. 7. 4–6) and at the Panathenaea from about 566.

A common use of elegy in the 7th cent. was in exhorting the poet's fellow citizens to fight bravely for their country (Callinus 1, Tyrnt. 10–1, 18–23a W, as well as Mimnermus 14 W, Solon 1–3 W); Callinus' opening 'How long will you lie there?' may imply the symposium setting. In other poems of Tyrtaeus and Solon the exhortation is political, presumably not delivered before a mob but to a social gathering from which participants might pass the message on to other gatherings. Solon, at least, also wrote elegies of a more personal, convivial character. Mimnermus was famous for elegies celebrating the pleasures of love and youth. He also used the versatile elegiac for his *Smyrneis*, a quasi-epic (for the symposium?), complete with invocation of the Muses, on the Smyrnaeans' heroic repulse of the Lydians around the time of the poet's birth.

The largest surviving body of archaic elegy is the collection of poems and excerpts, some 1,400 lines in all, transmitted under the name of Theognis. He is actually only one among many poets represented, ranging in date from the 7th to the early 5th cent. BC. Here we find a wide cross-section: political and moralizing verse, social comment, personal complaint, convivial pieces, witty banter, love poems to nameless boys. Other items are reflective or philosophic, and develop an argument on some ethical or practical question. This dialectic element was a feature of elegy from the start, but became more prominent later, for example in Xenophanes and Euenus.

With the publication of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 3965, Simonides now appears as the major 5th-cent. elegist. He used the medium to celebrate the great battles of 480/79 BC; his grandiose poem on Plataea (eleg. 10–17 W) recalls Mimnermus' *Smyrneis*. His more personal poetry is now also represented by some fine fragments. Lesser 5th-cent. elegists include Euenus, Dionysius Chalcus, Ion of Chios, and Critias. They are all symposium-oriented, and this is still the situation in what looks like an early 4th-cent. piece, Adesp. eleg. 27 W. But the symposium was fast losing its songfulness, and elegy in the classical style was drying up. Isolated poems are quoted from Philiscus of Miletus and *Aristotle, containing posthumous tributes to *Lysias and *Plato respectively. Meanwhile, Antimachus' use of elegiac metre for a long mythological poem, his *Lyde*, set a new pattern. (The existence of long antiquarian elegiac poems by Semonides, Xenophanes, and Panyassis is doubtful.) Antimachus and (nominally) Mimnermus were the two principal models for Hellenistic elegists such as Philitas, Hermesianax, Phanocles, Alexander Aetolus, *Callimachus (*Aetia*), *Eratosthenes (*Erigone*), Parthenius, who combined romantic subject-matter with mythological learning, sometimes on a large scale. But the metre was now taken up again by many poets for diverse purposes; witness its use for a hymn (Callim. *Hymn* 5), a bucolic singing-contest (Theoc. *Id.* 8. 33 ff.), medicinal didactic (Nic. frs. 31–2 Gow–Scholfield, Eudemus in *Suppl. Hell.* 412A). This last application continued into the 1st cent. AD (Aglaïas, Philon of Tarsus, Andromachus). Otherwise the elegiac metre rather fell out of favour under the empire except for epigrams. Gregory of Nazianzus made some use of it, and it appears in a 4th-cent. encomium of a Beirut professor (*Pberol.* 10558).

MLW

elegiac poetry, Latin *Ennius introduced the elegiac couplet into Latin (Isid. 1. 39. 15); four epigrams, epitaphic in form, survive under his name (*var.* 15–24 Vahlen; 43–6 Courtney). Lucilius (bks. 22–5) used the metre for epitaphs and other short poems descriptive of slaves. An anecdote in Aulus *Gellius (19. 9) offers an early glimpse of elegiac epigram on erotic themes, Hellenistic in flavour (Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus, and Quintus Lutatius Catulus, c.150–100 BC); a Pompeian wall bears witness to the popular diffusion of such work in the second quarter of the 1st century BC (D. O. Ross Jr., *Style and Tradition in Catullus* (1969), 147–9). The careers of *Catullus and *Ovid bound the elegiac genre's most concentrated and distinctive period of Roman development. In particular, by early Augustan times elegy emerges as the medium for cycles of first-person ('subjective') poems describing the tribulations, mostly erotic,

of a male poet who figuratively enslaves himself to a single (pseudonymous) mistress, distances himself from the duties associated with public life, and varies his urban *mise en scène* with escapist appeals to other worlds, mythological (*Propertius, Ovid) or rural (*Tibullus). 'Love-elegy', though the term is widely used by modern critics, was not for the Romans a formal poetic category. However a canonical sequence of Cornelius Gallus (as originator), Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid is explicitly offered by Ovid (*Tr.* 4. 10. 53–4; cf. *Ars am.* 3. 536–8); and Quintilian's later adoption of this same canon to represent Latin elegy at large arguably reflects the central role of Augustan 'love-elegy' in defining the genre. Among elegiac works by other hands in the *Corpus Tibullianum* especially noteworthy is the group associated with the female poet Sulpicia.

The question of Greek precedent for the format of Latin 'love-elegy' has long been disputed. Propertius repeatedly pairs *Callimachus and Philitas as literary models. The latter is among a number of late Classical and Hellenistic elegists who wrote extended poems in which (this is controversial) mythological narratives may have been framed or unified by 'subjective' discussion of the poet's own beloved (cf. esp. Antimachus, test. 7 Wyss, *POxy.* 3723); Catullus 68 has been adduced as a possible link to such a tradition. This search for origins remains inconclusive, and is further hampered by a lack of reliable knowledge concerning Gallus; the new fragment published in 1979 only adds to the uncertainty concerning the format and development of Gallan elegy. More accessible are continuities in Augustan 'love-elegy' with the erotic conceits of short Hellenistic epigram, and with the situations and characters of New Comedy. Most immediately important is the influence of Catullus' portrait of Lesbia as developed piecemeal in the elegiac epigrams, in 68, and in the polymetrics.

Even in the heyday of 'love-elegy', the associations of the genre were never exclusively amatory. *versibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum, | post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos*, 'Verses unequally joined framed lamentation first, then votive epigram': Horace's interest (*Ars P.* 75–6) in defining the genre in terms of its traditional origins finds some reflection in the practice of his own elegiac contemporaries (cf. Ovid's poem of mourning for Tibullus at *Am.* 3. 9. 3–4). With its stress upon separation and loss, and its morbid flights of fancy (especially in Propertius), Roman elegiac love may be implicated from the outset in funereal lament. The association with votive epigram is no less available for reclamation: allusions to fictional inscriptional contexts, funereal or otherwise dedicatory, abound in literary elegy. To some extent, as in Greek, the elegiac couplet is an all-purpose metre, save

that its sphere of operation can often be defined negatively as 'not epic'. The paired contrasts between public and private, martial and peaceful, hard and soft, weighty and slight which dominate the aesthetic and moral vocabulary of late republican and early imperial poetry are associated above all with an opposition between *epic and elegy, deriving ultimately from Callimachus' *Aetia* prologue. Epic is constantly immanent within elegy as the term against which it defines itself—even in those long narrative elegies which come near to closing the gap between the two genres. Ovid's career as an elegist, from 'subjective' *Amores* to epistolary *Heroides*, didactic *Ars Amatoria*, aetiological *Fasti*, funereal *Tristia*, and vituperative *Ibis*, is the pre-eminent demonstration of the ability of a classical Roman genre to expand its range without losing its identity.

After Ovid the metre was used chiefly for epigrams and short occasional poems (many examples in *Anthologia Latina*). The use of elegy for epigram reached a peak in the work of *Martial, whose couplets can excel Ovid's in wit and technical virtuosity. The elegiac couplet is favoured by many late antique poets, including Ausonius and Claudian, but generally with no strong sense of linkage between metre and subject-matter.

Metre

The elegiac hexameter differs little from the heroic. The special effects appropriate to epic were not often required in elegiac writing, and the general character of the line is smooth and fluent. Of five pentameters by Ennius which survive four end in disyllables, and it may be that this rhythm was the most satisfactory to the Roman ear: certainly, though the epigrammatists mentioned above, para. 1, and Catullus freely admitted words of from three to five syllables to the end of the line, following Greek practice, the disyllabic ending became the rule in Propertius' later poems and in Ovid (however, in *Her.* 16–21, the *Fasti*, and the poems of exile he reverts occasionally to the looser usage). After Catullus elision became both rarer and, when used, less harsh. These developments were undoubtedly dictated by artistic preferences, but Catullus' 'un-Augustan' usages must not be interpreted as evidence of technical incapacity: the occasionally harsh rhythms of e.g. poem 76 are part of the designed effect of the poem (cf. E. Harrison, *CR* 1943, 97 ff.; Ross, 115 ff.). From the very beginning the Latin couplet, unlike the Greek, tended to be self-contained: genuine enjambment between couplets is extremely rare. For modern Latin verse-writing, from the Renaissance onwards, the strict Ovidian form of the couplet has generally been the preferred model. It is above all ideally suited to pointed

expression, conveyed through variation and antithesis: half-line responding to half-line, pentameter to hexameter, couplet to couplet. EJK/SEH

elephants Although *ivory was known to the prehistoric Greeks and is mentioned in *Homer, they first encountered war-elephants at Gaugamela in 331 BC. The ivory probably came originally from Africa, but the first war-elephants were Indian (*Elephas maximus*). Although not used by *Alexander the Great, war-elephants were used by his successors, particularly the *Seleucids and Ptolemies.

When the Seleucids gained control of the Indian sources, the Ptolemies managed to capture and train African 'forest' elephants (*Loxodonta africana cyclotis*), then found in the hinterland of the Red Sea. Smaller than Indian elephants, they are not to be confused with East African 'bush' elephants (*Loxodonta africana*), the latter being larger than the Indian and unknown to the ancients. The 'forest' elephant is now almost extinct, but until comparatively recently was still found in the Gambia. The main difference between the two types was that the Indian was large enough to carry a howdah containing one or more missile-armed soldiers in addition to the mahout, whereas the African carried a single mahout, and although he could carry javelins, the elephant itself was the main weapon. When the two types met at the battle of Raphia (217 BC), the Africans were defeated, but they were heavily outnumbered.

The Romans first encountered elephants when *Pyrrhus used Indians in his invasion of Italy, hence the term 'Lucanian cows'. Both at Heraclea in 280 BC and at A(u)sculum Satrianum in 279, they had considerable success, in the first routing the Roman cavalry—untrained horses will not face elephants—in the second actually breaching the Roman infantry line after it had been driven back by Pyrrhus' phalanx.

By this time the Carthaginians were also using African elephants, drawn from the forests of the Atlas region. They fought against the Romans in the First Punic War (see ROME (HISTORY), §1.4), in Sicily and in the defeat of Marcus Atilius Regulus in Africa. Their appearance is clearly shown on Carthaginian coins minted in Spain. *Hannibal, famously, took elephants across the Alps in 218 BC. They helped win his first victory at the Trebia, but all save one died during the winter of 218/17. This carried Hannibal through the marshes of the Arno in 217, and may be the one called 'Surus', mentioned by *Cato the Elder (in Plin. *HN* 8. 5. 11). But although Hannibal received more in 215, and used them in an attempt to break the siege of Capua in 211, it was only at the battle of Zama that he used them again in quantity, and there *Scipio

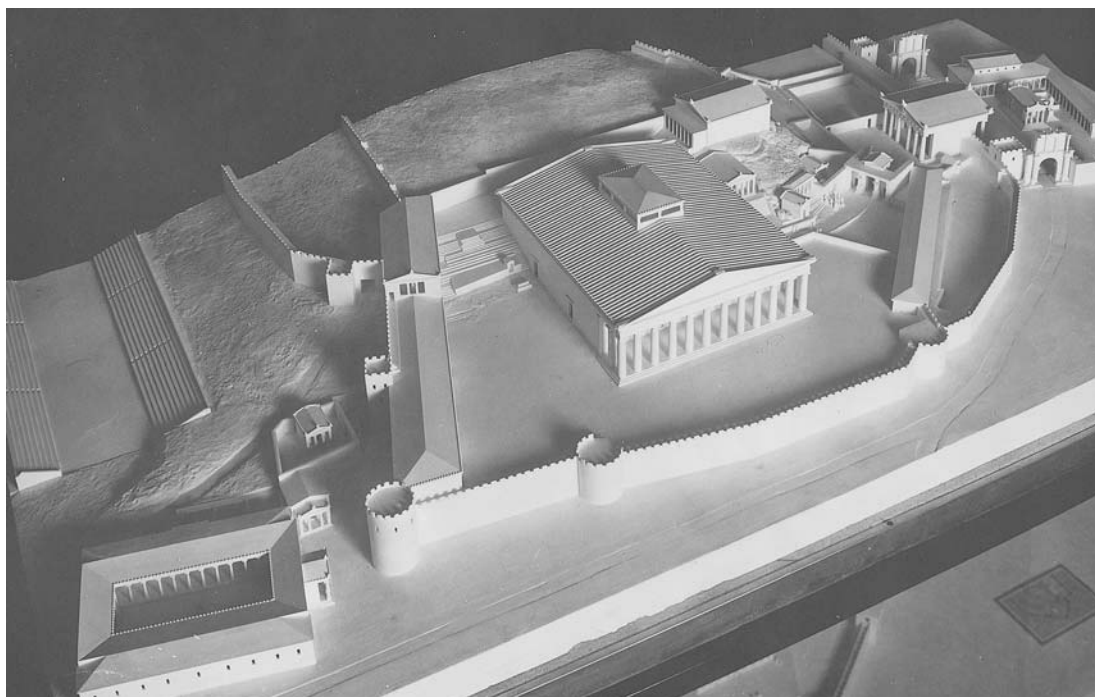
Africanus nullified their effectiveness by opening lanes through his ranks.

The Seleucids continued until their downfall to make use of elephants, but although the Romans also sometimes used them in war (e.g. at Cynoscephalae, Numantia, and Thapsus), they were mainly kept for the arena or ceremonial. During the empire there was an imperial herd in Latium. It is strange that they were never used as pack-animals or for road-building, as they were by the British army as late as the Second World War. JFLA

Eleusis (see ◀Map 1, Cc▶), the most famous deme (local district: see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN) in Athens after Piraeus, on a land-locked bay with a rich plain, was a strong prehistoric settlement but merged with Athens sometime before the 7th cent. BC. Its hill (called Akris) and sanctuary were enclosed by fortification walls in the late 6th cent. and it became one of the three main fortresses for the defence of W Attica (with Panakton and Phyle). There was an important theatre of *Dionysus there, and the sanctuary of *Demeter and Kore (see PERSEPHONE) was the site of many festivals of local or national importance (Eleusinia, Thesmophoria, Proerosia, Haloa, Kalamaia), but the fame of Eleusis was due primarily to the annual festival of the *Mysteries, which attracted initiates from the entire Greek-speaking world. Within the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses the earliest building that may be identified as a temple is geometric. Its replacement by increasingly larger buildings (two in the Archaic period, two attempted but not completed in the 5th cent.), culminating in the square hall with rock-cut stands built under *Pericles, the largest public building of its time in Greece, bears eloquent witness to the ever increasing popularity of the cult. The unusual shape of this temple reflected its function as hall of initiation (usually called Anaktoron, sometimes Telesterion). Destroyed by the Costoboc in AD 170, it was rebuilt under Marcus *Aurelius, who also brought to completion the splendid propylaea, a copy of the Propylaea on the Athenian Acropolis. In this he followed the initiative of *Hadrian, who was primarily responsible for the physical renewal of the sanctuary in the 2nd cent. The sanctuary evidently ceased to exist after AD 395. KC

emotions (see page 273)

encomium/enkōmion The word *enkōmion* is probably derived from *kōmos*, 'revel', though some ancient writers preferred to connect it with *kōmē*, 'village': there was a similar dispute about the origin of *kōmōidia*. It denotes praise or congratulation. Some poems of *Simonides, *Pindar, and *Bacchylides were classified as *enkōmia* by Alexandrian scholars (see LYRIC POETRY).



Eleusis Model showing the sanctuary of Eleusis following rebuilding in the later 2nd cent. AD. The hall of initiation dominates the complex. The monumental propylaea (gateway) to the right, rebuilt by Marcus *Aurelius, reflects the intense Roman interest in the cult. Eleusis Museum / TAP Service, Athens

Prose *enkōmia* begin to appear in the 5th cent. They are not always a serious substitute for poetry, but more *jeux d'esprit*. *Gorgias describes his *Helen* as his *paignion* (*jeu d'esprit*), and the sophist Polycrates is credited with paradoxical pieces on salt and mice. This tradition persisted; good later examples are *Lucian's *Fly* and Synesius' *Baldness*. A well-defined rhetorical structure developed early, exemplified by the praises of Eros in *Plato's *Symposium* (esp. Agathon's speech), *Isocrates' obituary of Evagoras, and *Xenophon's *Agesilaus*. Family and birth come first, then achievements and virtues, some or all of the four cardinal virtues forming the usual framework. This pattern proved adaptable to, for example, the praise of cities; it also influenced the development of biography (see BIOGRAPHY, GREEK; BIOGRAPHY, ROMAN). Theory too began in the 4th cent. The *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* emphasizes the need to exaggerate good points and play down bad, while *Aristotle speculates on the nature of praise and the praiseworthy (goods of the soul, rather than those of the body, or external goods), and appears to regard *enkōmia* as a response to actions and *epainos* ('praise') to character (*Eth. Nic. Eth. End.* 1101b, *Eudemean Ethics* 1219b). For later theory, see EPIDEICTIC. Verse

encomia continued to be produced, from *Theocritus 16 (*To Ptolemy*), down to Claudian's poems on Honorius and Stilicho. Prose versions however were more common, a ubiquitous feature of public life throughout Roman and Byzantine times. In the rhetorical schools, encomium, though viable as a complete speech, was commonly included in the course of progymnasmata, where instruction was given on how to praise men, cities, institutions, animals, and various natural phenomena. Libanius' set of models, for example, comprises *Diomedes*, *Odysseus*, *Achilles*, *Thersites* (a favourite paradoxical subject), and *Demosthenes*, but also *Justice*, *Farming*, *An Ox*, and *Palm-Tree and Apple-Tree*. The opposite of encomium is *psogos*, 'blame', which uses the same rhetorical structure, but says bad things instead of good about each stage of its victim's life.

DAR

Ennius, Quintus (239–169 BC), epic and dramatic poet. He was an immigrant of upper-class Messapian origin, brought to Rome in 204 by *Cato the Elder (consul 195) and given Roman *citizenship in 184 by Quintus Fulvius Nobilior (consul 153). Cato found him serving in a Calabrian regiment of the Roman army in Sardinia. At Rome

[continued on p. 274]

EMOTIONS

emotions Although generated by neurobiological processes, emotions (*pathē, affectus*) also consist in a process of appraisal and individual judgement, which depends on social and cultural norms and individual proclivities. As they heavily influence social relations and the behaviour of individuals and groups, emotions are socially relevant and, consequently, subject to scrutiny, judgement, and normative intervention. They fulfil social functions and follow social rules. Hence, they are potentially subject to change and are shaped by the society in which they operate. Although it can be argued that emotions are a universal phenomenon, they do have a history and are a very important subject of historical research. This applies both to emotions closely connected with socio-cultural norms (e.g. friendship, pity, honour, shame, pride) and to 'basic emotions' (e.g. fear, hope, joy, grief, disgust, despair, love, lust, envy).

In Classics, the study of emotions is a multidisciplinary task that profits from the findings of the neurosciences, exploits the evidence in a large variety of sources, and takes into consideration diverse parameters (aesthetic, social, and cultural). Classicists and ancient historians can study filtered representations of and reflections on emotions as well as the parameters which explain why a feeling is represented in a particular manner in ancient texts and images. A variety of factors influence the manifestation of emotions: the display of emotions as a persuasion strategy (e.g. in oratory, petitions, prayers); dramatizations and aesthetics; the influence of norms, especially of norms that aimed at restraining emotional display; gender roles; the character of the audience; linguistic usage. Although Greek and Latin terms designating emotions usually correspond to modern categories, the overlap varies, and there are nuances which can be understood only if the cultural context and the language of emotion is taken into consideration.

Much emphasis has been placed on the representation of emotions in literature (*tragedy, *lyric poetry, *historiography) and on the perception of emotions in moral philosophy. Systematic studies have been devoted to the representation and perception of emotions in Greek literature, philosophy, and medicine, and to individual emotions, such as anger, greed and generosity, courage, friendship, honour and shame, pity, envy and jealousy, love and desire. As regards the representation of emotions in art, special emphasis has been placed on gestures and body language as reflections of emotions.

Most (if not all) textual and pictorial sources at our disposal are directly or indirectly generated by emotions, display emotions or aim to arouse emotions. Admittedly, the emotional background is more evident and significant in some sources than in others (e.g. in tragedy, oratory, the *novel, and historiography more than in laws or in cooking recipes); the realistic expectation to understand the emotional background is higher in some sources (e.g. private letters, letters of consolation, petitions, funerary reliefs, *curses) than in others (deeds of sale or loomweights). But even as technical a work as *Aeneas Tacticus' treatise *How to Endure a Siege* often clarifies which emotions can be helpful (loyalty, zeal), and which should be taken into consideration (mistrust) and explains the means by which certain emotions can be provoked and others avoided. Exactly because emotions have shaped the Greek and Roman source material, their study is of great significance for the understanding of history, literature, art, and culture.

Emotions are important both as subject and as background of textual sources. The early epic is dominated by emotions: the wrath of *Achilles, *Odysseus' wish for return, the revenge of *Poseidon, Penelope's affectionate faith towards her husband, the suitors' ambitions and greed, the sailors' fear of the unknown, a dog's love. Lyric poetry in Archaic Greece (e.g. *Archilochus and *Sappho) and love poetry in Rome (e.g. *Catullus, *Propertius, *Ovid) purport to be describing the poet's emotions. Emotions are the background of drama and are addressed by *Aristotle in his definition of tragedy (*eleos* and *phobos*). *Thucydides, the most influential among Greek historians, regarded emotions such as greed, anger, envy, and honour as motors of historical processes; *Tacitus claimed to have banned emotions influencing his historical narrative (*Ann.* 1.1.3: *sine ira et studio*). *Pothos* ('desire', 'longing') was often used by our sources in connection with decisions of *Alexander the Great which seemed hard to explain or even irrational. The manipulation of audiences' emotions was the subject of law-court performances in Classical Athens, *epideictic orations in the Roman Empire, and rhetorical handbooks. Moral philosophers, with *Aristotle as their most influential representative, and physicians reflected on the nature of emotions. Emotional display can also be observed in private letters (e.g. *Cicero) and novels.

Although emotions have primarily been studied in connection with literary sources and with the history of literature and philosophy, documentary sources (inscriptions and papyri) also display, express, arouse, and at times aim to

control emotions. These sources clearly reveal the importance of emotions in the study of political history, law, religion, culture, and society beyond the world of literary fiction and philosophical theorizing. The documentary sources exceed the thematic range and the geographical, chronological, and sociological background of literary sources. Inscriptions (e.g. epitaphs, acclamations, decrees, honorary inscriptions, oracular enquiries, confession inscriptions, dedications, curses, graffiti) and papyri (e.g. letters, petitions, testaments, contracts, letters of consolation) have been found beyond the major urban centres; they were sometimes composed by individuals who belong to low social strata and come from bilingual or multicultural backgrounds; *women are more strongly represented in the documentary than in the literary sources. See BILINGUALISM.

Emotions, both in their pre-verbal manifestations and in the way they have been expressed in text and image, have been shaped to a great extent by specific features of Greek and Roman society and culture. For instance, responses to death depend on such diverse factors as eschatological beliefs, philosophical ideas about life and the human condition, rituals, normative restrictions on mourning and the display of grief, concepts of self-sacrifice, and military training. See DEATH, ATTITUDES TO. Consequently, they may range from grief and hope for life after death to pride in self-sacrifice and relief at the escape from the pains of life. Love and sexual desire were strongly influenced by social conditions and cultural norms (e.g., the social position of women, marriage practices and family law, education) and consequently they were subject to changes that are sometimes reflected by changes in the meaning of words (e.g. in Greek, *phileō*, *eraō*, *stergō*, *agapaō*).

As historical factors emotions are important *inter alia* for the justification of political decisions; the transformation of social norms; the understanding of groups as 'emotional communities'; the interaction between groups, particularly in multicultural environments; the interaction between different genders, *age classes, and social groups; *education; the understanding of ethnic stereotyping; and the construction of divine power. Ach

Ennius had friendly relations with the Cornelii, the Sulpicii, and the Caecilii, and the Fulvii; Marcus Fulvius Nobilior took him on his staff to Aetolia in 189. Ennius is said to have lived in a modest house on the Aventine and to have been a teacher of Greek and Latin. He composed plays for the public festivals down to the year of his death, a major narrative epic, a large amount of non-dramatic verse and at least one work in prose.

At least two of the surviving titles of his works (*Caupunculus*, *Pancratiastes*) are redolent of (Greek) New Comedy (see COMEDY (GREEK), NEW). To some of the twenty recorded tragic titles (*Achilles*, *Ajax*, *Alcmeo*, *Alexander*, *Andromacha*, *Andromeda*, *Athamas*, *Cresphontes*, *Erechtheus*, *Eumenides*, *Hectoris Lytra*, *Hecuba*, *Iphigenia*, *Medea*, *Melanippa*, *Nemea*, *Phoenix*, *Telamo*, *Telephus*, *Thyestes*) are attached fragments sufficiently extensive to indicate that Ennius had a particular liking for *Euripides as a model (see TRAGEDY, GREEK) and that he adapted his tragedies in the free manner Latin poets had been using for half a century. Compared with Euripides, he seems to us to have written rather grandly. To Cicero's contemporaries, comparing him with his successors Pacuvius and Accius, he seems to have made his personages use the everyday language (Cic. *Orat.* 36). Ennius also produced *fabulae praetextae*: he wrote a serious play on an incident of early Roman history (*Sabinae*) and another on Nobilior's deeds in Aetolia (*Ambracia*). The character of the *Scipio* is disputed.

A narrative poem (originally in fifteen units) on the history of the Roman people from the fall of Troy to the seizure of Ambracia and the triumphal return of the elder Nobilior gave the Romans their first true national epic. Its title, (*libri*) *Annales*, appropriated that of the records which the *pontifices* (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)) kept in notoriously simple prose of religiously significant events. Instead of the ancient *Camenae*, Ennius invoked the *Musae* (*Muses), newly imported and given a home by Nobilior in a new temple on the Campus Martius. Ennius represented himself as a reincarnation of Homer and replaced the Saturnian verse (used by Livius Andronicus and *Naevius) with a Latin version of the dactylic hexameter (to become the canonical metre of Roman epic). The archaic vocabulary of his predecessors was pruned but some items survived, and many novelties appropriate to dactylic metrical patterns of a Greek origin were introduced. Books 1–3 took Ennius' story down to the expulsion of the last king and the foundation of the republic; 4–6 dealt with the reduction of Etruria and Samnium and the seeing off of the Epirote king *Pyrrhus; 7–9 with the driving of the Carthaginians back to North Africa and the incorporation within the Roman state of the old Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily; 10–12 with the campaigns of the first decade of the 2nd cent. on the Greek mainland and in Spain; 12–15 with the defeats inflicted on Philip V of Macedon, *Antiochus III, and the Aetolian Confederacy. Ennius later added a further three books to

the *Annales*; these featured the deeds of junior officers in the wars of the 180s and 170s against the Istrians, Ligurians, and other minor tribes. The poem emphasized the constant expansion of the Roman empire and the eclipse suffered by the Greek states that had sacked Troy and by their descendants. The gods of Olympus were made to support and assist the expansion. There was little about the internal politics of the city of Rome. A number of Ennius' themes were foreign to the old Greek epic tradition, e.g. autobiography, literary polemic, grammatical erudition, and philosophical speculation.

Whereas it had been the custom to write epitaphs for leading men in Saturnian verses and even in senarii, Ennius composed pieces on *Scipio Africanus (d. 184) and on himself in a Latin version of the elegiac couplet. The notion that Scipio's soul may have been assumed into heaven went against conventional Roman doctrine on the after-life, as did the deification of Romulus narrated in the first or second book of the *Annales*. Ennius was influenced by a number of Greek philosophical doctrines and contributed to promoting those in Rome.

The *Epicharmus* offered, in trochaic septenarii of the theatrical type, an account of the gods and the physical operations of the universe. The poet dreamed he had been transported after death to some place of heavenly enlightenment.

The *Euhemerus* presented a theological doctrine of a very different type in a prose modelled on the Greek accounts of the early Hellenistic writer Euhemerus of Messene and earlier theological writers. According to this doctrine the gods of Olympus were not supernatural powers actively intervening in the affairs of men, but rather great generals, statesmen, and inventors of olden times commemorated after death in extraordinary ways.

The *Hedyphagetica* must have seemed to move from yet another philosophical position. It took much of its substance from the gastronomical poem of Arcestratus of Gela, a work commonly associated with Epicureanism. The eleven extant hexameters with a catalogue of fishes have prosodical features not found in the more serious *Annales*.

The *Sota* employed a metrical form associated with Sotades and probably presented similar themes to his in a similar tone.

The remains of six books of *Saturae* show a considerable variety of metres. There are signs that Ennius sometimes varied the metre within a single composition. A frequent theme was the social life of Ennius himself and his upper-class Roman friends and their intellectual conversation. Some scholars have detected an influence of *Callimachus's *Iambi*. The character of the *Protrepiticus* and/or *Praecepta* is obscure.

Ennius stands out among Latin writers for the variety of the works he produced. Some of his tragedies were still performed in the theatre during the late republic. The *Annales* was carefully studied by *Cicero, *Lucretius, *Cattullus, *Virgil, *Ovid, and *Lucan. Its text was still available in the Flavian period, but copies had become rare by the 5th cent. Commentators on Virgil's *Aeneid* liked to point out borrowings from the older poem. Nonius Marcellus is the only late writer who can be shown to have read any of the tragedies. Apuleius was able to find in a library a copy of the *Hedyphagetica* and Lactantius one of the *Euhemerus*. See TRAGEDY, LATIN; EPIC. HDJ/GM

Epaminondas (d. 362 BC), Theban general, famous for his victories at the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea. Of his early career little is known. He is said to have been a pupil of Lysis of Tarentum, and to have saved the life of Pelopidas at Mantinea, presumably during the Spartan siege in 385, but played a minor role in the liberation of Thebes in 379, and in the subsequent rebuilding of the Boeotian Confederacy. However, by 371 he was one of the boeotarchs (Boeotian federal officials), and, as such, represented Thebes at the peace conference in Sparta, walking out when the Spartan king Agesilaus refused to allow him to take the oath on behalf of the Boeotians as a whole.

Although all seven boeotarchs were at Leuctra, Epaminondas was clearly regarded as the architect of victory, and was re-elected for 370. Late in the year he went to the aid of the Arcadians, and was largely responsible for the crucial decision to press on with the invasion of the Spartan homeland—the first in historical times—and, above all, to free Messenia. In the summer of 369 he led a second invasion of the Peloponnese, which succeeded in further eroding Spartan influence, without quite matching previous triumphs. But his successes and, possibly, high-handed behaviour, aroused jealousy, and he was not re-elected boeotarch for 368, though legend has it that while serving as an ordinary hoplite (heavy infantryman) he was called upon to rescue the Boeotian army when it got into difficulties in *Thessaly. Re-elected for 367, his third invasion of the Peloponnese finally put an end to Sparta's 300-year-old Peloponnesian League. The removal of the fear of Sparta, however, aroused old antagonisms, and by 362 Thebes found herself fighting many of her erstwhile allies in alliance with Sparta. At the battle of Mantinea, Epaminondas was killed in the moment of victory.

Though an innovative tactician, Epaminondas' strategic and political sense may be questioned. His attempt to challenge Athenian supremacy at sea in 364 had little lasting effect, and some of his dealings in the

Peloponneses were questionable. But his traditional nobility of character presumably reflects how he appeared to contemporaries, and he possibly lacked the ruthlessness necessary to impose Thebes' will on her quarrelsome allies, once they ceased to fear Sparta. He may honestly have wanted to create an alliance of independent states in which Thebes would be no more than first among equals. JFLA

Ephesus (see ◀ Map 1, Ec ▶), city at the mouth of the river Caÿster on the west coast of *Asia Minor, which rivalled and finally displaced Miletus, and owing to the silting up of both harbours since antiquity has itself been displaced by Izmir (Smyrna) as the seaport of the Maeander valley. Ephesus was founded by Ionian colonists led by Androclus son of Codrus. It had little maritime activity before Hellenistic times, was oligarchic in temper, and open to indigenous influences. The city maintained itself against the Cimmerians and also Lydia until its capture by Croesus, who contributed to the construction of the great temple of Artemis. Under *Persia it shared the fortunes of the other coastal cities; it was a member of the *Delian League, but revolted c.412 BC and sided with Sparta. The Archaic Artemesium, burnt down in 356 BC, was rebuilt in the 4th cent. BC, the Ephesians refusing *Alexander the Great's offer to fund the cost (Strabo 14. 1. 22). The city was replanned by *Lysimachus, considered one of their city-founders by later Ephesians, and passed with the kingdom of Attalus III of *Pergamum to Rome in 133 BC. An enthusiastic supporter of *Mithradates VI (88–85 BC), it was deprived by Sulla of its free status. Under the Principate it eclipsed Pergamum as the economic and administrative hub of provincial *Asia. Seat of Roman officialdom and one of the province's original *conventus* (assize) centres, it was also its chief centre for the (Roman) *ruler-cult and thrice *neōkoros* (having a temple to the Roman emperor) by the early 3rd cent. AD. Acts of the Apostles ch. 19 gives a vivid picture of the Artemesium's religious and economic importance for the Roman city. As seen today Ephesus is the product of the prosperous centuries of late antiquity, when it was the seat of the governor of *Diocletian's reduced province of Asia and a metropolitan archbishopric. Among urban developments was the creation of the Arcadiane, a major colonnaded thoroughfare with street lighting, dominated by statues of the four evangelists. Several important Christian shrines include the tomb of St John, where Justinian built a major basilica, round which the Byzantine town grew after Arab attacks in the 7th cent. Ephesus again became an administrative centre in the 8th cent., and remained important until captured by the Turks in 1304. WMC/JMC/CR/AJSS

Ephorus, of Cyme (c.405–330 BC), a historian whose now lost work is of great importance because *Diodorus Siculus followed it extensively. In antiquity, he was thought to have been a student of *Isocrates; there are in fact clear echoes of Isocratean sentiments in the Ephoran parts of Diodorus, and some of the character assessments found in Diodorus are in the Isocratean style. His pro-Athenian bias might also have come from Isocrates.

The 30-book *History* avoided the mythological period—although it included individual myths—beginning with the Return of the Heraclidae and reaching the siege of Perinthus, in 340. His son, Demophilus, completed the work with an account of the Third Sacred War. His work was grand in scope and far longer than 5th-cent. histories. According to *Polybius, he was the first universal historian, combining a focus on Greek history with events in the barbarian east. Ephorus may have been the first historian to divide his work by books, and he provided each with a separate proem. Individual books were apparently devoted exclusively to a particular area (southern and central Greece, Macedonia, Sicily, Persia), but within each book events were sometimes retold episodically, sometimes synchronistically.

Ephorus drew on a diversity of sources, historical and literary, at times using good judgement (he preferred the Oxyrhynchus historian to *Xenophon), at other times making unfortunate choices (he coloured *Thucydides' account with material from 4th-cent. pamphleteers). Of special interest to Ephorus were migrations, the founding of cities, and family histories (see GENEALOGY).

The *History* was widely quoted in antiquity and was generally complimented for its accuracy (except in military descriptions). It was known to Polybius and was extensively used by *Strabo, Nicolaus of Damascus, Polyaeus, *Plutarch, and possibly Pompeius Trogus. But its greatest significance lies in the probability that Diodorus followed it closely for much of Archaic and practically all of Classical Greek history. In paraphrasing Ephorus, Diodorus supplies critical information, especially about 4th-cent. mainland history.

His other works include a history of Cyme (*Epichōrios logos*), a treatise on style (*Peri lexeōs*), and two books (*Peri eurēmātōn*, 'On inventions') which aimed at satisfying the demand for popular information on diverse topics characteristic of the period. KSS

epic The purely metrical ancient definition of epic, or *epos*, *epē* (lit. 'word', 'words'), as verse in successive hexameters includes such works as *Hesiod's didactic poems and the philosophical poems of the Presocratics. In its narrower, and now usual, acceptance 'epic' refers to hexameter narrative poems on the deeds of gods, heroes, and

men, a kind of poetry at the summit of the ancient hierarchy of genres. The cultural authority of epic throughout antiquity is inseparable from the name of *Homer, generally held to be the earliest and greatest of Greek poets; the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* establish norms for the presentation of the heroes and their relation with the gods, and for the omniscience of the inspired epic narrator. According to Herodotus (2. 53), Homer and Hesiod established the names, functions, and forms of the Greek gods; a typical specimen of the biographical and critical idolatry of Homer in later antiquity is found in the pseudo-Plutarchan *On the Life and Poetry of Homer*.

Post-Cyclic Greek epics on mythical or legendary subjects included Panyassis' *Heraclea* (5th cent. BC) and Antimachus' *Thebais* (late 5th cent. BC); Antimachus' scholarly and self-conscious reworking of the epic traditions anticipated the Alexandrian scholar-poets such as *Apollonius of Rhodes, the author of the surviving *Argonautica* (mid-3rd cent. BC). Historical epic began with Choerilus of Samos' *Persica* (late 5th cent. BC), and flourished in the panegyric epics written to heroize the achievements of *Alexander the Great and his successors, as well as in nationalistic epics like Rhianus' *Messenica*; but such works did not enjoy a long life (fragments in *Suppl. Hell.*).

The history of epic in Rome begins with Livius Andronicus' translation in the native Saturnian verse of the *Odyssey* (3rd cent. BC). This was followed by *Naevius' historical epic in Saturnians, the *Bellum Poenicum*. The commemorative and panegyric functions of epic particularly appealed to the Romans; for a century and a half the classic Roman epic was *Ennius' *Annals*, the hexameter narrative of Roman history (finished before 169 BC). Republican generals and statesmen had themselves commemorated in both Greek and Latin epics; *Cicero gives a portrait of a typical Greek epic panegyrist in his speech in defence of Aulus Licinius Archias, and himself composed autobiographical epics on his own successes. *Virgil revolutionized the genre by combining the legendary and the historical strands of epic in the *Aeneid*, which immediately established itself as the central classic of Roman literature. Later Latin epics, both legendary (*Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Statius' *Thebaid*, Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*) and historical (*Lucan's *Bellum civile*, *Silius Italicus' *Punica*), are composed through a continuous dialogue with the *Aeneid*.

In later antiquity panegyric (Claudian in Latin; for the Greek fragments see E. Heitsch (ed.) *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*: 1. *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, ph.-hist. Kl.* 3. Folge no. 49/1961 (2(1963)); II. no. 58/1964 1) and mythological (Quintus Smyrnaeus, Nonnus) epic continued in

abundance. Virgil and his Latin successors were the main models for the epics of the Latin Middle Ages and the Renaissance. PRH

Epicurus (b. *Samos, 341 BC; d. Athens, 270 BC), moral and natural philosopher. His father Neocles and mother Chaerestrate, Athenians of the deme (local district: see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN) Gargettus, emigrated to the Athenian cleruchy (citizen settlement) in *Samos. As a boy he was taught by a Platonist, Pamphilus. He served as an ephebe (see GYMNASIUM) in Athens, when Xenocrates was head of the *Academy and *Aristotle was in Euboean Chalcis; the playwright Menander was in the same class of the ephebate as Epicurus. He rejoined his family, who had then settled on the Asian mainland at Colophon. At this time or earlier he studied under Nausiphanes, from whom he learnt about the atomist philosophy (see ATOMISM) of Democritus. At 32 he moved to Mytilene in *Lesbos, then to Lampsacus on the Hellespont; at both places he set up a school and began to acquire pupils and loyal friends.

About 307/6 he bought a house in Athens, with a garden which thereafter gave its name, 'the Garden', to his school. Apart from occasional visits to Asia Minor, he remained in Athens until his death in 270, when he bequeathed his garden and school to Hermarchus of Mytilene (his will survives, in Diog. Laert. 10, the main source for his biography).

The Epicurean school

(The Garden). He and his followers lived together, secluding themselves from the affairs of the city and maintaining a modest and even austere standard of living, in accordance with the Master's teaching. They included slaves and women. Contemporary Epicureans mentioned in the literature include his most devoted companion, Metrodorus of Lampsacus, who died before Epicurus; Leontius and his wife Themista, also of Lampsacus; Hermarchus, his successor; Polyaeus, formerly a distinguished mathematician; Leontion, a former courtesan; and a slave called Mys.

The school was much libelled in antiquity and later, perhaps because of its determined privacy, and because of Epicurus' professed hedonism. The qualifications that brought this hedonism close to asceticism were ignored, and members of rival schools accused the Epicureans of many kinds of profligacy. In Christian times, Epicureanism was anathema because it taught that man is mortal, that the cosmos is the result of accident, that there is no providential god, and that the criterion of the good life is pleasure. Hence such caricatures as Sir Epicure Mammon, in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*, and the modern use of the word 'epicure'.



Epicurus New fragment discovered in 2012 of a massive inscription in which a local philosopher, Diogenes of Oenoanda in SW *Asia Minor, presented basic doctrines of Epicureanism to his fellow-citizens and foreigners, probably around AD 100-150. The text is evidence for the continuing appeal of Epicurus into the Christian era. Professor Martin Ferguson Smith

Writings

Diogenes Laertius 10. 26 reports that Epicurus wrote more than any of the other philosophers (with the debatable exception of Chrysippus)—about 300 rolls. Most of these are now lost. Fragments of his 37 books *On Nature* survive among the *Herculaneum papyri, and include incompletely deciphered copies of books 2, 11, 14, 15, 25, and 28. The following three letters and two collections of maxims have been preserved intact, the first four all in Diogenes Laertius 10: (1) Letter to Herodotus (*Ep. Hdt.*): a summary of his philosophy of nature; (2) Letter to Pythocles (*Ep. Pyth.*): a summary of astronomy and meteorology; (3) Letter to Menoecus (*Ep. Men.*): a less technical summary of Epicurean morality; (4) *Kyriai doxai* (KD), *Ratae sententiae* (RS), or *Principal Doctrines*: 40 maxims, mostly moral; (5) *Vatican Sayings*, = *Gnomologium Vaticanum* (*Sent. Vat.*): 81 similar short sayings identified in a Vatican manuscript by C. Wotke in 1888.

Present-day knowledge and appreciation of Epicurean philosophy depends very largely on the great Latin epic poem of his later follower, *Lucretius' *De rerum natura*.

Doctrines

The purpose of philosophy is practical: to secure a happy life. Hence moral philosophy is the most important branch, and physics and epistemology are subsidiary. (For this tripartition, see Sext. *Emp. Math.* 11. 169, and for the comparative evaluation RS 11 and Diog. Laert. 10. 30).

1. Epistemology

The main sources are *Ep. Hdt.*, Lucretius 4, and critical comments in Sext. *Emp. Adversus math.*. Epicurus held that sense perception is the origin of knowledge, and defended its reliability with a physical account of it. Physical objects, being made of atoms, give off from their surface thin films of atoms, called *eidōla*, which retain the shape and some other characteristics of their parent body and implant its appearance on the eyes of the perceiver. Analogous accounts are offered for the other senses. This appearance is somehow transmitted to the soul-atoms which constitute the mind. The appearance itself is never false: falsehood occurs only in the opinion (*doxa*) the mind forms about it. If these opinions conflict, a closer look or a sound argument or experience of the context may serve to 'counter-witness' all but one consistent set of opinions: in some cases (especially in astronomy, where no closer look is possible) we must accept that all beliefs not counter-witnessed are somehow true.

The extant texts show frequent use of analogical reasoning, from phenomena to theoretical entities. Alongside perceptions and feelings, Epicurus introduced a third criterion of truth, which he named *prolēpsis*: roughly, the empirically acquired generic conception of a thing.

2. Physics

Epicurus adopted the atomist theories (see ATOMISM) of Democritus, with some changes that can often be seen as attempts to answer Aristotle's criticisms.

The original atomist theory was a response to the Eleatic school of Parmenides, Zeno, and Melissus. Arguments about Being and Not-being show that there must be permanent elements—atoms of matter. Arguments about divisibility show that there must be indivisibles—construed by Epicurus as inseparable parts of atoms. The observed fact of motion proves that there must be empty space in which atoms can move.

Change is explained as the rearrangement of unchangeable atoms. The universe is infinite, both in the number of atoms and in the extent of space. Our world, bounded by the region of the heavenly bodies, came into being through random collisions of suitable atoms, and it will some day dissolve again into its component atoms. It is one of an indefinite number of worlds, past, present, and future.

Atoms move naturally downwards at constant and equal speed because of their weight, unless they collide with others. But they would never collide unless some of them sometimes swerved from the straight downward path. (This postulate, which also accounts for the self-motions of animals (see below), is not mentioned in any surviving text of Epicurus, but is set out at some length by Lucretius, 2. 216–332, mentioned by other classical writers, and generally agreed to have been advanced by Epicurus himself.)

Gods exist (whether as objectively living beings or as human thought-constructs has become a matter of controversy). They take no thought for this world or any other, living an ideal life of eternal, undisturbed happiness—the Epicurean ideal. It is good for human beings to respect and admire them, without expecting favours or punishments from them.

The divine creation of the world and its eternal continuation, as described in *Plato's *Timaeus*, are rejected: natural movements of atoms are enough to explain the origin and growth of everything in the world. A theory of the survival of the fittest explains the apparently purposeful structure of living things.

Epicurus was a physicalist in his philosophy of mind. The soul is composed of atoms, all extremely small but distinguished by shape into four kinds: fire, air, and breath (but all somehow different from their ordinary namesakes), and a fourth, unnamed kind. At death the component atoms are dispersed.

The swerve of atoms somehow accounts for the possibility of actions performed by choice, by humans and some other animals: without the swerve, apparently, all actions would be as fully determined as the fall of a stone dropped from a height. How this works is a matter of continuing controversy.

3. Moral philosophy

'We say that pleasure is the beginning and end of living happily' (*Ep. Men.* 128). It is a datum of experience that pleasure is naturally and congenitally the object of human life. Since it is a fact, however, that some pleasures are temporary and partial, and involve pain as well, it is necessary to distinguish between pleasures, and to take only those which are not outweighed by pains. Pain is caused by unsatisfied desire; so one must recognize that those desires that are natural and necessary are easily satisfied. The limit of pleasure is the removal of pain; to seek always for greater pleasure is simply to spoil one's present pleasure with the pain of unsatisfied desire. The state of painlessness is already the height of pleasure ('*katastematic* pleasure'), and the pleasures that consist in change ('*kinetic* pleasures'), such as eating and drinking, merely vary it, rather than, as most people assume, increase it.

Pleasure of the *soul, consisting mainly of contemplation or expectation of bodily pleasure, is more valuable than bodily pleasure. The ideal is *ataraxia*, freedom from disturbance. The study of philosophy is the best way to achieve the ideal. By teaching that the soul, made of atoms as the body is, dies with the body, it persuades us that after death there is no feeling: what happens after our death, like what happened before our birth, is 'nothing to us.' By teaching that the gods do not interfere and that the physical world is explained by natural causes, it frees us from the fear of the supernatural. By teaching that the competitive life is to be avoided, it removes the distress of jealousy and failure; by teaching one how to avoid intense emotional commitments, it frees us from the pain of emotional turmoil. (The main sources are Epicurus *Ep. Men.*, *RS*, and *Sent. Vat.*, and Lucretius 3 and 4.)

Epicurean moral philosophy thus finds room for most of the conventional Greek virtues of the soul; its main difficulty is to justify the virtues that are concerned with the well-being of other people—especially justice. Those who are wise will avoid injustice, Epicurus argues, because one can never be certain of remaining undetected. But Epicurean morality was less selfish than such statements made it appear. The Epicurean communities were famous even among their enemies for the friendship which bound members to each other and to the founder. DJF/DNS

epideictic The *epideiktikon genos* (Lat. *Genus demonstrativum*) covers all forms of public speaking which are not directed to convincing a judge or a deliberative body. Whatever the original force of the term, it commonly denoted the 'display' or 'exhibition' of the orator's skill. It aims at the admiration of an appreciative audience, or, at

best, the creation of a mood. The declamation, though often an exhibition of ingenuity, is not strictly 'epideictic', because it usually mimics a judicial or deliberative situation (Men. Rhet. 331.16 Spengel). Synonymous with epideictic in many contexts are 'encomiastic' and 'panegyric', the former because praise and blame form the commonest theme (see ENCOMIUM), the latter because the occasion of such speeches is commonly some festival (*panēgyris*). Typical occasions include weddings, arrivals and departures, and various religious festivals. Many such occasions were also commemorated in poetry, and rhetoricians drew heavily on classical lyric for topics and allusions, while later poets (e.g. *Stattius in *Silv.*) composed occasional poems consciously on rhetorical lines.

Epideictic oratory begins in the 5th cent. BC, with the Athenian funeral speeches and the work of *Gorgias; it was greatly developed in the 4th cent., especially by *Isocrates, whose careful and abundant style became canonical for the whole genre. It continued to be important till the late empire, reaching its fullest development in the Roman period, when it was a major feature of social and political life. Theory too begins in the 4th cent. BC, with *Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1.9, 3.13 ff) and the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, but reaches its height under the Roman empire, with Quintilian (3.7), Menander Rhetor, and a treatise wrongly ascribed to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Examples of epideictic can be found (e.g.) in *Plutarch, *Dio of Prusa, *Pliny the Younger (*Pan.*), Aelius Aristides (perhaps the greatest master), Apuleius, Libanius, Themistius, the Latin *Panegyrici*, and such Christian works as Gregory Thaumaturgus' speech on Origen (ed. H. Crouzel, 1969).

See also RHETORIC, GREEK.

DAR

epigram, Greek

Archaic

An epigram was originally nothing more than an inscription on an object or monument to say whose it is or who made it, who dedicated it to which god, or who is buried beneath it. The earliest known are in hexameters (*CEG* 1.432 and 454, the Dipylon oenochoe and Pithecusae scyphus, both c.720 BC), but by c.500 they were predominantly in what was to be the classic metre of epigram, the elegiac couplet. The earliest consist largely of formulae (e.g. *τύμβος ὄδ' ἐστὶ, στήθι καὶ οἴκτιρον, ... ἐπέθηκε θανόντι, ... μὲν ἀνέθηκε* 'this is tomb (of so-and-so), stand and take pity... (so-and-so) set up (this) for the deceased... (so-and-so) dedicated me') plus the appropriate proper names in stereotyped epicizing phraseology. The material in Peek, *GVI* 1 (limited to epitaphs) is arranged by such formulae.

Classical

Epigrams written for monuments are normally anonymous; the earliest signed by the author date from c.350 (*CEG* 2.819, 888.ii). The first poet credited with writing epigrams is *Simonides, though only one of the many ascribed to him (Page, *FGE* 119–23, 186–302) can be accepted, the simple and dignified epitaph on the seer Megistias (Hdt. 7.228; *FGE* 195–6). Many others are attributed in Hellenistic and later times to famous poets (Page, *FGE*), but even if authentic present generic problems. For example, the couplet *πολλὰ πῶν καὶ πολλὰ φαγῶν καὶ πολλὰ κακ' εἰπῶν | ἀνθρώπους κείμαι Τιμοκρέων Ῥόδιος*, 'I, Timocreon the Rhodian, lie here after drinking and eating a lot and uttering a lot of abuse' (*FGE* 252) is certainly a 5th-cent. parody of funerary epigram, but at the time it would have been called a scolium and sung at the *symposium. It is hard to believe *Euripides wrote the undistinguished distich that *Plutarch read on a monument to the Athenians who died in Sicily (*FGE* 155–6), but there seems no reason to doubt *Aristotle's authorship of the epigram on a statue of his friend Hermias at Delphi (*FGE* 31–2). On the other hand, the love epigrams attributed to *Plato are 'plainly Alexandrian in tone, contents and style' (Page, *FGE* 125–7). Down to c.400 BC study of the epigram is in effect limited to anonyma: P. Friedländer and H. Hofleit, *Epigrammata* (1948), remains a useful companion to *CEG* 1–2.

Hellenistic

With the 3rd cent. we find an enormous expansion of non-inscriptional epigram. Reitzenstein distinguished two schools: the Dorian-Peloponnesian and Ionian-Alexandrian. The first represents a natural development from inscriptional poetry: literary embellishments of epitaphs and dedications. Fictitious dedications were a neat way to treat the lives of humble folk rather than kings and generals, through the different objects vowed by rustics, hunters, and fishermen—or even hetairai. Anyte of Tegea wrote on women and children and pastoral themes, epitaphs on animals rather than humans. Leonidas of Tarentum was the most influential writer of this school, influential too in establishing an ornate style and dithyrambic vocabulary as its medium. Asclepiades and *Callimachus wrote about wine, women, boys, and song, renewing the themes of Classical sympotic elegy and lyric, though they were selective in the motifs they treated, investing them with that combination of allusiveness, conciseness, and wit that were ever after to be the hallmarks of the genre (Giangrande, in *L'Épigramme grecque*, Entretiens Hardt (1968)). The simple exchange between passer-by and tomb we find in Classical epitaphs is expanded into witty dialogue under the influence of

mime. The epitaph is developed into poems on those long as well as recently dead, and epigrams on writers are especially common (M. Gabathuler, *Hell. Ep. auf Dichter*, 1937). The dedication also evolved into the *ekphrasis on a work of art, another form with a long future. In addition to more conventional themes, Alcaeus of Messene wrote political lampoons. Poets would vie with each other in treating the same themes.

Early Hellenistic epigrams were often quite long and in metres other than elegiacs. Most of the major poets published books of *Epigrammata*. The first known to consist entirely of elegiacs (on the evidence of the Milan roll) is Posidippus. It has sometimes been argued that epigrams were now 'book-poetry', but they continued to be written for their original function as well as for the symposium. Callimachus and Posidippus in particular wrote a number of epigrams for Alexandrian monuments. Hellenistic epigrams on victors in the games became less factual and more literary, characterized by mythological allusion and motifs from Classical epinicion (J. Ebert, *Epp. auf Sieger* (1972), 19–22, 191–2, 205–8). The Milan roll has revealed that Posidippus wrote almost twenty epigrams on equestrian victors.

Graeco-Roman

Epigrammatists of the late republic and early empire, most now writing for Roman patrons, represent a striking change of direction, away from the erotic and sympotic (with the exception of Philodemus and Marcus Argentarius) to the ekphrastic (i.e. involving extended and detailed descriptions of real or imagined objects) and epideictic: jokes, paradoxa, witty anecdotes, invitations to dinner, epigrams to accompany presents or congratulate on birthdays or the cutting of a son's first beard. The late 1st cent. AD saw the development of the satiric epigram, best represented by the Neronian Lucilius: attacks on the faults, not of individuals, but of entire classes and professions (doctors, athletes, thin men). There was also a short-lived revival of the erotic with Rufinus (under Nero) and the pederastic with Straton (under Hadrian).

Not the least interesting development of the 3rd and 4th cents. is the re-emergence of the anonymous inscriptional epigram. Honorific inscriptions that in the early empire would have been in prose are increasingly in verse, often verse of some distinction and elegance. There is unfortunately no modern corpus, but many are quoted and discussed in L. Robert's *Épigrammes du Bas-Empire* (1948).

Byzantine

Towards the end of the 4th cent. the Alexandrian schoolmaster Palladas wrote satiric epigrams with a difference,

powerful, pessimistic tirades against his profession, and rueful laments on the impotence of a declining paganism. At the same time Gregory of Nazianzus (*Anth. Pal.* bk. 8) was writing epigram after epigram on his family (12 on his father, 52 on his mother), conventional in every respect (vocabulary, imagery, variation, point) except their Christianity and their disregard of Classical prosody. The age of Justinian saw a remarkable renaissance of the classicizing epigram. Agathias, Paul the Silentiary, Macedonius the consul, Julian the Egyptian, and many other professional men and civil servants returned to Hellenistic models, writing erotic, sympotic and dedicatory poems in a remarkably homogeneous style, a fusion of the traditional conventions and motifs with the bombast and metrical refinement of Nonnus. Their literary paganism is so thoroughgoing that we are astonished by the occasional use of the same style and vocabulary to describe a Christian icon (R. C. McCail, *Byzantium* 1971, 205–67). This was the end of creative writing in the genre. ADEC

epigram, Latin The use of metrical inscriptions in Latin is attested from the second half of the 3rd cent. BC. The two most ancient *elogia* in the tomb of the Scipios (*CIL* 1². 9, probably from around 230 BC, and *CIL* 1². 7 cut around 200 BC) are in Saturnians, and limit themselves to a sober indication of the name, career, achievements, and civic virtues of the subject, in accordance with traditional Roman models for the praise of the great (cf. also the inscription in Saturnians from the 3rd cent. BC quoted in *Cic. Fin.* 2. 116). There is greater elaboration in the two Scipionic inscriptions in Saturnians datable to around the middle of the 2nd cent. BC which lament figures whose early deaths prevented their attaining glory (*CIL* 1². 10 and 11). There is little trace of Greek culture or stylistic sensibility in these early epitaphs or in the rare dedicatory inscriptions in Saturnians from the same period, but the Latin taste for verbal effects such as alliteration, tricola, and antithesis is much in evidence. Saturnians continued to be used for commemorative inscriptions, in homage to Roman tradition, up to at least 133 BC (*Schol. Bob. ad Cic.*, p. 179 Stangl, on an epigram commissioned from Accius), long after the form had been abandoned in literature.

*Ennius introduced into Latin not only the hexameter but also the elegiac couplet, the usual metre of Greek epigram. All the extant epigrams of Ennius preserve the norms of Roman honorific inscriptions and could have been inscribed, though *Cicero, who quotes them, did not know of any actual inscriptions. Two refer to the tomb of Scipio Africanus (and are thus to be dated after his death in 183 BC), and another two, of uncertain

authenticity, refer to a portrait (on a tomb ?) and to the poet's own grave. The sober, monumental solemnity, the recall to communal values (Ennius celebrates his role as poet of Roman glory), and the usual verbal effects of archaic Latin style recall the Scipionic *elogia*, but the metre, the density of expression (three of the epigrams consist of a single couplet), the motif of the dead man speaking in the first-person from his tomb and declining lament, the elevated conception of the poet's role, and the very fact that he dedicates an epigram to himself as poet—all these are to be explained by Ennius' grafting of Hellenistic Greek culture onto the Roman tradition. Also in evidence is a clear articulation of the logical divisions of the poem, something which remains a feature of the Latin elegiac epigram. There is a possible echo of a contemporary Greek epigram (*Alcaeus *Mess. Anth. Pal.* 9. 518), but these austere and elevated epigrams of Ennius still remain far from the light charm of Hellenistic Greek epigram.

*Gellius (*NA* 1. 24) quotes the epigrams that *Naeuius (in Saturnians), *Plautus (in hexameters), and Pacuvius (in senarii) supposedly wrote for their tombs. The authenticity of Pacuvius' epitaph, of a studied simplicity and modesty and recalling formulae of 2nd-cent. BC inscriptions (*CLE* 848, and cf. 53) is not impossible: but the other two are typical celebrations of dead poets, with clever elaboration in archaic style of commonplaces of Hellenistic epigram (the genre practised by the dead poet is orphaned or ceases all together, the deities of poetry are in mourning). Gellius found the Plautus epigram, and perhaps the other two, in *Varro: all three may have been written by a 2nd-cent. BC grammarian, perhaps to be included in biographies of the poets, in accordance with a Hellenistic custom continued also at Rome. One may compare *Virgil's famous epitaph, *Mantua me genuit* . . ., 'Mantua bore me', cited in Aelius Donatus' *Life: Varro* himself in his *Imagines* provided epigrams to accompany a series of portraits of famous men, and we know of similar series of epigrams by *Atticus (*Nep. Att.* 18. 5 f.) and Octavius Titinius Capito (*Plin. Ep.* 1. 17. 3, 1st cent. AD). In the same tradition is the self-presentation in a single distich of the obscure poet Pompilius, who claims to be a pupil of Pacuvius, and is thus datable to the 2nd cent. BC. We also have the epitaph, certainly fictitious, written by Lucilius for one of his slaves (*frs.* 579 f. Marx), a couplet in which the formality of epigraphic convention is lightened by familiar language and a tone of ironic and affectionate condescension. This is from book 22 of the *Satires*: there are other fragments in couplet form on Lucilius' slaves in the same book, which some think was a collection of epigrams.

The latest epitaph in the tomb of the Scipios (from a little after 139 BC) is in elegiacs: the Greek metre introduced by Ennius became the commonest form used in both literary and inscribed epigrams, though the hexameter became popular in inscriptions after the Augustan period, and from the end of the 2nd to the 1st cent. BC senarii were also common. Inscriptional verse, especially epitaphs for the dead, from which the Latin epigram had developed in the first place continued with its own development. There is clear evidence for a degree of professional composition, using a repertory of formulae and motifs dealing with the dead, their virtues, their survival through renown or the affection of their loved ones, and the loss felt at their departure: a repertory which for all its conventionality provides insight into the mentality and beliefs prevalent in the Roman world. Many of these motifs continued, albeit transformed, into Christian epitaphs, which are extremely common from the 4th cent. AD. Throughout, the influence of high-style poetry, especially Virgil and *Ovid, is strong.

From the end of the 2nd cent. BC, the band of Greek intellectuals attached to the great Roman families began to include epigrammatists, whose poems served as a cultured accompaniment and ornament for the lives of their patrons. From the hand of one of these patrons, Quintus Lutatius Catulus (consul 102 BC), an important member of the Roman nobility and a passionate admirer of Greek culture, who was the patron of the Greek epigrammatists Antipater of Sidon and Aulus Licinius Archias, we have two homoerotic epigrams. One of the two (clearly inspired by Callim. *Epigr.* 41) is cited by Gell., *NA* 19. 9, together with two epigrams of Valerius Aedituus and one by Porcius Licinus. We do not know what if any connection there was between these three 'pre-neoteric' figures, but the poems are the earliest Latin epigrams of the Hellenistic type, on sentimental themes and independent of the epigraphic tradition. They share a manneristic treatment of the commonplaces of Greek love poetry, with an obvious striving for conceptual and pathetic effects and emphatic figures (questions, apostrophe, antithesis): a concentration of devices that perhaps shows the traces of the expressionism of the archaic Roman tradition. The slightly later epigrams of Tiburtinus, of which we have graffiti fragments from the smaller theatre at Pompeii (*CLE* 934 f.), show that these tendencies were widely diffused. With Catulus the epigram becomes for the first time at Rome the ideal genre for the leisure hours of the refined and recherché upper-class amateur. From the time of Cicero we have many references to (and a few fragments of) short poems written for pleasure and cultural display by leading Romans, or composed by more important authors as a marginal addition to their more

serious productions. As well as elegiacs, we find poems in hexameters, phalaecian hendecasyllables, and iambs, together forming a Roman genre of short poetry in various metres on erotic, polemical, or humorous themes. In this genre, Greek traditions of epigram and iambus interact with Roman traditions (influenced themselves by Greek iambus) of personal and political polemic, attested from the time of Naevius and then common from the time of Caesar, and of humorous or satirical verse of popular origin, found, for example, in the scurrilous verses sung by soldiers at Roman triumphs. This varied genre had no fixed name, but 'epigram' was certainly one of the terms used (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 4. 14. 9), and *Martial's usage gave it currency. The first two modest examples of polemic or humorous epigram known to us are quoted by Varro and ascribed to one Manilius (in senarii) and Papius (elegiacs): they are full of the verbal play used for humorous polemic, but, like a similar couplet attributed to Cicero, they show no significant contact with Greek Hellenistic epigram. They are perhaps related to the *epigrammata* ascribed to the comic poet Quinctius Atta (d. 77 BC).

This production of everyday minor verse at Rome, the product of leisure and an ingredient in social relations, increased in the time of Caesar and Augustus. It was still practised by Greek epigrammatists living in Roman high society (e.g. Philodemus, and later Crinagoras and Antipater of Thessalonica), and it was an important element in the work of *Catullus and the other 'new poets', who wrote short poems to accompany gifts, to console or thank, invite or congratulate, to celebrate (seriously or humorously) the most diverse events of the society in which they lived, and to engage in polemic and invective on public or private matters. Collections of *epigrammata* are attested for Helvius Cinna, Gaius Licinius Calvus, and Cornificia, but other terms (*poemata* etc.) were used to refer to the same sort of poems. Amongst the meagre remains may be noted the poems written by Furius Bibaculus for his friend Valerius Cato (two friendly jests in senarii, one inspired by Leonidas, *Anth. Pal.* 6. 226, and one more complimentary poem in hendecasyllables), the poems of Calvus mocking Caesar (senarii) and *Pompey (an elegiac couplet), and the refined elegiacs in which Cinna (echoing Callimachus, *Epigr.* 27) presented a deluxe edition of Aratus. The verses of these poets, with those of Catullus, signal the birth of a new literary language for the description of everyday life, at times delicate, at times realistic and incisive, even crude and obscene, but always artistically light and elegant. The Catullan or neoteric 'revolution' was the use of this genre and language to express an intensely personal emotional world and to affirm a system of values in which even the

smallest day-to-day event, rather than being merely the subject of amateur versifying, became the occasion for poetry of the highest level which could absorb all the energies of a poet of the greatest ambition. In this way, Catullus gave pride and full literary dignity to Roman minor verse, and became its classic practitioner. In the Catullan collection as we have it the 'epigrams' in elegiacs (poems 69–116) are separate from the 'polymetrics' in iambs, hendecasyllables, and lyric metres (1–60), but it is uncertain to what extent this represents Catullus' own distinction. The two groups share themes to an extent, but the epigrams show a neater composition and a more rational analysis of emotion, with extensive use of antithesis and parallelism but a less unusual and innovative language. This may be due, as D. O. Ross (*Style and Tradition in Catullus* (1969)) suggests, to the greater influence of the native Roman tradition on the elegiacs: the presence of Hellenistic epigram is more marked in the polymetrics. At any rate, already in the pseudo-Virgilian *Catalepton*, and later in the *Priapea* and Martial, elegiacs are freely mixed with poems in the other Catullan metres within a single collection, which suggests that Catullus' short poems were viewed collectively as a distinct genre. Catullus never uses epigraphic forms: they are avoided even in the poems for the death of his brother (101) and the sparrow (3) and on the dedication of the boat (4), even though these draw on elements of the funerary and votive epigram. In Catullus, the short poem expresses a vivid subjectivity which is nourished not only by Hellenistic epigram but also by the traditions of Greek lyric, archaic elegy, and iambus, with the latter's harshness and obscenity, and it accordingly has no place for the 'objectivity' proper to the epigraphic form.

Martial considers Catullus the canonical model of Latin epigram, placing alongside him as second in importance Domitius Marsus, of whom we possess a few fragments, all in elegiacs. His collection entitled *Cicuta*, 'Hemlock', seems to have consisted largely of invectives, and includes an epigram very much in Catullus' manner against Virgil's adversary the poet Bavius: an interest in literary polemic is confirmed by attacks on two famous grammarians. Other epigrams by Domitius Marsus attempt a recuperation of the epigraphic form, with a lament for *Tibullus (and Virgil) which shows a Hellenistic delicacy and one for Atia, the mother of Octavian (the later *Augustus), which in its single couplet recalls the solemn and concise monumentality of Ennius. Like another epigram for Atia it involves itself in the contemporary political debate not, as was usual in epigram, through insulting the enemy but through the celebratory function that epigram had had in early Rome and to which it returned in the Augustan and imperial periods,

as can be seen also in Greek epigrams such as those of Crinagoras. We do not know if Domitius' collection, like Catullus', included love poetry (cf. Mart. 7. 29. 8). The treatise on wit (*De urbanitate*) ascribed to him suggests that Domitius' poetry had a systematic interest in comic effects that could have interested Martial. Martial's other named models were Albinovanus Pedo (an epic poet, friend of Ovid) and Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (consul AD 26): all we know of their epigrams is that Martial cited them as precedents for his own obscenity. We do not know if Gaetulicus sang of his love for Cesennia in his epigrams, and it is also uncertain whether he is to be identified with the Gaetulicus who is the author of several epigrams in the Greek Anthology.

We have only scant remains of the epigrams written by the Augustan elegist Valgius Rufus and Ovid. The epigrams of the pseudo-Virgilian *Catalepton*, some of which go back to the Augustan period and may even be by Virgil, show clear Catullan influence in metre, in various echoes and parodies, and in general in the concept of the short poem: a space for jokes, polemic, and wordplay, but also for expressions of friendship and affection or for autobiographical meditations. There is also an 'epideictic' poem of moralizing content, a type of composition that reappears in Martial and which must have been practised also as a school or occasional exercise. This form predominates, along with poems on friendship, love, and polemic, in a series of about 70 epigrams (*Anth. Lat.* 232, 236–9, 396–463 Riese, almost all in elegiac couplets) that have been attributed to *Seneca the Younger. Three are so ascribed in two manuscripts, while the others follow on from two of them in a third manuscript: some refer to the Corsican exile or Cordoban birth of Seneca, or to people of his circle, and the moral themes dealt with have affinities with Seneca's philosophical works. They may be by Seneca (especially from the time of his exile: there are links with Ovid's exile poetry) or from his circle, but they may also be school exercises of a later date. One noteworthy cycle (419–26 R) deals with the British triumph of Claudius, which took place during Seneca's exile: the celebratory epigram thus begins to encompass official events connected with the imperial *ruler-cult, as it will do frequently in Martial.

In contrast to these serious epigrams, the anonymous collection of *Priapea* offers licentious entertainment with more than a hint of pornography. It consists of about 80 poems in Catullan metres, often dedicatory, in which the heavily obscene content contrasts with the elegance of the form and the admirably varied treatment of a single theme (with its own literary tradition, from Greek epigram—there are around 40 *Priapea* in the Greek Anthology—to Catullus (fr. 1), *Horace (*Sat.* 1. 8), and

Tibullus (1. 4)). The collection is often dated to the Augustan period, but must be later than book 1 of Martial, since *Priapea* 1. 1 f. recalls Martial 1. 4. 1 (the reverse process is unlikely, since Martial would hardly defend himself against charges of obscenity by citing the opening of a pornographic collection).

Martial's own epigrams, though drawing extensively on Greek epigram, reflect above all the varied and lively nature of the preceding Roman tradition: they offer homage and celebrate events public and private, accompany the events of everyday social life and turn them into elegant expressions of culture, offer space for moral reflection and for literary and personal polemic, and entertain with pungent wit, jokes, and pornography. On the other hand the erotic or sentimental element and the affirmation of personal individuality which play so large a part in Catullus' claim to fame are more marginal in Martial. He develops rather the satiric epigram and the epigram as a part of social relationships: that is, precisely those aspects which seem to a modern most 'epigrammatic'. To this minor genre, developed in its apparently most superficial aspects, Martial attributes the full dignity of an artistic instrument adapted to offer a realistic interpretation of the world. Like Catullus, but on different grounds, he is bold in contrasting it with the more prestigious and elevated genres, which are seen as divorced from the real-life experience of the reader. It is with good reason that he became for modern writers the classic epigrammatist, and helped to fix the form. Developing tendencies seen in Greek Hellenistic and imperial epigram and in Catullus (and even Ennius), he offers at the end of many of his epigrams that incisive, and often unexpected, 'pointed' formulation of the essential meaning of the poem which is seen as the essence of modern epigram.

Martial's original attempt to give importance to the genre was not taken entirely seriously by contemporary authors: *Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 3. 21) considers Martial's aspiration to immortality little more than a naive illusion. Pliny himself and their mutual friends composed for entertainment, and with a certain condescension, elegant and trifling verses of which Pliny quotes a few examples (*Ep.* 4. 27, 7. 4, 7. 9). This type of amateur production assured continued success for the epigram as a minor genre, though it tended to lose its identity, never in any case very clear, within a more general generic framework of minor poetry. This can be seen in the experimental lyric/epigrammatic works of the so-called *poetae novelli* (Florus, the emperor *Hadrian, and Annianus at the beginning of the 2nd cent. AD, then later Septimius Sere-nus and Alfius Avitus). In an archaizing and 'decadent' style they recall the formal experimentation of Laevius,

writing in rare lyric or dramatic metres on sentimental, erotic, didactic, or pastoral themes in a light, affected manner which at times is subtly melancholic. Amongst the few fragments that we have, it is the work of Florus, with its prevailing gnomic element, which has the most epigrammatic character, but as a whole the remains do not show any influence from Martial nor relevant affinities with Greek epigram. In the 4th cent. AD, however, the epigram is again popular, with its more frivolous aspects still to the fore. Ausonius composed a short collection of varied epigrams, some translated or adapted from extant Greek epigram (by authors of the 1st and 2nd cents. AD). They also show little influence from Martial, and even though they are frequently satirical and sometimes obscene, they lack real aggression. In contrast to Catullus and Martial, hendecasyllables and choliambics are avoided. We find similar characteristics (except for the absence of obscenity) in the *Epigrammata Bobiensia* collected and in large part written on the model of Ausonius by the senator Naucellius around AD 400. As in Ausonius and the late antique epigram in general, there are frequent descriptions of objects, buildings, and works of art (*ekphraseis*: see EKPHRASIS), versified maxims, and elegant and leisurely variations on the same theme. A novelty in the tradition on the other hand is Ausonius' collections of epigrams on a single theme, either of some poetic weight (*Parentalia*, *Commemoratio professorum*), or with a slighter didactic or rhetorical character. Their brevity and occasional nature bring many of Ausonius' other poems close to the epigram, and in Claudian's minor poetry we find a number of true and proper epigrams (satirical, erotic, on objects, etc.). The Christian poets of the 4th and 5th cents. used the genre essentially for practical purposes, didactic or commemorative. Thus we find sepulchral epigrams in praise of martyrs and others (only later collected in books), such as those written for inscription by Damasus I; epigrams for sacred edifices (churches, baptisteries), usually with citation of the dedicator, the architect, and the occasion, and praise of the saint to whom they are dedicated (we have examples by Damasus, Ambrose, and Paulinus of Nola); and epigrams on themes from Scripture, supposedly to accompany visual representations, though whether this was actually true is uncertain. We have examples of this last group by Ambrose (21 hexameter couplets), Prudentius (the *Dittochaeon* in groups of four hexameters), and about a century later the hexameter triplets of Rusticus Elpidius. St *Augustine's follower Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine wrote a series of epigrams to illustrate maxims taken from Augustine's works. In the 5th cent., the pagan tradition was continued by two bishops well trained in classical rhetoric, Sidonius Apollinaris and Ennodius. The

former wrote on objects, gifts, and secular buildings, and short verse letters, at times with elegant concluding points; although he was well acquainted with Martial, he did not develop the satiric or comic aspects, which prevail, on the other hand, in Ennodius, even with a certain amount of obscenity. But Ennodius' 150 or so epigrams are far from the spirit of Martial, with the rhetorical and recherché nature of their fictitious themes, their general absence of liveliness, and the recurrence of descriptive poems on objects, places, animals, works of art, etc. (as in Ausonius, Claudian, and Sidonius). Both Sidonius and Ennodius also give space to the values and motifs of the pagan tradition even in their poems on the dead and on sacred places. At the beginning of the 6th cent. the Carthaginian Luxorius composed a book of 89 epigrams modelled on Martial in both tone and metre, with a prevalence of satiric poems, including some on contemporary persons, and some notable obscenities. Luxorius' vivacity and energy is considerable, even if theme and treatment also show the artificiality that late antique epigram derived from rhetoric. Luxorius' book was included in a large collection put together in Africa in the Vandal period, around 534, preserved in the Codex Salmasianus (Par. Lat. 10318) and sometimes called the *Anthologia Latina*, though that term is usually used for the whole of the Codex Salmasianus collection, with the other collections included in Riese's Teubner edition. Most of the poems are anonymous and late, though some are attributed to classical poets, and they are mainly rhetorical in character (on mythological and historical themes, on objects, etc.), with a few satirical epigrams. They included a series of 100 riddles by Symphosius in hexameter triplets, with ingenious and entertaining descriptions of everyday objects, the prototype of many similar medieval collections. In the second half of the 6th cent. Venantius Fortunatus returned to the epigram and related forms to describe his own experiences, personal relationships, and journeys: poetic epistles for friends and patrons, convivial poems, and poems for gifts are joined by numerous epitaphs and poems on sacred buildings. Finally, from the 6th and 7th cents. we may note the epigrams of Isidorus of Seville on authors and books both Christian and pagan, and those of Eugenius of Toledo, who took up again many of the themes of the late antique epigram (epitaphs, poems for churches and everyday objects) with a variety of moralizing, didactic, and autobiographical elements, but without any satirical touches and showing a strong Christian spirit. In one sense, the epigram had come a long way from its origins: in another, the sternly serious early Romans who had begun the tradition could not but have approved.

epinician poetry, or Greek poetry composed ‘for victory’ (cf. NIKE), praised victors in athletic and equestrian competitions (see GAMES), and is associated particularly with *Bacchylides and *Pindar and before them Ibycus and *Simonides; but also Posidippus for the Hellenistic period. The standard 5th- and 4th-cent. (and even later) expression for such a poem was *enkōmion*, though Pindar (*Nem.* 4. 78) speaks once of ‘epinician songs’. The classification of epinician as a separate genre of lyric poetry was a development of the Hellenistic period (see LYRIC POETRY (GREEK)). SH

equites

Origins and republic

The early history of the cavalry at Rome is overlaid with legend and speculation. The kings are said to have enrolled 300 *celerēs* or *trossuli* (later doubled) for the legion. They wore loincloths, tunics with the *clavus* (stripe), *trabeae* (short embroidered cloaks), and *mullei* (strapped red shoes); they were armed with lances and their horses were adorned with *phalerae* (silver discs). Their insignia, in various adapted forms, later became the distinctive attire of patricians, magistrates, and senators. Twelve hundred *equites* were allegedly added by Servius *Tullius. These 1,800 had their horses supplied and maintained by the state (hence *equites equo publico*), out of the property taxes paid by widows and orphans. They had to serve ten campaigns. In the centuriate assembly they formed eighteen *centuriae*, later including (it seems) those too old for service. This voting privilege survived in essence as long as the assembly. In the classical republic these *equites* were enrolled by the censors, after financial, physical, and moral scrutiny (*recognitio*). At least since 304 BC, though rarely in the late republic, they paraded to the Capitol in the *transvectio* on 15 July. Men of aristocratic birth always had preference for enrolment.

About 400 BC, men on their own horses (*equites equo privato*) were added to the cavalry. They did not share the voting privilege, but were given at least some of the status marks, of the others. In the 3rd cent. Roman cavalry proved increasingly ineffective in war and by 200 was largely replaced by *auxilia*. But *equites* retained their social eminence and became a corps from which officers and the staffs of governors and commanders were drawn. This new ‘equestrian’ service was within the reach of any wealthy and well-connected family and the old exclusiveness was undermined. In 129 senators (but not their non-senatorial relatives) were excluded from the equestrian centuries (Cic. *Rep.* 4. 2). Whatever the motive, this marks the beginnings of the later *ordo equester* as a distinct body. Gaius *Gracchus excluded senators from

service on the *repetundae* (extortion) court. Although the positive qualifications for service are largely lost, various considerations, especially the need to exclude senators (*FIRA* 7 ll. 13 and 16), make it certain that the jurors were not defined as registered *equites equo publico*, i.e. the qualification must have been by wealth. The law on the Asian taxes is therefore also unlikely to have defined bidders as belonging to that class. Gracchus’ prescription was followed in other *quaestiones* (tribunals), permanent or special; as a result, the composition of juries became, for a generation (106–70), an object of bitter contention between the senatorial and the equestrian *ordo*, firmly establishing their distinctness.

Another result was the transformation of the *ordo* itself. Pliny (*HN* 33. 34) derives the later *ordo equester* from the Gracchan jurors, and what evidence we have supports him. The wealthy **publicani* gradually became the dominant element on juries and within the *ordo*: Cicero could rhetorically identify them with it. The ‘public horse’ and the annual parade are nowhere mentioned in our ample record of the age of Cicero, except for one political demonstration by *Pompey in 70. Between 70 and at least 50, there were no censorships culminating in a *lustrum*, so the list of strictly defined *equites* could not be kept up. By 50 (even), the influx of Italians, to whose leading men the jury courts had been opened since 70, made a return to the old restriction politically impossible. The law of Lucius Roscius Otho allocating special rows of seats to *equites* probably confirmed the definition by wealth: we cannot be certain, but Cicero (quoted by Asc. p. 78 C) links it with the judiciary law of Lucius Aurelius Cotta, which certainly did. The attested objection of the *plebs* was no doubt precisely to that definition: the Roman *plebs* never objected to traditional status distinctions.

The new *ordo* was a disparate body. Round an aristocratic Roman core (men like *Atticus) were grouped leading men from colonies and *municipia*, *publicani*, and even *negotiatores* (businessmen)—many of similar background, but some self-made men. Free birth and a landed interest were prerequisites for social recognition (cf. Cic. *Offi.* 1. 51). Senators and *equites* in the late republic thus formed a plutocracy sharing both landed and business interests, in a continuous range of proportions.

In social standing, *equites* were almost equal to senators, freely intermarrying even with patrician nobles and gaining entry to the senate (though not the consulate) if they wanted it (see Cic. *Sest.* 97). But as a class they preferred the pursuit of money and pleasure to political responsibility, and they thus formed the non-political section of the upper class rather than (as in the empire) an intermediate class. Their history is an important part

of that of the late republic, particularly in view of their control of the *quaestiones* during most of that time. Various *populares* tried to mould them into a political force opposed to the senate and the *nobilitas*; but their social and economic interests, especially after the enfranchisement of Italy, were basically too similar to permit this. *Sulla, after decimating them in the proscriptions, followed the example of Marcus Livius Drusus the Younger and deprived them of leadership by adlecting the most prominent survivors to the senate, and of power by taking the courts from them. But strengthened by the influx of Italians and by increasing financial power, wooed by Pompey, and largely restored to the courts by the law of Cotta, they rose to unprecedented influence in the 60s, when Cicero and the senate—aware of the basic community of interests of the two classes—tried to unite them behind the *principes* in a *concordia ordinum*. Yet, though often united on a single issue (e.g. against threats to financial stability by demagogues or threats to freedom of profiteering by statesmen), sometimes even for a lengthy period, they were too disparate in composition and too non-political to form a stable grouping. Preventing necessary reform (especially in the provinces), they remained a disruptive and irresponsible element with no programme or allegiance, until the Civil War substituted military for economic power. Caesar deprived them of the Asian tithe, but opened a new avenue for them by making prominent *equites* like Gaius Oppius and Lucius Cornelius Balbus—a splendid example of a non-traditional *eques*—his political and financial agents. The support of these men, as well as the precedent, proved important to Augustus. EB

Imperial period

Under the emperors the *equites* constituted a second aristocratic order which ranked only below the senatorial order in status. *Equites* in the wider sense (see below) provided the officer corps of the Roman army and held a wide range of posts in the civil administration (see PROCURATOR) as it developed from its limited beginnings under *Augustus.

The precise criteria for membership of the order remain disputed. On a wider definition, which will be accepted here, all Roman citizens of free birth who possessed the minimum census qualification of 400,000 sesterces automatically qualified as members of the order. Thus when *Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 1. 19) offered a friend from Comum a gift of 300,000 sesterces 'to make up the wealth required of an *eques*', he implies that this gift of itself would be sufficient to make his friend an *eques*. However, it remains possible that these were necessary but not sufficient criteria and that, in addition, some formal act of

authorization, perhaps even the grant of the public horse (see below), by the emperor was necessary.

The equestrian order, widely defined, was much more numerous than the senatorial order and socially and politically (in terms of the range of its public roles) more heterogeneous. Although the total number of *equites* at any time cannot be determined, already under Augustus they were relatively numerous. Strabo records that recent censuses had revealed 500 men of equestrian census at both Gades and Patavium (Strabo 169, 213C). During the course of the first two centuries the possession of equestrian rank spread widely through the provinces. This diffusion mirrored the extension of Roman *citizenship. From the beginning of the Principate Baetica and Narbonensis are well represented, in the 1st cent. AD and after Africa and the Greek east. Far fewer *equites* are attested in the Danubian provinces, Germany, Gaul, and Britain. The vast majority of the order came to be constituted by the landed gentry of the municipalities of Italy and of the cities of the most urbanized provinces. Although these men were eligible to take up the military and civilian posts reserved for *equites*, the majority of them continued rather to play a local political role as senior local magistrates and councillors or as high priests of the imperial cult.

Within the order three specific subsets of unequal importance can be identified, namely the holders of the public horse (*equus publicus*), the jurors at Rome, and the military and civilian office-holders. The re-emergence of the category of *equites equo publico* under Augustus formed part of his traditionalist social policies. He restored the long disused parade (*transvectio*) of July 15, while allowing men handicapped by age or ill health to parade on foot, and those over 35 to have the choice of retaining or giving up the (notional) *equus publicus*; the occasion was also combined with an examination by Augustus of the physical and moral fitness of these *equites*. On one occasion more than 5,000 men are recorded as taking part in this ceremony (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6. 13). This subset of *equites* formed a distinct corporation which might dedicate statues or play a role in the funeral of an emperor. The grant of this status was at the discretion of the emperor who could also withdraw it.

Augustus also established four boards (*decuriae*) of jurors (*iudices*), each of 1,000 men, who were of equestrian rank but, according to *Pliny the Elder (*HN* 33. 30–3), were not as such called *equites* until AD 23. Owing to the pressure for places Gaius added a fifth *decuria*. Like the public horse the status of juror was solely in the gift of the emperor. For example a Qunitus Volteidius Optatus Aurelianus, from Carthage, was granted the public horse by *Trajan and entry to the *decuriae* by *Hadrian; another

local notable from Africa received both statuses from *Antoninus Pius (*ILS* 9406–7). Both statuses, as dignities conferred by the emperors, came to some extent to be honorific privileges which did not necessarily involve the expectation of the exercise of actual duties at Rome. Both statuses cease to be attested after the first part of the 3rd cent.

Within the political system of the Principate the most significant, if a minority, subset of equestrians was constituted by those who served as equestrian officers in the army and as senior civil administrators. Each year there were about 360 posts available for senior officers of equestrian rank: prefectures of cohorts, military tribunes, and prefectures of cavalry units. A minority of these officers were not typical equestrian landed gentry but instead ranking soldiers who had attained the rank of senior centurion (*primipilus*) in a legion and thereby acquired equestrian status. Tenure of these officer-posts was normally the necessary precursor for advancement to the senior civil administrative posts, reserved for *equites*, though from the early 2nd cent. tenure of the post of *advocatus fisci* became an alternative precursor. In the provinces emperors appointed *equites* as procurators who had prime responsibility for fiscal administration; at Rome from the reign of Augustus key posts, such as the praetorian prefecture or the prefecture of the corn supply, were reserved for equestrians. From the late 1st cent. the posts of the palatine officials, for example, control of the imperial correspondence, were transferred from freedmen to equestrians. Senior equestrian administrators formed with senior senators the political élite of the empire. They intermingled socially with senators; they married into senatorial families; like senators they could be summoned to serve on the emperor's *consilium* (emperor's body of advisers). Sons of leading equestrian officials were the prime source of recruitment of new senatorial families. On occasion, especially under *Vespasian and Marcus *Aurelius, senior equestrians might be adlected by the emperor into the senate.

From the latter part of the 2nd cent. equestrian officials began to acquire regular appellations of rank—*vir eminentissimus* ('most renowned') for the praetorian prefects, *vir perfectissimus* ('most accomplished') for the other prefects and higher procurators, *vir egregius* ('excellent') for the rest. In the course of the 3rd-cent. crisis equestrian officers, often men who had risen to equestrian status via the chief centurionate, began to replace senators as army commanders and provincial governors. This process culminated in the reforms of *Diocletian under whom the higher military posts and almost all administrative posts passed into the hands of *equites*. During the first half of the 4th cent. repeated attempts were made

to confine equestrian rank to office-holders and to exclude *curiales* (town councillors). In the same period the title *perfectissimus* (*egregius* disappears under *Constantine I) was extended downwards to officials of minor rank, eventually being awarded in three grades. By the end of the century this process had been overtaken by a similar diffusion of senatorial honours among officials, and at this point the equestrian order ceases to be a recognizable element in the Roman state. FGBM/GPB

Eratosthenes, of Cyrene (c.285–194 BC), pupil of *Callimachus and Lysanias of *Cyrene. After spending several years at Athens, where he came under the influence of Arcesilaus and Ariston of Chios, he accepted the invitation of Ptolemy III Euergetes to become royal tutor and to succeed *Apollonius of Rhodes as head of the Alexandrian Library. He thus became a member of the Cyrenaean intelligentsia in Alexandria, of which the central figure was Callimachus. His versatility was renowned and criticized, and the eventual Alexandrian verdict was to describe him as *bēta*, 'B-class' (that is to say, not 'second rate' but 'next after the best specialist in each subject'), and *pentathlos*, an 'all-rounder'. Others, more kindly, called him 'a second Plato' (see PLATO). In more than one field, however, and particularly in chronology and mathematical and descriptive *geography, of which, thanks to *Strabo, we know most, his work long retained much of its authority.

Works

(almost entirely lost in direct quotation).

1. Literary criticism. Eratosthenes evidently attached considerable importance to his researches in this field, for we are told by *Suetonius that he was the first scholar to call himself by the proud title of *philologos* ('scholar'). His most important work seems to have been the treatise *On Ancient Comedy*, in at least twelve books; this dealt with literary, lexical, historical, and antiquarian matters, and problems of the authorship and production of plays.

2. Chronology. His *Chronographiai* represented the first scientific attempt to fix the dates of political and literary history. He also compiled a list of Olympian victors. In this field his most significant achievement (later abandoned) was to replace a partly mythical pre-historic chronology by one based on supposedly assured data (the fall of *Troy).

3. Mathematics. He investigated a wide range of mathematical and geometrical problems and was accepted as an equal by Archimedes, who addressed his *Methodus* to him, after the death of his earlier disciple Conon of *Samos. In his *Platonicus* (perhaps a dialogue) he apparently discussed mathematical definitions and the principles of music.

Among his geometrical works were the *On Geometrical Means* and *On the Duplication of the Cube*. The latter included his poem on that well-worn theme, addressed to Ptolemy III. In his *On the Measurement of the Earth* (probably a preliminary work to his *Geographica*) he treated mathematical geography, calculating with a higher degree of accuracy than his predecessors the circumference of the earth. He was the first systematic geographer, and the *Geographica* (*Geōgraphika*, three books) dealt with mathematical, physical, and ethnographical geography, being based on a division of continents on a geometrical basis into 'seals' (*sphragides*), a term perhaps borrowed from contemporary Ptolemaic terminology of land-measurement. The work opened with a sketch of the history of the subject, with especial reference to the Homeric poems, and this, along with the mathematically more exact work of Hipparchus, formed the main source of Strabo's theoretical geography in books 1–2. For the Asiatic section his work was based to a considerable extent on the data provided by the bematists (surveyors) of *Alexander the Great and the early *Seleucids.

4. Philosophy. His works in this field, the *Platonicus*, mentioned above, and the *Ariston* (named after the Chian philosopher Ariston whom Eratosthenes had heard with some scepticism in Athens) were severely criticized by Strabo for their dilettanteism, but we know virtually nothing of their contents, and Strabo, as a good Stoic, was nettled by Eratosthenes' disenchantment with his Stoic teachers. (see STOICISM.) Archimedes, in sending to Eratosthenes the text of his *Methodus*, called him 'a leader of philosophy' (*philosophias proestōs*), and there is no reason to regard this as polite condescension. It seems likely that these philosophical writings belong to the pre-Alexandrian phase of Eratosthenes' career.

5. Poetry. As a poet Eratosthenes for the most part eludes us, though his 'Alexandrian' characteristics are evident in theme and occasional quotation. His statement that the aim of poetry is to entertain, not to instruct, reflects a coherent *ars poetica*. His short epic *Hermes* described the birth of the god Hermes, his youthful exploits, and his ascent to the planets. The short epic *Anterinyos* or *Hesiod* dealt with the death of *Hesiod and the punishment of his murderers. [Longinus] (Subl. 33. 5) praises the elegy *Erigone*, which told the myth of Icarus and his daughter, as 'a faultless little poem' (*dia pantōn amōmēton poiēmation*). These, however, have vanished, and the longest surviving fragments of his versatile muse are the delightful poem on the Duplication of the Cube (see above), and the short piece on the youth of Hermes.

Eratosthenes' intellectual calibre is seen both in chance utterances which reveal him as a man of insight and conviction (perhaps also of prejudice) and also in an

occasional glimpse of a wide moral and political comprehension, notably in his comment in his *Geographica* (Strabo 66) that Greek and 'barbarian' (the Indians and the Arians, the Romans and the Carthaginians, 'with their wonderful political systems') should be judged by the unique criterion of morality and not of race (see BARBARIAN). His candour and independence of judgement may go some way towards explaining that, although the names of some of his direct pupils are known, he seems to have established no lasting following associated with his name; we hear of no 'Eratostheneioi', as there were 'Callimacheioi', 'Aristarcheioi', and others. See GEOGRAPHY; MAPS. P.M.F.

Eros, god of love. Eros personified does not occur in Homer, but the Homeric passages in which the word *erōs* is used give a clear idea of the original significance. It is the violent physical desire that drives Paris to Helen, Zeus to Hera, and shakes the limbs of the suitors of Penelope (*Il.* 3. 442, 14. 294; *Od.* 18. 212). A more refined conception of this Eros who affects mind and body appears in the Archaic lyric poets. Because his power brings peril he is cunning, unmanageable, cruel (Alcman 36; Ibycus 6; Sappho 136; Thgn. 1231); in *Anacreon he smites the lovestruck one with an axe or a whip. He comes suddenly like a wind and shakes his victims (Sappho, Ibycus). Eros is playful, but plays with frenzies and confusion. He symbolizes all attractions which provoke love. He is young and beautiful, he walks over flowers, and the roses are 'a plant of Eros' of which he makes his crown (*Anacreonta* 53. 42). He is sweet and warms the heart (Alcman 101).

With Himeros ('Desire') and Pothos ('Longing'), Eros is a constant companion of *Aphrodite, although he can appear with any god, whenever a love story is involved. Hesiod seems to have transformed the Homeric conception of Eros. Although he describes Eros in terms almost identical with Homer as the god who 'loosens the limbs and damages the mind', he also makes him, together with Earth and Tartarus, the oldest of all gods, all-powerful over gods and men. With Eros as a cosmic principle, Parmenides found a place for him, perhaps as the power which reconciles opposites. This philosophic conception contributed to the Epicurean picture of omnipotent Eros (*Ath.* 13. 561), took abstruse mythological shape in Orphic cosmogonies (*Ar. Av.* 696) (see ORPHEUS), and formed the background for Plato's discussions of Eros in *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*.

Hellenistic poets continue the more playful conception of Anacreon, the tricks Eros plays on mortals, the tribulations of those who try to resist him, and the punishments he receives for his misdeeds. His bow and

arrows, first mentioned by Euripides (*Iphigenia Aulidensis* 548–9), play a great part in these accounts. Frequently a plurality of Erotes is introduced (*Anacreonta*; *Anth. Pal.*; *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 452, 687, 765, 937) because both love and the god who symbolized it could multiply.

Eros had some ancient cults and much individual worship. He was always the god of love directed towards male as well as female beauty. Hence his images in the gymnasium, his cult among the Sacred Band in Thebes (*Ath.* 13. 561f, 602a), and the altar in Athens erected by Hippias' lover (*Ath.* 13. 609d). As a god of fertility Eros is celebrated in the very old cult in Thespieae (*Paus.* 9. 27. 1–5), and in the joint cult with Aphrodite on the north slope of the Athenian Acropolis. In Thespieae Eros was represented by an aniconic image; in Athens phallic symbols have been found in the sanctuary. In both cults festivals were celebrated; that in Thespieae, called Erotidia, incorporated art, athletics, and equestrianism. Altars to Eros at the *Academy in Athens and the gymnasium at Elis were matched by ones to Anteros (*Paus.* 1. 30. 1, 6. 23. 3), whom Eros sometimes wrestles. In Philadelphia, worshippers called themselves Erotes; other cult centres include Leuctra, Velia (in south Italy), and Parium in Mysia.

Eros in Archaic art is hard to differentiate from other winged males. An Attic plaque shows him wingless. On vases, he appears alone, carrying lyre or hare, or in myth, especially accompanying Aphrodite, winged, boyish, sometimes with bow and arrows. During the Classical period he increasingly associates with women, in domestic scenes or weddings. He appears in military and athletic scenes, and was painted by Zeuxis and Pausias. The Erotostasia occurs occasionally. Scopas' group of Eros, Pothos, and Himeros at Megara is an early sculpture. In the Hellenistic period, he is a putto, common in terracottas and with Psyche.

GMAH/JRTP/KWA

ethics 'Ethicals' or *ta ēthika* ('moralia') was the standard label from *Aristotle onwards for treatises on ethics. Aristotle also uses the adjective to describe forensic and political speeches, and literary works (e.g. tragedy, and the *Odyssey* by contrast with the *Iliad*), as expressive of moral character. Using it as a title of treatises reflects a deliberate determination, again consolidated by Aristotle, to distinguish types of inquiry ('ethical' versus 'physical', 'logical' and so on) in terms of their subject-matter, on the assumption that different subject-matters not only rest on different first principles but call for different methods and different standards of accuracy and completeness. The root word *ēthos*, which occurs from *Hesiod and *Homer onwards, means, in the plural, 'haunts' or 'customary abodes' (e.g. of animals) and 'manners' or 'customs' (*mores*); in the sin-

gular, 'disposition', 'character', or 'characteristic way of behaving'. Importantly, *ēthē* (like *mores*) are only ever ascribed to sentient beings (thus it is a narrower concept than the modern philosopher's 'dispositional properties'). It is implied that the subject desires to behave in the specific 'way', but also that once a particular passage of behaviour is traced to an *ēthos*, no further explanation is forthcoming. In general, the use of *ēthos* and *ēthē* tends to be implicitly comparative: it presupposes a class of behaviours and habits (e.g. obtaining food, dealing with danger) taken as common or analogous over a range of types of subject, and then on that basis picks out specific cases as realizing the pattern in a specific 'way' stemming from the animal's or person's own constitution (whether natural or the result of conditioning) as distinct from external circumstances. The comparison may be made as between types of animals (comparison by *ēthē* is one of Aristotle's tools in his zoological inquiries), between nations and tribes etc., and between different persons in the same community. This last context is the one in which attributions of *ēthos* are most obviously 'moralistic', being typically charged with praise or reproach (using virtue- and vice-vocabulary) and the intention of influencing people's conduct. Whether or not there is a genuine etymological connection between *ēthos* and *ēthos* ('accustomed practice', 'way of behaviour acquired by getting used to engaging in it'), the verbal closeness was significant for Plato and Aristotle. In Aristotle it became the foundation of his distinction between the 'ethical' or 'moral' virtues (*ēthikai aretai*) and the virtues of thought or intellect. The distinction reflects two theoretical contrasts, also pre-figured in *Plato. (a) Each type of virtue is acquired in its own way, the ethical ones (and corresponding vices) arise through *ethismos*, i.e. becoming habituated to patterns of action and emotional response through practice, while the intellectual ones arise through 'teaching', i.e. verbal explanation. (b) The intellectual virtues are qualities of the strictly rational 'part' of the soul, while the ethical ones are conditions of the appetitive and emotional part (or, in Plato, parts), which can be trained to 'respond to reason' but cannot 'give itself reason'. As well as the virtues and their opposites, the study of ethics covered actions, passions, pleasure and pain, friendship, and of course *eudaimonia* ('happiness'). The importance of *ēthos* and the 'ethical' is usually taken for granted, but can be analysed to some extent. (1) In a sense, behaviour in accordance with *ēthos* is basic because the subject has not adopted it for a reason; instead, a given *ēthos* expresses itself in part in terms of the specific reasons that weigh or fail to weigh with the subject. Yet (2) the *ēthē* of human beings can

be acquired, strengthened, or reduced by training and the culture in general. Given (1) and (2), the art of managing people (which is a great part of *politikē*) must pay attention to *ta ēthika*, whether or not the management has people's individual *eudaimonia* in view. However, since (1) means that the individual's fundamental responses in a given situation stem from his or her *ēthos*, this *ēthos*, for as long as the person has it, will (in that situation) rule the person's life in terms of actions and emotion. To the extent that happiness depends not just on having things (wealth, position, even wisdom) but on how people use what they have (a standard motif in ancient Greek ethics), personal happiness depends on personal *ēthē*. The idea is encapsulated in Heraclitus' dictum that *ēthos* is a human being's *daimōn*, i.e. the personal spirit that supposedly determines whether one has a good life. SBR

ethnicity (See RACE). In social science usage, a term coined (in 1953) to describe that condition 'wherein certain members of a society in a given social context choose to emphasize as their most meaningful basis of primary extrafamilial identity certain assumed cultural, national or somatic traits' (O. Patterson in N. Glazer and P. Moynihan (eds.), *Ethnicity* (1975), 308); a socio-political strategy of selective advantage enacted within a dominant political organization, which rests on insistence upon the significance of group distinctiveness and identity, and the rights that derive from it. Ethnic identity is not a 'natural' condition, but rather a self-conscious statement using selected cultural traits as diacritical marks. Ethnic groups are thus mutually exclusive, and are more usually constituted with reference to kinship than to territory. Dynamic and strongly contextualized, ethnic expression is characteristic of complex societies.

In the ancient Greek world, ethnic terminology is found from Homer onwards. Ethnicity, in the above sense, is of importance in two principal areas. First, in the context of the *ethnos*, a category of state which existed alongside the **polis*, but which is only rarely treated by ancient sources. *Ethnē* are diverse, with no single form of constitution. They are characterized by the fact that by contrast with *poleis* (which retained total autonomy), individual communities surrendered some political powers (usually control of warfare and foreign relations) to a common assembly. Their inhabitants were thus required to express a range of local and regional loyalties of varying degrees of complexity and strength. By contrast with *poleis*, the role of urban centres in *ethnē* varied greatly; settlement structures range from a high degree of urbanization and local autonomy (e.g. Boeotia, which was tantamount to a collection of small *poleis*) to scattered small

villages with little urban development (e.g. Aetolia). According to *Aristotle (*Pol.* 1326^b), *ethnē* are characterized by their large populations. Although the *ethnos* is sometimes equated with primitive tribalism, social and political developments from the 8th cent. BC onwards (in religion and colonization, for example) often bear comparison with evidence from *poleis*, and the *ethnos* was a varied and long-lived phenomenon. Equally, *ethnē* have been seen as the origin or precursors of the federal states created from the 4th cent. onwards (e.g. the Achaean and Aetolian Confederacies). These, however, incorporated many former *poleis*, and relations between citizen groups were thus more formally constituted, often drawing on earlier concepts of *sympoliteia* and *isopoliteia* ('joint/equal citizenship').

In Hellenistic and Roman times, the concept of ethnicity may be applied to a variety of 'outsider' groups (e.g. Jews) who sought or were accorded particular status or rights within a broader imperial context. Hence the status and political role of these groups varied over time, and ancient sources are often imprecise in distinguishing between ethnic groups, the *natio* (or nation, usually the dominant ethnic group in a region), and the tribe (which in the case of the Roman division of state, may originally have been constituted on an ethnic basis). See MIGRATION; NATIONALISM; RACE.

Ethnicity has become particularly contentious in Late Antiquity. Traditional narratives of the *Völkerwanderungen* (4th–6th cents. AD) assumed that the outsiders moving onto Roman soil had long-established group identities based on shared material and non-material cultural norms. New understandings of ethnicity have combined with reconsiderations of the archaeological and historical sources to undermine this view. The old *migration models have consequently required revision, and sometimes heated debate has followed on which particular sub-groups within units like the Visigoths or Vandals were responsible for asserting these group identities, based on what degree of continuity from the past, or whether, indeed, the coherence of such groups was largely an invention of Roman commentators. CAM/PJH

Etruscans (Gk. Tyrsēnoi, Lat. Tyrrheni, Etrusci), historically and artistically the most important of the indigenous peoples of pre-Roman Italy, and according to *Cato the Elder the masters of nearly all of it (*Serv. on Aen.* 11. 567)—a claim confirmed by archaeology for the area between the Tridentine Alps and the gulf of Salerno. Modern research has resulted in the emergence of a recognizably Etruscan cultural identity that amounts to much more than the traditional images of a poor relation of Greece and a mysterious prelude to Rome.

The conflict in the sources between the Etruscans' alleged eastern (Hdt. 1. 94) and autochthonous (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 25–30) origins has been resolved by D. Briquel's convincing demonstration that the famous story of an exodus, led by Tyrrhenus from Lydia to Italy, was a deliberate political fabrication created in the Hellenized milieu of the court at Sardis in the early 6th cent. BC. Herodotus' authority is not diminished by this: his account is indeed prefaced by the words 'The Lydians say...'. Archaeologically, M. Pallottino's hypothesis of ethnic formation in Etruria itself has long provided the best explanation of the facts: the possessors of the indigenous Villanovan culture between the Arno and the Tiber were iron age Etruscans, who gained much in the 9th and 8th cents. from the interest shown by the outside world in their mineral resources, and in the 7th were able to acquire and commission luxury goods and adornments of east Mediterranean ('orientalizing') types for the tombs of their 'princes'. Foremost among the early bearers of outside influences were the Euboean traders who had established themselves at Pithecusae by the mid-8th cent.: their alphabet was modified to accommodate the pre-existing phonetic systems already characteristic of different Etruscan-speaking zones, and there can be little doubt that it is the first western Greeks who are ultimately responsible for the exaggerated perception of ethnic unity ('Tyrsēnoi') in an area that had in fact inherited a significant degree of regional individuality from its final bronze age.

The continuity in settlement and in the basic culture of the 8th and 7th cents. at the mainstream Villanovan–Etruscan centres was accompanied by major developments both in society and in artistic production. The *praenomen–nomen* combination, a clear sign of proto-urban organization, is attested epigraphically from the beginning of the 7th cent., as are recognizably local schools of fine painted pottery, soon joined by *bucchero* (the only exclusively Etruscan product), bronze-work, and jewellery—categories in which the contributions of native Etruscan and expatriate Greek and Levantine specialists and entrepreneurs are inextricably linked. Oil and wine were also produced and exported on a large scale by the mid-6th cent. By then, too, the social class represented by the early orientalizing princely tombs had given way to a broader, *polis*-based, category of prosperous merchants and landowners. Their last resting-places take the form of single-family chamber-tombs, ranged along streets in well-planned cemeteries which have yielded a rich harvest of imported vases from all the best Attic black-figure and red-figure workshops. The chambers at Tarquinii and a few other centres have preserved the largest extant complex of pre-Roman painting

in the Classical world: prior to the 4th cent., its naturalistic and frequently cheerful depiction of banquets, games, and hunting affords a welcome glimpse of the 'real' Etruscan character underneath the veneer of Hellenization (see HELLENISM) constituted by the mass of prestige goods imported (and made locally) not only for deposition in tombs but also—and increasingly—to supply the votive requirements of major sanctuaries like that at Pyrgi.

The expansion of some Etruscan centres beyond the relatively narrow confines of Etruria proper began at an early stage with the foundation of the Tarquin dynasty at Rome by Lucius Tarquinius Priscus (reigned traditionally 616–578). The presence of the Tarquins, who turned Rome into a city, doubtless facilitated control of the land route to Campania, where Volturnus (Capua) became the chief Etruscan city. To the north, Felsina (Bologna) enjoyed a similar status in the Po valley from the late 6th cent., when growing Greek activity on land and at sea to the south made it imperative to cultivate new markets—not least with the mysterious Celtic communities north of the Alps, who had acquired a taste for the contents of the fine bronze flagons made in Vulci when Arruns of Clusium (Chiusi) set off to entice them into Italy for his own purposes at the end of the 5th cent. (Livy 5. 33). In the event, the Celts added their own not inconsiderable weight to the pressure on the Etruscans that was already building up from Rome (whence the Tarquins were expelled in 509), from the Greek south (where the battle of Cumae was lost in 474) and from other quarters as well (the Carthaginians and the Italic peoples). Of these, the inexorable advance of Rome into Etruria and Umbria was by far the most serious threat to the survival of what was still an essentially cantonal phenomenon as distinct from a nation: city-states, loosely organized in a League of Twelve Peoples, capable of meeting in council at the federal sanctuary of Voltumna near Volsinii—and of denying federal assistance to Veii, threatened by Rome since the end of the 5th cent., for primarily religious reasons. Livy's comment (5. 1. 6) on this episode, to the effect that the Etruscans paid more attention than any other people to religious considerations, is one of the relatively few positive statements about the Etruscans in the ancient sources: no Etruscan literature has survived, and Greek and Roman authors were far from objective observers of such matters as commercial rivalry (which they defined as piracy) and social customs (notably those concerning the position of women) that were not those of Greece and Rome.

DWRR

Eucratides I ('the Great'), Graeco-Bactrian king c.170–145 BC. His brilliant but warlike reign marked the climax

of Greek rule in *Bactria(-Sogdiana). Justinus' *Epitome* 41. 6. 1–5 compares him to Mithradates the Great of *Parthia, while Apollodorus of Artemita (quoted at Strabo 15. 1. 3) calls him 'ruler of a thousand cities'. His parents Heliocles and Laodice, commemorated on a special series of his coins, are otherwise unknown; however, Laodice is portrayed wearing a diadem and was therefore from a royal family. Some believe her to be a sister of *Antiochus (III) the Great, but most scholars reject this view and associate her with either the family of Diodotus II or Euthydemus I. Eucratides apparently seized power in Bactria, and then waged wars in Sogdiana, Arachosia, Drangiana, Aria, and finally NW India. His principal adversary was probably King Demetrius I (son of Euthydemus I), though some argue for Demetrius II. After enduring a long siege, Eucratides overcame Demetrius and claimed the territories of Parapamisadae and Gandhara. It is likely that he also defeated the relatives of Demetrius I, including the ephemeral kings Euthydemus II, Agathocles, and Pantaleon. A campaign against Menander I is also possible.

The career of Eucratides may be traced in his voluminous coinage, which is among the finest and most innovative from antiquity. Besides commemorating his parents, he portrayed himself in heroic pose and added the epithet 'Great' to his royal title. His standard coin-type, the charging Dioscuri, seems to celebrate the famous cavalry of Bactria. South of the Hindu Kush mountains, he issued rectangular and bilingual coins (Greek/Prakrit) on an Indian standard for local commerce. He also struck the largest known gold coin from the ancient world, a numismatic masterpiece weighing 20 staters (169 g.: almost 6 oz.).

Eucratides was brutally assassinated c.145 BC by one of his sons, probably Plato. Another son, Heliocles 'the Just', avenged the crime, but Bactria-Sogdiana soon fell victim to nomadic invaders from the north and Parthian encroachment from the west. Eucratides was the last king to rule at *Ai Khanoum. FLH

euergetism, neologism of French scholarship (*évergétisme*, from *euergetēs*, 'benefactor') to describe the socio-political phenomenon of voluntary gift-giving to the ancient community. Embracing the beneficence of Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors, whose subjects saw such philanthropy as a cardinal virtue of rulers (see KINGSHIP), it has been studied in recent years above all in relation to the *polis, of which benefaction by wealthy citizens and citizenesses becomes a defining characteristic from the 3rd cent. BC until late antiquity, as is attested by thousands of honorific inscriptions memorializing donors; it is also a feature of republican Rome, where the

liberalities of senators in kind at least (public building, spectacle) resemble that of their humbler Greek contemporaries, and of the (Mediterranean) Roman city in general. In Greece the origins of euergetism go back to the aristocratic ideal of liberality found in Homer and echoed by Aristotle, who included acts of 'magnificence' (*megaloprepeia*) such as feasting the city among the virtues of the well-born man (*Eth. Nic.* 1119^b19–1122^a17). In Classical Athens beneficence in this tradition, while lingering into the 5th cent., was essentially inimical to the ideal equality of Athenian *democracy, which preferred instead to impose on rich citizens the compulsory duty of the liturgy. Although 4th-cent. Athens conferred the title 'benefactor' on foreigners, only in the 3rd cent. does the type of the 'benefactor politician' emerge clearly in the Greek city, as with one Boulagoras of Samos (c.245 BC), who combined office-holding with gifts from his own purse to his city, in return receiving a crown and inscription (*Syll.*³ 366 = Austin no. 113). *Aristotle saw munificence in office as a cynical device of rich oligarchs (*Pol.* 1321^a31–42); P. Veyne (*Bread and Circuses* (abr. Eng. trans. 1990)) sees Hellenistic 'benefactor politicians' as symptomatic of a weakening of democracy in favour of increasing dependence on the rich few. Others (following P. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs* (1985)) postpone this 'decline' until the advent of Roman domination, when (largely unaccountable) regimes of gift-giving notables in effect became the system of government in the Greek city; it is to this phase (from c.150 BC) that the extreme forms of honours for local benefactors, including cult, belong (as well as the hailing of the Romans by some Greek cities as 'common benefactors', *koinoi euergetai*). Civic euergetism was a mixture of social display, patriotism, and political self-interest. It was not charity, since its main beneficiary was the citizen-group, although its increasing embrace under Roman rule of the whole city (i.e. slaves and foreigners) prepared the way for the emergence of bishops and wealthy lay Christians as local benefactors, whose protection and material assistance, however, now specifically included the *humiliores* (non-élite persons). Probably at no time was the economic significance of euergetism as great as the vast number of honorific inscriptions might suggest. AJSS

Euripides (see following page)

Eusebius, of Caesarea (c.AD 260–339), prolific writer, biblical scholar and apologist, effective founder of the Christian genres of Church history and chronicle, and the most important contemporary source for the reign of *Constantine I. His intellectual formation at Caesarea in

[continued on p. 297]

EURIPIDES

Euripides, Athenian tragic playwright.

Career

Euripides was born probably in the 480s. He first took part in the dramatic competitions of the City Dionysia at Athens in 455 BC, the year after the death of *Aeschylus (Life 32: he came third; the plays included *Daughters of Pelias*, his first treatment of the story of *Medea); he died in 407–6, leaving, like *Sophocles later in the same year, plays still unperformed (*Iphigenia at Aulis*, *Alcmaeon in Corinth*, *Bacchae*: schol. Ar. *Frogs* 67), with which he won a last, posthumous victory (*Suda*, entry under the name). His first victory came only in 441 (*Marm. Par.* 60; plays unknown). He won again in 428 (hypothesis ('preface' to *Hippolytus*), but in his lifetime won only four victories at the Dionysia (*Suda*): he was thus far less successful in the competition than Aeschylus (thirteen victories) or Sophocles (eighteen victories). In 438 he was defeated by Sophocles (hyp. *Alc.*; Euripides' plays were *Cretan Women*, *Alcmaeon in Psophis*, *Telephus*, *Alcestis*); in 431 he was third to Aeschylus' son, Euphorion, and Sophocles (hyp. *Medea*: his plays were *Medea*, *Philoctetes*, *Dictys*, *Theristae*); in 415 second to Xenocles (Ael. *VH* 2. 8; Euripides' plays were *Alexander*, *Palamedes*, *Trojan Women*, *Sisyphus*); in 409 second, perhaps to Sophocles (hyp. *Phoen*; his plays included *Phoenissae* and perhaps *Oenomaus* and *Chrysippus*). In 408 he probably competed at the Dionysia for the last time with plays that included *Orestes* (schol. *Or.* 371). He is said to have left Athens soon afterwards on a visit to Macedon, as guest of the Hellenizing king Archelaus, to have written a play there about an eponymous ancestor of the king (much as Aeschylus had written a play about the foundation of the city of Aetna while in Syracuse as guest of the tyrant, Hieron), and never to have returned to Athens but to have died in Macedon: but for doubts about that whole tradition see S. Scullion, *CQ* 2003, 389–400. There is certainly no good reason to accept the ancient tradition that he left Athens an embittered man, finally despairing after a series of defeats by almost unknown playwrights (Satyrus, *Life of Eur.* fr. 39; Philodemus *de vitiiis*, col. 13; Satyrus' *Life* is largely a work of fiction).

Plays

Euripides wrote some ninety plays (*Suda*, entry under the name). By chance we have more than twice as many of them as we have plays by either Aeschylus or Sophocles. They fall into two categories: the first, a group of ten plays which have been transmitted to us in our medieval manuscripts complete with the accumulation of ancient notes and comments that we call scholia. They represent the same kind of volume of 'selected plays' as we have for the other two playwrights. They are: *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, *Trojan Women*, *Phoenissae*, *Orestes*, *Bacchae*, and *Rhesus*. The last is almost certainly not by Euripides; the plays are in their likely chronological order; *Bacchae* has lost its scholia and the end of the play is partly missing. The other nine plays are: *Helen*, *Electra*, *Heraclidae*, *Heracles*, *Suppliant Women*, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, *Ion*, *Cyclops*. They have been transmitted in only a pair of closely related 14th-cent. manuscripts (known as L and P); they have no scholia and they are in a rough (Greek) alphabetical order. There is little doubt that they represent the chance survival of one volume (perhaps two) of the 'complete plays' of Euripides, which circulated in alphabetical order, as we know from ancient lists of plays and collections of 'hypotheses' (prefaces) to the plays (see Barrett, ed. *Hippolytos*, 45–61): they therefore represent a random sample of Euripides' work. Nine of the surviving plays are dated: *Alcestis* (438), *Medea* (431), *Hippolytus* (428), *Trojan Women* (415); *Helen* (412); *Phoenissae* (409); *Orestes* (probably 408); *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia at Aulis* (between 408 and 406). The remaining plays can be dated more roughly but with some confidence on the evidence of Euripides' writing of the verse of spoken dialogue in his plays. Statistical studies have shown that the tendency he clearly displays to write an ever freer, looser iambic verse line, by replacing 'long' syllables with pairs of 'short', is steadily progressive and not subject to sudden fluctuations (Dale, ed., *Helen*, with references to earlier work). The likely sequence (with approximate dates) is: *Heraclidae* (430), *Andromache* (426), *Hecuba* (424), *Suppliant Women* (422), *Electra* (416), *Heracles* (414), *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (413), *Ion* (410). The satyr-play *Cyclops* is late, probably around 408. We also have, mostly from papyrus texts, sizeable fragments of several other plays: *Telephus*, *Cretans*, *Cresphontes*, *Erechtheus*, *Phaethon*, *Alexander*, *Oedipus*, *Hypsipyle*, *Archelaus* (in their probable chronological order).

'Realism', fragmentation, formalism

Ever since *Aristophanes' portrayal of Euripides, in his play *Frogs*, as an intellectual iconoclast who insisted on confronting the darker and more disturbing aspects of everyday reality (*Frogs* 959), and Aristotle's quotation of an opaque remark attributed to Sophocles, to the effect that he (Sophocles) presented men 'as they ought to be', while Euripides presented them 'as they are' (*Poet.* 1460^b33 ff.), Euripides has tended to be read as a 'realist'. Plays such as *Trojan Women* (which sharply focuses on the savage brutality of war, in the middle of war); *Aeolus* (which takes incest as its theme: we know of it only from its 'hypothesis') and *Cretans* (whose action turns on sexual intercourse between a woman and a bull) have been cited in evidence. Moreover it has seemed obvious to many critics (already in antiquity: [Longinus], *Subl.* 15. 4–5) that a naturalistic treatment of human psychology, particularly female psychology, is another hallmark of Euripidean theatre: witness *Medea*, *Phaedra*, *Hecuba*, *Electra*, *Creusa* but also *Ion*, *Orestes* (in *Orestes*), and *Pentheus*. It is undoubtedly true that there are strands of 'realism' in Euripides' writing for the theatre: for example, *Medea's* presentation of herself as mistrusted 'foreigner' and oppressed and exploited 'woman' (*Med.* 214–58) and her subsequent slow, tortured progress to infanticide; *Orestes* sickened and eventually driven mad by the corrosive effects of guilt (*Or.* 34–45; 208–315, including the only 'mad scene' in extant Greek tragedy); or the voyeurism of *Pentheus* in *Bacchae*. But these are strands only in an extremely fragmented whole. For it is arguable that a vision of human experience as inherently fragmented and as defined by the co-existence of disparate, even contradictory, strands forms the very heart of Euripidean sensibility.

If we go back to *Medea* and read it attentively, we shall find that the *Medea* we have encountered in the passage already referred to exists, within the world of the play, alongside other *Medeas*: before the passage mentioned, she has been heard off-stage, giving incoherent voice only to pain and articulate only in universal cursing and damnation, of herself and her own children as well as of her enemies; immediately after it, she is transformed into a subtle adversary who patently and easily outwits her most powerful enemy. Subsequently she becomes successively brilliant orator, pathetic victim, devious manipulator, exultant (and uncanny) avenger, tormented mother until her final metamorphosis (involving a stunning *coup de théâtre*) into the demonic figure who, in an aerial chariot drawn by snakes, closes the play with prophecies and taunts sent down from beyond his reach upon the husband who deserted and humiliated her.

Hippolytus too introduces us to a similarly fragmented world: the play is framed by the appearance of two human-like divinities, cool, articulate, and frighteningly rational in their revenges; in between it is given over to humans, in three very disparate and distinct 'movements'. The first of these movements comprises the uncanny and disturbing passage across the stage of *Hippolytus*, who, it is clear, lives apart in a world of his own making and accompanied by his own, personal, chorus; as he leaves, we are confronted, first, by a world of women, characterized by an intimacy which is warm and close but also painful, and by a *Phaedra*, who is successively delirious with hunger and unspoken sexual desire and then, immediately, rational, articulate, and analytical in presenting her decision to take her own life. That world is shattered by its own intimacies, which lead by slow degrees but with a sense of psychologically convincing inevitability first to deadly revelation and then to misguided intervention. The intervention goes terrifyingly astray. *Phaedra* dies and the world of women in which she has lived is replaced by a world of men, that of her husband and *Hippolytus*, the stepson with whom she had, by *Aphrodite's* will, fallen obsessively in love. This male world is characterized no longer by intimacy and warm relationship but by distance and cold rhetoric: in this world there is no communication, only speech-making and the cut-and-thrust of distichomythia (the formal exchange of pairs of lines). The scene ends in *Theseus's* invocation of a male divinity, his own father, to destroy his son and it is followed at once by the messenger's description of that destruction: the description demonstrates that divinity is not human, but bestial and capable of tearing men literally apart and of bringing about the annihilation of all that they have made.

Moreover, Euripidean 'realism' is conveyed to the reader/spectator through the medium of a marked, if equally fragmented, formalism. It has been a stumbling-block for many critics that Euripidean theatricality is expressed in stiffly formal, often detached, 'set pieces'. Euripides characteristically opens his plays with a markedly non-naturalistic 'prologue', in the form of a monologue, which acts as a kind of separate overture. Almost as characteristically he closes them with a detached tailpiece: the shape of the action is broken and brought to a halt by the intervention, sometimes (as in *Medea*) of a character from that action, now transformed, but more often a divinity (as in *Hippolytus*, *Andromache*, *Suppliant Women*, *Electra*, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, *Ion*, *Helen*, *Orestes*, *Bacchae*). The divinity often apparently makes a highly theatrical apparition off the ground in mid-air, the so-called '*deus ex machina*' (already a problem for Aristotle: *Poet.* 1454^b2 ff.). Confrontation between dramatic persons frequently takes the form of an exchange of

symmetrical and brilliantly rhetorical speeches, transparently forensic in tone, a special kind of bravura set-piece which modern scholars have called an *agōn*.

Innovation and recurrence

In *Frogs* Aristophanes presents Euripides (comically) as a compulsive innovator and subverter of tradition. In his handling of the traditional stories which he (like the other 5th-cent. playwrights) took as the material out of which to make his plays, he clearly innovates: Medea's infanticide; Heracles' killing of his wife and children after, not before, the labours; Electra's marriage to a peasant farmer; the trial of Orestes before the Argive assembly; Thebes, years after Oedipus' discovery of the truth, still inhabited by Iocasta, Oedipus, and Antigone (and by a transient chorus of Phoenician girls!)—all these seem to be Euripidean innovations. There is a kind of restlessness to Euripidean experimentation (*Phoenissae* provides a good example) that many critics have taken to be definitive of his theatrical imagination. But innovation is not in itself a peculiarly Euripidean trait: Aeschylus (especially in *Suppliant Women* and *Oresteia*) and Sophocles (especially in *Philoctetes*) both gave themselves the freedom to reshape traditional stories in order to create new fictional worlds for the tragic theatre.

At least as characteristic of Euripides is the tendency to create theatre, almost obsessively, out of recurring dramatic situations which echo and resonate with each other. Very often these situations have women at their centre, women as victims and/or deadly avengers: examples are *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, *Electra*, *Trojan Women*, *Ion*, *Helen*, *Iphigenia at Aulis*. Sometimes structural echoing (as between *Medea* and *Hippolytus*), situational parallels (as between *Electra* and *Orestes* or between *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*), or emotional resonances (as between *Medea* and *Ion*) almost give the impression that the later play is a reworking of the earlier. Similarly *Bacchae* returns to the theme of divine revenge through the subjugation and perversion of human will that he had treated in *Hippolytus*. But these are not 'revivals' under another name. Each reworking offers a different vision of the human condition and these disparate visions are enacted in very different structural forms: the ending of *Hecuba*, for example, is quite other than, and carries a very different sense of '*closure' from, that of *Trojan Women*.

Speech and song: the late plays

The late plays of Euripides (roughly those of the last decade of his life, the plays that come after *Trojan Women* and *Heracles*) have thrown up major problems of interpretation and have led to strong critical disagreement. In so far as there has been a consensus, plays such as *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, *Ion*, and *Helen* have been characterized as 'escapist' or as 'tragicomedies', while others such as *Phoenissae*, *Orestes*, and *Iphigenia at Aulis* (*Bacchae*, it is agreed, is somehow 'different') have been called 'epic theatre' or 'melodrama'. The underlying assumption has been that Euripides has turned away from the painful realities of tragic experience to offer his audiences less demanding, more 'entertaining' forms of theatre: the very real sufferings caused by the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) between Athens and the Spartan alliance have often been invoked in explanation.

The late plays are also often seen as the moment in Athenian theatre history when the chorus goes into terminal decline: its songs become fewer, more 'irrelevant' to the action and more purely decorative in function. (The charge of 'irrelevance' has indeed been laid against Euripides' use of the chorus even in his earliest surviving plays, for example in the third *stasimon* of *Medea*, ll. 824–65.) The two issues (of the changing nature of late Euripidean theatre and the 'decline of the chorus') need to be taken together.

Sung and spoken text together form the 'script' of the Greek tragic theatre from the earliest surviving play, Aeschylus' *Persians* of 472 BC, to the last, Euripides' *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia at Aulis* and Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, and in almost all the plays that we have actors and chorus both sing and speak (it is generally assumed that the spoken lines marked 'Chorus' in our manuscripts were in fact spoken only by the chorus-leader). But song is the characteristic mode of choral utterance and speech that of actors. In the late plays of Euripides this distinction becomes very much less clear as actors are increasingly given arias and duets to sing and moments of great emotional intensity in these plays are marked by such songs. Thus, for example, Creusa's anguished and distracted aria of self-revelation at *Ion* 859–922; the recognition duet of Menelaus and Helen at *Helen* 625–97; the murder scene of *Orestes* 1246–1310; and the final encounter and last farewells of Antigone and Oedipus at *Phoenissae* 1539–81, 1710–57. Sung text is also used to convey young innocence at *Ion* 82–183 and *Phoenissae* 103–92. At the same time choral songs are becoming more infrequent, though the stanzas that form them are getting longer.

Moreover, Euripides increasingly uses 'astrophic' song, that is song not composed of the responding, metrically rhymed stanzas that throughout the history of tragedy had characterized the song of both chorus and actors. We have

external evidence that connects these changes to new developments in musical composition, developments that were seemingly designed to make possible freer, aurally less predictable vocal lines. The key figure in these developments appears to have been Euripides' younger contemporary, Timotheus, who is plausibly associated with Euripides in a number of ancient anecdotes. Such music and the writing that goes with it, composed of long sentences, free in syntax, that seem to float without ultimate closure (they are brilliantly parodied by Aristophanes in *Frogs*), are clearly the medium for a different perception of human experience than that of the earlier plays. It is not that Euripides' perception is no longer 'tragic' (though a number of the late plays, such as *Ion*, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, and *Helen*, do end with apparent 'happiness'); rather Euripides now seems to see human beings not just as articulately analytical in confronting suffering but simultaneously as living in a world of shifting, unstable, and often contradictory emotions. It is through song, and the associative juxtaposition of sensations, thoughts, and experiences that have always characterized Greek song, that such fleeting and unstable forms of consciousness are conveyed in the late plays.

Alongside this almost operatic use of song, Euripides also employs in the late plays other new formal devices to create new versions of the tragic. They include vastly extended passages of stichomythia (exchanges of single lines, dialogue at its most tensely formal) and the use of metres taken from much older forms of tragedy, such as the trochaic tetrameter (*Or.* 729–806, which includes 25 successive lines divided between two speakers, shows both formal devices together). The result is a series of plays whose emotional atmosphere is much more difficult to seize and characterize. Their themes still include human isolation and inexplicable suffering, failures of communication, the victimization of women, and the drive to revenge, even the terrors of madness, themes that have marked earlier Euripidean theatre but in a bewildering variety of new dramatic modes.

The last two plays that we have, *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*, point up the paradoxical and disconcerting multiplicity of Euripides' theatrical imagination. *Bacchae* eschews almost all the formal innovations of the other late plays (though not the freer iambic verse nor the extended stichomythia scenes) and offers a vision of human experience that combines a stark and shocking view of the power of divinity with a luxuriant but ambiguous emotionalism which veers from joyful calm to exultant savagery: men and women are crushed and overwhelmed by collision with a divine power which they cannot comprehend. *Iphigenia at Aulis* takes us into another world. It makes much use of actor arias and duets (including an extended passage of sung text given to Agamemnon, as well as long arias for Iphigenia); it deploys greatly extended passages of stichomythia, much of it in trochaic tetrameters and involving free use of broken lines. The choral songs are more numerous than in other late plays and the first of them (the entry-song of the chorus) is very long. Above all it creates an emotionally charged but unstable world marked by botched deception and exciting disclosure, by an anti-hero, Agamemnon, who is tormented by indecision, and by a young Iphigenia, who combines a childlike innocence with heroic self-determination. The worlds of *Iphigenia* and of *Bacchae* barely touch and yet, in the theatre, they were juxtaposed, played one after the other before the same audience. They attest not merely the variety of Euripides' theatrical imagination (to the very end of his life) but also a fact that we should always remember: that his audiences, like those of Aeschylus and Sophocles, were accustomed to the experience of tragedy not in the form of a single play but as a sequence of three disparate tragic fictions, rounded off by anti-tragic burlesque. The disparateness of Euripides' theatrical imagination plays to that expectation. See also TRAGEDY, GREEK. JPAG

Palestine owed much to the influence of Pamphilus (martyred 310), by whom he was apparently adopted, and to their joint use of the library of Origen. From his election as bishop of Caesarea c.313 until his death in 339, Eusebius played a significant role in ecclesiastical politics in the eastern empire. He attended and assented to the decisions of the Council of Nicaea in 325, having been readmitted to communion after recanting his earlier views; but though he delivered a speech at the dedication of Constantine's church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (335) and encomia for the emperor's *decennalia* (315–16) and *tricennalia* (335–36), he was probably not such a con-

fidant of Constantine as has commonly been supposed. He was present at the council of Tyre in 335 as an opponent of Athanasius, and shortly afterwards at Jerusalem when Arius was readmitted to the church. His *Life of Constantine*, left unfinished at his death, sought to create the impression of a harmonious and consistent imperial religious policy from the accession of Constantine (306) to the reign of his three sons, beginning in September 337.

Eusebius wrote biblical commentaries, in which the profound influence exerted on him by Origen is tempered by his own historical perspective; his *Onomasticon*,

‘a biblical gazetteer’, is an important source for the historical geography of Palestine. The two editions (? before 303 and 325–6) of his lost *Chronicle*, represented by Jerome’s Latin version and by an Armenian translation, synthesized Old Testament, near eastern, and Graeco-Roman history into a continuous chronological sequence accompanied by chronological tables. The object, as in his *Ecclesiastical History*, was to demonstrate that God’s plan for salvation subsumed the whole of history. The same thinking lay behind his *Preparation for the Gospel* and *Proof of the Gospel* (after 313), apologetic works in which pagan philosophy is refuted and the Roman empire seen as the necessary background for the coming of Christ and the establishment of Christianity. The *Preparation* reveals Eusebius’ immense debt to the library of Origen, with its many citations from Greek historians, Philo Judaeus, and especially Middle Platonist philosophy. An early work, *Against Hierocles*, attacks the comparison of the pagan *Apollonius of Tyana with Christ; in the *Preparation* the main target is Porphyry, whose anti-Christian arguments Eusebius systematically set out to refute. The later *Theophany* (325–6 or later), extant in Syriac translation, and his last works repeat many of the same apologetic themes.

Eusebius’ integrity as a historian has often been challenged, and indeed the later part of his ten-book *Ecclesiastical History* (which may have been begun in the 290s but only reached its final form in 324–5) was successively extended and clumsily revised as immediate circumstances changed. The *Life of Constantine*, in four books, has seemed so suspect on the grounds of bias and inconsistencies that Eusebian authorship has been denied. But the authenticity of the many documents cited or mentioned has been vindicated in one major case by the identification of the same text on papyrus, and modern scholarship is more willing than before to recognize the complexity of Eusebius’ methods. The citation of documentary evidence marks both works off from secular historiography. However, Eusebius’ aim was not so much objectivity as persuasion: close study of the reworking of parts of the *Ecclesiastical History* in the *Life of Constantine* shows that he deliberately developed and enhanced his own earlier argument in the light of later reflection. Both works reflect the powerful impact of Christian persecution on Eusebius’ thought but unlike the *Ecclesiastical History*, which took its main shape before or during the persecution of 303–13, and went on to cover only the part of Constantine’s reign up to the defeat of Licinius in 324, the much later *Life of Constantine* reflects Eusebius’ mature, if one-sided, understanding of the implications of a Christian imperial system.

AMC

experiment Greek and Roman scientists did not refer directly to the experimental method. However, in a variety of contexts they described testing procedures that were clearly deliberate investigations designed to throw light on problems or to support theories. Examples can be found in the Presocratic philosophers, the Hippocratic writers, *Aristotle, Erasistratus, Heron, Philon, Ptolemy, and Galen.

We should distinguish first the areas where experimental investigation is possible from those where it is not. Direct experiments in astronomy are out of the question. This was also true, in antiquity, in relation to most problems in meteorology (thunder and lightning) and in geology (*earthquakes). In such cases ancient scientists often conjectured analogies with other more accessible phenomena that were directly investigable. Thus Anaximenes may have tried to support Anaximander’s theory of lightning as caused by wind splitting the clouds by suggesting that it is like the flash of an oar in water. Similarly some of the experimental interventions described in the Hippocratic writers (see MEDICINE §4) incorporate an element of analogy. The writer of *Diseases 4*, for instance, describes a system of intercommunicating vessels which can be filled or emptied by filling or emptying one of them. He uses this to explain the movements of the humours between the main sources in the body (stomach, heart, head, spleen, liver). What this shares with an experiment is the careful construction of an artificial set-up. Where it differs from experiment in the strict sense is that its relevance to the physiological problem discussed depends entirely on the strength of the analogy suggested (in this case a mere conjecture).

Sometimes, however, direct interventions are proposed. Examples can be given from *physics, harmonics, optics, mechanics, pneumatics, physiology, and *anatomy. Thus Aristotle states that he has proved by testing (*pepeiramenoi*) that the evaporate of sea water is fresh (*Meteor.* 358^b 16ff): however he then goes on to claim that the same is true of other flavoured liquids including wine—a typical risky extension of an experimental result. In harmonics, testing procedures were used by pre-Platonic Pythagoreans (see PYTHAGORAS) in their investigations of the numerical relations expressed by the concords of octave, fifth, and fourth, although later writers who report that those relations were discovered by Pythagoras himself are generally untrustworthy. Some such reports claimed, for example, that he made that discovery by weighing hammers that gave certain notes: yet that would not yield the result described.

Optics provides one of our fullest examples of a series of careful experiments, though the results have been adjusted to suit the general theory proposed. In his *Optics*

(5. 8 ff.) Ptolemy describes his investigations of refraction between three pairs of media (from air to water, air to glass, and water to glass). He describes the apparatus used and records the results to within a half degree for angles of incidence at 10-degree intervals. However, the results all exactly confirm the general 'law' that takes the form $r=ai-bi^2$, where r is the angle of refraction, i the angle of incidence, and a and b constants for the media concerned. Elsewhere he provides convincing experimental proof of the elementary laws of reflection (3. 3), to establish, for instance, that the angle of incidence equals the angle of reflection.

Experiments in the strict sense were attempted also in the life sciences. Erasistratus described one in which a bird is kept in a vessel without food for a given period of time, after which he weighed the animal together with the visible excreta and compared this with the original weight. This he took to show that there are invisible

effluvia from animals—again an overinterpretation of a correct result. Galen used experimental *vivisections on animals to investigate a variety of problems. He showed the peristalsis of the stomach in one, and produced a detailed account of the courses of the nerves in systematic experiments on the spinal cords of pigs. In the latter case no general theory is at stake: what the experiments reveal is the precise connection between vital functions and particular nerves.

Ancient scientists thus showed considerable ingenuity in devising testing procedures. However what this exemplifies is not so much the idea of a crucial experiment, an ideally neutral means of adjudicating between theories antecedently deemed to be of equal plausibility, as the appeal to tests specifically to support or to falsify a theory. In this way, experiments in antiquity are an extension, though an important one, of the use of evidence.

JEF/GERL

HISTORICAL EXPLANATION

1. 'Which of the gods was it that brought the two together in strife?', asks the *Iliad* as it launches its narrative (1.8); early in the *Odyssey* *Zeus complains that mortals blame the gods when they are responsible for their own sufferings (1.32–3). Both poems however swiftly complicate any attempt to limit explanations to either the human or the divine level. Achilles and Agamemnon quarrel, Achilles kills Hector, and Odysseus gets home, largely because they are the people that they are, but gods often intervene too. The Greeks win because they are better fighters; they also win because more gods are on their side. The poems also suggest another form of explanation, not tracing events to their origins but relating them to a familiar pattern of human life. Suffering is the lot of humanity (*Il.* 2.4.525–6); outrages like those of the suitors are punished. Life is like that, and one should not be surprised.

2. Interest in causal explanation is also a feature of Greek and Roman historiography. *Herodotus' proem promises treatment, along with 'other things', of 'the reason why Greeks and barbarians came to war against one another'; *Thucydides weighs the 'truest explanation' of the war against the 'grievances' which were aired at the time (see para 5 below); *Polybius presents 'the contemplation of causes' as a preoccupation of those who are eager for knowledge (6.1.8); *Tacitus echoes a proverb in speaking of 'matters that at first seem slight but from which great things are often set in motion' (*Ann.* 4.32.2). Individual authors have different preoccupations and slants, but many of those Homeric features are recurrent: the double levels of causation, their complex interaction, the importance but also the limitation of explanations based on individual personality, the relevance of national characteristics and weaknesses, the recurrent patterns of human experience.

3. Greek historians sometimes highlight the role of the divine, especially when particularly momentous or morally satisfying events are in point (e.g. *Hdt.* 2.120.3, 4.205; *Xenophon *Hell.* 5.4.1, 7.5.13); Thucydides is an exception, though he does, very occasionally, draw in religion as an important explanatory strand (esp. 7.18.2–3). Still, the divine register rarely precludes explanations on the human level as well, any more than Polybius' stress (1.4.1) on the role of Fortune in Rome's rise precludes him from stressing the importance of the Roman constitution (6.1.8–10). It can be left open whether a particular success requires a divine or human explanation (*Xen. Hell.* 7.5.12), but more often the two levels simply co-exist. Nor are the gods always friendly: Tacitus' *Histories* will show, so he says, that 'gods do not care about

our safety but do about our vengeance' (*Hist.* 1.3.2), whether that means that they take vengeance themselves or simply show interest in the vengeance that humans take on one another.

4. In other ways too historians can accumulate different explanatory strands. In Herodotus patterns of reciprocity and vengeance, with aggression provoking counter-aggression, co-exist with an imperialistic rhythm whereby a run of success tempts an over-confident leader to a step too far (e.g. 1.27, 1.71). Croesus' motive for fighting Cyrus is pre-emptive (1.46.1), and it is also his desire for land (1.73.1). This need not be regarded as simple-minded; modern historians too debate how far events are over-determined, either because of complex motives or because of a plurality of forces or influences. But not all explanations are as good as one another. Herodotus can already contrast real motives with professed ones (4.167.3, 8.3.2), and debate what was the real reason why Athens was the saviour of Greece (7.139).

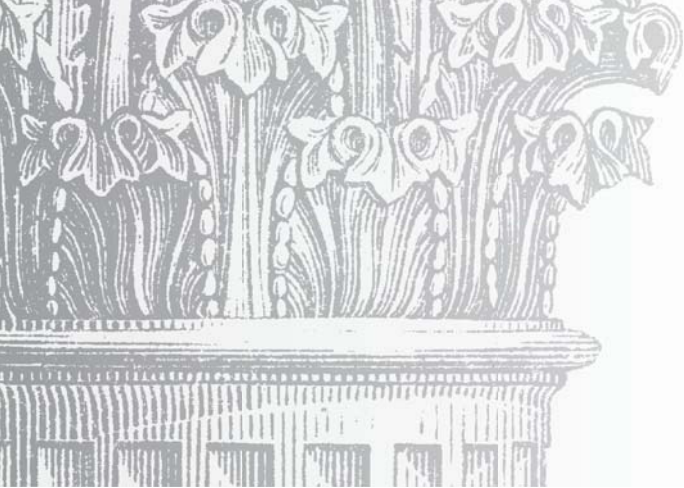
5. Such weighing invited the development of a causal vocabulary, and much of it has a rhetorical tinge: that is why 'explanation' is often the better word, an argument put forward for others to weigh. Recurrent Greek words are *aitia* often 'grievance', or *aitios/-on* 'who' or 'what is to blame'; *prophasis*, normally connected with *phēmi* and interpreted as 'what is proffered as a reason', true, false, or half-true (an alternative derivation from *prophainō* is sometimes suggested to give a 'phenomenon' that 'precedes' something else); and more rarely *proschēma*, a 'front' that one puts up before others. Thucydides contrasts the 'truest explanation' (unexpectedly, *prophasis*) of the war—Athenian expansion and the fears this caused in Sparta—with the 'causes' or 'grievances' (*aitiai*) aired at the time, centring on Corcyra or Potidaea (1.23.6), and this vocabulary and conceptual framework are echoed when Athens launches the Sicilian expedition (6.6.1). Elsewhere too different explanations are weighed against one another (esp. 2.65.11 and 7.57.1). As in similar league-tables of causes in the Hippocratic (e.g. *Aer.* 24, *On Breaths* 15), the 'less true' explanation is not wholly rejected but simply explains less: thus Corcyra and Potidaea may explain why the war happened in 431 rather than 425, but the 'truest cause' explains why it happened at all. Polybius develops this to a threefold scheme of 'cause', 'pretext', and 'beginning' (3.6, 9.6–10.6, 15.9). He has there been thought to trivialize Thucydides' scheme, and to fail to produce deeper explanations of Thucydidean profundity; it is arguable though that his earlier narrative has already brought out Thucydides-like ideas of a clash of empires and fearful responses on both sides, and he can now take this for granted.

6. *Cicero's requirements for historiography include the demand 'that all causes should be laid out, whether of chance or of rashness or of wisdom' (*De or.* 2.63): to modern tastes a rather narrow repertoire, with human strengths or failings as the only alternatives to chance. Sempronius Asellio had similarly distinguished annals from history in that the first chronicled actions, the second showed 'the planning and the thinking' with which they were carried out (fr. 1 P). Roman historiography does indeed follow Greek in dwelling on human personality; *Livy's Scipio and Hannibal and *Tacitus' Tiberius and Nero make a great difference, just as Herodotus' Themistocles and Thucydides' Pericles had done; so do *Sallust's Jugurtha and Catiline, less in their case as exemplars of the vices they exploit in others than of a corrupted form of virtue. But there is also an embedded tendency to look beyond the personal to wider explanations centring on Rome itself, not unlike (but often more morally triumphalist than) the way that Greek historiography found explanations in the characteristics of autocratic Persians, innovative Athenians, or cautious Spartans. *Cato the Elder left out the generals' names (*Nepos Cato* 3), presumably to highlight the achievements of the Roman people (though he found room to include his own speeches); Sallust found the relevant background to the events of 63 BC not in Cicero's or *Catiline's past life but in the social, moral, and economic crisis in Rome and Italy (*Cat.* 6–13, 36–9). Livy's linking themes are often based on Rome's moral strengths and resilience, though his later books also indicate the dangers of contact with eastern wealth and luxury; and Tacitus distances his history from imperial biography by indicating themes such as the hypocrisies embedded in the imperial system, with senators just as insincere and vindictive as their dissimulating or ruthless *principes*, or the legions' growing awareness of the power they could exercise.

7. Such explanatory strands have something of the life-is-like-that pattern: Romans are virtuous and martial, and so one is less in need of (though one can still find) particular explanations for individual successes. The patterning can be more universal still: big cities become small and small become big (*Hdt.* 1.5.4), just as the wheel of fortune can always turn for individuals (*Hdt.* 1.29–33). Thucydides probes an underlying human nature that, despite the important local variations, all may share, and war shows such human nature at its worst; brutal, vindictive, and often wildly askew in its calculation of self-interest. The history of empires and regimes here raised questions of special concern. Are there universal patterns here too, so that a great power, whatever the particular reasons for its growth, will take its place in a 'sequence of empires' that have risen and fallen? Herodotus and Thucydides play, more or less explicitly, with the idea of Athens as the new Persia. Polybius first suggests that Rome's constitutional strengths may make her different from

past great powers (Book 6); with his continuation to include events to 146 BC, darker questions are raised, and *Scipio Aemilianus may have reasons to fear that the fate of Carthage may one day befall Rome (38.21–2). Livy's history of the regal period (Book 1) prefigures some of the rhythms of the Republic, with the growth of violence and ambition and an autocrat eventually overthrown by a Brutus to begin a new Roman era. Tacitus too ponders the possibility of some sort of cycle, this time in morality and luxury (*Ann.* 3.55.5). The possibility of such patterning underpins the historians' concern to teach lessons for the future, whether pragmatic (how to avoid the mistakes of the past), analytic (how to understand events), or morally improving (how to behave well): all depend on some assumption that the past affords some guide to what may come back in the future.

8. Modern theorists debate how far historical explanation is the same as scientific explanation, where one might confidently predict that the same relevant circumstances would produce the same result, or whether we should think rather of 'narrative codes' by which we apply familiarizing templates to the messiness of experience (e.g. L. O. Mink, *Historical Understanding* (1987)). On either the scientific or the narrative-code model, recurrent patterns are still crucial, whether these are regarded as inherent in the events or in the narratives or in a mixture of both. For their own reasons, ancient writers were equally concerned with recurrence; they were also alert to how much difference individual humans have made in the past and can make now—and sometimes how little, when faced with the bigger and more brutal elements of the human condition, which explain more than individuals ever can. *See also* HOMER, HISTORIOGRAPHY (various articles), and under names of individual historians mentioned. JEF/CBRP



F

Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, Quintus, grandson or great-grandson of Quintus Fabius Maximus Rulianus, as consul 233 BC celebrated a *triumph over the Ligurians and unsuccessfully opposed the agrarian bill of Gaius Flaminius. He was censor 230, consul for the second time 228, and *dictator (probably) 221. In 218 he perhaps opposed an immediate declaration of war on Carthage. Dictator again in 217, after the Roman defeat at Lake Trasimene, he began his famous policy of attrition, believing that Hannibal could not be defeated in a pitched battle; this earned him the name 'Cunctator' (the Delayer). He allowed Hannibal to ravage the Campanian plain, but then blocked his exits; Hannibal, however, escaped by a stratagem. Opposition to Fabius' policy at Rome led to his *magister equitum* (master of the horse), Marcus Minucius Rufus, receiving **imperium* equal to his. When Minucius was enticed into a rash venture, Fabius rescued him. The traditional policy of fighting fixed battles was resumed in 216, but after the disaster at Cannae there was no alternative to Fabius' policy. With the help of his position as the senior member of the college of *augures*—he is said to have been an augur since 265—he became suffect consul for the third time for 215, operating in Campania. He was re-elected for 214, helped to recapture Casilinum and had a number of successes in Samnium. In 213 he perhaps served as legate to his son. Direct control of affairs now passed to other men, but Fabius reached his final consulship in 209, when he recaptured Tarentum and was made *princeps senatus* (acknowledged senior senator). In 205, together with Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, he strongly opposed *Scipio Africanus' plan to invade Africa. He was no doubt alarmed by Scipio's growing prestige, but genuinely believed that taking the war to Africa posed unnecessary dangers. It was Scipio who brought the war to an end, but Fabius' cautious strategy which made victory possible. Fabius died in 203. He had been *pontifex* (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)) since 216 as well as augur, a rare distinction. JBR

Failaka (off Kuwait). See ICAROS.

family, Roman English 'family' has connotations which have changed during its long history and vary according to context. Biologically, an individual human being is related to parents, through them to ascendants, aunts, uncles, siblings, and cousins, and may, by sexual intercourse with someone of the opposite sex, in turn become a parent, linked by blood to descendants. Blood relations for Romans were *cognati*, the strongest ties normally being with parents and children and the siblings with whom an individual grew up. Relationship established through the sexual tie of marriage was *adfinitas*; kin by marriage were *adfines* (in strict usage from engagement until dissolution of the marriage). Law initially stressed blood relationship through males: *agnati* (father's other children, father's siblings, father's brothers' children, a man's own children, etc.) inherited on intestacy. By entering *manus* (marital power), a married woman came into the same agnate group as husband and children; if she did not, her legal ties and rights were with her natal family.

The group under the power of a *paterfamilias* (father or grandfather), whether or not they lived under the same roof, was sharply distinguished; there might be other living agnates outside this group. Agnatic forebears were present in family consciousness as recipients of ritual, as *imagines* (portraits) in an aristocratic house, and as links between the living. For the Romans, *familia* could originally mean the patrimony; its more normal usages were to describe (1) those in the power of a *paterfamilias*, kin, or slaves, or (2) all the agnates who had been in such power, or (3) a lineage, like the Julian house, or (4) a group or household of slaves (Ulpian, *Dig.* 50. 16. 195. 1–4). A lineage in the broadest possible sense, a group allegedly descended from a common mythical ancestor, was *gens*; its members shared a middle name (*nomen gentilicium*), e.g. Tullius/a, as members of an agnatic *familia* might share a last name (*cognomen*), e.g. Cicero. (The class of those

sharing a *gentilicium* extended to newly enfranchised citizens, slaves, and their descendants.) *Domus*, besides meaning the building in which someone lived (home or residence: see HOUSES, ITALIAN), covers (1) the *household of free, slave, and freed persons and (2) a broader kinship group including cognates (e.g. the imperial 'family' or dynasty, *domus Caesarum*). Increasingly, descent in the female line (*maternum genus*) came to be valued in sentiment, appraisal of status, and inheritance practices.

The nuclear family is described, in relation to its male head, as consisting of wife and children (*uxor liberique*). Similarly a list of those closest to a particular individual would be drawn up to suit various contexts: Cicero for instance in writing to his brother Quintus at an emotional moment might stress his brother, his daughter, his own son, his nephew (his only surviving close kin), his wife (*QFr.* 1. 3. 3). In relation to an individual, the kin or affines who count change with the phases of life and accidents of survival. The evidence of epitaphs illustrates close family ties as they existed at the time of commemoration: the person(s) who pay for a monument may do so out of love, duty as kin, or duty as beneficiary/ies. Where the commemorator is specified we get a glimpse of how the family operated, as we do from juristic sources, e.g. on dowry or succession, or literary sources, which chiefly reflect the expectations and practice of the upper classes. Although ties with remoter relations by blood or marriage are acknowledged when they exist, emphasis is normally on the nuclear family (one's wife/husband and children, or parents and siblings). In the absence of these, as for soldiers debarred from legal marriage or ex-slaves who theoretically had no parents and in practice might have been prevented from forming a family, comrades or fellow freedmen/women (*conliberti/ae*) might form a substitute family. SMT

famine Catastrophic breakdowns in the production and distribution of essential foodstuffs, resulting in exceptionally high mortality from attendant epidemic *diseases, were rare in the ancient world. The typical natural and man-made causes of famine were omnipresent: crop failure caused by the unreliable Mediterranean rainfall (see CLIMATE) or pests and diseases, destruction in war, state oppression and incompetence, poor arrangements for transport, storage, and distribution, and profiteering by the élite. Specific food-shortages of varying intensity and chronic malnutrition of the poor were common, but most of the population were subsistence farmers whose primary strategy of production was to minimize risk, and the political culture helped town-dwellers to pressure their leaders to resolve food crises

before they became critical. The exaggerated references to 'famine' in the ancient sources echo the political rhetoric of an urban society where famine was a frequent threat but a very infrequent experience. Local climatic variation meant that relief supplies were normally available within the region, given the political will to obtain them. The severe food-shortages over extensive areas of the eastern Mediterranean world attested in 328 BC, AD 45–7 (the 'universal famine' of Acts 11: 28), and AD 500 were quite exceptional. Most famines were local, brief, and primarily man-made, such as the three best-attested famines in Athens of 405/4, 295/4, and 87/6 BC, all the result of siege, or the food-shortages at Rome in 67 BC and AD 5–9, the former apparently intensified, if not caused, by Pompey's manipulation of the supply network, the latter by the diversion of supplies to emergency military operations in Dalmatia and Germany. See FOOD SUPPLY. DWR

fantastic literature, or fiction of the unreal, took two forms in antiquity: (a) fantasies of travel beyond the known world; (b) stories of the supernatural. Both look back to the Phaeacian tales in the *Odyssey*, which became a byword for the unbelievable (cf. [Longinus] *Subl.* 9. 14).

From the Hellenistic period we know of a series of descriptions of imaginary lands, such as those by Euhemerus, Hecataeus of Abdera, and Iambulus. Their primary purpose was social and moral comment, but they often seem to have been authenticated by an adventure story, which provided entertainment but also drew attention to the question of how literally they were to be believed. Antiphanes of Berge's account of the far north was so transparently fictitious that 'Bergaeon' became synonymous with 'fantasist'. Although these works were criticized as falsehoods, some recognized that undisguised fiction represented an area of licence for the imagination (e.g. Strabo 2. 3. 5). Fantasies of this kind are parodied in the space-travel of *Lucian's *True History*, but, despite his satirical programme, Lucian's invention acquires its own fantastic momentum.

Tales of the supernatural also make doubt and belief their central theme. Lucian's *Philopseudes* tells stories of ghosts and magic, including the Sorcerer's Apprentice, while mocking those who believe them. Fantastic episodes occur in the novels, notably of Iamblichus and Apuleius, whose characters share the reader's hesitation as to the nature of the phenomena (see NOVEL). The fragments of Phlegon of Tralles contain the story of an amorous revenant, while Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii* 4. 25) narrates the detection of a vampire. Photius (*Bibliotheca* cod. 130) knew the collection of ghost stories of the

neoplatonist Damascius (d. c. AD 458), but most literature of this kind has been lost. Papyrus fragments include two ghosts (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 1368, from the *Phoenicia* of Lollianus; *Michigan Papyri* inv. 3378) and a wizard (*Michigan Papyri* inv. 5+PPal. Rib. 152).

The two strands of fantasy united in the *Wonders beyond Thule* of Antonius Diogenes, which combined travel beyond real geography with witchcraft, Pythagorean philosophy, and self-conscious authentication, all arguably intended to subvert the reality of the perceptible world. JRMO

federal states are found in the Greek world from the late 6th cent. BC. The term is used of those organizations in which the separate city-states (*see* POLIS) of a geographical and ethnic region were combined to form a single entity at any rate for purposes of foreign policy, while for local purposes retaining their separate identity as city-states and their separate citizenship. Thus Boeotia was a federal state in which the individual communities were still regarded as cities, whereas Attica formed the city-state of Athens and the demes (local districts: *see* DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN) did not have the degree of autonomy appropriate to cities. Tribal states in the less urbanized parts of Greece were like federal states in that the tribal organization comprised units with a considerable degree of local autonomy. There is no ancient Greek term which precisely denotes a federal state: the words most often used are *koinon* ('commonwealth') and *ethnos* ('nation'; *see* ETHNICITY). An account follows of some of the more important federations.

The earliest evidence of a federal state is in (probably) 519 BC, when Plataea resisted incorporation in a Boeotian federal state dominated by Thebes and gained the protection of Athens (Hdt. 6. 108); there are references to the boeotarchs, the chief magistrates of the federation, in 480–479 (Paus. 10. 20. 3; Hdt. 9. 15. 1). The federation may have broken up after the Persian Wars, and for a time Boeotia was controlled by Athens, but it was revived after 446 and we have evidence for its basic mechanisms (Thuc. 5. 38. 2; *Hell. Oxy.* 19 Chambers). The individual cities had similar constitutions, with one quarter at a time of the full citizens who satisfied a property qualification acting as a probouleutic council. The federation was based on electoral units, eleven after 427 and perhaps nine before; the largest cities with their dependencies accounted for more than one unit, while the smallest were grouped together to form a unit; each unit provided one boeotarch and 60 members of a council of 660, and within the council one quarter at a time acted as the probouleutic body. In 386 *Sparta regarded the federation as infringing the principle of autonomy enshrined in the

Peace of Antalcidas or King's Peace, and insisted on its dissolution. The federation as revived in the 370s had boeotarchs again but probably not electoral units; its decision-making body was an assembly, and it was dominated to a greater extent by Thebes. Thebes was destroyed after revolting against *Alexander the Great in 335, and was refounded c.316; the federation survived in the Hellenistic period, based now not on electoral units but on cities.

*Thessaly was divided regionally into four tetrads, each of which came to be headed by a tetrarch; the tetrads could combine to elect a military leader, the *tagos*, but there seem to have been substantial periods when there was no *tagos*. The peoples of the surrounding mountains were *perioikoi* ('dwellers around'), whom the Thessalians controlled when they were strong enough to do so. During the 5th cent. cities developed, and became more important than the tetrads. At the end of the century a dynasty of tyrants came to power in Pherae; c.375 Jason of Pherae aspired to rule all Thessaly, with the title of *tagos*; in the 360s the opponents of Pherae, led by the Aleuadae family of Larissa, organized themselves in a *koinon* with an *archōn* ('ruler') and four polemarchs ('war-rulers'); appeals for support to Macedon and to Thebes culminated in the overthrow of the tyrants by *Philip II of Macedon in 352 and his being made *archōn* of Thessaly. In the course of his later interventions Philip revived the old tetrarchies. Thessaly survived into the Hellenistic period as a federation of cities under the control of the Macedonian king, and a new federation was created by the Romans in 194.

In Arcadia moves towards unity in the 5th cent. seem not to have gone very far, but a federal state was founded after the battle of Leuctra and a new capital was created for it at Megalopolis. There was an assembly of the Ten Thousand, probably all citizens, and also a council; the chief magistrates were 50 *damiorgoi* ('public workers'), representing the cities in proportion to their size, and a single *stratēgos* ('general'). Before long the federation split: one of the two divisions certainly claimed to be the Arcadian *koinon* and the other may have done so. No more is heard of an Arcadian League after the 320s.

The Aetolian Confederacy (like the Achaean, *see* below) began as a tribal state in the Classical period, and in the Hellenistic period developed into organizations with members from outside their original *ethnos*. The Aetolians in the 5th and 4th cents. had both tribal units and city units, and some kind of federal organization. When the confederacy expanded, in the 3rd cent., neighbouring peoples were designated *telē* and perhaps given a status equivalent to that of one of the three Aetolian tribes, while more distant recruits were given *isopoliteia*

(‘equality of citizenship’) either with an Aetolian city or with the whole confederacy. The confederacy had an assembly which held two regular meetings a year, with voting by individuals, a large representative council, and a smaller executive committee, the *apoklētoi* (‘those called away’); the principal magistrates were the *stratēgos* and the hipparch (‘cavalry commander’).

The Achaean Confederacy already had outside members in the 4th cent. It broke up at the end of the century but was revived in 281/o and began to acquire outside members in 251/o. There were four regular *synodoi* (‘meetings’) a year, attended by both a representative council and an assembly, in both of which voting was by cities; later in the 3rd cent. major questions of foreign policy were transferred to extraordinary *synklētoi* (‘summoned meetings’), which involved usually both council and assembly but sometimes only the council. The confederacy had two *stratēgoi* until 255, one thereafter. The individual cities of the confederacy continued to have an active political life of their own.

JAOL/PJR

film Greece, Rome, and the other civilizations of the ancient Mediterranean have provided the world of cinema with some of the oldest and most powerful stories of Western culture and history. They have also provided cinema with narrative, iconographic, and generic structures and genealogies whose force has informed not only specific films but also the principles themselves of scriptwriting and film design. In addition, they have provided film theorists and practitioners with ways of conceptualizing the sensorial and cognitive experience of film-viewing itself. The classical antiquity of cinema is not a single and unified film genre but a complex body of film practices and theories diffused across a wide range of cinematic traditions, cultural contexts, and aesthetic experiences.

In its turn, cinema has played a prominent role in debates about the ever-changing nature of the past, whether accused of killing history and usurping other forms of memory, viewed as a factory of regressive nostalgia, or celebrated as enriching and broadening the ways in which we think of the past as altering the present and shaping the future. Film provides opportunities for historically situated, transnational and multicultural studies of the ancient world; for scrutinizing the wider appeal and accessibility of ‘the classics’, and for questioning what is valuable and canonical about them; for working with interpretative models which are derived not only from literary theory but also from visual culture, media studies, and cultural studies, and which broaden our understanding of the intersection between the textual and the

visual. Film offers an engagement with modern popular culture that can go beyond the polarities of compliance and resistance associated with ideology, while also holding the promise of a rebuttal of the Platonic critique of the arts. It can address cultural syncretisms, contradictions, and negotiations, while also providing insights into the transformative nature of the encounters between modern viewers and the utopian or dystopian fantasies the classical past has inspired.

The ancient world in film is usually studied with a focus on specific texts, individuals, genres, or periods, whether ancient or modern. Like the cultural turn in reception studies at large, the study of the Classical world in film is faced with inter-related challenges: on the one hand it has to identify and analyse the filmic texts that provide the raw material for the disciplinary awareness and theoretical sophistication that are taken for granted in other areas of classical studies. On the other hand, it has also to defend modern popular culture and media against accusations of commodification and reification. Cinema has been proclaimed ‘an invention without future’ ever since its emergence at the end of the 19th cent. Film, however, like the classics, maintains its place in the age of global multimedia, migrating from the cinema screen to the television screen and the computer screen, from film reels to magnetic tapes and digital bytes, and from collective and passive spectators to individualized and active ‘users’. The technological possibilities, conceptual challenges, and historical awareness created by the emergence of new types of information storage and retrieval in recent years provide opportunities for exciting new work on the relation between film and classical antiquity. The fascination of the arts of the screen with ancient civilizations does not confine itself to what has been called the ‘classical’ Hollywood period or to the representational strategies and techniques of realism. Experimental cinema, world cinema, the cinema of the silent era, television, and digital technologies ranging from the dvd format to computer games provide important correctives to homogenizing and essentializing assumptions around ‘cinema’ and to reductive definitions of popular culture and art associated with ‘the movies.’

PMi

finance, Greek and Hellenistic The collective deployment of resources by the community inevitably has socio-political implications (who pays? who benefits?). But public finance in Greek states rarely had economic aims beyond the broad balancing of incomings and outgoings: demand-management through running a budget deficit or surplus was unknown. *Oikonomia* (‘economics’) as applied to state finance preserved autarkic attitudes appropriate to its original meaning of ‘household

management' (Xen. *Mem.* 3. 4). Recurring expenditure (primarily on administration, cult, ambassadors, defence, maintenance of fortifications, gymnasia, and public buildings) would be met from a variety of revenues (rents and royalties from state property, including mines and quarries, court fees and fines, taxes on non-citizens, sales taxes, excise duties and customs dues). Collection of taxes was regularly farmed out by auction to private individuals (*Ath. pol.* 47. 2ff). Extraordinary expenditure (typically through warfare or food shortage; occasionally, on public building) was met through ad hoc measures: property and poll taxes, public loans, creation of monopolies, *epidoseis* (contributions), or confiscations ([Arist.] *Oec.* 2). Warfare itself was seen as potentially productive (Arist. *Pol.* 1256^b), and might occasionally prove so. Systems of Greek public finance may be assessed in so far as they conform to or deviate from these norms.

Minoan and Mycenaean communities seem to have been unique in the Greek world in their degree of direct, central control over resources. The testimony of the Linear B tablets, in conjunction with extensive storage facilities within the palaces, suggests a 'redistributive' system of economic exchange, rigidly controlled from the centre (there are parallels in temple-based economies of the near east; see MINOAN CIVILIZATION; MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION). All this ended with the onset of the so-called Dark Age (c.1100 BC). The well-stocked storerooms of the *Odyssey* (2. 337 ff.) may dimly recall Mycenaean palaces, but redistribution was replaced in the world of Homer by *reciprocity between and within aristocratic *oikoi* (households). Resources were deployed by the giving of gift and counter-gift: in return for their contributions to the élite, the people received protection (*Il.* 12. 310 ff.; *Od.* 13. 13 ff.). Arrangements in Archaic and even Classical *Sparta resembled Homeric organization in the near absence of any centralized system of finance. The mainstay of the regime was the agricultural produce appropriated from the helots (state slaves) by individual Spartiates, who passed on a portion to their *sussition* (public mess). Details are obscure (the *perioikoi* ('dwellers around'—not full citizens) may have made contributions in cash or kind), but the small scale of resources under central control helps to account for the poor showing of late 5th-cent. Sparta as a city (Thuc. 1. 10). Much the same might be said of the rudimentary systems of finance (e.g. the *naukrariai* and *kōlakretai* in Athens) deployed by the aristocracies dominating early Archaic *poleis*. Archaic tyrants provide a stark contrast: their characteristically heavy expenditure on public buildings and central, civic institutions gave the *polis* a new, urban emphasis. Necessary resources were raised by a combination



finance, Greek and Hellenistic An inscribed decree (late 4th cent. BC) records honours awarded by an Athenian deme (village) to two *chorēgoi* (financial backers) of local dramatic performances. In finance, as in other ways, an Athenian deme behaved like a *polis in miniature. Photo: Hermann Wagner, DAI Athens, neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-Akropolis 1506. All rights reserved.

of personal taxes and other, extraordinary measures: in Athens, a tax on agricultural produce (Thuc. 6. 54). Also characteristic of Archaic tyranny was the effective merging of the tyrant's own resources with those of the state (*Ath. pol.* 16. 1). The ending of *tyranny caused an immediate reaction against the tyrants' financial methods: taxes on the person became a symbol of oppression, restricted to non-citizens and those of low status.

Archaic Athens broadly conformed to this pattern; as late as the 480s, it was proposed that a windfall gain of 100 talents from the silver mines at Laurium be parcelled out among the citizen body (*Ath. pol.* 22. 7). Shortly after, Athenian finances were transformed by the acqui-

sition of a tribute-paying empire (see DELIAN LEAGUE). Figures from the eve of the Peloponnesian War give a crude impression of scale: from a total annual revenue (internal and external) of approximately 1,000 talents (Xen. *An.* 7. 1. 27), some 600 talents derived from the empire (Thuc. 2. 13). This made possible the maintenance of a massive navy, an extended programme of public building, provision of public pay, and the accumulation on the Acropolis of a strategic reserve of at least 6,000 talents (Thuc. 2. 13). Against this, expenses of war were heavy: one talent in pay to keep one trireme at sea for one month. As the Peloponnesian War progressed, there was (in addition to an upward reassessment of the tribute in 425: *ML* 69) increasing reliance on payments of *eisphora*—an extraordinary property tax falling on the wealthy. By contrast, the Spartan system was poorly placed to generate the resources needed for extended warfare. Appeals for contributions from sympathetic individuals proved inadequate (*ML* 67), and only massive subventions of Persian gold made possible the eventual Spartan victory. The importance of imperial revenues for Athens' *democracy became apparent in the 4th cent., when the range of public payments was actually extended to include assembly pay and payments from the theoric fund. Collective aspirations may be read into the explicit aim behind the proposals in *Xenophon's *Poroï* ('Revenues'): maintenance of the citizen body at public expense. Attempts to revive the tribute-paying empire failed and heavier burdens therefore fell on the wealthy (Xen. *Oec.* 2. 5ff). The degree to which increasing demands disrupted and alienated the Athenian élite is disputed. There emerged in the course of the 4th cent. a group of financial experts (including Eubulus and culminating in Lycurgus), who occupied tailor-made offices and made the most of Athens' internal resources.

Characteristic of finance in Classical Athens was the liturgy system, placing the élite under an obligation to perform public services (notably the *trierarchy and *chorēgia* (financing choruses for festivals)). Liturgies were an integral part of the democratic system: in return for public services, liturgists might (or might not) receive popular consideration in politics and the courts. Significantly, Aristotle (*Pol.* 1321^a) recommends that oligarchies attach expensive duties to high public office, so excluding all but the wealthy. The citizens of 4th-cent. Pharsalus handed over their acropolis and control of their finances to their wealthiest citizen; in return he used his fortune as a revolving loan-fund, smoothing out imbalances in income and expenditure (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 1. 2). This privileging of wealth ties in with the broadly post-democratic practice of *euergetism, common in Hellenistic cities. The *euergetēs* ('benefactor') earned enhanced status, and pos-

sibly material rewards, by making donations in cash or kind to the advantage of the citizen body.

Amongst the Hellenistic monarchies, Ptolemaic *Egypt had a system of public finance of exceptional complexity. Revenues from farmland were assessed in painstaking detail and collected directly; collection of dues from vineyards, orchards, and gardens was farmed out. Additionally, the *apomoira* (a tax on wine, fruit, and vegetables) was assessed by royal officials, but the right to collect was sold to contractors. Customs dues were graduated from 20 to 59 per cent, according to the goods involved (contrast the flat 5 per cent tax from Classical Athens). There were varying rates of tax on sale and gift of property and privileges (e.g. tax concessions) and, apart from sundry minor taxes (including a poll tax), intricately organized *monopolies on an extended range of goods and services. Other Hellenistic kings raised revenue from their subject cities partly by imposing specific taxes, partly by levying contributions (*phoros*), which were creamed off internal revenues, raised in the usual ways. PCM

finance, Roman 'Taxes are the sinews of the state.' So claimed both Cicero and the great jurist Ulpian. Despite this recognition of the central importance of taxation no systematic ancient treatment of Roman public finance survives. Extended financial documents are also rare (though see now the elaborate schedule of the *portoria* (customs duties) of Asia in M. Cottier and others, *The Customs Law of Asia* (2008)). Therefore many details about (e.g.) the allocation and collection of taxes or about the character of fiscal institutions (such as the *fiscus*, the *patrimonium*, and the *res privata*) remain obscure and disputed. Despite the serious deficiencies in our evidence the broad features of the history and development of Roman public finance through the republic and the Principate to the later empire can be delineated with some confidence.

In the republic there were, traditionally, two major types of revenue namely the regular *vectigalia* (public revenues and rents) and the **tributum*, an extraordinary (in principle) levy on the property of Roman citizens. The total size of this levy was decided by the senate and varied from year to year. The earliest detailed account of republican public finance survives in the sketch of the Roman constitution in the sixth book of *Polybius, reflecting conditions in the mid-2nd cent. BC. The *aerarium*, the central depository of the state for both cash and documents, was managed by two urban quaestors; but all decisions as to payments from it were made by the senate. On setting out on campaign a *consul could draw funds on his own responsibility. But further payments, for the

supplies, clothes, or pay of the army, had again to be authorized by the senate. The senate also made a quinquennial grant to the censors, on the basis of which they let out contracts for building and repairs of public buildings in Rome and the *municipia* (municipalities) and *coloniae* (colonies) of Italy and for the exploitation of public properties—rivers, harbours, gardens, *mines, and land. Ultimate control of the contracts, for instance in altering the terms, again lay with the senate.

The most important development, not reflected in Polybius' account of the last two centuries of the republic, was the acquisition of a territorial empire overseas. At first resources were extracted from the conquered via *booty and war indemnities, in the medium term by the imposition of regular taxation (tribute) in cash or kind. Provincial governors (and their quaestors) were responsible for the supervision of the collection of tribute and for expenditure in their province. After 123 BC in Asia certainly (and perhaps elsewhere) the process of collection of tribute was contracted out to **publicani*. Two prime consequences ensued from this development. First, the levying of tribute on Roman citizens in Italy was abandoned from 167 BC onwards. Secondly, the revenues of the state were greatly increased. On one speculative estimate (Frank, *Econ. Survey* 1. 141) annual revenues in the early 2nd cent. BC were 12.5 to 15 million denarii. By the late 60s BC they had increased to 50 million; and according to a difficult passage of Plutarch (*Pomp.* 45), Pompey's great conquests in the 60s further increased revenues to either 85 or 135 million. The continuing access of new revenues both meant that Rome's continuous wars were in the long term self-financing and allowed the creation of novel forms of public expenditure such as the distribution of subsidized, later free, corn to Roman citizens. (See FOOD SUPPLY.) Even so, as in many pre-industrial societies, public revenues remained modest in relation to the private wealth of the élite. So the fortune of *Crassus alone amounted to 48 million denarii.

The establishment of imperial rule entailed far-reaching changes in public finance and the creation of an elaborate fiscal state. First, although the senate retained the function of making routine votes of funds, effective control over the state's finances came to lie with the emperor and his agents. Under Augustus we meet for the first time the publication of general accounts (*rationes*) of the public funds. At his death full details of the state's finances were in the hands of his personal slaves and freedmen. The public post of a *rationibus* (first held by imperial freedmen, later by senior equestrians) soon emerged. By the late 1st cent. AD this official was responsible for estimating the revenues and expenditure of the state.

Secondly, direct taxation in the provinces, in the form of the poll tax and the land tax, was placed on a new footing through the introduction by *Augustus and *Agrippa of periodic provincial censuses. These mapped out the human and physical resources of the provinces and formed the basis for the assessments of tribute for each city and its territory. Whenever a new province was annexed, a census was taken. Provincial governors and imperial procurators supervised the collection of tribute; the process of collection devolved on the individual civic authorities. Thirdly, Rome's revenues were vastly increased, although no secure figures survive. The annexation of new provinces (that of Egypt in 30 BC was especially important) of itself increased revenues. A new array of indirect taxes were introduced. The most important were, probably, the *vicesima hereditatum* (5% tax on inheritances) of AD 6 (hypothecated to the discharge payment for veterans) and the *quinta et vicesima venalium mancipiorum* (4% tax on the sale of slaves) of AD 7 (hypothecated to the pay of the *vigiles*). The first three centuries AD also saw the steady accretion of landed property (via legacies, gifts, and confiscations) in the hands of the emperor. The importance of revenue from such crown property was considerable, if unquantifiable, and is already manifest in Augustus' own account, in his *Res gestae*, of his expenditure on public needs. By the late 2nd cent. there were two departments of crown property, the *patrimonium* and the *res privata*, though the distinction between them remains obscure. This formidable array of revenues (tribute in cash and kind, indirect taxes, revenues from crown property) enabled the imperial state to carry out, on a *routine* basis, key political functions such as the distribution of the corn-dole at Rome, the upkeep of the imperial court, the construction and maintenance of an elaborate road network (see ROADS) across the empire, the payment of salaries to senatorial and equestrian officials, and, above all, the funding of the vast standing armed forces of c.350,000 men. This fiscal system was predicated, in its mature form in the 2nd cent., on a basic predictability of expenditure and revenue and on the state's ability to exercise uncontested authority over the territory of the empire. However, potential problems in the form of sudden emergencies or increases in expenditure were already apparent in the later 2nd cent. The great northern wars under Marcus *Aurelius rapidly depleted the reserves of the treasury. In turn the major pay rises for the army of *Septimius Severus and *Caracalla were funded in part by significant debasements of the silver coinage. (See COINAGE, ROMAN.) The generalized political and military crisis, which enveloped the empire from the 230s onwards, was to shatter the fiscal apparatus and its preconditions. The state's ability to raise revenues

was undermined by its failure to maintain routine central authority over the empire; the census-system collapsed, invasion and civil war destroyed accumulated capital and crops. To meet its needs the state resorted to irregular and arbitrary requisitions in kind and to runaway debasement of the coinage. By the 260s the precious-metal content of the silver coinage had been reduced to about 5 per cent. Hyper-inflation wrecked the whole monetary system.

A measure of stability was only restored to the public finances with the reassertion of central authority over the empire. *Diocletian, in a striking repetition of the measures of Augustus, re-established censuses throughout the empire. Payments of tax (predominantly in kind) were assessed by units of population (*capitatio*) and of land (*iugatio*), although the principles and workings of this system, which certainly varied from area to area, are still subject to debate. The finances of the empire were now managed through three departments. The *res privata* dealt primarily with imperial property. The *sacrae largitiones* controlled mines, mints, and state factories, collected taxes and levies in cash, and paid donatives (irregular disbursements) to the troops. The office of the praetorian prefects, the most important of the three, was responsible for the rations of soldiers and officials, for the maintenance of the *cursus publicus* (see POSTAL SERVICE) and of most public buildings, and for calculating annually the required rate of the indiction to produce the supplies in kind. GPB

fishing Fish populations of the *Mediterranean are less abundant than those of the oceans. Gradients of temperature and salinity resulting from the depth and the closure of the ecosystem, however, promote the life cycle of several important species on the continental shelves (but see FOOD AND DRINK). The migratory habits of many important species bring them into contact with many Mediterranean islands and coastlands.

Since the routes of the shoals are far from predictable, places where their movements are topographically constrained (such as straits like Messina, the Bosphorus, or Hellespont, or lagoons and their entries) are of obvious importance. Numbers are very variable from year to year: gluts occur, but dearth is so frequent as to make it unwise to make fish protein more than a supplement (if a locally and occasionally important one) to a subsistence diet. The nutritional usefulness is greatly increased by processing to make the resource sustainable in times of general dearth, and movable inland or by sea: drying and salting are the principal techniques, and the evaporite salt of pans on the fringes of lagoons used for fishery anyway constituted an important symbiotic resource. The salt in

salt fish (with the minerals in the fish) was probably of as much dietary importance as the protein.

Even in conditions of glut, and assuming very favourable conditions for fishing, total yields cannot have constituted an important aggregate contribution to the protein needs of even small ancient populations, compared with cereal or legume staples. They did, however, play a significant role in diversifying a diet based on those staples, which was important both nutritionally and culturally in the classic Mediterranean pairing of staple and 'relish'—in Greek *opson*. Salted or pickled fish was the *opson par excellence* (the mod. Greek *psari*, 'fish', is derived from *opsarion*), and widely available for use in small quantities.

To the producer, this demand gave the catch the economic status of a cash crop, and enabled the secondary purchase of more protein than could easily have been acquired through consuming the fish. On this base of widely disseminated eating of fish-pickle, the fisherman could rely on a still more lucrative market in fresh fish which could fetch high prices in luxury provision markets. This combination of an urbane—and urban—ready availability of fish *opsa* with the opulent associations of fresh fish prized by the connoisseur underlies the great prominence of fish in the Athenian comic tradition. What had been characteristic of Athens became a feature of most towns in the Hellenistic and Roman periods; study of the amphorae reveals the scale and complexity of the trade in *garum* (as the pickle came to be known), while the competitive consumption of the exquisites of high society provided a continuing stock of anecdote about colossal prices and singular specimens. The fisherman became a type of opportunism and poverty, proverbially wild, but a familiar and parasitical accompaniment to all that was best about stylish living.

Fishing in the open sea was chancy and hazardous, but essential for the most prized fish. Many local markets were supplied from the rocky shores. The fisheries of the formerly extensive wetland lagoons of the Mediterranean coasts were the easiest to develop artificially, because they were sheltered, shallow, and had controllable inlets and outlets, and systematic pisciculture grew from their management. Both archaeological and literary evidence shows the extent to which Roman pisciculture developed, and the elaboration of fishponds for both fresh and salt-water fish. Processing plants for making pickle were also built on a grand scale, from the early Hellenistic period in the Black Sea area, and in the Roman period on the coasts of southern Spain and Mauretania. This economy depended on, and is an interesting indicator of, a developed interdependence of markets in the Mediterranean. See MEALS. NP

Flamininus Titus Quinctius Flamininus, Born c.229 BC, military tribune 208 under Marcus Claudius Marcellus, then quaestor, probably at Tarentum, where he held praetorian **imperium* for some years from 205. Decemvir for distributing land to **Scipio Africanus'* veterans 201, he concurrently became triumvir to supplement Venusia (200). In 198, against some opposition but with the support of the veterans he had settled, he was elected **consul* and sent to take over the war against Philip V of Macedon with a new army and a new political approach. After driving Philip from a strong position in the Aous gorge separating Macedonia from Epirus, he moved towards central Greece against stiff resistance, but with his brother's help forced the Achaean Confederacy into alliance and now gained some further allies. Meeting Philip late in 198, he demanded the evacuation of all of Greece (unacceptable to Philip at this point), but apparently hinted to Philip that the **senate* might modify the terms. He instructed his friends in Rome to work for peace if he could not be continued in command and for war if he could complete it; he was prorogued, and the senate insisted on his terms. In spring 197, after gaining the alliance of most of Greece, he decisively defeated Philip by superior tactical skill at the battle of Cynoscephalae. He now granted Philip an armistice on the same terms, which the senate confirmed as peace terms. Advancing implausible excuses, he refused to allow his Aetolian allies to annex some cities promised to them. He thus secured a balance of power in the north, but gravely offended the Aetolians, making them eager to welcome **Antiochus III*. In a spectacular ceremony (see Polyb. 18. 46) he announced the unrestricted freedom of the Greeks in Europe at the Isthmia of 196 and persuaded a reluctant senate commission that this pledge had to be carried out if Greek confidence was to be retained against Antiochus, who was about to cross into Europe. He now initiated a diplomatic effort to keep Antiochus out of Europe and deprive him of the Greek cities in Asia Minor. The final settlement of Greece involved a difficult war against the Spartan tyrant Nabis (see SPARTA), nominally as head of an almost Panhellenic alliance. The settlement paralleled that with Philip: Nabis was left to rule Sparta, to secure a balance of power between him and Rome's Achaean allies. In 194 all Roman troops were withdrawn. Henceforth Flamininus was showered with honours (including divine honours) in Greece. He issued a commemorative gold coin with his portrait (RRC 548) and left for Rome to celebrate an unparalleled three-day triumph (Livy 34. 52). A bronze statue with a Greek inscription was erected to him in Rome by his Greek clients (Plut. *Titus* 1. 1).

In 193 he was entrusted with secret negotiations with Antiochus' envoys; when they refused his offer of

undisturbed possession of Asia in return for withdrawal from Europe, he proclaimed to the Greek world that Rome would liberate the Greeks of Asia from Antiochus. Sent to Greece to secure the loyalty of the Greeks and of Philip, he was partly successful; but Demetrias, afraid of being surrendered to Philip, became an Aetolian bridgehead for Antiochus. He remained diplomatically active in 191–190, both in the war and in Peloponnesian affairs, handing Messene over to the Achaeans and annexing Zacynthus for Rome. In 189 he was censor. In 183, sent to Asia on an embassy, he unsuccessfully tried to intervene in Peloponnesian affairs on his way, then took it upon himself to demand the extradition of **Hannibal* from Prusias I. (Hannibal committed suicide.) With the senate working to substitute Demetrius, Philip's pro-Roman younger son, for Perseus as designated successor, he hatched a plot to substitute Demetrius for Philip as king (see Polyb. 23. 3, cf. 7; Livy 40. 23, denying the charge). The result was Demetrius' execution (181). After this failure he disappears from public affairs until his death (174).

A typical patrician noble, he saw his world in terms of personal ambition, Roman patriotism, family loyalty, and patron–client relationships. He was the first to develop a policy of turning the Greek world—cities, leagues, and kings—into clients of Rome and of himself, nominally free or allied, but subject to interference for Rome's advantage. The Greeks, whom he had liberated, he expected to follow his instructions even without a public mandate. Aware of Greek history and traditions, he attracted many Greeks by charm and tact, but aroused antagonism by unscrupulous trickery. Midway between arrogant imperialists and the genuine philhellenes of a later period, he laid the foundations of the uneasy acceptance of Roman hegemony by the Greek world. See also PHILHELLENISM. EB

food and drink The ancient diet was based on cereals, legumes, oil, and wine. Cereals, especially wheat and barley, were the staple food and the principal source of carbohydrates. They were eaten in many different ways, e.g. as porridge and bread. The rich could afford a more diversified diet and ate less cereal than the poor. Athenaeus describes many types of bread and **cakes*. Probably only the rich could afford 'white' bread, but even the best bread available in antiquity was much coarser than modern bread.

Legumes (field beans, peas, chick-peas, lentils, lupins, etc.), a common find in archaeological excavations at **Pompeii*, were an important part of the diet. They were incorporated into bread and complemented cereals because they are a rich source of protein.

The Greeks used the generic term *opson* for 'food eaten with bread or other cereal products' (*sitos* and *frumentum*). Fish, which might be fresh, dried, or pickled, occupied a prominent place in *opson*, especially at Athens. It was important as a source of protein and oils. Many species were known. However, fish are scarce in the Mediterranean because of the absence of large stretches of continental shelf off the coast (see *FISHING*). They probably did not make a major contribution to the diet. Shellfish were also eaten.

*Olive oil was the main source of fats, which are necessary to make a cereal-based diet palatable. Fats, which have a very high calorific value, were also obtained from other sources, e.g. sesame oil. The use of butter was a mark of *barbarians; so was the drinking of beer and to some extent that of milk. Milk was generally used for making cheese. The most important beverage was *wine, usually diluted and often artificially flavoured. It was even consumed by young children. Honey was used for sweetening.

Meat was a luxury for most people. In classical Athens it was generally eaten only at feasts accompanying religious festivals. (See *SACRIFICE*.) Poultry, game, and eggs played a large part in Roman cookery, but there was comparatively little butcher's meat, apart from pork and sometimes veal. Peasants generally kept pigs. Wild birds (partridges, quails, pheasants) were also eaten. The soldiers of the Roman army had a higher standard of living and a more varied diet than the bulk of the population of the Roman empire.

For ordinary people vegetables (e.g. onion, garlic, turnip, radish, lettuce, artichoke, cabbage, leek, celery, cucumber) provided the most important addition to the basic diet. Wild plants were also gathered for eating. Among fruit, figs, grapes, apples, and pears played a leading part. (Potato, tomato, most citrus fruits, and banana were not available in antiquity.) Sauces, such as the Roman fish-sauce *garum* (see *FISHING*), and condiments and herbs were very popular. The Romans disliked the natural tastes of most cooked foods. This partiality for flavourings is an important thread of continuity from past to present in Mediterranean cookery. See *COOKERY*. JRS

food supply

Greek

For Greek city-states of the Archaic and Hellenistic periods the ethos of self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) dominated the ideology of food supply. In reality few Greek cities ever outgrew the food production capacities of their territory and the small number which did re-

sponded by intensifying agricultural production. This is well documented in the case of Athens. However, most Greek states operated in politically and environmentally unstable conditions. Weather (see *CLIMATE*) and warfare posed constant, but unpredictably timed, hazards. Consequently, some degree of shortfall in food supply could be expected perhaps as often as once in five years.

By 'food' (*sitos*) is meant cereals. Though other crops were grown and important in the ancient Greek diet, grain was the preferred staple, especially wheat and barley. Hence shortfalls in these crops proved the most problematic at all levels. Grain was at the heart of the political discourses which evolved around the problem of food supply in most city-states.

Grain was grown not by cities but by individual households, on private land. Therefore shortages had to be met with ad hoc measures on the part of government, city-states virtually never having either central grain production or storage facilities. General shortfalls in the cereal harvest enhanced class tensions, since wealthy landowners would not have suffered to the same degree as small-scale cultivators. Shortfalls also provided opportunities for the rich to gain political capital and to manipulate grain supplies. From the 4th cent. BC onwards, benefactions of grain by wealthy individuals are regularly documented in inscriptions, and become part of the political strategies employed in elite competition for power (see *EUERGETISM*).

City-states were empowered to do little in the likely event of grain shortage. Only one free, state-sponsored, grain distribution is known (Samos: *SEG* 1. 366). Generally states behaved as middlemen, aiming to encourage imports, or donations and subsidized sales by the rich (e.g. *IG* 5. 1. 1379; J. Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques* 34 (1960), 126; *IDélos* 442A 101; 399A 69–73). Incentives might be offered to private traders, but many were not citizens, and the profits they made were greatly resented (*Lys.* 22).

It is sometimes difficult to ascertain how 'genuine' food shortages were. It is perhaps significant that with one possible exception, barley, which was considered inferior for food, was not imported. Wheat, the preferred cereal (and most of the time probably the prerogative of the rich) was the usual grain from overseas. It is difficult to know how much of this imported wheat the poor ever ate. However, ensuring the supply of wheat itself became a political issue, as is shown by the careful diplomacy with which the Bosporean kingdom (a major supplier of wheat to Athens) was treated. See *AGRICULTURE, GREEK; FAMINE; FOOD AND DRINK*. LF

Roman

The growth of Rome to a city of perhaps 250,000 inhabitants in the time of the Gaius and Tiberius *Gracchus and of up to one million under *Augustus, far outstripping the productive capacity of her hinterland, created an unprecedented demand for imported foodstuffs. The supplying of Rome was always left mainly to private enterprise, and the main source was always Italy (including Sicily and Sardinia), but the political pressure on the Roman government to deal with actual or feared shortages led to some institutionalized public underpinning of the mechanisms of supply, which were enabled by exploitation of Rome's imperial revenues. In the early and middle republic individual magistrates competed either to win popular favour by securing extra supplies from subject or allied states where they had some personal influence, or to win noble approval by quashing popular complaints. Gaius Gracchus took the momentous step of establishing a regular public distribution of a set monthly ration of grain (*frumentatio*) at a set price to adult male citizen residents, which Publius *Clodius Pulcher made free in 58 BC. Other legislation alternately cut and increased the number of entitled recipients, called the *plebs frumentaria*, until in 2 BC Augustus stabilized it at or below 200,000. Augustus also reorganized the system of storage and distribution under an imperial appointee of equestrian status called the *praefectus annonae*, who also had a more general remit to watch over food supplies. This public supply (*annona*), drawing on the grain paid to the state as rent or tax in Sicily, Africa, and (from 30 BC) Egypt, helped the privileged minority who held tickets of entitlement (*tesserae*), which could be inherited or sold. But the monthly ration did not meet a family's need for grain, and the tickets did not necessarily go to the poor. All residents will still have relied on the private market to some extent (or, if they had them, on produce from their farms), and the majority will have used it for most of their supplies. Shortages could and did occur, especially in the supply of wheat, leading emperors to make ad hoc interventions to hold down prices, or stimulating long-term improvements such as the successive new ports at *Ostia. Wealthy private individuals often gave free meals or tokens for food to their clients, but this generosity was unreliable and also not particularly directed at the poor. At the end of the 2nd cent. AD *Septimius Severus added free *olive oil to the rations received by the *plebs frumentaria*, and in the 270s Aurelian added free pork and cheap *wine, and the monthly wheat ration was replaced with a daily issue of bread. As Rome ceased to be the empire's capital in the 4th cent., the responsibility for maintaining supplies to the decreasing population fell first on the senatorial nobility and then on the Church. See FAMINE.

JDWR

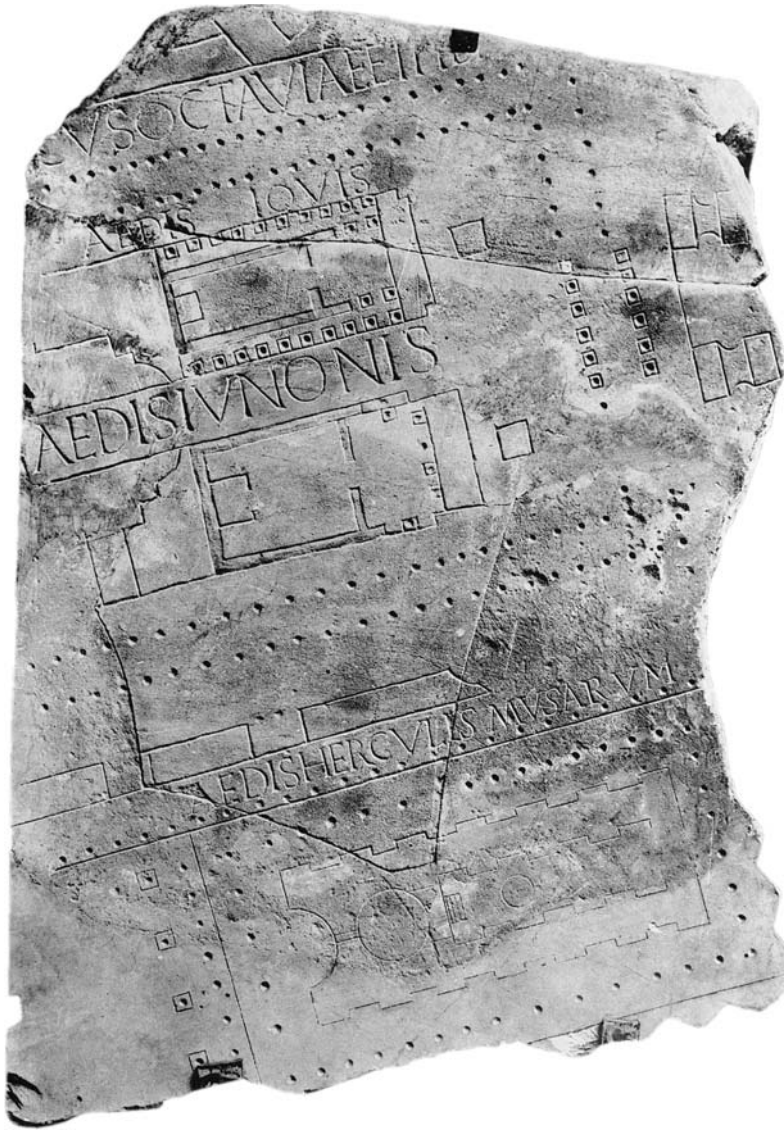
Forma urbis, a plan showing the city of Rome after AD 203 at a scale of roughly 1:240, engraved on 151 slabs of marble decorating a wall of the temple of Peace, perhaps in the office of the *praefectus urbi* (urban prefect). About 10 per cent of the total remains, some fragments being known only from Renaissance drawings. A few pieces appear to belong to an earlier version presumably from the Flavian complex.

JD

forum Romanum, the chief public square of Rome, surrounded by monumental buildings, occupied a low-lying area between the Palatine, Velia, Quirinal, and Capitol. An early iron age cemetery here was abandoned in the 9th cent. BC; recent research has dated the first paving to the late 8th/early 7th cent, following the deposition of considerable quantities of fill. The Regia and temple of *Vesta were traditionally associated with the regal period; the temples of Saturnus and Castor date to the early years of the republic. The forum became the centre of Roman religious, ceremonial, legal, and commercial life, as well as the political activities which took place in the adjacent Comitium; balconies (*maeniana*) were in 338 BC built above the shops surrounding the forum, to allow for the viewing of the gladiatorial shows which took place there. Butchers and fishmongers were eventually relegated to the *macellum* (see MARKETS AND FAIRS) and *forum piscarium*, as more monumental buildings were constructed around the forum. Basilicas (public halls) were introduced in 184 BC by *Cato the Elder; his work was soon imitated by the basilica Aemilia et Fulvia (179 BC) on the north side of the square, and basilica Sempronia (169 BC) on the south, replacing the house of P. Cornelius *Scipio Africanus.

The growing population of Rome and the increasing importance of popular politics were reflected by the transfer from the Comitium to the forum of the *comitia tributa* in 145 BC; in 121 Lucius Opimius restored the temple of Concord, following the death of Gaius *Gracchus and his supporters, and built a new adjacent basilica. In the same year the first triumphal arch was set up by Quintus Fabius Maximus (Allobrogicus) over the via Sacra beside the Regia. The temple of Castor was rebuilt in 117 BC.

Much of the present setting, however, is due to *Sulla, *Caesar, and *Augustus. Sulla rebuilt the Curia on a larger scale to accommodate the senate of 600 members, obliterating part of the Comitium in the process; Caesar planned a new basilica Iulia, to replace the old basilica Sempronia, which, like his Curia Iulia, was finished by Augustus. After Caesar's assassination a column was erected to mark the site of his pyre and later (29 BC)



Forma urbis Fragment of the *Forma urbis* or marble plan showing the city of Rome after AD 203. It shows a group of 2nd-cent. BC temples: those of Jupiter (Aedes Iovis) and Juno (Aedes Iunonis) were the first temples in Rome faced with marble; the third, for Hercules and the Muses, was funded and adorned with Greek booty. Fototeca dell'Unione Internazionale, American Academy in Rome.

replaced by the temple of Divus Iulius; this, and the adjacent Parthian arch of Augustus (19 BC), had the effect of monumentalizing the east end of the forum. New rostra in front of the temple of Divus Iulius faced the 'old' Rostra, rebuilt by Caesar and then Augustus. Many ancient monuments were restored: the Regia (36 BC), the basilica Paulli (successor of the basilica Aemilia et Fulvia) (14 BC), and the temples of Saturnus (42 BC), Castor (AD 6), and Concordia (AD 10).

Comparatively few changes were made to the topography of the forum under the empire; the imperial fora, the Campus Martius, and the Palatine provided more scope for emperors keen to make their mark on the city. New temples were, however, dedicated to deified emperors and empresses (Augustus, *Vespasian, Annia Galeria Faustina, and *Antoninus Pius) while Domitian set up an equestrian statue of himself in AD 91; and the arch of Septimius Severus was built in AD 203. A major fire in AD 283, however,



forum Romanum The open area of the forum seen through the columns of the temple of *Antoninus Pius and Faustina. Under the empire new additions served chiefly to glorify the Roman emperors, as also with (middle ground) the triumphal arch of *Septimius Severus. Fototeca dell'Unione Internazionale, American Academy in Rome.

provided an opportunity for a major reconstruction under Diocletian, with a row of monumental columns set up in front of the basilica Iulia, and the Curia rebuilt. Later structures included a statue of Stilicho and the column of Phocas (AD 608). IAR/DES/JRP

freedmen, freedwomen Emancipated slaves were more prominent in Roman society (little is known of other Italian societies before their enfranchisement) than in Greek city-states or Hellenistic kingdoms (see SLAVERY). In Greek the words *apeleutheros/a* and *exeleutheros/a* are used; in Latin *libertus/a* designates the ex-slave in relation to former owner (*patronus/a*), *libertinus/a* in relation to the rest of society. In Greek communities, freed slaves usually merged with other free non-citizens. In Rome, the slave freed by a citizen was normally admitted to citizenship (see CITIZENSHIP, ROMAN). A slave might be released from the owner's control by a fictitious claim before a magistrate with executive power (*imperium*) that he/she was free (manumission

vindicta), by being ordered to present himself to the censors for registration as a citizen (manumission *censu*: in these forms public authority attested citizen status and made it impossible for the slave to be a slave), or by will (manumission *testamento*, where implementation of the owner's command was postponed until he/she died and depended on acceptance of the inheritance and public validation). A slave freed informally lacked citizenship and other rights, but was protected by the praetor, until Augustus introduced Latin rights, with the possibility (expanded by later emperors) of promotion to full citizenship. Augustus also, by the Fufio-Caninian law of 2 BC (introducing a sliding scale to limit the number of slaves who could be freed by will) and the Aelio-Sentian law of AD 4 (a comprehensive law, which included minimum ages for slave and manumitter and barred from citizenship slaves deemed criminal), regulated the previously untrammelled right to manumit.

In Greece, the ex-slave might be bound to perform services while the ex-owner lived; in Rome, continuing dependency took the form of part-time services (*operae*; *libertae* married with patron's consent were exempt from paying these to a male patron), possible remunerated work, the obligation of dutifulness, and some inheritance rights for the patron and descendants against the freed slave's heirs other than non-adopted children. Freedmen were usually registered in the four urban voting tribes (**tribus*), excluded from major public offices and military service, but given a role in local elective office and cult. Children born after their mother's manumission were free-born and under no legal disabilities, though servile descent might be remembered (especially by the upper classes) for several generations. Freed slaves document their activity in urban trades and crafts; the most prominent, wealthy, and envied were usually freed by the upper classes: literature emphasizes the exceptions—writers such as *Terence, the fictitious millionaire Trimalchio (see PETRONIUS ARBITER) or the bureau-chiefs of the early emperors such as Narcissus and Marcus Antonius Pallas. MIF/SMT

freedom in the ancient world (see following page)

friendship, ritualized (or guest-friendship), a bond of trust, imitating kinship and reinforced by rituals, generating affection and obligations between individuals belonging to separate social units. In Greek sources this bond is called *xenia*, *xeniñē*, and *xeiñeiñē*; in Latin, *hospitium*. The individuals joined by the bond (usually men of approximately equal social status) are said to be each other's *xenos* or *hospes*. As the same terms designated guest–host relationships, *xenia* and *hospitium* have sometimes been interpreted in modern research as a form of

[continued on p. 316]

FREEDOM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

freedom in the ancient world On the individual and social levels, the distinction between free and unfree is as old as slavery, and individual or collective freedom from dues, taxes, and other obligations as old as communities with centralized government. These concepts are attested in Egyptian and Mesopotamian documents and the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless to these civilizations—as to ancient China—the concepts of free citizens or of political freedom were unknown. Typically, near eastern societies were characterized by a plurality of statuses ‘between slavery and freedom’ (Pollux) and ruled by autocratic and divinely sanctioned monarchs or an absolute divine law. Obedience and integration into a given order were the prime virtues; the rise and fall of empires and cities, protection from foreign enemies, or, individually, status change or protection from domestic exploitation were seen as results of divine will. Such conditions were not conducive to recognizing freedom as a political value. Despite their charter myth of liberation from Egyptian slavery, even the Hebrews (*see* JEWS) began to use freedom politically only under Hellenistic influence. About Phoenician city-states we know too little to judge.

Eleutheros and *liber* probably both derive from IE †*leudh-* (perhaps initially ‘grow’), designating the legitimate member of a descent group or community. The distinction free–unfree is attested in the earliest Greek and Roman texts (Linear B, Homer (e.g. *Il.* 6. 455, 463), *Twelve Tables). As ‘chattel *slavery’ became predominant, earlier status plurality was often replaced by a sharp contrast: slave–free. *Freedmen were enfranchised in Rome but not in Greece (*see* CITIZENSHIP, GREEK; CITIZENSHIP, ROMAN).

Current evidence indicates that freedom was first given *political* value by the Greeks, in a world of small *poleis* (*see* POLIS) which were not subject to imperial control, where power was not centralized, autocratic, or divinely sanctioned but broadly distributed, and communal well-being depended on many citizens, so that early forms of equality survived and gained importance over time. Loss of freedom was frequent, both for individuals (war, piracy, debt bondage), and communities (tyranny).

Nevertheless, freedom was articulated politically only when Lydian and especially Persian expansion to the Aegean for the first time subjected Greek *poleis* to foreign rule, often supporting local tyrants (*see* TYRANNY). This danger of double ‘enslavement’ and the confrontation with the autocratic Persian state made the Greeks aware of the free character of their societies. Earliest allusions to political freedom and the emergence of an abstract noun (*eleutheria*) date to the Persian Wars of 480/79 and their aftermath (e.g. *Aeschylus, *Persae* 403).

Vowing the continued defence of Greek liberty against Persia. Athens assumed leadership in the *Delian League (478) which was soon converted into a naval empire; allies became subjects who could hope only to preserve self-administration (*autonomia*). Freedom quickly deteriorated into a political slogan. In the Peloponnesian War (431–404), *Sparta propagated the liberation of Hellas from Athens as ‘tyrant city’ (*polis tyrannos*), though primarily protecting its own interests and soon turning oppressor itself.

Domestically, freedom initially meant ‘absence of tyranny’. Constitutional development was dominated first by ‘order’ (*eunomia*: *see* LYCURGUS), then by equality (*isonomia*), which, in democracy, eventually included all citizens, thus approximating *isonomia* to *demokratia* (Hdt. 3. 80. 6.). *Eleutheria* was claimed by democracy when democracy and *oligarchy were perceived as mutually exclusive, partisan forms of rule, so that the *dēmos* could be free only by controlling power itself (ps.-Xen. *Ath. pol.* 1. 6. 9). Similarly, a new term for ‘freedom of speech’ (*parrhēsia*) supplemented ‘equality of speech’ (*isēgoria*). Rejecting the extension of full rights to all citizens, oligarchs accepted as ‘free citizens’ only those wealthy enough to engage in liberal arts and occupations (*eleutherios paideia*, *eleutherioi technai*) and communal service. When *eleutherios* was set against *eleutheros* the concept of the ‘free citizen’ was divided ideologically, as proportional equality was opposed to numerical equality. Aristotle later included liberality (*eleutheriotēs*) in his analysis of virtues (*Eth. Nic.* 4. 1).

In the 4th cent. BC Sparta, Athens, and Thebes claimed to promote the liberty of those subjected by others. The liberty of the Greeks in Asia, sacrificed by Sparta in 412, was definitively yielded in the King’s Peace (386). The charter of the Second Athenian Confederacy guaranteed the members’ *eleutheria* and *autonomia*. The Messenian helots (state slaves of Sparta) were freed by Thebes after Leuctra (371). To end continuous internecine warfare, *Isocrates called for a Panhellenic crusade against Persia to liberate the Hellenes—a programme realized by *Alexander the Great only after Greek liberty was crushed at the battle of Chaeronea (338).

In the Hellenistic period, politics were controlled by the great powers; local autonomy was the best that could be attained. Yet the kings, competing for political and material support, presented themselves as protectors of Hellenic civilization and liberty. Declarations of freedom for the Hellenes were thus an old tradition when, after his victory over Philip V of Macedon, *Flamininus in 196 pronounced that the king's Greek subjects 'shall be free, exempt from tribute, and subject to their own laws' (Livy 33. 32. 5–6).

The use of freedom in philosophy was more complex. Fifth-century *sophists emphasized the strong individual's right to erupt from enslavement by the conventions of *nomos* and rule over the weaker in accordance with nature (Antiphon, Callicles in *Plato's *Gorgias*). Others contested the validity of traditional social distinctions; Alcidas declared slavery as contrary to nature. Despite *Aristotle's elaborate refutation (*Politics* 1), this view was echoed by the Stoics (see STOICISM) and discussed thoroughly by Roman jurists. Yet other sophists propagated cosmopolitanism, individualism, and 'freedom from the state' (Aristippus).

One aspect of democratic *eleutheria* was 'to live as you like' (Aris. *Pol.* 1317^b 11). Plato caricatured such 'excessive' freedom in *Republic* 8–9; Isocrates denounced it when advocating *patrios politeia* ('ancestral constitution': *Areop.* 20). Generally, *Socrates and his pupils avoided *eleutheria*. Originating in popular morality (echoed in *Euripides), the notion of freedom from all kinds of dependencies (especially on material goods and passions) induced generations of thinkers (Antisthenes, Diogenes, Bion) to stress self-control (*sōphrosynē*, *enkrateia*) as decisive means to achieve inner freedom.

Loss of political freedom and the need for new orientations gave philosophy broad appeal as a means to achieve happiness (*eudaimonia*). Despite fundamental differences, both Epicureans (*Sent. Vat.* 77) and Stoics (Epictetus 4. 1) believed in freedom as the goal and principle of life. (See EPICURUS; STOICISM.)

Lack of contemporary sources allows no certainty about the process by which *Libertas* was politicized in Rome. The expulsion of the kings or the struggle for abolition of debt bondage are possible contexts. The late republican élite developed an aristocratic concept of *libertas*, supporting equality and opposing *regnum* ('kingship') and extraordinary power of individuals and factions. By contrast, the *libertas populi* was not egalitarian and did not aim at political participation. It was primarily defensive, focusing on equality before the law and the protection of individual citizens from abuse of power by magistrates. *Libertas* rested on institutions, *ius*, and *lex*; it was embodied by the *tribunes of the plebs and their rights of *provocatio* (appeal) and *auxilium* ('defence' of the property and persons of members of the plebs); these are called the *duae arces libertatis tuendae* ('twin poles of the defence of liberty': Livy 3. 45. 8). In late republican conflicts *libertas* was claimed by *populares* against oppression by *optimates* ('best men'—i.e. the office-holding upper class: thus connected with the secret ballot) or a *factio paucorum* ('party of the few') (Caes. *B Civ.* 1. 22. 5; Augustus, *RG* 1).

During the empire, power was concentrated in one man's hands. Although *libertas* remained a favoured slogan of imperial ideology, nevertheless, according to *Tacitus (*Agr.* 3. 1), *principatus ac libertas* were not reconciled before *Nerva. Even so, liberty was increasingly reduced to the elementary meaning of security and protection under the law.

While freedom lost political significance, *eleutheria/libertas* became an important element in Christian teaching, emphasized especially by St *Paul. Through God's gift and Christ's sacrifice his followers are liberated from sin, the finality of death, and the old law. Such freedom, however, involves subjection to the will of God: Christ's followers are God's 'slaves.' The freedom promised to Christians is available to all humans, including the lowly and slaves, but it is not of this world and does not militate against existing social dependencies and political or ethical obligations. Accordingly, Christians did not oppose slavery as an institution, but in accepting slaves into their community they anticipated the universal brotherhood of the free expected in another world.

KR

hospitality. *Xenia*, *hospitium*, and hospitality do overlap to some extent but the former relationships display a series of additional features which assimilate them into the wider category called in social studies ritualized personal relationships, or pseudo-kinship. The analogy with kinship did not escape the notice of the ancients themselves. According to *Aristotle's *Magna Moralia*, *xenia* was the strongest of all the relationships involving

affection (*philia*) (2. 1381^b29). Aulus *Gellius wrote that a relationship with a *hospes* should take precedence over kinship and marriage in matters of affection and obligation (*NA* 5. 13. 5).

The lexicographer Hesychius defined *xenos* as 'a friend (*philos*) from abroad', and this definition holds good for the Roman *hospitium*: a ritualized friendship dyad could consist, for example, of an Athenian and a Spartan, a

Thessalian and a Persian, a Carthaginian and a Syracusan, or a Roman and an Epirote, but very rarely consisted of two Athenians or two Romans. From its first appearance in *Homer (e.g. *Il.* 6. 224–5) onwards, ritualized friendship has been abundantly attested in both Greek and Latin sources from all periods and areas of classical antiquity. In late antiquity, it disappears from view. There are good reasons to assume, however, that it was gradually annexed by the Christian Church, since it reappears in a new guise in the early medieval variants of godparenthood: Latin *compaternitas*, and Byzantine *synteknia*.

One feature that ritualized friendship shared with kinship was the assumption of perpetuity: once the relationship had been established, the bond was believed to persist in latent form even if the partners did not interact with one another. This assumption had two practical consequences. First, the bond could be renewed or reactivated after years had elapsed, a variety of symbolic objects signalling that it once existed (*symbolon, pista, tessera hospitalis*). Secondly, the bond did not expire with the death of the partners themselves, but outlived them, passing on in the male line to their descendants.

If ritualized friends belonged to separate social units, how did their paths come to cross? Random encounters were made possible by the extraordinary geographic mobility of the Greeks and Romans, as well as by circumstances such as wars, festivals, and *colonization. Stories of how two eminent people first met and developed a liking for each other, and how they (or their descendants) recognized each other after many years of separation, undoubtedly exercised a special fascination over the ancients (e.g. *Hdt.* 3. 139 ff.).

The beginning of the relationship had to be marked with a ceremony, as did the reactivation of a relationship after many years. The rites of initiation into *xenia* and *hospitium* consisted of a diversity of symbolic elements enacted in sequence: a solemn declaration ('I make you my *xenos*', and 'I accept you'), an exchange of symbolic gifts, a handshake, and finally feasting (*Xen. Hell.* 4. 1. 39; *Curt.* 6. 5. 1ff; *Cic. Deiot.* 8; *Livy* 23. 9. 3–4; *Aeschin.* 3. 224. See SYMPOSIUM). The rites were obviously intended to lend the bond an aura of sacrosanctity, rendering it indissoluble. In practice, the bond could fade away through disuse. Its moral context was, however, such that only exceptionally was it interrupted by means of a formal ceremony (e.g. *Hdt.* 4. 154. 4, 3. 43. 2).

Ritualized friends were, by virtue of their prescribed duties, veritable co-parents. A *xenos* or *hospes* was supposed to show a measure of protective concern for his partner's son, to help him in any emergency, and to save his life (*Hom. Il.* 21. 42; *Dem.* 50. 56; *Hdt.* 9. 76; *Lys.* 18. 10; *Plaut. Mil. gl.* 133–45). A father's partner in relation to the

former's son was designated by a technical term: *patrikos* (or *patrōios*) *xenos* in Greek, and *paternus hospes* in Latin. If the natural father was absent, ill, or dead, this paternal friend was expected to act as a substitute father. According to Euripides' *Electra* and *Orestes*, for instance, Orestes was brought up, following the murder of *Agamemnon, in the household of Agamemnon's *xenoi*. Similarly, in real life, Aratus, following the murder of his father, was brought up in the household of his father's *xenoi* at Argos (*Plut. Arat.* 2–3). Cicero relates that on sensing danger he sent his children to the court of his *hospes* Deiotarus, king of Galatia (*Att.* 5. 17, cf. 18. 4). Neglect of co-parental duties was strongly disapproved of, often evoking violent emotions (*Eur. Hec.* 689–714; *Aeschin.* 3. 225). Betrayal of ritualized friendship in general sometimes appears as a sin against the gods (*Diod. Sic.* 20. 70. 3–4).

In conformity with the co-parental obligations, a father was supposed to name a son after his partner. The custom is more often found in Greek than in Roman sources (*Thuc.* 8. 6. 3; *Diod. Sic.* 14. 13. 5; *Hdt.* 3. 55). No explanation of its rationale survives, but a belief that some of the paternal friend's character traits will be passed on to the child with his name can be inferred from the paternal friend's obligation to take a share in the child's education (*Hom. Il.* 9. 483 ff., with *Plut. Phil.* 1; *Livy* 9. 36. 3, 42. 19. 3).

Ritualized friendship was an overwhelmingly upper-class institution in both Greece and Rome. The people involved in it belonged to a small minority, renowned for their wealth and identified by lofty titles such as 'hero', 'tyrant', 'satrap', 'nobleman', 'consul', 'governor', and 'emperor'. Throughout antiquity, such people lent each other powerful support, often at the expense of their inferiors, so frequently that ritualized friendship may justly be regarded as a tool for perpetuating class distinctions. The forms of mutual support practised included the exchange of valuable resources (e.g. money, troops, or grain), usually designated gifts, and the performance of important services (e.g. opportune intervention, saving life, catering for every need) usually designated benefactions (Greek *euergesiai*, Latin *beneficia*: see EUERGETISM). The circulation of these goods and services created what may be described as networks of ritualized friendship. The Greek and Roman worlds differed markedly in how these informal networks were integrated into their wider political systems.

In the world reflected in the Homeric poems, *xenia* and the networks to which it gave rise were of paramount importance to the hero. The hero abroad found in a *xenos* an effective substitute for kinsmen, a protector, representative, and ally, supplying in case of need shelter, protection, men, and arms; the community was not

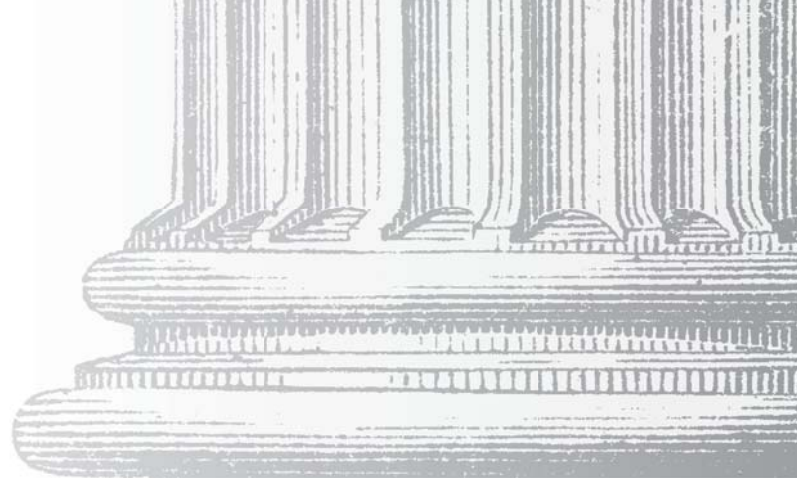
sufficiently organized to interfere with this sort of cooperation. The relationship being largely personal, ritualized friendship was, together with marriage, the Homeric forerunner of political and military alliances. The emergence of the *polis during the 8th and 7th cents. BC was accompanied by significant interactions between its nascent systems and this pre-existing network of personal alliances. Nor did the fully-fledged polis lead to the abolition of this network: throughout the Classical age, dense webs of ritualized friendship still stretched beyond its bounds, at times facilitating, at times obstructing the conduct of foreign affairs (e.g. Andoc. 2. 11; Thuc. 2. 13). For the upper classes of the Classical age, these networks offered an alternative means to the civic system of pursuing their own interests. In the Hellenistic age, the circles of 'friends' (*philoï*) came to be recruited from among the personal or paternal *xenoi* of the kings; having turned royal officials, these members of governing élites are often found to be acting as mediators between the kings and their own communities of origin, deriving substantial benefits from both systems. The impact of *xenia* upon the Greek civic system is most evident in the creation by the polis of *proxenia*, a bond of trust, clearly modelled upon *xenia*, between a polis and a prominent individual outside it.

Under the republic, prominent Romans maintained extensive ties of *hospitium* with prominent non-Romans both elsewhere in Italy and overseas. In the lawcourts, for instance, both *Cicero and *Caesar defended members of the aristocracy from various Italian communities. Pompey had hereditary ties of *hospitium* with the

Numidian king Juba (Caes. *BCiv.* 2. 25), while Mark *Antony was an ancestral *xenos* of the Herods of Judaea (Joseph. *AJ* 14. 320). *Livy was probably attributing contemporary customs to an earlier age when he assigned to the Etruscan king *Tarquinius Superbus motives epitomizing the role of ritualized friendship in a country of separate communities: 'the Latin race he strove particularly to make his friends, so that his strength abroad might contribute to his security at home. He contracted with their nobles not only ties of *hospitium* but also matrimonial connections' (Livy 1. 49. 9). The sort of upper-class coalitions reflected in this example could, however, easily be overpowered by the state, and therefore posed less of a threat to the Roman community than such coalitions previously had to any single Greek city-state. Rome followed in Greece's footsteps by devising *hospitium publicum*, a public institution analogous to *proxenia*, modelled on *hospitium*.

Hospitium, like *patronage, was instrumental in the *Romanization of local élites (Livy 9. 36. 3, 42. 19. 3–6), in their upward social mobility, and in their integration into the Roman ruling class (e.g. Cic. *Clu.* 25. 165, with *Vir. ill.* 80. 1). Within the Roman empire, the communities in which ritualized friends lived gradually became part of a larger-scale political system, and this change tended to relax the principle that ritualized friends must belong to separate communities. Fronto saw nothing unusual in characterizing as a *hospes* a friend who originated from the same African city as himself, and a 2nd-cent. AD inscription from Spain sees *hospitium* as compatible with kinship ties (*Ad amicos* 1. 3; *CIL* 2. 2633). GHE

G



Gaius (Gaius Iulius Caesar Germanicus) ('Caligula'), (AD 12–41), emperor, son of *Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder, born at Antium (31 August). In 14–16 he was on the Rhine with his parents and, dressed in miniature uniform, was nicknamed 'Caligula' ('Bootee') by the soldiers. He went with his parents to the east in 17 and, after Germanicus' death in 19, lived in Rome with his mother until her arrest in 29, then successively with Livia Drusilla and Antonia until he joined *Tiberius on Capreae. The downfall of Tiberius' favourite *Sejanus in 31 was to Gaius' advantage, and it was probably engineered by him and associates such as the prefect of the watch (*vigiles*) Macro, who also benefited. After the death of his brother Drusus Iulius Caesar in 33 Gaius was the only surviving son of Germanicus and, with Tiberius Iulius Caesar Nero 'Gemellus'—*Claudius' claim not being considered—next in succession. He became *pontifex* (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)) in 31 and was quaestor two years later, but received no other training in public life. Tiberius made Gaius and Gemellus joint heirs to his property, but, supported by Macro, now prefect of the praetorian guard (*praefectus praetorio*), Gaius was proclaimed emperor (16 March 37), Tiberius' will being declared invalid by the senate, although his acts as a whole were not invalidated; Gaius made an appropriately perfunctory effort to have him deified.

Gaius' accession was greeted with widespread joy and relief, and his civility promised well. One symbolic gesture was the restoration of electoral choice to the popular assemblies, taken from them in 14 (it failed and Gaius had to revert to Tiberian procedure). Gaius needed to enhance his authority and held the consulship four times, in 37 (suffect, so that the men in office in March were not disturbed), 39, 40 (sole consul), and 41; he became *Pater Patriae* (father of his country), a title refused by Tiberius, on 21 September, 37. In the early months of his rule he honoured the memory of his mother, father, and brothers and spoke abusively of Tiberius. Antonia, a restraining influence, died on 1 May 37. In October Gaius was seriously

ill; Philon Judaeus' view (*Leg.* 14, 22) that this unhinged him has been given too much attention. But the illness may have brought the succession question into prominence: some time before 24 May 38, Gaius executed both Macro and his rival Gemellus. In 39 Gaius quarrelled with the senate, revised his attitude towards Tiberius' memory, announcing the return of slandering the emperor as a treasonable offence. The same year he married his fourth wife, Milonia Caesonia, who had already borne him a daughter, proving her fertility. The autumn and winter of 39–40 Gaius spent in Gaul and on the Rhine; a conspiracy was revealed whose leader, Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, commander of the Upper Rhine army, was executed. This conspiracy may be connected with the simultaneous disgrace of his brother-in-law (and possible successor) Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and of Gaius' surviving sisters *Agrippina ('Agrippina the Younger') and Iulia Livilla. After his return to Rome (in ovation, on 31 August 40) Gaius was in constant danger of assassination, having no successor to avenge him, displayed increasing brutality, and was murdered in the palace on 22 or 24 January 41. His wife and daughter were also murdered.

The government of Gaius was autocratic and capricious, and he accepted extravagant honours which came close to deification. His reign has been interpreted as a departure from the Augustan Principate to a Hellenistic monarchy. Rather, Gaius seems to have been engaged in discovering the limits of his power ('for me anything is licit', Suet. *Calig.* 29). He was a person of the highest descent (he once banished *Agrippa from his ancestry by postulating incest between Augustus and his daughter *Julia), which helps to account for the unprecedented attention paid to his sisters, Iulia Drusilla, whose death in 38 was followed by a public funeral and consecration, Livilla, and Agrippina; he possessed an exceptional intellect and a cruel and cynical wit; and he demanded exceptional homage and was savage if his superiority was not recognized. A gifted orator, who delivered Livia's *laudatio*

funerbris (funerary oration) at the age of 17, he enjoyed writing rebuttals of successful speeches. By insisting on primacy in everything Gaius left even courtiers no role of their own. He had terrified the senators, humiliated officers of the praetorian guard (who carried out the assassination), and only the masses seem to have regretted his passing.

Gaius was a keen builder, interested in the state of Italy's roads and in Rome's water supply (he began the aqua Claudia (see *AQUEDUCTS*) and Anio Novus). For the sake of the grain supply he began to improve the harbour at Rhegium in south Italy. He also completed the reconstruction of the theatre of Pompey and created a circus in the Vatican; other constructions were for his own pleasure, for instance the bridge of boats from Puteoli to Bauli (39), an ephemeral extravagance to outdo *Xerxes or overawe a Parthian hostage.

Gaius' high expenditures were economically advantageous, ending the sluggishness of Tiberius' regime. His achievements abroad, with the exception of his deployment of client rulers, were negative. He probably raised two new legions (XV and XXII Primigeniae) for an invasion of Germany or *Britain. However, his forays into Germany in the autumn of 39 may have been exercises intended to restore discipline after the fall of Gaetulicus and to commemorate the campaigns of Germanicus in 13–16 (the famous collection of sea shells, 'spoils of Ocean', probably alludes to the North Sea storms that Germanicus had encountered); here the Chauci and Chatti were still causing trouble in 41. The conquest of Britain was only mooted, and was considered achieved when Cunobelinus' (Cymbeline's) son Adminius came to render homage (Gaius could not afford to leave the centres of empire in 39–40). By deposing and executing Ptolemy of Mauretania he provoked a war that was brought to an end only in the next reign. For the Jews under Gaius see below. JPB/BML

Gaius and the Jews

Soon after his accession, Gaius conferred a kingship in Palestine upon his friend, the Herodian Agrippa I. However, their understanding did not prevent discord between the inconsistent emperor and his Jewish subjects. A savage conflict between Jews and Greeks in *Alexandria stood unresolved when Gaius died. The prefect, Aulus Avillius Flaccus, seemingly abandoning any pretence at even-handedness when Gaius succeeded, had backed the Greek side in the long-standing dispute with the Jews over citizen rights. Agrippa I, visiting *en route* for his kingdom, was mocked by the crowd and a full-scale attack was thereby unleashed. On the emperor's birthday, Jews who had survived the assaults on the Jewish quarter

were rounded up in the theatre and made to eat pork. Gaius had Flaccus arrested and replaced in late 38, but he disdainfully ignored the delegations sent to Rome by both groups, leaving his successor to settle the matter.

Among the Jews of Palestine, Gaius' policy was heading for disaster when he died. A statue of the emperor was to be placed in the Jerusalem Temple, perhaps as a reaction to the Alexandrian Jewish delegation (Josephus), perhaps a response to the destruction by Jews at Jamnia of their pagan neighbours' altar to the emperor (Philo). Stalling by Publius Petronius, governor of Syria, apparently sympathetic to Jewish pleas, delayed developments; and the intervention of Agrippa, whose long and perhaps genuine letter to Gaius is quoted by Philo, is alleged to have halted the plan. Philo claims that it was then reinstated by secret orders; but this he could scarcely have known. In general lines, however, the events are well documented: Philo was himself a participant, heading the Alexandrian Jews' delegation to Gaius, while *Josephus offers two distinct accounts of the events in Palestine. TR

games (see facing page)

gardens Two strands of landscape management coalesce in ancient Mediterranean garden culture: the intensification of agricultural production in fertile places where a high input of *labour can achieve very high yield per unit area; and the local improvement of the amenity of the natural environment for human activities of all kinds, like building a house but relying much more on what nature provides. Both, above all else, depend on use of *water, and are inextricably linked.

Culturally, the main traditions (including the amenity of plants and trees in Minoan art) all go back to the gardens of the Fertile Crescent. The Persian combination of preserve and pleasure known as *paradeisos* has a special place. Early Greek intensive horticulture created places whose amenity, for abundance of shade or the presence of water, was esteemed (already in Homer, esp. *Od.* 7. 112 ff.), and this was the style of the famous Garden of the philosopher *Epicurus. Trees were planted in *sanctuaries for their cultic significance or for shade, and by extension, in public places such as the *agora. But a high aesthetic tradition dates only from the domestication of the *paradeisos* in the 4th cent. BC and especially the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

This garden-art aimed particularly at reshaping place, and gave rise to the Roman name of formal gardening, *ars topiaria* (which went far beyond 'topiary', though this was one of its techniques). Use of slopes, views of different scenery, the deployment of architectural adjuncts

[continued on p. 322]

GAMES

games (agōnes) Gatherings of people for formal contests usually in honour of a Greek god or local hero.

Before 300 BC

Prior to the 8th cent. BC they seem to have been small-scale events, centring round a shrine or sanctuary. But the *agōn* (agonistic festival) at *Olympia came to acquire a special status: traditionally founded in 776 BC, by the end of the 8th cent. it was, because of the wide range of *athletics contests it offered and its lack of political ties, attracting increasing numbers of foreigners (especially from among the athletic Spartans) and was organized as a Panhellenic *agōn* (i.e. the contests were open to all Greeks). With interstate relationships assuming increased importance during the 7th cent., local *agōnes* were reorganized at other places too. The Pythian Games at *Delphi became Panhellenic in 582 BC; its range of athletics events followed the Olympian model, but it preserved its identity and associations with *Apollo through its emphasis on musical competitions. With the reorganization of the Isthmian (c.581) and Nemean Games (c.573), a group of four Panhellenic *agōnes* came to form an athletics circuit (*periodos*), as the Olympics, World Championships, European, and Commonwealth Games do for some athletes nowadays. At Athens the Great Panathenaea (founded 566) was also Panhellenic, but for athletes never achieved the status of the other four. Despite this development, local *agōnes* with athletics contests continued to flourish: *Pindar's victory-odes mention more than twenty local games (cf. *Ol.* 13. 107–13; also Simon. *Epig.* 43 Page), and a 5th-cent. Laconian inscription records 72 victories won by Damonon and his son Enymacratidas at eight *agōnes* in the Peloponnese (*IG* 5. 1. 213, trans. W. Sweet, *Sport and Recreation in Ancient Greece: A Sourcebook with Translations* (1987), 145–6).

Contests were often in athletics, but music, poetry, and equestrian events were also popular. *Hesiod won a poetry-singing competition in Chalcis (*Op.* 657); the Pythian Games included three types of musical contest (singing to the accompaniment of cithara or aulos, and solo aulos) and a painting competition (Plin. *HN* 35. 58). In Athens tragedies, comedies, and dithyrambs (choral songs) were performed in competitions at the City Dionysia, and at the Panathenaea rhapsodes (professional reciters of poetry) competed in Homer-reciting contests. Horse- and chariot-races were mainly entered by wealthy individuals who paid charioteers or jockeys to ride on their behalf, and hoped for political prestige from good performances (cf. Alcibiades' boast, Thuc. 6. 16. 2). The chariot-race was often long (about 14 km. (nearly 9 mi.) at the Olympian Games) and dangerous (Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 49–51: the victor was the only one of 40 starters to finish with chariot intact). Beauty contests, drinking contests, and even a wool-carding contest are also recorded.

At the four major Panhellenic *agōnes*, victors were honoured with a wreath: olive at Olympia, laurel at the Pythian Games, varieties of *selinon* (parsley or celery) at the Isthmus and Nemea (but cf. hyp. c *Nem.*, hyp. b *Isthm.*; Paus. 8. 48. 2). At other venues wreaths were made of date-palms (Paus. 8. 48. 2) or myrtle (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 88). The victor might also be showered with leaves (*phyllobolia*). On returning home he could receive more substantial rewards: free meals (*sitēsis*), the privilege of a front seat (*prohedria*) when spectating at *agōnes*, and gifts. Athens was especially generous to victors: *Solon passed legislation to award Athenian victors at Olympia 500 drachmae (Plut. *Sol.* 23; monetary prizes are however anachronistic at this early date—see COINAGE, GREEK), and at the Great Panathenaea in the 4th cent. BC money, gold crowns, bulls, and large numbers of amphorae containing olive oil were awarded as prizes (*IG* 2². 2311, trans. S. Miller (ed.), *Arete: Greek Sports from Ancient Sources*, 2nd edn. (1991), 80–3; 100 amphorae, c.4,000 l. (880 gal.), for a victor in the men's *stadion* race, a very valuable prize). Local *agōnes* also awarded prizes: silver cups at Sicyon (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 43), a bronze shield at Argos, and a thick cloak at Pellene (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 83, 9. 97–8).

To lose in a contest was shameful, and the incidence of failure-induced depression and mental illness is likely to have been high (cf. Pind. *Ol.* 8. 68–9, *Pyth.* 8. 81–7; Paus. 6. 9. 6).

After 300 BC

The spread of 'periodic' contests in the Greek style is a defining feature of post-Classical *Hellenism. In the 3rd and 2nd cents. BC they were sponsored by kings (the Alexandrian Ptolemaea and Pergamene Nicephoria) and leagues (the Soteria of Delphi, by the Aetolian Confederacy) as well as cities great and small (e.g. the plethora of Boeotian *agōnes* by c.50 BC: A. Gossage, *BSA* 1975, 115 ff.). Under the Roman Principate this expansion continued; provincial cities

founded new games as late as AD 275–6; by the 3rd cent. they were celebrated from *Carthage to Zeugma. Beginning with *Augustus (see NICOPOLIS), Roman emperors became major patrons of *agōnes*. *Nero introduced them at Rome, with later foundations by *Domitian, *Gordian III, and Aurelian (the *agōn* of the Sun (Sol), 274). Frowned on by Christianity, Greek games (shorn of pagan ritual) none the less survived until at least 521, when Justinian banned the Olympia of *Antioch.

The distinctiveness of ‘sacred’ games, celebrating a deity (often the city’s patron god or, under Rome, the *ruler-cult) and (at first) offering only a symbolic prize (typically a crown, *stephanos*), is fundamental. In the Hellenistic age the recognition of new ‘sacred’ games required cumbersome interstate diplomacy by the promoter (best attested with the Leucophryena of Magnesia on the Maeander in W. *Asia Minor (*I. Magn.* 16–87)). From 30 BC Roman emperors decided ‘the gift of a sacred contest’, weighing up cost, a city’s record of loyalty and, in 3rd-cent. Cilicia (SE Asia Minor), its support for imperial troop-movements. An élite group of ‘iselastic’ games emerged, often named after one of the famous games of the ‘ancient circuit’ (*archaia periodos*), and distinctive for the privileges which victors could demand of their home cities, notably a triumphal entry, pension (*opsonion*, *suntaxis*), and tax-immunity (*ateleia*). Otherwise there were prize-games (*thematitai*, *themides*), also subject to Roman control.

‘Sacred’ contests comprised a sacrifice, to which other Greek cities sent representatives (*theōroi* or more often, under Rome, *synthutai*), and a profane festival (*panēgyris*), often incorporating *markets and fairs, as well as the contests proper, supervised by an *agōnothetēs*. Funding of new contests relied heavily on civic *euergetism; infrequently emperors stepped in—notably *Hadrian (C. P. Jones, *JRA* 1990, 487) who also drastically reorganized the schedule of iselastic games to accommodate his new festivals in *Athens and elsewhere (*AE* (2006), 1403a-c). From the 2nd cent. AD the pantomime, and from the 3rd the mime, joined the more traditional events.

Supported by the imperial state, *agōnes* were absorbed into the Graeco-Roman cultural synthesis. Élite Greeks still sought athletic success; the world of *agōnes*, past and present, is a prominent theme among Greek writers of the *Second Sophistic. See ATHLETICS; COMEDY (GREEK); MUSIC; TRAGEDY, GREEK. SJI/AJSS

and numerous sculptures, and the evocation of specific literary or traditional landscapes or stories were among the themes (as in *Hadrian’s villa at Tibur); natural features such as springs, streams, hills, caves, and woods, were improved or created *ex novo*. In all this plants were important, but not central; specimen exotics (*viridia*, whence *viridarium*) evoked alien worlds (as birds and animals, which might also be ultimately destined for the table, did too) or pleased through scent, foliage contrast, or shade. Flowers were prized, but in Mediterranean conditions and before much improvement of the strain, were very limited in their season (hence the value of twice-blooming roses) and grown more for their use in garlands than for their effect in a bed.

Remembering the days when a *hortus* was the lot of a citizen, the whimsical Roman élite labelled its suburban garden-palaces ‘vegetable gardens’, *horti*, and these often achieved remarkable levels of costly and allusive complexity. On a humbler scale, the features of *ars topiaria* were very widely disseminated across the Roman world. For our understanding, the town gardens of *Pompeii are especially important, with the garden-paintings which complemented them, but good examples come also from

Fishbourne in Britain and Conimbriga in Portugal, Thuburbo Maius in Africa, and several cities of southern France. NP

Gaul (Cisalpine) (See ◀ Map 5, Cc ▶) The prosperous northern region of modern Italy, comprising the Po (Padus) plain and its mountain fringes from the Apennines to the Alps, was known to the Romans as Cisalpine Gaul. In the middle republic it was not even considered part of Italy, which extended only to the foothills of the Apennines along a line roughly from Pisa to Rimini (Ariminum). Beyond the Apennines lay Gaul, a land inhabited by Celtic peoples whom the Romans looked upon with fear and wonder. (See GAUL (TRANSALPINE).)

The background to this situation is difficult to reconstruct in detail. Archaeological evidence broadly confirms literary reports of *Etruscan settlement in Emilia-Romagna during the 6th cent. BC, and of the infiltration of Celtic peoples from beyond the Alps during the 5th and 4th cents. Rich warrior graves of the iron age Golasecca culture in Piedmont and Lombardy point to a warrior aristocracy similar to that of the Halstatt culture of



gardens A wall-painting from *Pompeii (c. AD 70) evokes Roman garden-art. It shows a statue of Mars, lush planting, and exotic birds. © Julian Money-Kyrle / Alamy

central Europe; and these same Golasecca sites during the 5th and 4th cents. contain increasing amounts of La Tène material. Further south there is evidence of a growing Celtic presence in Emilia-Romagna, where Etruscan and La Tène graves are found side by side in the same cemeteries.

The most detailed literary account of the Gallic occupation of the Po valley is that of *Livy (s. 34–5), who describes a succession of migrations by different tribes, beginning with the Insubres, who moved into the region around Milan (Mediolanum) in the 6th cent. BC. They were followed, in the course of the next two centuries, by the Cenomani, Libui, Salui, Boii, and Lingones. The last group to arrive were the Senones, who by the start of the 4th cent. had occupied the strip of land along the Adriatic known as the *ager Gallicus*. This account, which can be supplemented by other sources, is compatible with the archaeological evidence, although the latter implies a process of gradual infiltration rather than violent invasions. By the early 4th cent. the Gauls had completely displaced the Etruscans in the Po valley, and had begun to make occasional raids across the Apennines into peninsular Italy (in one of which, in c.386 BC, they sacked Rome). Further Gallic invasions occurred sporadically throughout the 4th and 3rd cents. (Polyb. 2. 18–31), culminating in the great invasion of 225 BC, which the Romans and their Italian allies defeated at Telamon.

The Romans responded by invading Cisalpine Gaul, which they overran in a three-year campaign of conquest ending with the capture of Mediolanum (Milan) in 222. Their efforts to consolidate the conquest, which included the foundation of colonies at Placentia (Piacenza) and Cremona, were however interrupted by *Hannibal's invasion, which prompted the Gauls to rebel. After defeating Hannibal, the Romans resumed their plan of conquest, which they completed in 191 with a victory over the Boii, the most powerful of the Cisalpine Gallic tribes. The colonies at Placentia and Cremona were refounded (190 BC), and further colonies were settled at Bononia (= Bologna, 189 BC), Parma, and Mutina (both 183). In 187 the via Aemilia (from which the modern region of Emilia takes its name) was constructed from Ariminum to Placentia. As a result of this great programme of colonization (still evident in aerial photographs which show traces of *centuriation throughout the region), virtually all of the land south of the Po was occupied by settlers from peninsular Italy, while the northern part of the plain remained largely in the hands of its Celtic inhabitants, who were henceforth known to the Romans as Transpadani.

After the Social War of 91–89 BC (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.5) Cisalpine Gaul was formally separated from Italy

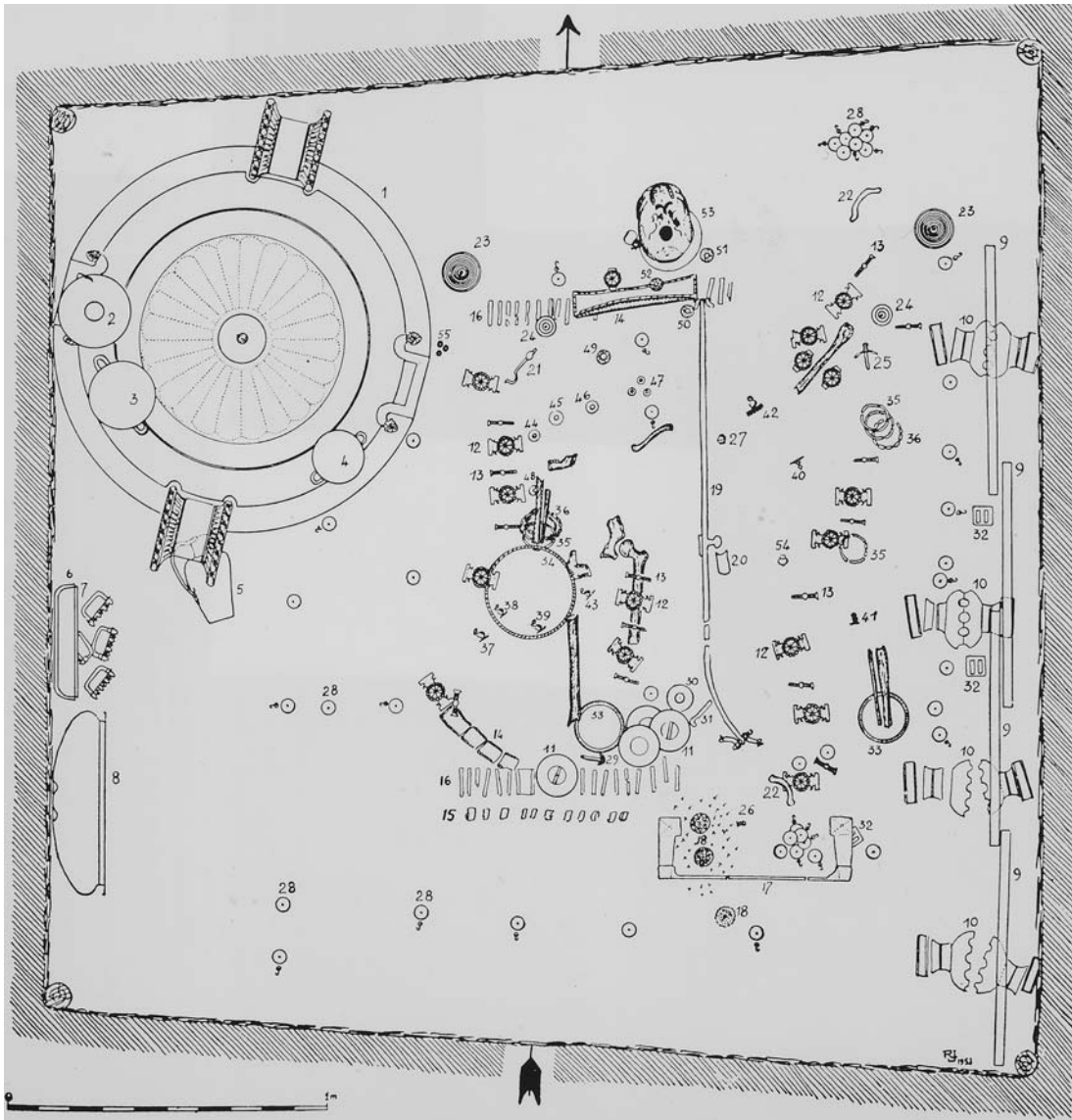
and became a province, with its southern border at the Rubicon; but all the colonial settlers who were not already Roman citizens were enfranchised. The rest of the free population, which effectively meant the Transpadani, were given Latin rights, a decision that they greatly resented; the demand for full citizen rights became a hot political issue in the following decades, until the Transpadani were finally enfranchised by Caesar in 49. In 42 Cisalpine Gaul was fully integrated within Italy, and under Augustus was divided into four of the eleven administrative regions of Italy (VIII–XI).

In the centuries after 200 BC Cisalpine Gaul was rapidly and thoroughly Romanized, and few traces of Celtic language and culture remained by the time of the empire. An area of rich agricultural land, much of which was reclaimed by Roman drainage schemes in the lower Po valley, Cisalpine Gaul achieved great prosperity; by the time of *Strabo, who gives an eloquent description of it (s. 1. 12, 218 C), it had become what it still is today, one of the most wealthy and prosperous parts of Europe. TJCO

Gaul (Transalpine) (see ◀Map 5▶) comprised the area from the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean coast of modern France to the English Channel, and the Atlantic to the Rhine and the western Alps. As a geopolitical entity, it emerged in the 1st cent. BC and lasted into the 5th cent. AD. Augustus divided Gaul into four provinces: Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Belgica. The Flavians annexed the Agri Decumates and attached them to Upper Germany—carved, like Lower Germany, out of Belgica. *Diocletian subdivided all six Gallic provinces, making a total of thirteen.

Gaul was predominantly Celtic in culture, but it did not include the Celts of the Danube and northern Italy; and it contained Ligurians and Iberians in the south, and Germanic immigrants in the north-east. The south had also been heavily influenced by Greek *colonization. Hence 'Gaul' was not a natural unit, but a Roman artefact. In order to protect the route to Spain, Rome helped Massalia (Marseilles) against bordering tribes. The result was, in 121 BC, the formation of 'the Province' (*Provincia*), from the Mediterranean to Lake Geneva, with its capital at Narbo. In 58–51 BC, Caesar seized the remainder of Gaul, justifying his conquest by playing on Roman memories of savage attacks over the Alps by Celts and Germans. Italy was now to be defended from the Rhine (Rhenus).

Initially, indeed, the Romans treated the Gauls as *barbarians. They disparaged Gaul beyond the Province as *Gallia Comata*—'Long-haired Gaul', and generally mismanaged the Province itself. However, Gaul was not far behind Rome. Ligurian communities had long emulated Massilia;



Gaul (Transalpine) Drawing of the burial chamber of a Gallic aristocrat at Vix (Châtillon-sur-Seine), France, c.500 BC, the finds including Mediterranean imports of wine-drinking vessels. From the 2nd cent. BC this taste of the Celtic élites was expressed in imports of Italian *wine, until S. Gaul itself became a wine-exporter in the 1st cent. AD. From Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Europe*, 1984. Copyright © 2013 by Transaction Publishers. Reprinted by permission of the publisher

and, in the Celtic core, Caesar found nations (*civitates*) establishing urban centres (*oppida*) which, though hardly classical cities, had significant socio-economic functions. Under the more prudent rule of the emperors, the Province, now Narbonensis, was seeded with military colonies, and became a land of city-states, comparable with Italy. In the other 'Three Gauls', colonies were few and the *civitates*

were retained, but their leaders vied with each other in acquiring the conquerors' culture.

The *Romanization of northern Gaul is illustrated by the dominance of Latin, and the emergence of the Graeco-Roman city. The *civitates* were too large to be city-states, but they contained towns that could be designated as their administrative centres and developed,

under local magnates, in accordance with classical criteria. Most were unwallled. On the land, Romanization took the form of *villas—at this time working farms as much as country residences.

The population of Gaul was large: c.10,000,000. Agriculture flourished. One of the great engines of its success was the Rhine army, which stimulated trade by purchasing supplies from the interior. Commerce was facilitated by an extensive road and river network. The metropolis of high imperial Gaul was Lugdunum (Lyons), at a main junction of these networks. There was little resistance to Roman rule. Localized revolts in AD 21 and 69–70 were easily suppressed; they probably accelerated the demise of the pre-Roman aristocracy. Few Gauls subsequently involved themselves in Roman imperial careers.

Early Roman Gaul came to an end late in the 3rd cent. External pressures exacerbated internal weaknesses, and neglect of the Rhine frontier resulted in barbarian invasions and civil war. For a while Gaul was governed by a separate line of emperors (beginning with Postumus). Though order was restored, much had changed: the Agri Decumates were abandoned; and cities began to be fortified. However, there had still been no move to gain independence; and, after the restructuring of the empire by Diocletian and Constantine I, Gaul enjoyed stability and enhanced prestige.

For Rome renewed its commitment to defend Italy from the Rhine. A praetorian prefect was based in northern Gaul, usually in Augusta Treverorum (Trier), and rulers frequently sojourned there. Though the frontier was occasionally broken, it was always restored. There was a recovery of economic prosperity, though uneven. Trier was endowed with magnificent buildings, but most cities never recovered their former grandeur. The upper classes now eagerly sought posts in the imperial administration, making much of their rhetorical skills (the 4th cent. saw the blossoming of Gallic education). When not at court, influential Gauls, such as Ausonius, favoured the country life and built themselves palatial villas. Christianity spread; an episcopal hierarchy developed, and monasticism was introduced.

From 395, the division of the empire between eastern and western rulers again caused the neglect of the Rhine frontier, reflected in the transfer of the Gallic prefect to Arelate (Arles). By 418, as the consequence of Germanic invasion and civil war, Franks and Burgundians were established over the Rhine, and the Visigoths in Aquitania. These were kept in check, until the death of Flavius Aetius and the growing debility of the western government created a power-vacuum. The 460s and 470s saw Visigothic encroachment on Roman territory to the east,

while the Burgundians expanded westwards from Savoy. In 476, the last imperial possessions in the south were ceded to the Visigoths.

Gaul suffered badly. Refugees fled southwards, only to find high taxation and corruption. Yet, as is evident from the writings of Sidonius Apollinaris, the aristocracy remained remarkably resilient. Down to the mid-5th cent., its members tolerated the Germans while still looking to Rome for status and protection. Thereafter, they increasingly worked for the barbarian kings. Thus, at least in the centre and south of the country, the Gallo-Roman cultural legacy was bequeathed intact to the successor-kingdoms.

Roman Gaul seemed destined to become Visigothic Gaul until, late in the 5th cent., Clovis led the Salian Franks south, and eventually drove the Visigoths into Spain. JFDR

Gellius, Aulus, Roman miscellanist, born between AD 125 and 128, author of *Noctes Atticae* ('Attic Nights') in twenty books. Internal evidence suggests publication c.180; an apparent echo in Apuleius' *Apology*, sometimes used to support an earlier date, can be otherwise explained. A probable reference in Fronto apart, all knowledge of Gellius comes from his work: reconstruction of his life depends on the assumption, so far unfalsified, that his anecdotes, even if fictitious, are not anachronistic. There are slight but uncertain indications that he came from a Roman colony (*colonia*) in Africa: however, most of his life was spent at Rome. He studied with Sulpicius Apollinaris, and knew Fronto; but the deepest impression was made on him by Favorinus. He spent at least a year in Athens completing his education as a pupil of Calvenus Taurus; he visited Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes in his summer retreat at Cephisia, attended the Pythian Games of (probably) August 147, and enjoyed the life of a student and a tourist. After his return he was appointed a judge to try private cases (14. 2. 1); but his interest in the law is essentially antiquarian.

The *Noctes Atticae* (of which we lack the start of the preface, the end of bk. 20, and all bk. 8 except the chapter-headings) is a collection of mainly short chapters, based on notes or excerpts he had made in reading, on a great variety of topics in philosophy, history, law, but above all grammar in its ancient sense, including literary and textual criticism. According to his preface, Gellius conceived the notion of giving literary form to his notes during the long winter's nights in Attica (whence the title), but completed the project (some 30 years later) as an instructive entertainment for his children. Variety and charm are imparted by the constant changes of topic, purportedly reproducing the chance order of Gellius'

notes (a cliché of such works), and by the use of dialogue and reminiscence as literary forms for conveying information; the dramatizations are generally fictitious, though in settings based on Gellius' own experience. The characters of Gellius' friends and teachers are finely drawn; the fictitious persons are less individual.

Gellius is well read in Latin, less so in Greek (though he shows some knowledge of Homeric scholarship); his judgement is sensible rather than incisive. His style blends the archaic, the self-consciously classical, and the new: he lifts words from early authors but also invents new ones, he construes *plenus* only with the genitive but occasionally admits *quod* clauses instead of accusative and infinitive. He shares the age's preference for Early Latin and *Sallust over Augustan and Silver writers, but admires *Virgil and will hear no ill of *Cicero (10. 3; 17. 5); most striking, however, is his liking for Claudius Quadrigarius, of whom he supplies almost half the extant fragments.

In later antiquity Gellius was admired by St *Augustine and diligently read by Nonius Marcellus, *Ammianus Marcellinus, and Macrobius; in the Middle Ages he was esteemed by Carolingian and 12-cent. scholars; he was also excerpted in several florilegia. For the Renaissance he was a well-spring of learning and a model for humanistic writing; though subsequently displaced from his central position and in the 19th cent. disparaged along with his age, he has never lacked readers who relish not only the information he conveys, the quotations he preserves, and the reflections he arouses, but also the charm of his style and his infectious love of books. LAH-S

gems Precious stones were valued in antiquity as possessing magical and medicinal virtues, as ornaments, and as seals when engraved with a device. Such engravings (intaglios) in soft media like steatite or *ivory are found in early Minoan days; the use of hard stones dates from the middle Minoan age. Late Minoan and Mycenaean gems have a rich repertory of human and animal designs; the favoured shapes are the lenticular (round) and amygdaloid (sling-stone) (see MINOAN CIVILIZATION; MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION). In sub-Mycenaean and geometric times the art of working hard stones was largely lost. A revival in the 7th cent. BC is usually associated with the island of Melos, and the commencement of Classical gem-engraving in the 6th cent. is marked by the introduction of the scarab (beetle) form of seal from Egypt. This was soon abandoned in Greece for the scaraboid, which omits the beetle-back. The late 5th and 4th cents. mark the high point of Greek gem engraving. In Hellenistic times the choice of subjects grows restricted, but excellent work was done in portraiture. In Italy the Etruscans

used the scarab until the 3rd cent.; gems of the later Roman republic show a wide range of subjects, combined with clumsiness of execution. With Augustus begins the large series of 'Graeco-Roman' gems. A period of indifferent work in the middle empire is succeeded by a revival under Constantine I.

Several gem-engravers are recorded in literature, e.g. Pyrgo teles, who worked for *Alexander the Great; others are known from their signatures on extant stones, though many signatures are false. Engravers of gems used the drill and the wheel. These had to be coated with powdered emery (of which Naxos was and is an important source), except for working softer stones such as steatite, which was consequently often used in the earlier periods. The stones most favoured for engraving in view of their durability, moderate hardness, and absence of grain were quartzes, especially those of the crypto-crystalline variety such as agate, plasma, jasper, carnelian, and most popular of all, sard. Red garnet, amethyst, lapis lazuli were much prized in jewellery. Cameos in which design and background were in contrasted colours were made of layered stones such as onyx and sardonyx. Of the hardest stones, emeralds, aquamarines, and sapphires were rarely engraved, while the diamond, probably unknown before the 1st cent. AD, was not even cut. The diamond-point, however, was sometimes used for engraving other stones. Imitations of gems in glass paste were apparently much in demand; in the British Museum collection they even outnumber sards. Glass imitations of rock crystal and red garnet were considered particularly convincing. FNP/DEE/MV

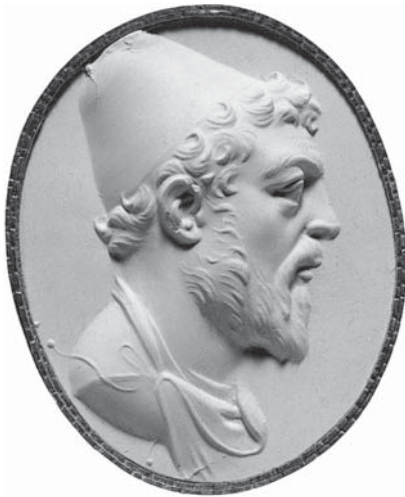
gender, the social construction of sexual difference, was an important Greek and Roman means of apprehending and explaining their world. It has also been central to modern understandings of Greece and Rome. But those understandings have changed over the years. The men and women of antiquity were once thought of as operating in separate spheres. Public space and the world outside the home were reserved for men; women were restricted to the home and even to some portions of it. But this model—derived largely from the Enlightenment struggle for the Rights of Man (alone)—fitted Greece unevenly at best. Poor women went outside the home to work, even into the fields beyond the city walls. Those better off were likely to play prominent roles in religious cults and festivals. Among the Romans, the home was used for public purposes and women of the élite were much involved in competition for political power behind the scenes and even as players. Meanwhile, the study of Greek and Roman sexuality occupied a separate sphere of its own, the province of antiquarian



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

gems A selection of engraved gems used as personal seals, showing a variety of devices, stones, and dates: (a) youth restraining a horse on a chalcedony scarab (Greek, 6th cent. BC) Epimenes. Width x height: 1.6 x 1.1 cm (5/8 x 7/16 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912, 27.677. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; (b) woman-harpist on a rock crystal scarab (Greek, 5th–4th cent. BC) (from British Museum) Institute of Archaeology, Oxford; (c) portrait of an eastern ruler on a garnet ringstone (Greek, 3rd–1st cent. BC). Length: 27 mm (1 1/16 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912, 27.710. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; (d) *Odysseus (right) with Diomedes on a carnelian (Roman). (Ashmolean 1966.1808) Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.

investigations removed from the mainstream of scholarship. All that changed with the work of Kenneth Dover and the use made of it by Michel Foucault. A sexual act—penetration—was found to separate the men from the boys and slaves as well as from women. At the same time, gender was observed in almost every facet of Greek and Roman life; masculinity and femininity figured as an attribute of directions (right and left), occasions for speech, literary genres, as well as plants, animals and human beings. This approach has encouraged close attention to once overlooked texts (rhetoricians, medical writers, the novel) and fruitful new readings of familiar

ones. But it too has proved problematic. The gods transcend categories—Athena is a warrior, Hera minimally maternal, Dionysus feminized by the company of women yet strangely asexual despite his association with satyrs. Both Greeks and Romans worked with two genders, based on the biological fact (as they understood it) of two biological sexes. But they knew of natural exceptions too (hermaphrodites, androgynes). Other groups further confound the mapping of gender onto sex: cinaedi (men who flaunted femininity without renouncing penetration), eunuchs, tribades (women who took a man's active role in same-sex couples). Or so men

thought. What were women's views of such relationships or of gendered identities in general? Like men's? Perhaps so, judging by the grave goods they allocated to ancient graves (strigils for men, jewellery for women). Perhaps not, if the poets *Sappho and Sulpicia subvert (as some believe) conventional codes. In any case, few fields of scholarship are more open to the influence of our own perceptions and presuppositions. See HOMOSEXUALITY; MASCULINITY; WOMEN. MG

genealogy, the enumeration of descent from an ancestor. Legendary pedigree was particularly important in Greece. Before fighting, *Homer's heroes boast of their ancestry, citing between two and eight generations of ancestors (e.g. *Il.* 6. 145–211, Glaucus). *Hesiod's poetry is preoccupied with legendary ancestry (*Theogony*, *Catalogue of Women*); even aristocrats in Classical Athens (which put more stress on recent achievements) claimed descent from important local and Homeric heroes, and thence from the gods: cf. the Philaid genealogy (Marcellin. *Life of Thucydides* 3); *Andocides was descended from *Odysseus and therefore Hermes (Hellanicus, *FGrH* 323a F 24), *Alcibiades from Eurysaces (and *Zeus) (*Pl. Alc.* 1. 121a), *Plato from *Solon and Codrus (*Plut. Sol.* 1. 2). Other groups, cities, colonies, or tribes (see ETHNICITY), might trace descent from a single legendary figure, and genealogies were sometimes akin to king-lists (e.g. *Sparta), or assimilated with lists of office-holders. Some of the first prose writers recorded (or worked out) genealogies, mostly legendary, as well as their chronological implications: Hecataeus of Miletus (c.500 BC), Acusilaus of Argos, Pherecydes, Hellanicus. Genealogies and their enumeration were evidently popular (Polyb. 9. 1. 4), especially in Sparta, as Hippias found (*Pl. Hp. mai.* 285d), despite Plato's criticisms (*Th.* 174e ff.). They reflect the enormous significance attributed by the Greeks to origins and the original ancestor in determining the character of future generations. Prestige, status, even moral character, might be derived from the original progenitor, preferably legendary, heroic, or divine. (The Romans, more interested in their recent ancestors (Polyb. 6. 53 f.) only adopted the Greek penchant for legendary ancestry in the course of Hellenization (see HELLENISM) from the 2nd cent. BC (T. P. Wiseman, *G & R* 1974, 153 ff.).) Political and tribal affiliations might, similarly, be seen in genealogical terms. Given the value of the original ancestor, it is therefore unsurprising that the intervening links were sometimes vague or forgotten, and it may be the professional genealogists who did much to create continuous and coherent stemmata (R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (1989)). However, intermediate ancestors would also, obviously, carry prestige or opprobrium, and unsuitable ancestors would drop from view. Such is

the moral or political importance of ancestry, that genealogy tends to reflect the current position or claims of a family, and thus it is usually the least reliable of historical traditions. Numerous inconsistencies would arise from the symbolic reflection of current status in past genealogy, and it is these contradictions which the genealogists were in part trying to resolve. RT

genre, a grouping of texts related within the system of literature by their sharing recognizably functionalized features of form and content. Theory of genre as such is quite lacking in antiquity (its place is taken by theories of *imitatio*) and ancient theoretical discussions of specific literary genres are few and for the most part unsatisfactory. They operate according to criteria which are one-sidedly formal (generally metrical), thematic (the characters' moral or social quality, the general subject-matter), or pragmatic (the situation of performance), but scarcely attempt to correlate or justify them; they are more interested in classifying existing works than in understanding the mechanisms of literary production and reception and are directed to the needs of the school and the library, not to the critic's; they bungle some genres (lyric) and ignore others (the novel). Rhetorical handbooks sometimes distinguish among oratorical genres, but the precise relation between their (often pedantic) prescriptions and the literary works remains uncertain.

*Plato (*Resp.* 3. 392d–394c) differentiates a number of existing poetic genres in terms of their constitutive modes of presentation: mimetic (tragedy, comedy), diegetic (dithyramb), or mixed (epic). But among the theoreticians it is only *Aristotle who provides *in nuce* a genuinely complex theory, combining considerations of form, content, the author's and audience's psychology, metre, language, performance, traditionality, and evolution. Yet his surviving *Poetics* focuses mostly upon a single genre and is often elliptical and tentative: it furnishes many of the elements of a useful theory but does not fully work them out. Later theories tend restrictively to prescribe appropriate contents or style (*Horace, *Ars poetica*), to speculate about historical origins (Hellenistic theories of tragedy and pastoral), or to list the multiplicity of transmitted forms (Proclus' *Chrestomathia*).

Modern attempts to found genre theories upon these ancient discussions have usually been sterile. Instead, more progress can be made by concentrating upon the actual practice of ancient poets, which reflects a much more sophisticated and supple sense of how genres really function. In Archaic Greece, poetic genres seem to have been defined not only by immanent characteristics of form and content but also by communally recognized, often ritually sanctioned situations of performance. The gradual emancipation of literature from such performative

contexts facilitated the poets' awareness of and artistic experimentation with genres. Even before the Hellenistic period, poets designated genres by the names of their 'inventors' (*Homer for epic, *Archilochus for iambic invective) and *Euripides and *Aristophanes ironically juxtaposed elements from disparate genres. But the Hellenistic philologists' classification of earlier literature into catalogues and canons made it easier for poets definitively to isolate formal and thematic constants as specifiable rules for determining generic identity: already Accius wrote, *nam quam varia sint genera poematorum, Baebi, quamque longe distincta alia ab aliis, nosce* ('Learn, Baebius, how various the genres of poems are and how much they differ from one another': Charisius, *Gramm.* 141. 34=Accius fr. 8 Funaioli); and a strong interest in genres is obvious among the Augustan poets, manifested for example in *Virgil's exploration of the boundary separating elegy from pastoral (*Ecl.* 10), in Horace's discussion of the 'empty slot' of Augustan tragedy (*Epist.* 2. 1), and in *Ovid's witty experimentation with new and paradoxical genres (*Heroides, Remedia amoris*).

Much confusion has been caused in modern times both by attempts to hypostasize genres, attributing to them an existence independent of the particular literary works, and by the opposed overreaction, denying the very existence of genres. But even without handbooks, genres function within texts as a way of reducing complexity and thereby not only enriching, but even enabling literary communication: for, by guiding *imitatio* and identifying as pertinent the strategic deployment of *topoi* (see *ΤΟΠΟΣ*) and of conspicuous stylistic and thematic features, they select only certain contexts out of the potentially infinite horizon of possible ones. Hence genre is not only a descriptive grid devised by philological research, but also a system of literary projection inscribed within the texts, serving to communicate certain expectations to readers and to guide their understanding.

GBC/GWM

geography The Homeric poems (see *HOMER*) display a quite complex sense of place, and of the ordering of the world, in which there is already a notable sense of theory. The *Iliad's Catalogue of Ships* systematically evoked the Greek homeland, and its names remained recognizable for the most part (though in some cases perhaps by learned re-creation); the wider world was much less precisely docketed (making later authorities such as *Eratosthenes believe—the theory of *exōkeanismos*—that Homer had deliberately relegated *Odysseus' wanderings to a vague outer darkness), and there was therefore much less onomastic continuity. The listing of such places begins more recognizably in *Hesiod, and some

quite elaborate conception of the layout of the *Mediterranean was clearly associated with the complex movements of people and materials in the Archaic periods, and indeed already present in the Phoenician, Euboean, and Corinthian ambits of the 8th cent. BC; the choice of name for the later *apoikiai* (overseas settlements) reflects a geographical sophistication in which the toponyms of the homeland are replicable in an alien world, a habit of thought which remained common in Macedonian and Roman practice (see *COLONIZATION, GREEK*). From the relatively undocumented practice of the Archaic period the practical literature of coastwise description or *periploi* developed, to be given a *prōtos heuretēs* (discoverer) in Scylax of Caryanda, and first represented for us by the 4th-cent. text known as [Scylax] or pseudo-Scylax. The first notion of geographical description as a discipline is connected conceptually: the *periodos gēs* ('circuit of the earth') that goes back to the Hesiodic corpus.

Geography by the 5th cent. had three distinct strands: this small-scale documentation of the actualities, as of particular sea routes; wider theories about the layout of land and sea on a global scale; and ideas about the place of the *oikoumenē* (inhabited world) in the order of the cosmos. Both of the more theoretical approaches are apparent in Hecataeus of Miletus and *Herodotus (who combined a geographical and ethnographical perspective): it is plausible to suggest an origin in 6th-cent. Ionia, in which new approaches to the physical nature of the universe, inspired in part by contacts with the Fertile Crescent and Egypt, combined with the active seafaring experience of states like Miletus and Samos. The role of *Pythagoras (who postulated a spherical earth) and his followers should also be noted. The invention of the map was attributed to Anaximander.

Learned geography, in tandem with *astronomy, came during the 4th cent. to an advanced understanding of the nature of the earth as a rotating sphere of a realistic size (the role of *Aristotle and Dicaearchus should be noted); and the theory of the latitudinal zones or *klimata* was refined. A mathematical geography emerged (limited in the end by the available instruments), advanced in the work of Eratosthenes of Cyrene and Hipparchus of Nicaea, which culminated in the 2nd cent. AD in the work of Claudius Ptolemy, the most detailed attempt made in antiquity to project the layout of the physical and human world on the surface of the globe. By 300 BC it was known to the informed that the *oikoumenē* of which detailed information was available could only occupy a small portion of the northern hemisphere. It was also at this time, by coincidence or not, that the idea of accumulating information systematically on the edges of received knowledge began, in a way that suggests comparison with the

‘voyages of discovery’ in the first age of European colonialism. The work of the companions and followers of *Alexander the Great, above all, established a link between formal geography and political dominion which was to be of great importance to the Roman experience. It also offered, through the development of the ethnographic tradition, an analytical content for the genre which went beyond description and cataloguing, though it continued to use these techniques.

Eratosthenes, whose contribution, in late 3rd-cent. *Alexandria, to *geōgraphia* as a separable discipline was enormous, needs separate consideration. He set new standards of verification by rejecting the Homeric tradition and insisting on a clear distinction between fictitious wonder-descriptions and the recording of fact, established a blend of descriptive and mathematical geography as a new genre, made the mapping of the *oikoumenē* its centre, systematized the deployment of a system of co-ordinates of latitude and longitude in order to do so, and applied the benefits of Ptolemaic statecraft: for instance his accurate estimate of the earth’s circumference depended on the measurement of *Egypt in the interests of land management, and his theory of the *sphragides*, conceptual units for the subdivision of space, was also indebted to agrimensorial practice.

Geographical ordering became central to the formation of administrative units. Borrowing perhaps from the geographically defined satrapies of the Achaemenid dominion, the Athenians had subdivided their *archē* (‘empire’) in a practical way into five units. Geographical organization of a sometimes complex kind was also a feature of the states of Alexander and his Successors (*Diadochi*), and the usefulness of correct topographical information for coercion and exaction was established. In this way geographical work in the Hellenistic period, by *Timaeus, Eratosthenes, Artemidorus, *Polybius, Posidonius, and eventually *Strabo, had a practical relationship to history, and came to be a major ingredient in the self-definition of the nascent Roman, Mediterranean-wide state. Roman contributions were of a practical kind: the *commentarii* (memoranda) of commanders and governors; *Caesar has a place of honour here, blending the claim to practical personal observation with Herodotean ethnographical themes; later exemplars, such as Licinius Mucianus, consul AD 70 and 72, were more given to the thaumatological: Strabo was not complimentary about the Roman contribution to geography (3. 4. 19 (166 C)). The Augustan epoch, with its spectacular universal claims to rule in time and space, made very full use of the geographical tradition in its construction of images, while putting it to practical use too. Thereafter geography as such became an ingredient in the encyclopaedic

tradition, and the later authors who survive are mainly excerptors or epitomizers of the earlier tradition (like *Pliny the Elder’s geographical excursus in *Natural History* 2–6). The exceptions are Pomponius Mela, who represents an attempt at a Latin geography, and *Arrian’s rather self-conscious *periplus* of the Euxine (Black Sea), deliberately mixing the *genres, as was common at the time. NP

Germanicus (Germanicus Iulius Caesar), (before adoption Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus), elder son of Nero Claudius Drusus and Antonia, was born 24 May 15 or 16 BC and adopted in AD 4 by his uncle *Tiberius. As Tiberius was immediately adopted by *Augustus, Germanicus became a member of the Julian *gens* (family) in the direct line of succession; and his career was accelerated by special dispensations. He served under Tiberius in Pannonia (7–9), and Germany (11). In 12 he was consul, and in 13, as commander-in-chief in Gaul and Germany, he won his first salutation as *imperator* (EJ 368) in a campaign against the Germans, clearing them out of Gaul and re-establishing order there. By now he was a popular figure, held like his father to entertain ‘republican’ sentiments, and his affability contrasted with Tiberius’ dour reserve. But, though by no means incapable, he was over-emotional, and his judgement was unsteady. When, on the death of Augustus, the lower Rhine legions mutinied, his loyalty was proof against the (perhaps malicious) suggestion that he should supplant Tiberius, but his handling of the situation lacked firmness: he resorted to theatrical appeals and committed the emperor to accepting the mutineers’ demands. On dynastic matters the two were at one, but their political style was different, and there was soon a marked difference of view as to how Germany should be handled, Tiberius adhering to the precept of the dying Augustus that rejected immediate territorial advance.

In the autumn of 14 Germanicus led the repentant legions briefly against the Marsi. But he was eager to emulate his father and reconquer parts of Germany lost after the defeat of Publius Quinctilius Varus. He campaigned in the spring of 15 against the Chatti, Cherusci, and Marsi, and rescued the pro-Roman Cheruscan Segestes from Arminius. In the summer he attacked the Bructeri, reached the saltus Teutoburgiensis, paid the last honours to Varus, and recovered legionary standards: after an indecisive battle with the Cherusci under Arminius, his forces suffered heavy losses on their way back. For the main campaign of 16 a great fleet was prepared and the troops were transported via his father’s canal and the lakes of Holland to the Ems, whence they proceeded to the Weser and defeated Arminius in two battles at

Idistaviso (near Minden) and somewhat to the north; the fleet suffered considerable damage from a storm on its homeward journey.

Although Germanicus claimed that one more campaign would bring the Germans to their knees, Tiberius judged that results did not justify the drain on Roman resources, and recalled him to a *triumph (26 May 17) and a command to reorder the ‘overseas’ provinces as proconsul with *maius* (‘greater’) **imperium* (subordinate to that of Tiberius). Germanicus entered on his second consulship (18) at *Nicompolis, crowned Zeno, son of Polemon, king of Armenia (so winning an *ovatio*—a lesser honour than a triumph), and reduced Cappadocia and Commagene to provincial status. In 19 he offended Tiberius by entering Egypt, which Augustus had barred to senators without permission, and by the informal dress he wore there; his reception was tumultuous (EJ 320(b), 379; Smallwood, *Docs...* *Gaius* 370, lines 24–7). On his return to Syria the enmity between him and Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, whom Tiberius had appointed governor as a check on Germanicus, led to his ordering Piso to leave the province. He fell mysteriously ill, and on 10 October died near *Antioch, convinced that Piso had poisoned him. His death—compared by some with that of *Alexander the Great—provoked widespread demonstrations of grief and in Rome suspicion and resentment; many honours were paid to his memory; his ashes were deposited in the mausoleum of Augustus at Rome. His reputation remained as an overwhelming political advantage to his brother and descendants.

Germanicus married Agrippina the Elder, the daughter of *Agrippa and *Julia. She bore him nine children, among whom were Nero Iulius Caesar (d. 31), Drusus Iulius Caesar (d. 33), *Gaius (later emperor), *Agrippina the Younger, Iulia Drusilla, and Iulia (sometimes called Livilla). Eloquent and studious, he wrote comedies in Greek (all lost) and Greek and Latin epigrams; he also translated into Latin the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, bringing it up to date and adding further matter on the planets and the weather.

AM/TJC/BML

ghosts Identifying a ghost in Greek literature and distinguishing it from what we might call a delusion or a supernatural entity can sometimes pose difficulties: *Homer tends to use the term *psychē* to describe his spirits, but we also find *skia*. In later writers, *eidōlon* is used (Hdt. 5.92.7 and Pl. *Leg.* 959b of the corpse), which can also mean a phantom of the mind, or even just a likeness. Later still, *daimōn*, alone, or combined with other words to evoke particular forms of demon (see below) appears. Other terms (which will appear throughout the entry) evoked the particular ways in which individuals died and became

ghosts. This entry will focus on appearances in the mortal realm of spirits connected to a death, indicating where there are any ambiguities of spectral terminology. As the move from *psychē* to *daimōn* might suggest, there seems to be a gradual development in the strength, substance and presence of ghosts in the ancient world; while living mortals seem, in turn, to find increasingly sophisticated ways to manipulate their spectral visitors and their needs for their own ends.

The first ghost story could be said to appear in Book 11 of the *Odyssey*, when *Odysseus makes his way to the edge of the Underworld (‘where the River Acheron meets the River Styx’) and summons the dead, so that he may seek the advice of the dead prophet Tiresias. The dead arrive in droves, and are clearly fearsome: we are told that Odysseus goes pale with fear, and that he keeps the ravenous ghostly hordes from consuming the blood of the sacrifice he has made by wielding his silver-studded bronze sword. On the other hand, in many ways, this account is the opposite of a ghost story as we now understand it: it involves a mortal going to the realm of the dead. The spirits described are insubstantial (*Od.* 11.204–8; see also 10. 495); until they drink the blood of Odysseus’ sacrifice, their faculties are impaired (*Od.* 11.98–99). Odysseus’ own mother at first does not recognize him, and, apart from Elpenor, a companion of Odysseus who died falling off a roof, and comes to ask for burial, they find it hard to speak (elsewhere, they squeak, *Il.* 23.101 and *Od.* 24.5. and 9). Indeed, across the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Homeric spectres seem more or less safely sequestered from mortal experience (Odysseus’ mother emphasizes how difficult it is to cross from the realm of the living to that of the dead, *Od.* 11.155–59). If the dead must visit mortals, they may appear to them in their dreams—as the spirit of Patroclus appears to Achilles in the *Iliad* (23.65 ff.). In general, ghosts seem powerless and ineffectual.

Nevertheless, the story includes ideas about ghosts that persisted: e.g. other sources mention similar methods of keeping ghosts at bay (for the idea that they fear certain metals, see Ps-Quint. *Decl.* 10, as well as stories about the binding of ghosts, e.g., Paus. 9.38.5, although Lucian, *Philops.* 15, suggests it is the sound that disturbs them). Later sources, especially binding curses, also indicate similar ideas about what made ghosts wander in the first place. In Homer, both Elpenor and Patroclus seek a proper burial; the latter describes how Achilles must bury him so that he may pass ‘beyond the River’—without proper interment, we learn, he is doomed to wander through the house of Hades (*Il.* 23.73–74). This desire for proper burial remains a continuing motivation for ghostly manifestations. Similarly, the first

hints of the desires and needs that motivate a haunting appear in this earliest ghost story, in the description of the spirits that arrive in response to Odysseus' ritual. This crowd includes brides, unmarried youths, old men who had endured much, maidens still merry, new to sorrow, and warriors killed in battle. This gives us some idea of the kinds of fatal experiences that might provoke anger or restlessness and produce a ghost. Some of these have died violently; others have perished before they have achieved their *telos*, that is, their life's goal.

How this anger might manifest itself varied: not only was there the ghost itself, but some sources seem to suggest a link between ghostly anger and *pollution—and thus with catastrophic events like plague or episodes of madness. For example, although some accounts of the Spartan general Pausanias's death and its aftermath seem to have included mention of a ghost (see below), others do not, indicating instead that Pausanias' manner of death itself caused a state of pollution (Thuc. 1.134). The relation between haunting and pollution may lie behind the story that Athens summons Epimenides from Knossos after the sacrilegious murder of the Cylonians around 630 BC in order to resolve a plague that was caused by pollution (FGrH 475, Diog. Laert. 1.109–112). Meanwhile, explanations for madness that depend on the idea of blood-guilt are given by characters in 5th-cent. Greek drama (see Eur. *HF* 965–67, *Hipp.* 142); by *Plato (*Leg.* 865d5–e6); and as part of medical explanations (*Morb. Sacr.* 4.30–33).

The usual first step to take in response to the presence of ghosts or manifestations of supernatural anger was to consult the *Delphic oracle. Different approaches might then follow: in the various accounts given of Pausanias' death and its aftermath, for example, we find the propitiation and drawing away of a ghost (*Plutarch *De sera* 560 f); the erection of bronze statues (*Thucydides and the *Suda* s.v. 'Pausanias' [to resolve pollution], Paus. 3.17.7 and *Diodorus Siculus 11.45 [to propitiate the goddess], Aristodem. FGrH 104 F 8 [to propitiate the spirit of Pausanias]) as well as the hiring of *psychagōgoi*. These were specialists (literally, 'spirit-raisers') who appear to have made a living not simply summoning spirits, but raising them in order to help them to rest in peace. The *Suda* (s.v. *psychagōgias*) provides a description of how they might work under its entry for the related practise of *goeteia*—it involves sacrifice to summon the ghost, and then a conversation to find out why it is angry. The stories relating to Pausanias alone suggest that *psychagōgoi* might be summoned from distant communities: we find *psychagōgoi* summoned from Italy (Plut. *De Sera*. 560 f), and Thessaly (scholium to Eur. *Alc.*, 1127–8, with Plut. *Homeric Studies* 12b Sandbach) to lay Pausanias' ghost, while Pausanias

himself in one account consults Arcadian *psychagōgoi* to lay the ghost of Kleonike, a young woman he has inadvertently murdered (Paus. 3.17.9).

Still in terms of laying the ghost: it was also possible to learn what a ghost wanted by visiting a *nekuomanteion* or 'oracle of the dead': in some accounts, Pausanias went to the oracle of the dead at Heraclea Pontica, in order to speak with Kleonike (Plut. *Cimon* 6 and 555c). There is also evidence for remedies closer to home: an inscription from the city of Cyrene (*SEG De Sera* 9 72, LSS 115) may provide instruction about how to lay a ghostly visitant—the account involves the creation of *kolossoi*, little figures, which recall the statues created to lay the ghost of Pausanias; similarly, the *Lex Sacra* from Selinous appears to give instructions about how to lay various forms of ghost, and how relationships between living and dead may cause mutual suffering. Meanwhile, the festival of Genesia at Athens appears to have been intended to avert, appease or control the dead; while the festival of the Anthesteria, *Choes*, also had associations with the dead (according to Photius s.v. *miara hēmera*, the dead were supposed to come up on that day and, a Greek proverb may imply, were chased away at sunset on the third day); there were probably similar festivals in other communities.

Alternatively, you might try to use such ghosts in aggressive magical spells. This was another practice of *psychagogia*, according to Plato (*Leg.* 909a–d). In binding spells that invoke the dead, we find 'those who died before marriage: and the untimely dead' and 'youths and maidens' (*DT* 52; *SGD* 45, 271, *DT* 22 and 25). In the *Greek Magical Papyri*, spells address those who are either dead by violence (*biaiothanatoi*), 'unburied' or not properly attended to in death (*ataphoi* or *atelestoi*), or 'untimely dead' (*āōroi*); we also find those who are unmarried (*PGM* IV. 296–466). Sometimes, the identity of a particular dead person is given; one example also features a drawing of the corpse it addresses (*Suppl. Mag.* 1, no. 37 [*SGD* 158–159] the corpse's name is Horion, son of Sarapous). Pre-Imperial curses tend to invoke the dead as witnesses, and emphasize their weakness (e.g. *DT* 43 and 44). Later spells, especially those from Egypt, clearly imagine them as more substantial in appearance, activity, and power. They are addressed as, or alongside, *daimōnes* (whether or not these are the same entities is hard to tell); sometimes a particular *nekudaimōn* ('corpse-daimōn') is instructed to carry out the spell (e.g., *Suppl. Mag.* 1, nos. 46–51 [all erotic charms], *Suppl. Mag.* 2, no. 57. [*SGD* 162] a curse). These developments may indicate influence from Egyptian temple ritual, in which ghosts were sent 'letters' with instructions.

A blossoming interest in ghosts may be indicated by the plethora of spectral appearances in 5th-cent. Greek

drama: famous examples include the ghost of *Darius I, raised in *Aeschylus' *Persai*, the ghost of Clytemnestra in the *Eumenides*, Polydorus in Euripides' *Hecuba*. Meanwhile Aeschylus wrote a play called the *Psychagogoi*, now lost, to which *Aristophanes playfully alludes in the *Birds* (1553 ff.). On the stage, the dead tend to provide two key plot devices: as well as pursuing those who have killed them, they provide information. Thus, Darius foretells the fate of Xerxes; Polydorus tells of his sister Polyxena's death. This secret knowledge reflects elements found in other stories, e.g. the Corinthian tyrant Periander in *Herodotus (Hdt. 5.92) raises the ghost of his dead wife in order to ask her to locate some hidden wealth (she will not answer his questions until he provides her with appropriate costume so that she can rest in peace). As our sources for magical activities become more plentiful they appear to indicate an increasing interest in divination using the souls of boys (e.g., *PGM* VII.348–58), and we find enemies accuse each other of sacrificing boys for this purpose (Philostr., *VA* 7.11; *Cicero, *In Vatinius* 6.14).

Within Roman culture, something of the same ambiguity of language appears: *umbra* is poetic and close to Greek *skia*, meaning shadow; *idolum* (which appears to be a transliteration of the Greek *eidolon*), *imago*, and *simulacrum* all suggest likenesses. *Manes* may refer to deified souls or the gods of the infernal realm; indeed, the *Di Manes* encompass the benign *Lares* (household protectors) and the more malevolent *larvae*, restless spirits, debarred from a home because of the transgressions committed while alive (see Apuleius, *De deo Soc.* 15). *Lemures* were another flavour of less benign ghost: at the festival of 'Lemuria', held in May, the Romans appeased the ghosts of the departed who were thought to return home, hence the festival was held at home (*Ov. Fast.* 5.451–80); in contrast, the festival of Feralia or Parentalia (*Ov. Fast.* 2.533 ff.) took place at the graveside. The motivations that animated earlier ghosts persist: thus, *Suetonius describes how Nero claimed to be haunted by the ghost of his mother whom he had murdered (*Ner.* 34); while Tertullian (*De Anima* 56–57) draws on Greek sources to give a detailed description of the different categories of restless dead. Meanwhile, whether or not they are the result of magical attack, we also find increasing stories of people, as well as houses or places, being possessed, and resulting exorcisms; however, as above, it is not always clear whether the demons in these stories are ghosts or not.

Apparently, ancient Greek mothers told their children ghost stories, drawing on the vast body of myth (*Pl., Resp.* 2.381e), although we do not have specific examples. But ghost stories can still be traced (e.g. the story of the Hero at Temesa [*Paus.* 6.6. 7–11 and *Strabo* 6.1.5]). It may be

that we see their legacy in the stories that appear throughout later literature: e.g. the traditional haunted house story, in which a brave man confronts a violent ghost and lays it to rest following the discovery and proper burial of its corpse, emerges in the early Roman period (*Plaut. Mostell.* 446–531, *Plin. Ep.* 7.27.5–11, and *Lucian *Philops.* 30 ff.). The ghost stories of later Greek and Roman literature give us a more detailed account of the activities of ghosts and their appearance: thus, in Apuleius (*Met.* 9.29–31) a resentful ghost is sent to commit a vengeful murder; this spectre, like many of these later ghosts, enjoys a lurid appearance (yellow and emaciated), and provides perhaps a precursor of modern apparitions. EE

Giants, a mythological race of monstrous appearance and great strength. According to *Hesiod they were sons of Ge (Earth) from the blood of Gaia/Uranus which fell upon earth; he describes them as valiant warriors (*Theog.* 185). *Homer considers them a savage race of men who perished with their king Eurymedon (*Od.* 7. 59). The prevailing legend of the fight of the gods and the Giants was formulated in Archaic epics and was embroidered by many later writers. A substantial account is given by Apollodorus (1. 6. 1.). When the gods were attacked by the Giants they learned that they could win only if they were assisted by a mortal. They called in *Heracles, who killed the giant Alcyoneus and many others with his arrows. *Zeus, who led the gods, smote with his thunderbolt Porphyryon who attempted to ravish *Hera; *Athena killed Pallas or Enceladus; *Poseidon crushed Polybotes under the rock that became the island of Nisyros (*Strabo* 489); *Apollo shot Ephialtes; Hermes slew Hippolytus; *Dionysus killed Eurytus and many other Giants besides who were caught in his vine; and *Hephaestus aided the gods, throwing red-hot iron as missiles. The Giants were defeated and were believed to be buried under the volcanoes in various parts of Greece and Italy, e.g. Enceladus under Aetna. Bones of prehistoric animals were occasionally believed to be bones of giants.

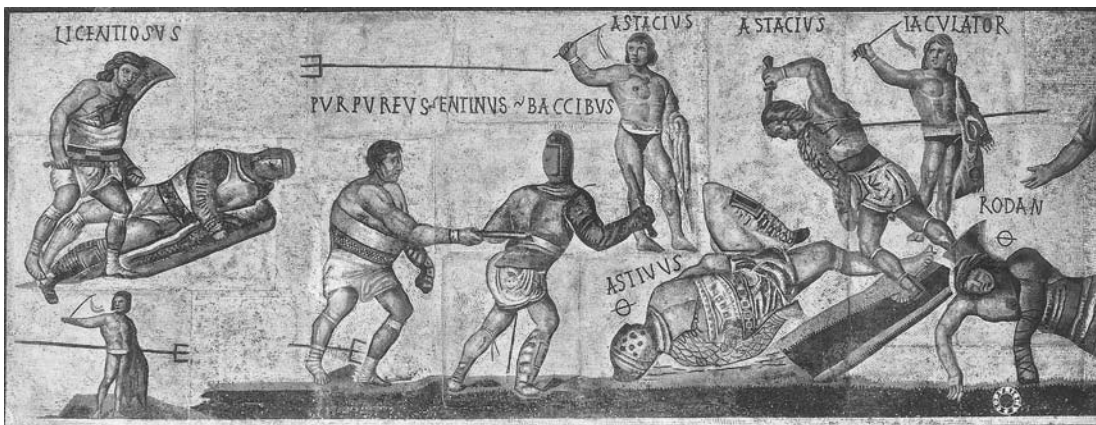
The Gigantomachy was one of the most popular myths in Greece and accordingly the names of participants and the episodes of the battle vary from writer to writer and from representation to representation. Zeus, Heracles, Poseidon, and later Athena, are the usual protagonists. In its early stage the myth seems to represent a variation of the popular motif of the tribe that attempted to dethrone the gods; in a more advanced stage of culture the myth was interpreted as the fight of civilization against barbarism.

In art the Giants are first shown as warriors or wild men, later as snake-legged monsters. The most famous

sculptural renderings are found on the Archaic treasury of the Siphnians at *Delphi and on the Hellenistic altar of *Pergamum. GMAH

gladiators, combatants at games Gladiatorial combats, held at the funerals of dead warriors in Etruria (see ETRUSCANS), were introduced to Rome (perhaps by way of Samnium and Campania) in 264 BC, when three pairs fought at the funeral games given in honour of Decimus Iunius Pera. Down to *Caesar's Games in 46 BC the justification (or pretext) was always the death of a male relative, but these were in part commemorative of Caesar's daughter *Julia, in part not commemorative at all. These contests, like beast-fights, became increasingly important as a route to popular favour for their promoter, forming an important, though normally brief (because highly expensive) item in games held at Rome and in other towns. However, 5,000 pairs fought in eight different games given by *Augustus (RG 22. 1) and the same number in a single series of games given by *Trajan to celebrate the conclusion of the Dacian War in AD 107. At Rome the original venue was the *forum Romanum. The first stone amphitheatre was built by Statilius Taurus under Augustus, but it was only with the building of the Flavian amphitheatre (*Colosseum) that Rome had a specialized venue larger than those in quite small Italian towns (the fine amphitheatre to be seen at Pompeii goes back to the early years of the Sullan colony). Antiochus IV Epiphanes introduced these games to the Syrian capital, *Antioch, c.170 BC and later they spread to all parts of the Roman empire. Gladiators were of four types: the *murmillo*, with a fish for the crest on his helmet, and the Samnite, both heavily armed with oblong shield, visored helmet, and

short sword; the *retiarius*, lightly clad, fighting with net and trident; and the Thracian with round shield and curved scimitar. Prisoners of war and condemned criminals were compelled to fight as gladiators. Those who fought on a professional basis were either slaves, bought for the purpose, or free volunteers who for a fee bound themselves to their owner by an oath (*auctoramentum gladiatorium*) which permitted him to kill or maim them (in practice a gladiator was too valuable an investment to be wasted outside the games and the life of a defeated combatant was often spared by the audience's wish). They were trained in schools under a *lanista* (who was sometimes a retired gladiator) and might be acquired as an investment, to be hired or sold to games-promoters. In the late republic they were frequently used as the core of a gang or armed entourage. It appears that even members of the senatorial and equestrian orders were attracted to a gladiatorial career, which had a macabre glamour deriving from courage, physical strength, and sexual potency. In consequence there was legislation under Augustus and *Tiberius to prevent members of these orders becoming gladiators (B. M. Levick, *JRS* 1983, 97 ff.), which remained an infamous profession (*Dig.* 28. 2. 3 pref.). After *Domitian gladiatorial games could only be given at Rome by emperors; outside Rome they required official sanction. Restrictions on games in the towns of the empire seem to be related more to the expenditure involved for the promoters than to any distaste. Opposition to the idea of such games centred on their being bloodshed for fun, but for *Cicero (*Tusc.* 2. 41) and *Pliny the Younger (*Pan.* 33. 1) this did not apply if those fighting were condemned criminals. Gladiatorial combats were first prohibited in AD 325, when *Constantine I decided



gladiators A 4th-cent. Roman *mosaic showing pairs of gladiators in combat. In spite of the violence depicted, in practice the lives of defeated gladiators were often spared by popular demand. Borghese Gallery, Rome / Archivi Alinari-archivio Alinari, Florence

that they were too bloodthirsty a peacetime activity (*Cod. Theod.* 15. 12. 1; *Cod. Iust.* 11. 44). JPB/AWL

glass (Gk. *hyalos* (also 'rock crystal'), Lat. *vitrum*). The art of producing a vitreous surface on stone, powdered quartz (faience), or clay was known in pre-dynastic Egypt and passed to Crete during the second millennium BC. Glazed objects are common on Greek sites of the Archaic period, some of them Egyptian imports, others probably made locally. In Hellenistic and Roman times Egypt and Asia Minor were centres of fabrication of glazed wares, which often imitated bronze.

Objects composed entirely of glass paste begin to appear in Egypt about 1500 BC, when two allied processes seem to have been in use: modelling molten glass about a core of sand, and pressing it into an open mould. The chief Mycenaean glass is dark blue imitating lapis lazuli, used for beads, inlays, and architectural ornaments. In the 6th cent. small vases made by the sand-core process became known in Greece; they have opaque blue, brown, or white bodies and a marbled effect was produced on their surface by means of a comb or spike. In the Hellenistic period mould-made bowls come into fashion; these were produced mainly in Egypt. Here the tradition of opaque polychrome glass was continued into Roman times with *millefiori* bowls, in which marbled and other polychrome patterns were formed by fusing glass canes of various col-

ours and pressing them into moulds. In the same tradition are the vessels in two layers carved in imitation of hard-stone cameos: the Portland vase in London is the best-known example.

The invention of glass-blowing in the 1st cent. BC (probably in Syria) wrought great changes in the glass industry, which, hitherto limited to relatively expensive surrogates for luxury goods, now became capable of cheap mass-production, but even then the most highly valued glass was 'colourless and transparent, as closely as possible resembling rock crystal' (Plin. *HN* 36. 198). Glass was used in the home and for funerary furniture. Glass-works have been located in many provinces, but in the later western empire, Belgic Gaul and Germany had taken the place of Italy and southern Gaul. Even Britain had some glass-works. The vessels, even when plain, show much variety of form, and there are several styles of decoration—tooling or applying relief ornament to the surface when warm, cutting or engraving or painting when cold. Window glass, made by a primitive process of rolling, was known at *Pompeii, and later became common; in the later empire also begins the use of glass for mirrors. Gemstones were imitated in glass paste at all periods from the 7th cent. BC onwards (*see* GEMS). Burning-glasses were used, and these may conceivably have been used as magnifying glasses by gem engravers; spectacles were unknown. FNP/MV



glass A selection of Roman glassware. The invention of glass-blowing (1st cent. BC) allowed the cheap mass-production of what formerly had been a relatively expensive product. © The Trustees of the British Museum

Gordian III (Marcus Antonius Gordianus), grandson of Gordian I by a daughter, was forced on Balbinus and Pupienus as their Caesar and, after their murder (mid- AD 238), saluted emperor by the praetorians at the age of 13. The conduct of affairs was at first in the hands of his backers but, as fiscal and military difficulties increased, it passed to the praetorian prefect Gaius Furius Sabinus Aquila Timesitheus (241). Timesitheus prepared a major campaign against Persia which, beginning in 242, achieved substantial success before his death, by illness, in 243. Gordian replaced Timesitheus with one of the latter's protégés, Marcus Iulius Philippus, who continued the war. However, the Roman army suffered defeat near Ctesiphon, and shortly afterwards Gordian died of his wounds (early 244). He was succeeded by Philippus.

Though the period of the Gordians shows some of the characteristics of the 3rd-cent. 'crisis', it is best interpreted as a reversion to the Severan monarchy after the aberrance of Maximinus. JFDR

Gorgias, of Leontini (c.485–c.380 BC), one of the most influential of the *sophists, important both as a thinker and as a stylist. He is said to have been a pupil of Empedocles; his visit to Athens as an ambassador in 427 is traditionally seen as a landmark in the history of rhetoric, introducing Sicilian techniques into the Athenian tradition of oratory (see RHETORIC, GREEK). However this may be, his stylistic influence was enormous. The extant *Encomium of Helen* and *Defence of Palamedes*, as well as the fragment of his *Epitaphius* (DK 82 B 6), illustrate clearly the seductions of his antithetical manner, with its balancing clauses, rhymes, and assonances: antithesis, homoeoteleuton, and parisosis became known as the 'Gorgianic figures'. There is a wonderful parody of the style in Agathon's speech in *Plato's *Symposium* (194e–197e). At the same time, these speeches also contain serious reflection on the power of words (λόγος) and on moral responsibility. We also possess summaries of a philosophical work (Sext. Emp. *Math.* 7. 65 ff. = DK 82 B 3), and *On Melissus, Xenophanes and Gorgias* (preserved among the works of *Aristotle, 974^a–980^b Bekker). From these, it is apparent that Gorgias argued that 'nothing is', and even if anything is, it cannot be known, or indicated by one person to another. How serious these sceptical arguments were has been much debated. DAR

Gracchus, Gaius (Gaius Sempronius Gracchus), younger brother of Tiberius *Gracchus, served under his cousin and brother-in-law *Scipio Aemilianus at Numantia. A member of his brother's land commission, he supported the plans of Marcus Fulvius Flaccus in 126 BC, then went to Sardinia as quaestor. Returning before his

commander in 124, he was accused before the censors but acquitted, and elected tribune for 123 and again for 122, when he was joined by Flaccus, by then *consularis* and *triumphalis*. After laws meant to avenge his brother and secure himself against a similar fate, he embarked on a programme of reform, aided by friendly colleagues. The most important measures were: (1) a *lex frumentaria* (corn law) assuring citizens of wheat, normally at a subsidized price; (2) laws providing for the resumption of land distribution and the foundation of colonies, including one on the ritually cursed site of *Carthage, which Gracchus himself, as commissioner, helped to establish; (3) laws regulating army service and providing for public works—all these to gain the support of the plebs and relieve poverty and exploitation; (4) a law to have the *decuma* (grain tax) of the new province of Asia sold by the censors in Rome; (5) laws (probably two) regulating *repetundae* (provincial extortion) trials, the second (passed by Manius Acilius Glabrio) introducing elements of criminal procedure and taking juries from the **equites*—these to protect provincials from magistrates' rapacity, to secure the treasury's major revenue against speculation, and to set up members of the non-political class to control politicians; (6) a law to make the senate's designation of consular provinces immune to tribunician veto and to have it before the elections—this to remove the most important administrative decision of the year from personal prejudice. This law shows how far he was from being a 'democrat'.

Finally, in 122, he proposed to offer citizenship to Latins and Latin status to Italian allies, both to protect them from the excesses of Roman magistrates and to make them subject to his brother's agrarian law. The law was opposed by Gaius Fannius, whom he had supported for the consulship, and by Marcus Livius Drusus, who outbid him with an unrealistic colonial programme. It was defeated, and Gracchus was not re-elected. In 121, with his legislation under attack, Gracchus, supported by Flaccus, resorted to armed insurrection. It was suppressed after the first use of the so-called *senatus consultum ultimum* (a declaration of emergency); they and many of their supporters were killed, others executed after arrest.

Gaius Gracchus had more ambitious plans than his brother, whose memory he revered. He saw the need for major administrative reforms. A proud aristocrat, he wanted to leave the Senate in charge of directing policy and the magistrates in charge of its execution, subject to constitutional checks and removed from financial temptation, with the people sharing in the profits of empire without excessive exploitation of the subjects. The ultimate result of his legislation was to set up the **publicani*

as a new exploiting class, not restrained by a tradition of service or by accountability at law. But this did not become clear for a generation, and he cannot be blamed for not foreseeing it. EB

Gracchus, Tiberius (Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus), elder brother of Gaius *Gracchus and son of another Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (consul 177) and of Cornelia (daughter of *Scipio Africanus), served at Carthage under his cousin *Scipio Aemilianus, who married his sister. As quaestor in Spain (137 BC), he used his father's connections to save the army of Gaius Hostilius Mancinus by a treaty later disowned by the senate on Scipio's motion. Thus attacked in his *fides*, he joined a group hostile to Scipio: his father-in-law Appius Claudius Pulcher, *princeps senatus* (designated senior senator) and augur; the consul for 133 Publius Mucius Scaevola and his brother Publius Licinius Crassus Dives Mucianus, both eminent lawyers and *pontifices* (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)). As tribune 133, in Scipio's absence, he proposed, with their aid and advice, a law designed to solve Rome's interlocking problems: departure or expulsion of small landowners from their properties, leading to insuperable difficulties in recruiting armies; danger from increasing numbers of slaves; and lack of an assured food supply for the capital. The law reaffirmed the long-ignored limit of 500 *iugera* (c.135 ha.) of arable public land per person and instituted a commission (to which he, his brother Gaius and his father-in-law were ultimately elected) to find and confiscate surplus land and distribute it in small lots to poor citizens. A compromise offering 250 additional *iugera* for each child was withdrawn when it failed to secure his opponents' acceptance of the law. Following good precedent and with his eminent supporters' approval, he submitted the law to the *plebs without previous discussion in the senate. It was vetoed by M. Octavius, taken to the senate for adjudication, and rejected. Gracchus none the less resubmitted it, and Octavius persisted in his veto, both contrary to *mos maiorum* (ancestral custom). To end the unprecedented impasse Gracchus had Octavius removed from office—again an unprecedented step, but without objection by the other tribunes, who did not veto it. When Pergamene envoys brought news of Attalus III of *Pergamum's death and will, leaving his estate to Rome, Gracchus (with whom they probably stayed owing to his father's *hospitium* (see FRIENDSHIP, RITUALIZED) with the dynasty) proposed to prejudge the issue of acceptance, ignoring the senate's traditional right to guide foreign affairs, and to distribute Attalus' property to Roman citizens, perhaps as equipment grants for his new allotment-holders.

He next sought re-election, to escape certain conviction on charges of *perduellio* (activity hostile to the state). This last unprecedented step alienated earlier supporters and increased fear of tyranny among opponents. When the consul Scaevola refused to stop him by force, the *pontifex maximus* (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)) Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio led a mob of senators and their clients 'to save the Republic'. Gracchus and many of his supporters were killed on the Capitol, others were later punished by a commission under Publius Popillius Laenas, consul 132. The land commission, however, continued unimpeded until 129.

His tribunate marks the beginning of 'the Roman Revolution': the introduction of murder into politics and the breakdown of Concordia (the tradition of not pushing legal powers to extremes) on which the republic was based. See also AGRARIAN LAWS AND POLICY. EB

Greece (geography) (see ◀ Map 1 ▶) Greece with the Aegean basin is part of the great mountain zone running from the Alps to the Himalayas. For 70 million years the land mass of Africa has been burrowing irresistibly under Europe. This mighty force has displaced, shattered, crumpled, and stretched the rocks, creating mountain ranges, ocean trenches, gorges, and upland basins. The Cretan island arc displays one of Europe's most dramatic changes of level, from the Hellenic trench, 4,335 m. (14,222 ft.) deep, immediately to the south, to peaks up to 2,456 m. (8,058 ft.) high on *Crete itself. Northward lies the Cycladic chain of volcanoes, from Nisyros through Santorini (Thera) and Melos to Methana, the volcano within sight of Athens. Mainland mountains range from Taygetus (2,407 m.: 7,897 ft.) in the south through Parnassus (2,457 m.: 8,061 ft.) to Olympus in the north, at 2,917 m. (9,570 ft.) the highest peak in modern Greece. Mountain-building continues, as shown by frequent *earthquakes in ancient and modern Greece.

The geology is very varied. Most of the higher mountains are of hard limestone, but there are also phyllites, gneisses, granites, serpentines, and volcanic rocks. Softer marls, sandstones, and clays, occurring at lower altitudes, were laid down during periods of submergence later in geological history.

Erosion has gone on since the mountains began to form: whole mountain ranges have been carried away and their remains deposited to form new rocks. It was particularly active during the ice ages, 2 million to 12,000 years ago, when there were violent changes of climate (although little development of glaciers). Erosion has created cultivable land in the plains, into which sediments were washed off the hillsides. It continues conspicuously in the Pindus mountains, the northern *Peloponnese,

and *Rhodes; elsewhere, as in Crete, most deposits are strongly consolidated and hold together despite very steep slopes. Erosion has been increased by human activity, but by how much is controversial.

Greece is rather poor in minerals. Clay for pottery comes from particular local sources. Sometimes limestone has been turned into a crystalline form under great pressure; hence the marbles of Paros, Naxos, Thasos, and of Pentelicon in Attica. Small deposits of iron ore are frequent, but tin and most of the copper for making bronze had to be imported. The silver-mines of Laurium were essential to the economy of Athens.

Greece has a sharply seasonal Mediterranean *climate. The winter rainy season (typically October–May) is warm, seldom frosty, and the time of activity and growth. The dry season of summer is hot, rainless, relentlessly sunny, and is the dead season. The mountains intercept rain-bearing depressions, producing a disparity between the wet west of Greece (e.g. Ioannina, 1,195 mm. (47 in.) of rain in an average year) and the dry east (Athens, 384 mm.: 15 in.). The west coast of Asia Minor is again well watered in winter (Smyrna, 719 mm.: 28 in.). Summer temperatures sometimes reach 40°C (104°F), especially inland, but are tolerable because of north winds and dry air. Mountain areas, as in Pindus and Arcadia, are difficult to live in all the year, because there are cold winters as well as dry summers: the growing season is very short, and frost-sensitive crops, especially olives, cannot be grown.

The prehistoric climate, as inferred from pollen cores, had been less arid than today's. How far climate differed in classical times is uncertain. Known fluctuations such as the Little Ice Age (AD 1550–1750) forbid us to assume it as constant. Ancient accounts suggest that it may have been slightly less strongly seasonal than today, with rivers more dependable and snow less rare. The deadly heat of the *kávsoma* (heatwave) in the modern Athenian summer is aggravated by the urban microclimate and air pollution.

Traditional Greek *agriculture, now much in decline, was based on cereals, olives, vines, and herding animals. (New World crops—potato, tomato, tobacco, maize—were unknown in antiquity.) It involved seasonal hard work, ploughing, sowing, picking olives, and tending vines; an unhurried harvest; and long periods of relative leisure.

Inland transport is relatively easy for a mountainous country; it was seldom difficult to make *roads between the fertile basins. Seafaring called for great skill: the coasts are wild and terrible with cliff-bound promontories, razor-edged reefs, and surf-pounded beaches. There were few good harbours, and no tide to help in

getting in or out. Sailors feared the sea in winter, and land travel was then difficult because of flooded fords. See TOURISM. OR

Greece, prehistory and history of (*see following page*)

Greek language

1. Introduction

In the Classical period Greek was spoken in mainland Greece (including the Peloponnese), in the islands of the Aegean (including Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus), and in the Greek colonies in Asia, Africa, and Italy. It is the European (and Indo-European) language with the longest attested history; the first documents belong to the second half of the second millennium BC and there is no real break between ancient Greek and the modern language of Greece. Most of the evidence from the 8th cent. BC until now is written in the Greek alphabet, but at an early stage two syllabic scripts were also in use: Linear B in the second half of the second millennium rendered the Greek spoken by the exponents of *Mycenaean civilization while during the first millennium BC a distantly related script, syllabic Cypriot, was used for the local dialect of Cyprus and remained in use until the 3rd cent. The language changed in time: conventionally we distinguish an ancient period which goes from the first attestation of Mycenaean Greek (in Linear B) to the end of Hellenistic Greek (roughly in AD 300), a Byzantine and medieval period (until c.1650), and a modern period. Here we concentrate on the central period of ancient Greek in the 5th and 4th cents. BC. After a general account of its development we give a very brief discussion of the main features of the language.

2. Origins

Greek is related to language groups such as Italic, Germanic, Indo-Iranian, Celtic, Slavic, Anatolian, Armenian, Albanian, etc., all of which descend from an unattested parent language (conventionally called Indo-European or IE), which we partially reconstruct through. It is not possible to establish whether Greek belongs to a wider subgroup of IE; the old theory that it was closely related to Latin or Italic has long since been exploded. It shares a number of features with Armenian and Indo-Iranian, but they are not sufficient to define specific subgroups. The ancient belief that the language was autochthonous cannot be accepted; Indo-European speakers must have reached Greece from elsewhere, though the language may have acquired its main characteristics in Greece itself. Some specific features which distinguish ancient Greek from the Indo-European parent language are listed below.

[*continued on p. 347*]

PREHISTORY AND HISTORY OF GREECE

Greece, prehistory and history of (See ◀Map 1▶)

Stone age

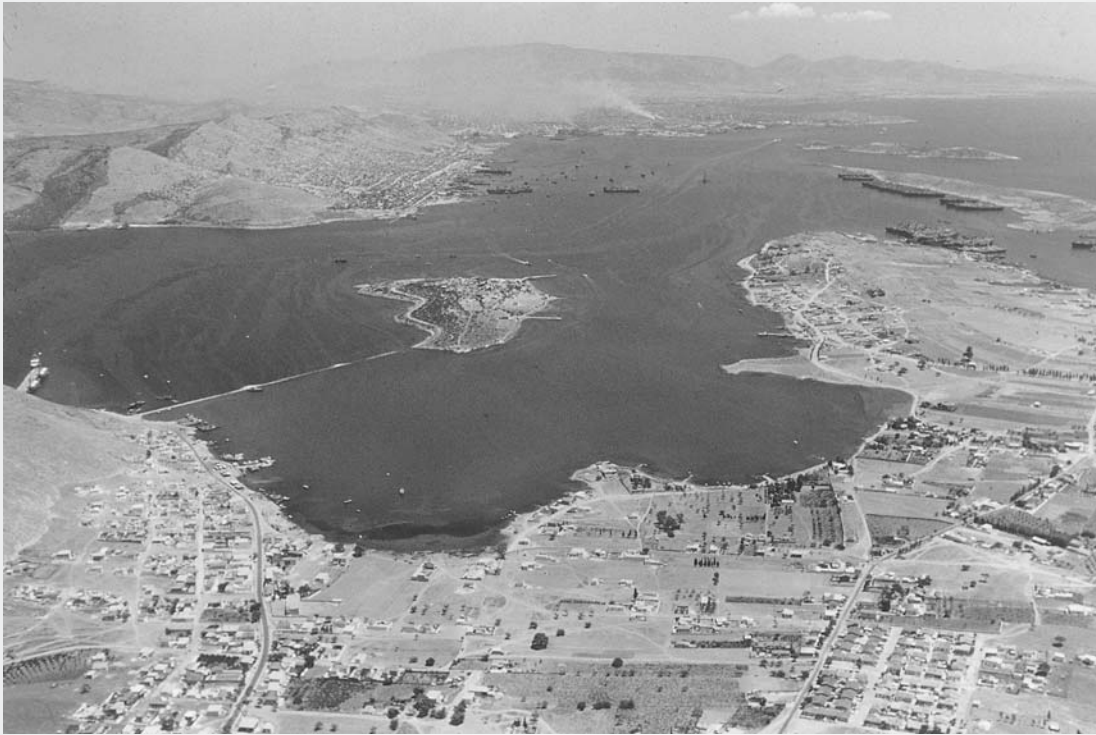
The stone age is divided into the palaeolithic (to c.9000 BC), mesolithic (c.9000–7000 BC) and neolithic (7th–4th millennia BC); metallurgy began during the neolithic, before the conventional neolithic–bronze age transition.

Classical Greece was an essentially agricultural society and as such can trace its origins back to the first farming communities in Greece in the early neolithic (7th millennium BC). Some at least of the domestic livestock and crop species were introduced from the near east, but Greece had long been occupied by palaeolithic and mesolithic gatherer-hunters (e.g. at Franchthi cave, Argolid). It is unclear whether the first farmers were of indigenous, immigrant or mixed stock. Known early farming settlements (e.g. Argissa) are heavily concentrated in the fertile lowlands of the eastern mainland, particularly in *Thessaly. The southern mainland and smaller Aegean islands, the heartland of both bronze age palatial civilization and the classical *polis, were not widely colonized by farmers until the later neolithic and early bronze age (5th–3rd millennia BC). The earliest farmers laid the biological foundations of classical agriculture, growing a range of cereal and pulse crops and keeping sheep, goats, cattle, and pigs. The vine was a significant resource (possibly cultivated) by c.5000 BC, but systematic use of the *olive and the introduction of the horse and donkey are not attested until the bronze age. There is no evidence for the plough in neolithic Greece, and early farming may have resembled the intensive 'horticulture' and small-scale stock-rearing still practised in some hill-villages, rather than the extensive agriculture and specialized *pastoralism which dominate the present landscape and, to some extent, the ancient sources. Neolithic subsistence was probably based on grain crops, with livestock most important as an alternative food source after crop failure. Farmers introduced fallow deer to many islands, making hunting a viable option, but the principal mechanisms for coping with the risk of crop failure in the arid south-east of Greece were social. Field surveys indicate that early farmers lived in small village communities. Excavations at sites such as Sesklo and Nea Nikomedeia have shown that the basic residential and economic unit was a family household, but houses were crowded close together and cooking facilities were located outdoors, ensuring social pressure to share cooked food. In the colonization of agriculturally marginal regions, sharing with close neighbours will have been less effective as a defence against local crop failure. Here a dispersed pattern of 'hamlet' settlements developed, with greater emphasis on distant social ties. Distant social contacts are more difficult to cultivate than close neighbours but are potentially more effective as a source of hospitality in the event of local crop failure. Early neolithic communities were probably egalitarian in the sense that there was no inequality independent of age, gender, and ability. Villages rarely grew to a size demanding institutionalized authority to maintain order. In some late neolithic (6th-millennium BC) villages (e.g. Dimini), however, a central house was segregated within a large courtyard and probably housed some sort of community leader. From the final neolithic (5th millennium BC) onwards, settlements frequently exceeded the organizational limits of egalitarian society. The economic isolation of the family household was now reinforced by moving cooking facilities into an internal 'kitchen' (as at Sitagroi) or walled yard (as at Pevkakia), suggesting that sharing between neighbours had given way to centrally controlled redistribution. By the end of the neolithic, with consolidation of the domestic mode of production and the attendant struggle between household self-sufficiency and indebted dependence on a wider community, the most basic elements of classical rural society may already have been in place.

PH

Bronze age

Viewed at its broadest, the history of bronze age Greece seems a cyclical alternation between periods of expansion, fuelled by increasingly intensive exploitation of the land and involvement in overseas exchange, and contraction to a more nearly self-sufficient 'village' level. While warfare and population movement may have been additional contributory factors in periods of decline, they are unlikely to have played a very significant role; in particular, there is no good evidence that a 'coming of the Greeks' (at whatever date this is placed) had a very marked impact. Rather, the most significant development was the establishment of the *Minoan civilization of Crete, which evidently did not use the Greek language, but had an essential formative influence on the *Mycenaean civilization, which evidently did, at least



Greece, prehistory and history of The battle of Salamis between the Persian and Greek fleets (480 BC) was fought in the straits between the island of Salamis (foreground) and the Athenian mainland to the east. What actually happened is obscure, but the Persian fleet was defeated and soon afterwards withdrew to Asia Minor. © 1989 Loyola University of Chicago. Photo: R.V. Schoder, S.J.

in its core region, the southern mainland. The effective domination of the Aegean by Mycenaean civilization from the 14th cent. BC onwards marks a step towards the creation of 'Greece'; but the development of many characteristic features of later Greek civilization was a very complex process, much of which took place after the bronze age (e.g., for the most typical form of religious *sacrifice, N. Marinatos and B. Bergquist, in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G. Nordquist, *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988)).

Obviously this is very different from the picture of early Greece that *Thucydides built up (1. 1–20) from analysis of his only available source, the legendary traditions; these gave no suggestion of the length of that past, the long-term stability of the agricultural economy, the importance of exchange, the high level of social organization in the palace societies, or the very existence of 'pre-Greek' civilizations. This is hardly surprising, for to judge from other cultures the primary purpose of such traditions is not the transmission of factual information but the validation of claims to territory and status (*see ORALITY*), and they can only too readily be tampered with, as in the historical period in Greece. The most vivid elements in the traditional material, the Homeric epics, belong to a genre that cannot be expected to offer a wholly realistic picture of life; but where their setting is realistic, it is becoming increasingly apparent that, while incorporating late bronze age details, it has much more to do with the early iron age. OTPKD

Archaic, classical, Hellenistic

'Dark Ages'

(c.1100–776 BC). The period after the Mycenaean collapse and before the 8th-cent. BC renaissance is traditionally regarded and described as the Dark Age of Greece. For several centuries after the disappearance of Linear B, writing ceases to be a category of evidence, and the only other source of information, archaeology, shows that contact even between closely neighbouring communities sank (e.g. in Attica) to low levels. But this picture has been modified by

brilliant 10th-cent. finds at *Lefkandi on Euboea, attesting eastern connections and memories of a Mycenaean past. The Dark Age of Greece should not, in fact, be seen entirely negatively, but as an exploratory period in which Greece itself was gradually resettled by pioneers (the prime instance is Attica: *see* ATHENS (HISTORY)), and in which Greeks settled areas like Ionia for the first time. But the word colonization, which implies a central organizing authority, is not yet appropriate for this sort of tentative internal expansion and haphazard overseas movement. And the absence of writing had its positive side, the creation in an originally oral mode of the great epics of *Homer, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Archaic age

(776–479 BC). The conventional date for the beginning of the historical period of Greece is 776 BC, the date of the first Olympic Games on the reckoning of Hippias of Elis. This is probably not too far out for the event in question; but the early 8th cent. was a turning of the page in several other ways as well. Iron began to be worked with new sophistication; the alphabet was taken over from the east; and colonies began to be sent out in a more organized way (*see* COLONIZATION, GREEK), above all from Euboea, which between 750 and 730 colonized Cumae and Pithecusae in the west and was involved in Al Mina in the east. The 8th cent. was also the age of *polis formation and political *synoecism, perhaps themselves a result, in part, of the colonizing movement, but also of the rise of religious leagues or amphictionies. (Religious factors have certainly been urged in recent years by students of the emergent polis: it has been remarked that polis formation was marked by the placing of *sanctuaries, often and for no obvious reason dedicated to *Hera, at the edge of polis territory.) Some of all this, not just writing, but perhaps even the idea of the self-determining polis community, may actually be Phoenician not Greek in inspiration, and there was a famous and perhaps influential early first-millennium amphictiony of Israel. But whatever the truth about Semitic primacy, early Greek society soon acquired distinctive features and institutions, most of which continued to be important in Classical times and later. Among these were athletics and religiously based athletic events like the Olympian Games, already mentioned (*see* GAMES); the *gymnasium which provided training for both athletics and its elder brother, warfare; the *symposium, at which aristocratic values were inculcated; and *homosexuality, which was related to all the other phenomena just mentioned. Some other characteristic features of Greek society are more easily paralleled elsewhere, e.g. ritualized *friendship; but institutionalized proxeny, which developed out of this, was specifically Greek: this was a system of the diplomatic representation of state x in state y by nationals of state y .

All this contributed to such shared Greek consciousness as there was (*see* ETHNICITY; NATIONALISM), but the chief way in which early Greek states interacted was through warfare, a paradoxical activity in that in Greece at most periods it was a ritualized, i.e. shared, activity (*see* WARFARE, ATTITUDES TO) but at the same time war is, obviously, an assertion of separateness. Equally the four great Panhellenic ('all-Greek') sanctuaries, *Olympia, *Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, were a symbol of what Greeks had in common, but they were also a focus for interstate competition exercised in various ways (*see* DELPHI), and constituting an alternative to war; indeed struggles for influence at sanctuaries sometimes developed into wars proper, so-called Sacred Wars. And sanctuaries were the repositories of tithes or tenth-fractions of the *booty which was a reason for and result of warfare; this booty was often turned into dedications, producing a connection between great art and great suffering which was noticed by Jacob Burckhardt.

The first war which can be called in any sense general was the Lelantine War (late 8th cent.) fought by Chalcis and Eretria for control of the plain between them; but each side had allies from further away and links with rival colonial networks have been suspected. But exaggeration on the part of ancient, and anachronism on the part of modern, writers make the truth about this early conflict hard to establish. If there were networks at this time they are less likely to have been firm interstate groupings for purposes of trade or politics than informal systems of aristocratic friendships between entrepreneurial individuals like Sostratus of Aegina, whose prosperous commercial activities in Italy were interestingly illuminated by archaeology and epigraphy in the 1970s.

Commercial and economic prosperity on the one hand, and individual dynamism on the other, combined on *Thucydides' view (1. 13. 1) to produce *tyranny. There is much to be said for this: colonization and trade were connected, and the combination meant that Greece was exposed to luxuries on a new scale. Until recently, the chief modern explanation for tyranny has been military, in terms of hoplite (heavy-armed infantry) warfare, a partial repudiation of individual aristocratic fighting methods, corresponding to that political repudiation of control by hereditary aristocracies which was the essence of tyranny. A main attraction of this theory seemed to be coincidence of time: the first tyrannies, of Pheidon at Argos and Cypselus at Corinth, can be plausibly put at mid-7th cent., roughly when hoplites

appear (though there is a risk of circularity over the shadowy Pheidon at least). But Thucydides knows nothing of a link between tyranny and hoplites, though he had thought hard about both (see 5. 71.1 for hoplite fighting); and the theory is vulnerable in other ways too. Thus it may be better to suppose that hoplite fighting spread only gradually and may even have reached its developed form as late as the Persian Wars.

Two states which did not have tyrannies in this first phase are *Sparta and *Athens, indeed Sparta famously avoided tyranny until Hellenistic times. Sparta was remarkable in other ways also, for instance by not sending out many colonies in the historical period (with the important exception of Tarentum, Greek Taras, in south Italy) but above all in having annexed its next-door neighbour Messenia in the later 8th cent. The inhabitants were turned into state slaves or helots. Other neighbours of Sparta became *perioikoi*, a subordinate status to which some communities of Laconia also belonged. Sparta later became a tight and repressive place, but Archaic Sparta guaranteed political power to the *damos* or people—meaning perhaps only the class of hoplite fighters—at an impressively early date (?7th cent.) when *democracy elsewhere was still in the future. But the political momentum at Sparta was lost, partly through the need to hold down Messenia and the helots; this in turn called for the strict *agōgē* (the public upbringing of Spartan boys). Simple infantry strength enabled Sparta to coerce much of the *Peloponnese by the later 6th cent., though propaganda also helped, the deliberate muting of Sparta's unpopular Dorian aspect.

Athens was also unusual among Greek states, above all in the size of its directly controlled territory, Attica, its natural assets (including a supply of silver), and its physical suitability for a naval role (see ATHENS (HISTORY)). Athens, like Sparta, avoided tyranny in the 7th cent., but unlike Sparta, Athens did experience an attempt at one at this time, the failed coup of Cylon c.630. But a generation later *Solon's reforms (594) both resembled and circumvented—for the moment—tyrannical, anti-aristocratic solutions carried out elsewhere. His creation of a new *boulē* (council) of 400 members was an important move towards democracy, as was the opening of high political office on criteria of wealth not birth; but even more crucial was abolition of the demeaning if not always economically crippling status of hectemorage (the payment of one sixth of agricultural produce). Indirect but important consequences of this abolition were the development of a self-conscious citizen élite (see CITIZENSHIP, GREEK) and the related rise of chattel-*slavery. Solon also permitted appeal to the *dikastērion* (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN; LAW AND PROCEDURE, ATHENIAN), and legislated in the social sphere; but some of the detailed traditions about his economic reforms are suspect because they imply the existence of *coinage, which in fact begins in the middle of the 6th cent., too late to be relevant to developments at the beginning of it (though accumulation of gold and silver may well be relevant, cf. above on the effects of colonization).

Solon's reforms were critical for the longer-term development of Athens and indeed Greece, but in the short term they were a failure because Athens did after all succumb, for much of the second half of the 6th cent., to a tyranny, that of *Pisistratus and his sons Hippias and Hipparchus. Under these rulers, Athenian naval power was built up, a vigorous foreign policy pursued, splendid buildings erected, and roads built. But the tyrants were driven out in 510 and *Cleisthenes reformed the Athenian constitution in a democratic direction in 508/7.

Meanwhile Achaemenid *Persia had been expanding since *Cyrus the Great overthrew Croesus in 546, and the new power had begun to encroach on the freedom of the East Greeks in Ionia and even islands like *Samos. The Athenians, like other mainland Greeks, were insulated from immediate danger by their distance from geographical Ionia, but they were in the racial and religious senses Ionians too, and when in 499 the *Ionian Revolt broke out, itself perhaps the result of restlessness induced by awareness of Cleisthenes' democratic reforms, Athens sent help to the rebels, who, however, were defeated at Lade (494).

How far this help provoked the Persian Wars, by drawing *Darius I's vengeful attention to Athens, and how far they were simply an inevitable consequence of Persian dynamism, is not clear from the account of our main source *Herodotus. A first expedition led by Datis and Artaphernes failed at the battle of Marathon, in Attica (490); then at the battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, Salamis (all 480), and Plataea (479) a far larger Persian invasion by *Xerxes was beaten back. The Greek successes of the Persian Wars were of enormous importance in conditioning Greek attitudes to themselves, to each other, and to the '*barbarian' (as Persians were now more aggressively defined), for centuries to come. The victories were immediately commemorated by state dedications in the great sanctuaries (see DELPHI; OLYMPIA), except that Nemea got no big dedication. Poetry by *Aeschylus and *Simonides, and the prose of Herodotus, signalled the Great Event in literature, as did buildings on the Athenian acropolis; only *Thucydides and his speakers show some impatience with the theme.

The pentekontaetia

(c. 50-year period 480–430 BC). In the west (Italy and Sicily), the Greek states shared the culture of their *métropoleis* in Greece itself (see esp. OLYMPIA), but there were differences. Here Greeks (like North African *Cyrene with its Berber neighbours) always had to live alongside non-Greeks, both relatively small-scale but vigorous indigenous groups like Messapians in the hinterland of Taras (Tarentum), and great powers like *Etruscans in central Italy, or *Carthage whose base was in North Africa but which had outposts in Sicily. Herodotus (7.170) reports a huge massacre of Tarentines by Messapians c.475 and this threat conditioned much of Tarentine history for centuries. And at Himera and Cumae the western Greeks under their tyrants Gelon and Hieron defeated Carthage and the Etruscans in battles which contemporaries compared to the high points of the Persian Wars. But inter-Greek tensions were no less acute: Croton and Locri (Epizephyrii) fought a great Archaic battle at the Sagra river, and when Thurii in the mid-5th cent. replaced Archaic Sybaris, destroyed in 508, it soon found itself at war with neighbouring Taras. But more peaceful developments were possible, as at Elea, where a medical school connected with the cult of *Apollo 'Ouliades' flourished from the 5th cent. BC to Roman times; Parmenides was involved with it. Athenian and Peloponnesian interest in the west was always lively, partly for grain and partly for shipbuilding *timber from south Italy; but partly also because ties of *kinship (*syngeneia*) between colonies and *métropoleis* were taken seriously.

The great struggle of the 5th cent. was between Athenians and the Peloponnesians led by Sparta. The germs of this are detectable even in the Persian Wars, and when the Athenians took over the leadership of Greece in 487 (see DELIAN LEAGUE), Sparta's response was mixed. But Sparta, despite having crushed for the moment the perennially ambitious rival Argos in 494, had internal problems in the Peloponnese and, for several years from the mid-460s, difficulties with the helots to cope with. So stretched were the Spartans that they invited the Athenians in to help them against the helots, but the Athenian democracy moved on a step in just this period (the reforms of Ephialtes) and the Athenians under Cimon were dismissed from Sparta. Sparta's troubles meant that the Athenian empire was able to expand without check from the Greek side until the end of the 460s and the outbreak of the First Peloponnesian War (460–446), when Sparta did, as often in its history, take some action to protect or further its interests (including religious) in central Greece. So far from curbing Athenian expansion, that war saw Athenian influence rise to its maximum extent: for over ten years after the battle of Tanagra Athens even controlled Boeotia (457–446). It may be that the take-over was possible because Athens capitalized on *stasis* (civic dissension) inside the cities of Boeotia. (Throughout Classical Greek history there was a risk that *stasis* would open the door to outside interference. But Thucydides may be right to link it particularly with the period introduced by the main Peloponnesian War: in the *pentekontaetia* a degree of stability was guaranteed by the existence of two power blocs: contrast the post-431 period and the 4th cent.) Democratic Athens did not however insist on democracy in Boeotia, allegedly permitting oligarchies instead; nor is it certain that the Boeotian Confederacy ceased to exist in the Athenian period, although Athens' departure in 446 may have led to a federal reorganization.

Despite preoccupations in Greece, Athens in this period continued the struggle against Persia which was the ostensible purpose of the Delian League; but after the Eurymedon victory of 466 a preliminary 'peace of Callias' may have been made. A great Athenian expedition against Persia in Egypt in the 450s failed utterly, and in 450 the main Callias peace was made, though this is controversial. Thereafter, until 413, Athens and Persia were in a state of uneasy peace.

The Peloponnesian War

The First Peloponnesian War ended with the Thirty Years Peace of 446, and this instrument regulated Athenian–Spartan relations until the great Peloponnesian War of 431–404. The Archidamian War, ended by the Peace of *Nicias, failed to achieve the Peloponnesian objective of 'liberating' Greece, i.e. breaking up the Athenian empire. *Propaganda, such as the exploiting of sanctuaries like Delphi and Ionian *Delos, was as much a weapon as open fighting. Athenian exuberance climbed to its highest level in 415, when the Sicilian expedition was launched, to end in catastrophe two years later. Persia re-entered the picture in 413, an important moment because it introduced a long phase of Greek history, ending only with *Alexander the Great, in which Persia's voice would often be decisive. As Athens and Sparta wore each other down, other emergent powers like *Macedonia, itself destined to overthrow Persia eventually, grew in resources and self-confidence, especially under the strong rule of Archelaus; and Thebes, another 4th-cent. giant, profited from the war, notably by annexing Plataea in 427. Small states tried to protect their territorial integrity by allying with the strongest and closest power of the moment.

The Fourth Century

The end of the war in 404 coincided with another equally momentous event, the establishment in power of *Dionysius I in Sicily, the prototype for many a 4th-cent. and Hellenistic strong man: tyranny, in fact, revives. Even in conservative Sparta there are traces of personality cult, detectable in *Lysander's victory monument at Delphi for the final victory at Aegospotami. And he got cult at *Samos. (see RULER-CULT (GREEK).)

Lysander's methods were harsh, and Spartan aggression in this period led, startlingly soon after the end of the Peloponnesian War, to the outbreak of the anti-Spartan Corinthian War, ended by the King's Peace. This curtailed Sparta's activities in Asia Minor (of which the most famous episode was the *Anabasis* or Persian expedition of *Xenophon and the Ten Thousand, in its initial phase a covertly Spartan operation to replace Artaxerxes II by his brother Cyrus the Younger). But the price of eliminating Sparta was surrender of the region to Persia, and a general Greek political retreat east of the Aegean. However over the next 50 years cultural *Hellenism advanced, alongside Persian and indigenous culture, through activity by e.g. the Carian satrap Mausolus.

Much strengthened in Greece by the King's Peace, Sparta proceeded to fresh aggressions in north and central Greece, always a tendency when domestic or other preoccupations permitted. Sparta's coercion of Olynthus aroused no general protest but the occupation of the Cadmea (acropolis) of Thebes in 382 shocked and alarmed Greek opinion, and in 379 Thebes was liberated with Athenian help. Thebes and other places now joined a Second Athenian Confederacy (378). But as Thebes' power itself grew, especially after it defeated Sparta at the battle of Leuctra (371), Athens and Sparta found themselves driven together in the 360s when Thebes tried to usurp Athens' position at sea and (with more success) to weaken Sparta in the Peloponnese by founding Arcadian Megalopolis and reconstituting Messenia after centuries and equipping it with a new physical centre, the city of Messene.

*Philip II of Macedon succeeded to a politically weak but economically strong Macedon in 359, which he rapidly strengthened further at the expense of all his neighbours, Greeks included. The story of Athens' diplomatic relations with him is intricate (see DEMOSTHENES); features of the Peace of Philocrates may indicate that he planned a Persian invasion as early as 346, but he was obliged to defeat the Greeks at the battle of Chaeronea in 338 before the expedition could start. In the event he was assassinated in 336. Alexander, his son, carried the project through (334–323) in a whirlwind campaign which took him to Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, India, and the Persian Gulf. For the campaigns, see *Alexander the Great. The city-foundations of Alexander (see ALEXANDRIA) are the most important part of his legacy but hard to estimate in detail: archaeological evidence is spectacular (see AI KHANOUM) but patchy, and the literary record is contaminated by rivalries between Seleucids and Ptolemies (see below).

Hellenistic period

(323–31 BC). After Alexander died aged 32 there was never much chance that the unity (*τὰ ὅλα*) of his improvised empire would be perpetuated by any one of his Successors (the 'Diadochi')—the name given not to an orderly sequence of post-Alexander rulers (they adopted the title 'king' in a rush in 306) but to a whole clutch of his former marshals, controlling different areas but at overlapping times. The 'satrapies' were distributed at Babylon in 323 and again at Triparadeisus in 320; another arrangement was reached in 311. The generation after Alexander's death is full of complex military and political history, recorded by *Hieronymus of Cardia, who described the Successors' attempts to acquire as much 'spear-won territory' as possible, while mouthing slogans about the 'freedom of the Greeks' (see FREEDOM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD); the closest any of them got to a dominant position was *Antigonus the One-eyed (helped by his son Demetrius Poliorcetes ('the Besieger')), but his desire to reconstruct Alexander's empire is not certain and anyway he was killed at Ipsus in 301. This battle and Corupedium (281), where Seleucus defeated *Lysimachus of Thrace, determined that Asia would be Seleucid, though Lysimachus' defeat also led indirectly to the emergence of an important minor kingdom, that of the Pergamene Attalids. See PERGAMUM.

The first and longest-lasting Successor empire to establish itself was that of the Ptolemies (see PTOLEMY I) in Egypt, partly because its physical base was self-contained and hard to strike at. But Ptolemaic foreign policy was not insular or pacific; the dynasty had overseas possessions such as *Cyprus and *Crete, exercised hegemonical policies in Greece and the Aegean, and fought six Syrian wars in the Hellenistic age against the *Seleucids, the most spectacularly successful of all the Successor rulers.

Seleucid methods owe much to Achaemenid Persia, but were innovative too; but as with Alexander, the difficulty of assessing Seleucid urbanization is particularly tantalizing (the Ptolemies founded only one Greek city in Egypt, Ptolemais Hermiou). Some recent writers urge that Mesopotamia as opposed to Anatolia or Syria was the engine-room of Seleucid power, and claim that Babylonian and other non-Greek elements in Seleucid culture played a prime

role; others remind us that the Seleucids were always conscious of their Macedonian origins. Evidence from epigraphy (inscriptions) continues to emerge, and to shed light on these topics. Macedon itself was much fought over and partitioned: at different times it was subject not only to Demetrius Poliorcetes, but to Cassander, Lysimachus, and *Pyrrhus of Epirus. Not until after 276 did Demetrius' son *Antigonus Gonatas consolidate the kingdom properly. Thereafter under the Antigonid rulers (Antigonus Doseon; Demetrius II; Philip V) Macedon reverted to something like its historical role as it had been before it ballooned under Alexander, though older conceptions of an essentially Macedonian kingdom, supporting its supporters in Greece, have had to be modified in the light of new evidence from Labraunda in Caria for 3rd-cent. Antigonid activity in the area.

In Greece itself a major development of the age (already adumbrated in the 4th cent.) was the further development of federations or leagues (*see* FEDERAL STATES), not just the old-established Boeotian Confederacy, but the Arcadian (with its centre at Megalopolis), the Achaean and the Aetolian, which controlled Delphi for much of the 3rd cent. Sparta's history continues to be distinctive: it stayed out of the Achaean Confederacy until the 190s. Social problems were more acute here than elsewhere, but not different in kind.

Rome made its first decisive eastern intervention in 229, the first Illyrian War; but significant contacts, e.g. with Egypt, antedate this. Philip V's alliance with *Hannibal meant that there would certainly be an eventual Roman reckoning with Macedon, and Philip was defeated in 197 at Cynoscephalae and his son Perseus at Pydna in 168, after which Macedon was divided into four republics. Meanwhile the Seleucid *Antiochus III had been defeated at the battle of Magnesia in 190, though the resulting Peace of Apamea was an amputation not a death: Seleucid power in the east was unaffected (at least until the defeat of Antiochus VII Sidetes by the Parthians in 129), nor should the rise of new splinter kingdoms and states in *Bactria and Judaea, for example, be straightforwardly taken as indicating terminal Seleucid decline.

The Achaean Confederacy rose against Rome in 146 and was smashing defeated; Corinth was destroyed. SH

Roman

After 146 BC Rome supervised Greece through the governors of Macedonia; a separate province called Achaia was first created in 46 BC. Parts of Greece supported *Mithradates VI in 88 BC, *Athens with enthusiasm, and suffered accordingly in Sulla's campaigns; the earliest evidence for regular Roman taxation follows. Until Actium Greece remained a theatre for Roman warfare, piratical and civil, imposing heavy demands on her cities, sometimes met with difficulty, as at Gytheum in 71 BC (*Syll.*³ 748 = Sherk, *Augustus* 74). In the early Principate, with Roman *philhellenism conferring few tangible benefits, the mainland Greeks at first remained—with the notable exception of *Sparta—reluctant subjects; there was unrest at Augustan Athens, and the imperial cult in Greece shows a retarded development, with no supra-city collaboration on record before *Nero. Reconciliation was hardly advanced by the colonial foundations of Caesar at Corinth and Augustus at Patrae and *Nicomolis, the last two accompanied by enforced movements of local populations and cults, or by Rome's proprietary attitude to Greece's heritage, evinced by imperial projects to translate works of art and even a whole cult (*Eleusis) to Rome (*Suet. Calig.* 22; *Claud.* 25). Nero's short-lived restoration of Greece's autonomy in AD 66 (date: T. Barnes, *JRA* 1989, 252–3), in spite of causing local hardship (*IG* 4². 80–1 = Sherk, *Hadrian* 73), won him some Greek approval. Under Trajan the recruitment of Roman senators from Athens and Sparta advanced Greek political integration; writing at the time, *Plutarch (*Praec. ger. reip.*) counselled resigned acceptance of Roman dominion. *Hadrian conferred benefaction throughout the province; his foundation of the Panhellenion (131/2) promoted an influx of easterners to Greece, among them the travel-writer *Pausanias. In the later 2nd and early 3rd cents. Greece flourished as a cultural centre (*see* GAMES; SECOND SOPHISTIC). Levels of prosperity varied regionally; ancient writers stress depopulation in Roman Greece, but the archaeological evidence for an emptied countryside down to 200 (S. Alcock, *Graecia Capta* (1993)), rather than merely confirming this picture, may point as well to greater nucleation (i.e. rural villages and migration to urban centres); certainly some cities now prospered, as could a small place like Aedepsus; *tourism was probably a significant source of wealth. The Heruli (267) damaged Athens, prompting Athenian self-defence. In the 4th cent. gradual Christianization wound down traditional cults, although the Panathenaea were still being celebrated *c.*410 (*IG* 2². 3818 with *PLRE* 2 'Plutarchus' 2). In 396 Alaric sacked Corinth, Argos, and Sparta, prompting a wave of defensive building throughout the province. Recent archaeology shows a previously unsuspected prosperity in the 5th–6th cents., down to the Slav invasions (from 582); many basilical churches were built, and the countryside was densely populated. AJSS

3. Dialects

When we speak of Greek we often mean Attic, i.e. the dialect of Athens. Yet from the Mycenaean period until the late Hellenistic period there was no standard Greek language and all cities or regions had different forms of speech, which they transmitted to their colonies. Even Mycenaean is only one of the varieties of second-millennium Greek. These local 'dialects' had equal or similar status and presumably most of them were mutually intelligible. Until the late 4th cent. BC (and often much later) they were used in normal oral intercourse and for written documents, laws, letters, etc. The contemporary inscriptions provide the best evidence for the differences, which encompass phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon (e.g. Lesbian *παίσᾱς* 'of all' (fem. sing.), Attic *πάσης*; Lesbian *ἔμμεναι* 'to be', Attic *εἶναι*; Thessalian *αἰ μά κε κίς*, Arcadian *εἰ δ' ἄν τις*, Ionic-Attic *εἰ ἄν δέ τις* 'but if anyone' with a different order of the indefinite pronoun and the potential particle *κε/κα/ἄν* from e.g. Phocian *αἰ δέ τις κα*; West Greek *λε(ί)ω* 'I want', Attic *θέλω*). On the basis of shared features modern scholars classify the various forms of Greek (partly on the model of the ancient grammarians) into groups: Ionic-Attic, Arcado-Cypriot, Aeolic (which includes Lesbian, Boeotian, and Thessalian), Doric (which includes dialects like Laconian, Argolic, etc.), and North-West Greek.

In spite of the absence of a standard language, from the 5th cent. BC at the latest—but probably much earlier—the Greeks thought of themselves as speaking a common language; for Herodotus (8.144) τὸ Ἑλληνικόν ('Hellenism') was based on shared blood, language, customs, and religion. See HELLENISM. Greek was not identified with any of the dialects, but by the early 3rd cent. the Athenians were reproached for behaving as if Greek and Attic were the same thing (Posidippus, fr. 30 KA). In the same period we begin to find that in the local inscriptions the dialect is sometimes replaced by a form of language which is very close to Attic though not identical with it; it is the beginning of the so-called Ionic-Attic *κοινῆ διάλεκτος* (common language), which eventually prevailed and provided Greece with a standard language from which the later dialects developed. By the end of the 2nd cent. BC most local inscriptions were no longer in dialect; in contrast with the many dialects of the earlier colonies, the language brought to Asia and Africa by *Alexander the Great and his Successors was a form of *κοινῆ*. For a brief period other forms of common language, such as the so-called Doric *koina* of Peloponnese, prevailed in certain areas of mainland Greece, but in the end they were all replaced by the *koinῆ* (in the inscriptions at least).

4. Literary Greek

Literary texts too were composed in different dialects but the dialect was mostly determined by the literary genre and its origin rather than by the author's origin. *Hesiod, who spoke Boeotian (an Aeolic dialect), composed hexameters in the same mixed dialect (based on Ionic) as Homer, while *Pindar, also a Boeotian, wrote choral poetry in a very different mixed dialect which included some Doric features. The iambic trimeters of Attic tragedy are written in a very literary Attic heavily influenced by Homer and by Ionic, but the choruses are written in Doric or rather in a literary form of Attic with superimposed Doric features (*μάτηρ* for Attic *μήτηρ* 'mother', etc.). Notice that for the literary dialects we tend to speak, as the grammarians did, of Aeolic, Ionic, and Doric rather than of Thessalian, Euboean, Cretan, and the like (Attic and Lesbian are exceptions), since the dialect used does not normally show features specific to a town or locality: it is more a generic colouring.

The history of literary Greek starts with *Homer, i.e. with a poetic language which, because of the various stages of its formulaic development, is remote from the language of normal conversation and under an Ionic patina includes both late and early features as well as features of different dialects: Mycenaean, Aeolic, Ionic. Because of its cultural importance and its wide diffusion epic poetry provided a common linguistic ground for a linguistically divided culture; in spite of its Ionic colouring the epic language is used for Tyrtaeus' elegiac poetry which exhorted the Doric Spartans to war and for the verses of the oracle at Delphi, a North-West Greek city. The risk was that the prestige and all-pervading influence of the epic language might have led to the fossilization of all literary language. Yet the dialects—and the way in which they were tied to different literary genres—provided a source for linguistic renewal. Elegiac poetry was composed in epic language but some forms of it were in a more or less purified form of Ionic. We have melic poetry in Lesbian (*Sappho and *Alcaeus), Ionic (*Anacreon) and even Boeotian (Corinna, though we are uncertain about the date); in these texts we observe not only the phonology and morphology of the various dialects but presumably also some new lexicon and the characteristics of a simpler style. Iambic and trochaic verses favoured Ionic and we find in Hipponax' poetry, for instance, a rich vocabulary full of colloquialisms and of foreign words; *Archilochus too comes much closer to the language of conversation than Homer. Comedy, which can be in Attic but also in Doric, allows colloquialisms not tolerated in tragedy. Yet the multiplicity of literary dialects also leads to new forms of artificiality. The language of choral poetry

is a mixed language which is characterized by a 'Doric' (i.e. non-Attic-Ionic) patina, but in fact exploits elements of all forms of poetry. The result of so much mixture may be magnificent as in Pindar but may also sound baroque: *Aristophanes's parody of Pindar (*Av.* 941 ff.) makes this clear. Literary prose can, though need not, be closer to conversational language. Its first forms came from Ionia; even a Doric doctor like Hippocrates wrote of medicine in Ionic. Attic literary prose, which started in the 5th cent., shows clear signs of Ionic influence but eventually acquires linguistic forms and a style of its own. We have limited evidence for Doric prose.

In Hellenistic times the use of the literary dialects becomes more artificial; *Theocritus wrote his *Idylls* in epic language, in Doric, and in Aeolic (i.e. Lesbian), a *tour de force* which reflects the learned style of Alexandrian poetry. At a later stage we find deliberate attempts to spurn the *koinē* and to prefer an accurate imitation of Attic. At the same time a prose text like the New Testament shows both Semitic influences and a higher level of colloquial simplicity.

5. Development

The presence of dialects effectively prevents us from treating the development of ancient Greek as a continuous process from Homer (or Mycenaean) to the *koinē*. Yet some changes seem to be widely attested in the Greek-speaking area either because of similar structural forces or because of mutual influences between dialects. In the official or literary language the complexity of sentences increases and the simpler patterns are reserved for the colloquial style or specific rhetorical effects. The article, which is absent from Mycenaean and still vestigial in Homer, is generalized in all dialects and is used to nominalize adjectives, participles, infinitives, and whole sentences. A new abstract and technical vocabulary is created through the use of suffixation (*-ικος*, *-ισμος*, *-μα*, etc.) or of composition. Greek is the one European language in which we can follow the independent creation of an abstract or technical vocabulary; the other languages, Latin included, directly or indirectly exploited Greek as a model or as a source of loan words.

6. Linguistic features

We list here some of the main features of ancient Greek, with special reference to classical Attic.

Phonology

The phonological system of Classical Attic is relatively well known. In the Classical period the vocalic system had five short vowels ([a, e, o, i, y]) written *α, ε, ο, ι, υ* and seven long vowels ([a:, ε:, e:, ο:, ο:, ι:, y:]), written *α, η, ει, ω, ου*,

ι, υ (the letters in square brackets [] are phonetic symbols, with the colon indicating length). Four diphthongs were relatively frequent: [ai, au, eu, oi], written *αι, οι, αυ, ευ*. The so-called long diphthongs ([a:i, ε:i, ο:i], i.e. *αι* (or *α*), *ηι* (or *η*), *ωι* (or *ω*)), were rarer and tended either to merge with the short diphthongs or to lose the second element.

The consonantal system included the dental fricative [s], the glottal fricative [h] (the rough breathing) which had a very limited distribution, and four sonorants: the two liquids [l, r] and the two nasals [n, m]. The nine stops were organized according to three modes of articulation (voiceless, voiceless aspirate, and voiced) and three places of articulation: labial ([p, p^h, b]), dental ([t, t^h, d]), velar ([k, k^h, g]). Unlike the modern language ancient Greek had geminate consonants such as [pp, ll, mm] etc.

Some dialects have five long vowels (a:, e:, o:, u:, i:), instead of seven, and in most dialects we find a [u, u:] pronunciation of *υ*. The distribution of vowels also differs. Attic and Ionic changed the inherited [a:], which is preserved in all other dialects, into [ε:], written *η*, though in Attic this change was never completed and after [ε], [i], [r] the sound reverted to [a:]. Hence Doric and Aeolic *μᾶτηρ* vs. Attic-Ionic *μήτηρ* and Attic *χώρα* vs. Ionic *χώρη*. The tendency to monophthongize diphthongs, which is typical of later Greek, is implemented earlier in dialects like Boeotian.

The consonantal system is relatively stable in all varieties of Greek, but some dialects still preserve [w] (written with *Ϝ*, the so-called digamma), which was lost in Attic. Other dialects tend to change the aspirated stops into fricatives at an early stage or to lose the (secondary) intervocalic [s] which is found elsewhere. Hence Laconian *σιός* 'god' for Attic *θεός*, where *σ-* may well indicate a dental fricative [θ] (cf. English *th*) and Laconian *ἐνίκαθε* 'won' corresponding to Attic *ἐνίκησε*.

The accentual system of Greek and the major phonological changes which mark the shift from classical to Byzantine Greek are not discussed here but are discussed in the entry 'pronunciation, Greek' in OCD⁴.

The system just described contrasts with that reconstructed for Indo-European. The Indo-European 'laryngeal' consonants were lost; the voiced aspirate stops (+*b^h*, etc.) yielded voiceless aspirates; the vocalic resonants *†r*, *†l*, *†m*, *†n* were replaced by vowels or combinations of consonant and vowel, while the consonantal variants [j, w] of *i* and *u* tended to disappear; the inherited labiovelar stops (+*k^w*, *g^w*, *g^{wh}*) merged with velars, dentals, or labials, depending on the environment. Indo-European *s* changed to *h* word-initially before a vowel and internally between vowels, where it was eventually lost; all word-final stops were lost and final *-m* changed to *-n*. Not all of these changes are pre-Mycenaean, but those concerning

the aspirates, the vocalic resonants, +s, probably final +m, and the final stops are. Other changes involved sound clusters and differed in the various dialects; in Mycenaean, Arcado-Cypriot, Ionic-Attic, and Lesbian, but not in Doric and North-West Greek, -ti became -si (cf. Att. *δίδωσι* 'gives' and Dor. *δίδωτι*); in most dialects (including Ionic) *[kj, tj] became [ss], but in Attic and Boeotian we find [tt] (cf. Ion. *θάλασσα*, Att. *θάλαττα*).

Morphology and syntax

Greek is a heavily inflected fusional language where the different grammatical categories are mostly marked by suffixes (nominal and verbal endings) or, far less frequently, by prefixes (e.g. the verbal augment or the reduplication). Infixation in verbs like *λαμβάνω* 'I take' vs. *ἔλαβον* 'I took') is at best marginal. Note that one unsegmentable morpheme fulfils various functions: [o:], written -ov in *πολίτου* 'of the citizen' marks genitive, singular, and masculine. Suffixation and composition are the two most productive means of word-formation.

Nouns and adjectives are classified into inflexional classes (declensions) according to their phonological shape (o-stems, a-stems, consonantal stems). In the Classical period the nominal inflexion distinguished five cases (nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative), three numbers (singular, dual, plural) and three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter). Later developments led to the loss of the dual (which in some dialects is absent from the earliest attestations) and even later ones to that of the dative. Gender was determined by agreement patterns rather than by semantic factors or the phonological shape of the word (*ἵππος* 'horse/mare' can be masculine or feminine without any difference in inflexion). It was normal (though not compulsory) to use masculine and feminine for males and females but words for inanimate objects could be masculine, feminine, or neuter. In progress of time inflexional classes came to be tied to gender as is the case in Modern Greek. At the same time in Hellenistic Greek we witness a drastic simplification of the earlier inflexional variety.

Verbal morphology is highly complicated. A first distinction is between finite and non-finite forms; the former are characterized by personal endings for the singular, dual, and plural (there is not a full complement of dual endings and they too tend to disappear). The latter include participles, verbal adjectives, and infinitives, which are marked by special suffixes and share some of the syntactical, and in some instances morphological, properties of the noun.

In the finite verb the main grammatical categories are aspect, which indicates the way in which action etc. is envisaged (durative or imperfective, punctual or aoristic,

stative or perfective), time (present, past, future), mood (indicative, subjunctive, optative, and imperative), voice (active, middle, passive), person (first, second, and third singular, dual or plural). Most verbs have three main stems (distinguished by vocalic alternation or affixation or more rarely by different roots) which indicate different aspects: durative/imperfective (e.g. *πειθ-* with the present *πείθω* 'I persuade, am persuading' and the imperfect *ἔπειθον* 'I was persuading'), or punctual/aoristic (e.g. *πεισ-* with the aorist *ἔπεισα* 'I persuaded'), or stative/perfective (e.g. *πεποιθ-* with the perfect *πέποιθα* 'I am persuaded' and the pluperfect *ἔπεπειθειν* 'I was persuaded'). Except for the future the so-called tenses (present, imperfect, aorist, perfect, pluperfect, future, future perfect) in the non-indicative moods and the non-finite forms mark primarily contrasts of aspect, while the indicative forms indicate both time and aspect distinctions: Xen. *Cyr.* 5. 5. 22 *ἔλθων ὄν ἔπειθον αὐτούς, καὶ οὗς ἔπεισα τούτους ἔχων ἐπορευόμεν σου ἐπιτρέψαντος*, 'I went (part. aorist) and I tried to persuade them (imperfect) and keeping (part. present) with me those whom I persuaded (ind. aorist) I continued on my expedition (imperfect), since you allowed it (part. aorist)'. The perfect is a special case; it starts indicating a state (*πέποιθα* 'I am convinced') and then develops a resultative use often accompanied by new forms (5th cent.: *πέπεικα* 'I have persuaded'), which makes it very similar to the aorist. Eventually it is lost and replaced by periphrastic forms. Contrasts of voice and person are marked by the endings. The middle voice emphasizes the participation or the involvement of the subject: active *δικάζω* 'I sit/am sitting in judgement', middle *δικάζομαι* 'I go/am going to law (on my own behalf)'. There are a few forms marked by suffixes which are exclusively passive, but otherwise the middle has also passive value, a pattern which will eventually prevail.

Word order is relatively free. The verb may precede or follow the object; similarly the subject may precede or follow the verb. Clitic particles tend in the early stages to occupy the second position in the clause (Xen. *Hell.* 3. 1. 11 *ὁ ἀνὴρ σοι ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τὰλλα φίλος ἦν...*, 'my husband was devoted to you in other things too...'), but they often gravitate towards the word with which they have the closest semantic links. In Homer we still find preverbs separated from verbs in so-called tmesis (*ἐπι... ἔτελλε*), but there too and in Classical prose 'preverbs' are either compounded with verbs (cf. *ἐπέτελλε* 'enjoined') or serve as prepositions which 'govern' an inflected noun. The simple sentence may be limited to a verb without expressed subject (*ῥεῖ* 'it rains'). In longer sentences grammatical agreement is regular: the verb normally agrees in number with the subject; the adjective agrees in number,

gender, and case with the noun to which it refers. Attic, however, preserves the inherited rule by which a subject in the neuter plural can agree with a verb in the singular: τὰ ζῶα τρέχει, 'the animals run.' Nominal sentences composed of subject and predicate without any finite verb are frequent: Thuc. 2. 43. 3 ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν παῖσα γῆ πάρος, 'for of famous men the whole earth [is] a memorial.' Attic prose develops complex forms of subordination; dependent clauses with finite verbs are normally introduced by conjunctions or relative pronouns, while verbs of saying and other verbs may be followed by 'accusative with infinitive' constructions: Xen. *Hell.* 2. 2. 10 ἐνόμιζον δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν..., 'they believed that there was no escape.'

Dialects show considerable morphological differences, partly determined by their different phonological development, partly by separate analogical processes (cf. e.g. the Aeol. dat. plur. of the type πόδεσσι 'to the feet', with a new ending -εσσι, vs. Att.-σι in ποσί). They do not, however, differ substantially in their morpho-syntactic categories. Some syntactic differences are well known (e.g. Arcadian and Cyprian construe prepositions like ἐς (Att. ἐκ) and ἀπύ (Att. ἀπό) with the dative instead of the genitive found in Attic; Elean uses the optative in commands, etc.); others may not have been detected. Even so, there is remarkable similarity in the whole of the Greek-speaking area. If contrasted with IE, Greek has lost some case distinctions: the IE ablative and genitive have merged into the Greek genitive, and similarly the instrumental, locative, and dative into the Greek dative. The extensive use of prepositions is new. The complex arrangement of the verbal system is largely inherited and shows remarkable similarities with that of Indo-Iranian (Vedic and Greek are the only languages to preserve the distinction between optative and subjunctive). Greek has introduced new regularities—the creation of a contrast between middle and active perfect and of a resultative perfect; the pluperfect (to match the imperfect), the future, a separate passive, etc. Later developments show a preference for analytic rather than synthetic forms. It is still disputed how far IE allowed subordination, but the complex patterns found in Greek prose are certainly due to innovation. Perhaps the most important development is the creation of the article. In Homer ὁ, ἡ, τό still largely function as demonstrative or relative pronouns but in Classical prose they are used as articles. The article allows the creation of nominal forms which would be impossible otherwise (e.g. τὸ κακόν, τὸ εὖ, τὸ εἶναι, lit. 'the bad', 'the well', 'the be') and also marks the distinction between attributive and predicative function as in ὁ καλὸς παῖς or ὁ παῖς ὁ καλός 'the handsome boy' as contrasted with καλὸς ὁ

παῖς 'the boy (is) handsome.' The development of intellectual language owes more to the article than to any other syntactical feature of Greek.

Lexicon

Though lexical differences between dialects are commonplace, if we allow for phonological differences, most of the basic vocabulary of Greek is shared by all dialects. The bulk of the early Greek lexicon is built on inherited Indo-European roots but numerous words cannot be etymologized and presumably belonged to pre-Greek populations. They include nouns and place names ending in -ινθος and -σσος / -ττος and a number of words for flora, fauna, etc. of Mediterranean origin (σύκον 'fig', μίνθη 'mint', etc.). In addition even by Mycenaean times we find words of Semitic origin like σήσαμον 'sesame', κύμινον 'cummin', χρυσός 'gold', χιτών 'tunic', etc. In the Classical period it is noticeable that the cultural insularity of the Greeks and their reluctance to learn foreign languages led to very few borrowings from the outside; by contrast the later contacts with the Romans produced a large crop of loanwords or calques. New vocabulary is normally built via suffixation and composition; both processes are productive all through the history of the language. Compounds are characteristic of literary language (where they may be new creations or may be taken from the epitheta of the religious language and the formulae of oral poetry), but also occur in everyday language: the flavour of Pindar's μελησίμβροτος 'which is an object of care to men' or of the comic σαρκασμο-πιτυο-κάμπτης 'sneering pine-bender' (Aristophanes) is different from that of the innumerable -πωλης compounds of Attic inscriptions (κριθοπώλης 'barley seller', ἄρτοπώλης 'bread seller', etc.) which have only practical overtones. AMDA

gymnasium In Greek cities, the gymnasium originated as a place of exercise for the citizens specifically to fit the **ephebōi*, 'ephebes', for the rigours of service as hoplites, i.e. heavy-armed infantrymen. (Ephebes were (i) in 4th-cent. Athens, boys aged 18–20 in paramilitary training; (ii) more generally, well-to-do boys passing through a voluntary one-year finishing school.) At first gymnasia were no more than an open space, with a water supply, often sited in conjunction with a sanctuary or shrine; and as late as the 5th cent. BC gymnasia seem not to have needed architectural development, shade and shelter being provided rather by groves of trees. Descriptions of the Athenian gymnasia, the Lyceum, Cynosarges, and above all the Academy conform with this (see ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY)).

Frequented also by older citizens, and particularly from the connection with the 4th-cent. philosophers, they became more intellectual centres. Though the ele-

ment of exercise was never lost, the concept of education became more important. Some—those at Athens in particular—through the interests of the philosophical schools became in effect universities. More usually in the cities of the Hellenistic age they functioned as secondary schools. More specialized architecture was required, and the gymnasia became enclosed areas, their buildings arranged largely on the courtyard principle. The *Academy at Athens acquired such a courtyard, with shrine-building and fountain-house, but is badly preserved and not fully understood. Better-preserved examples are found in the Asia Minor cities. The lower gymnasium at Priene is adjacent to the stadium which provides facilities for *athletics. The gymnasium itself is wholly a school building, comprising a small courtyard with rooms opening off. One, its walls liberally inscribed by the pupils, is the classroom; another provides tubs and running cold water for washing. The gymnasium at *Pergamum is larger and more complex (the details partly obscured by the later intrusion of a Roman bath-building) but included its own running-track. A similar running-track, roofed but with ample ventilation, has been identified next to the so-called forum of Caesar at *Cyrene, indicating that this was originally a colonnaded exercise ground of a Hellenistic gymnasium.

Gymnasia were generally provided by the city. That at *Alexandria was situated at the city centre, close to the agora. As a place of education it became a focus for maintaining Greek identity in the face of non-Greek settlement and Roman political control.

In their function as schools gymnasia continued to flourish in the Greek cities during the Roman period. In the west the exercise facilities were more usually developed in the context of the bath-buildings, especially at Rome in the imperial *thermae* (see BATHS). See EDUCATION, GREEK. RAT

gynaecology existed in the ancient world as a medical specialism, but its separate identity was not always permitted by wider medical theories. The significant question was this: do women have diseases peculiar to their sex, or are they subject to the same conditions as men, only requiring a separate branch of medicine to the extent that they have different organs to be affected? In other words, is gynaecology necessary?

The majority of the surviving gynaecological treatises come from the Hippocratic corpus (see MEDICINE §4) and probably date to the late 5th and early 4th cents. BC. These treatises include three volumes of *Gynaecia* (*Mul.*), usually translated as 'Diseases of Women', but which can also mean women's sexual organs, menstruation, or therapies for women's diseases. In contrast to the rest of the

Hippocratic corpus, these texts include long lists of remedies using plant and animal ingredients. The third volume concerns the treatment of barren women. A separate short treatise discusses the medical problems of unmarried girls at puberty (*Virg.*) while others focus on the process of generation. A large number of the case histories in *Epidemics* trace the progress of disease in women patients.

In keeping with a culture in which women could be seen to constitute a separate 'race', *Mul.* 1. 62 criticizes those doctors who make the mistake of treating the diseases of women as if they were men. For the Hippocratics of the *Gynaecia*, women require a separate branch of medicine because they are seen as fundamentally different from men, not merely in their reproductive organs, but in the texture of their flesh, seen as 'wet' and 'spongy', like wool. Because of this texture, women are thought to absorb more fluid from their diet, menstruation being necessary to remove the surplus. There was, however, no uniformity on female difference, other Hippocratic texts applying identical principles—such as the theory of 'critical days', in which certain numbered days were seen as those on which the crisis in a disease occurred—to diseases of both men and women.

The debate on the status of gynaecology continued. Alexandrian anatomy, associated in particular with Herophilus, moved from fluids to organs, and women came to be seen more as reverse males than as a separate race. Whereas men's reproductive organs are outside, women were seen as having the same organs inside. Papyri show that Hippocratic recipes for women's diseases continued to be transmitted. Soranus summarizes the position before his own time; writers such as the early 4th-cent. BC Diocles of Carystus and the Empiricist sect believed there were conditions specific to women, while the 3rd-cent. Erasistratus and Herophilus, together with writers of the Methodist persuasion (see MEDICINE, § 5. 3), believed there were not. Instead, Methodists thought that the same principles governed all diseases, men and women being made of the same materials behaving according to the same rules. Soranus himself claimed that although some conditions, such as pregnancy and lactation, were specific to women, their diseases were not generically different. Galen (*Parts of Medicine* 1. 2–3 and 5. 8) lists as legitimate medical specialisms pediatrics and geriatrics, but not gynaecology.

Despite these changes from Hippocratic beliefs, some forms of therapy for women's diseases continued to be used more readily than in the treatment of men with analogous conditions. Foremost among these was the fumigation, in which vapours were passed into the womb through its mouth. These were believed to open the

womb, thus permitting retained matter to be expelled and semen to enter. Ancient gynaecological recipes, like purificatory ritual, made use of sulphur, asphalt, squill, and laurel, as well as animal excrement. The large amount of such recipes in the Hippocratic gynaecological texts has been used as an argument in favour of their origins in women's traditional lore, but this is not necessarily conclusive.

Beliefs about the interior of the female body were also remarkably persistent, despite evidence to the contrary. For example, although Herophilus discovered the

ovaries and the uterine ligaments, the function of the former was not understood—women continued to be seen as containers for male seed—and the presence of the latter was not widely seen as contradicting the Hippocratic notion that the womb was capable of some degree of movement within the body. Instead, the 'wandering womb' theory was merely rephrased, for example being seen in terms of 'sympathy' between upper and lower parts of the body permitting the latter to cause symptoms in the former. *See* ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY; BOTANY; CHILDBIRTH. HK

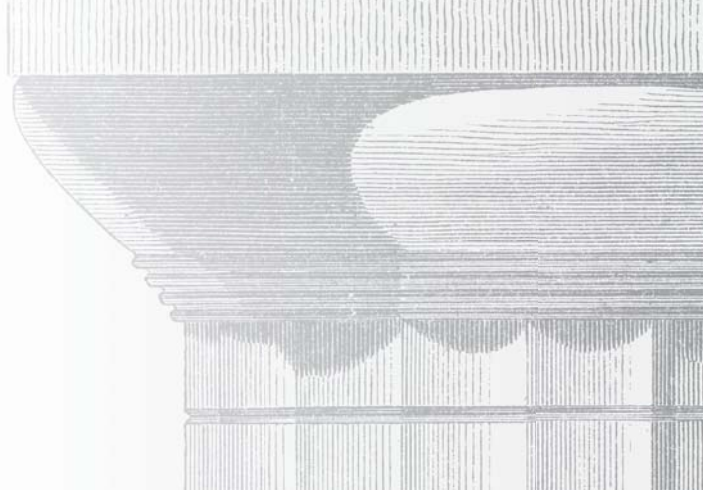
H

Hades, son of Cronus and Rhea (Hes. *Theog.* 453–56) and husband of *Persephone (*Od.* 10.491), is ‘Lord of the dead’ (*Il.* 20.61) and king of the Underworld, the ‘house of Hades’ (Hom., Hes.), where he rules supreme and, exceptionally, administers justice (Aesch. *Suppl.* 228–31, *Eum.* 273–5). After Homer, Hades is not only the god of the dead, but also the god of death, even death personified (Semon. 1.14; Pind. *Pyth.* 5.96, *Nem.* 10.67, *Isthm.* 6.15; Soph. *Ant.* 581; Eur. *Alc.* 262; R. Seaford on Eur. *Cyc.* 397). Hades refers normally to the person; in non-Attic literature, the word can also designate the Underworld (*Il.* 23.244, *Od.* 11.635, Heraclitus fr. 98 DK, Anac. 50.9 f. Page, Luke 16.23). Cold, mouldering, and dingy, Hades is a ‘mirthless place’ (*Od.* 11.94; Hes. *Op.* 152–5). The proverbial ‘road to Hades’ (Lucian *Catapl.* 14) is ‘the same for all’ (*Anth. Pal.* 7.477.3 f., 11.23.3). Aeacus, son of Zeus, ‘keeps the keys to Hades’ (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.6, cf. GVI 1906.4, PGM IV 1464 f.); the same is said of Pluton (Paus. 5.20.3), Anubis (love charms from Roman Egypt: PGM IV 341 f., 1466 f.; *Suppl. Mag.* 2.299 entry under *kleis*), and Christ (Rev. 1.18). The ‘gates of Hades’ (*Il.* 5.646) are guarded by ‘the terrible hound’, Cerberus, who wags his tail at the new arrivals, but devours those attempting to leave (Hes. *Theog.* 311 f., 767–73). Hades, too, was sometimes perceived as an eater of corpses (Soph. *El.* 542 f.). Without burial, the dead cannot pass through Hades’ gates (*Il.* 23.71–4, Eur. *Hec.* 28–54). Once inside, they are shrouded in ‘the darkness of pernicious Hades’ (*SEG* 26.1139.9).

Like the Erinyes/Eumenides (‘Angry/Kindly Ones’) and *Demeter (‘Earth-mother’, cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 275 f., Derveni papyrus col. 22.7–12 (eds. T. Kouremenos, G. M. Parássoglou and K. Tsantsanoglou, 2006, 104 f.), Hades lacked a proper name; as in the case of other nameless chthonians (‘gods of the earth’, as opposed to Olympians, ‘of the heavens’), the reluctance to name him was a precaution (Pl. *Cra.* 403a7). He was referred to by descriptive circumlocutions as ‘chthonian Zeus’ (*Il.* 9.457; M. L. West on Hes. *Op.* 465), ‘the chthonian god’ (Hes. *Theog.*

767), ‘king of those below’ (629), ‘Zeus of the departed’ and ‘the other Zeus’ (Aesch. *Suppl.* 156 f., 231), ‘the god below’ (Soph. *Aj.* 571; Eur. *Alc.* 424), or simply ‘lord’ (Eur. *Alc.* 852). As the Lord of the Dead, he was dark and sinister, a god to be feared and kept at a distance. Paradoxically, he was also believed to ‘send up’ good things for mortals from his wealth below (West on Hes. *Theog.* 969; Ar. fr. 504 K-A; Pl. *Cra.* 403a3–5); he is a ‘good and prudent god’ (Pl. *Phd.* 80d7).

The two opposite but complementary aspects of his divinity are reflected in a host of positive and negative epithets. Of the latter, Hades, ‘the invisible one’ according to ancient etymology (E. R. Dodds on Pl. *Grg.* 493b4, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 607, but modern linguists are divided on this), recalls the darkness of his realm. The ‘wolf’s cap of Hades’, worn by *Athena in the *Iliad* (5.844 f.) and by Aita/Hades in Etruscan art (LIMC ‘Hades/Aita’ nos. 5–6, 10–12, 21), makes its wearers invisible (Ar. *Ach.* 390, Pl. *Resp.* 612b). Other negative epithets are ‘hateful’ (*Il.* 8.368 *stugeros*, like the Styx), ‘implacable and adamant’ (*Il.* 9.158), ‘tearless’ (Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.6) and ‘malignant’ (*baskanos*, cf. M. W. Dickie, *ZPE* 100 (1994), 111–14). Epithets which euphemistically address his benign and hospitable aspects include Clymenus (‘Renowned’), Eubouleus (‘Good Counsellor’, Nic. *Alex.* 14; GVI 2030.9), Euchaites (‘the Beautiful-haired One’: Clarian oracle *ISestos* 11.24, c.AD 166), Eukles (‘Of Good Repute’: Orph. fr. 488–491.2 Bernabé; Hsch. e 6926), Hagesilaos (‘Leader of the People’, Aesch. fr. 406 Radt; A. W. Bull-och on Callim. *Hymn* 5.130; GVI 1370.2), Pasianax (‘Lord over All’: *Def. tab.* Audollent, nos. 43–4), Polydektes or Polydegmon (‘Receiver of Many’: *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 9, 17), Polyxeinos (‘Host to Many’: Aesch. fr. 228 Radt; Callim. fr. 285 Pf.), and Pluton (‘Wealth’, *ploutos*, personified; cf. Soph. fr. 273 Radt). Originally a divinity in his own right, during the 5th cent. BC Pluton became Hades’ most common name in myth as well as in cult (first attested on a phiale by Douris, LIMC ‘Hades’ no. 28, c. 490 BC; Soph. *Ant.* 1200, Pl. *Grg.* 523a4, Isoc. 9.15;



IG 1³.5.5, 386.156, 2².1363.21 'priestess of Pluton,' 1672.169, 1933.2; *Hymn. Orph.* 18).

Hades was not a recipient of cult (Soph. *Ant.* 777–80). Like Thanatos, 'Death,' he was indifferent to prayer or offerings (Aesch. fr. 161 Radt, Eur. *Alc.* 424). The abnormal cult of Hades at Elis, with a temple open once a year, then only to the priest (Paus. 6.25.2 f.), and his *temenos* at Mt. Minthe near Pylos (Strabo 8.344) are the exceptions that prove the rule. But throughout the Greek world—at *Eleusis, *Sparta, *Ephesus, Carian Cnidus, and Mytilene on *Lesbos, among numerous other places—he received cult in his beneficial aspect as Pluton, often alongside his consort *Persephone. The couple were widely worshipped as Pluton and Kore (IG 2². 1672. 182, 4751; CEG 2.571); at Eleusis, they were also known as Theos and Thea. Pluton is related to the Eleusinian cult figures Plutus and Eubouleus as well as to other friendly chthonians such as Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Eubouleus. In various curse tablets, however, he is invoked along with *Demeter and Kore or, more menacingly, with the Erinyes, Hecate, *Hermes, Moirai, and Persephone (J. G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (1992), nos. 53, 84, 89, 110, 134); *curses in the name of Hades and Persephone are less common (*Def. tab. R.* Wünsch, no. 102b13–16; W. Peek, *Kerameikos* 3 (1941), 98 no. 9. 18). So-called Plutonia marked entrances to the Underworld (Strabo 5.244).

Apart from the story of Persephone's abduction by him, few myths attach to Hades. By giving her the forbidden food of the dead to eat—the pomegranate—he bound Demeter's daughter to return periodically to his realm (*Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 370 ff.). Their union was without issue; its infertility mirrors that of the nether world (Apollodorus of Athens, *FGrH* 244 F 102a2). When the sons of Cronus divided the universe amongst themselves, Hades was allotted the world of the dead, Zeus obtained the sky, and Poseidon the sea (R. Janko on *Il.* 15.185–93; Richardson on *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 86). As ruler of the dead, Hades was always more ready to receive than to let go (Aesch. *Pers.* 688–90). Two kindred gods, Demeter and *Dionysus, as well as heroes like *Heracles, *Theseus, and *Orpheus, descended alive to Hades and returned to earth. Ordinary mortals went there to stay; Alcestis, Eurydice, and Protesilaus were among the few allowed to leave (cf. Plat. *Symp.* 179c). Heracles wrestled with Thanatos (Eur. *Alc.* 843–9) and wounded Hades with his arrows (*Il.* 5.395–7; Paus. 6.25.2 f.). Hades' mistress Minthe was changed into the mint plant by Persephone (Strabo 8.344, *Ov. Met.* 10.728–30; cf. Oppian, *Halieutica* 3.486 ff.).

Alcestis' death vision of Hades, who comes to get her, is dim but frightening (Eur. *Alc.* 259–62 Diggle: 'Someone

is leading me, leading me away—don't you see—to the hall of the dead. He stares at me from under his dark-eyed brow. He has wings—it's Hades!'). In Greek art, Hades and Pluton—differentiating between the two is not always possible—are wingless human figures lacking any terrifying aspects. Zeus-like and bearded, Hades-Pluton is a majestic, elderly man holding a sceptre, twig, cornucopia, pomegranate, or cantharus. On some vases, Hades is shown averting his gaze from the other gods (*LIMC* nos. 14, 22, 148). Unlike Hades, Thanatos is represented with wings (Eur. *Alc.* 843; often in vase-painting, e.g. Euphronios, calyx-crater, formerly New York, Met. Mus. 1972.11.10, now in Rome; Thanatos Painter, lecythus, London, BM D 58). Conceptually and iconographically, Dionysus (Heraclitus fr. 15 DK) and Sarapis (H. Heubner on Tac. *Hist.* 4.83 f.) in their chthonian aspects have affinities to Hades-Pluton.

Hades was the universal destination of the dead until the second half of the 5th cent. BC, when we first hear of the souls of some special dead ascending to the upper air (*aithēr*), while their bodies are said to be received by the earth (Athenian epitaph, c. 432 BC, IG 1³.1179.6 f. = CEG 1.10.6 f.; Eur. *Supp.* 533 f.; CEG 2.535, 558). Notably, the souls of the heroized daughters of Erechtheus 'do not go to Hades,' but reside in heaven (Eur. *Erech.* fr. 65.71 f. Austin). The various Underworld topographies found in Homer (*Od.* 11) and Virgil (*Aen.* 6), in the esoteric gold leaves containing descriptions of Hades, and in the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Peter* reflect changing constructs of the afterlife. See DEATH, ATTITUDES TO (GREEK). AH

Hadrian (Publius Aelius Hadrianus), emperor AD 117–38. The Aelii of Italica were among the earliest provincial senators; his mother Domitia Paullina was from Gades (mod. Cádiz). When his father died, Hadrian became the ward of *Trajan, his father's cousin, and of Publius Acilius Attianus (85). Early devotion to Greek studies earned the nickname *Graeculus* ('little Greek'); a passion for hunting was apparent when he visited Italica (90). After the vigintivirate (a minor magistracy), he was tribune in Legio II Adiutrix (95) and V Macedonica (96). Sent to congratulate Trajan on his adoption in 97, he remained in Upper Germany as tribune of XXII Primigenia, under Lucius Iulius Ursus Servianus, husband of his sister Paulina. In 100 he married Trajan's great-niece Sabina Augusta, a match arranged by Pompeia Plotina, a devoted supporter. As Trajan's quaestor (101) he had to polish his Latin (his 'rustic accent' was mocked). He joined Trajan for the First Dacian War (101–2); was *tribune of the *plebs*; then legate of I Minervia in the Second Dacian War (105–6), perhaps being praetor *in absentia*. He governed Lower Pannonia and was suffect



Hadrian View of the Canopus, an ornamental piece of water providing a view for diners, one of the many exotic features of Hadrian's villa at Tibur (Tivoli), the largest ever built. Like all early Roman emperors, Hadrian worked from home, and governance as well as leisure filled his visits to Tibur. DAI Rome, neg. no. D-DAI-ROM-57.1085

consul (108). When Trajan's closest ally Lucius Licinius Sura died, Hadrian took over as imperial speech-writer. In 112 he was archon at Athens, where he was honoured with a statue; its inscription (*ILS* 308 = Smallwood 109) confirms the career in the SHA. When the Parthian expedition began (October 113), he joined Trajan's staff, becoming governor of Syria at latest in 117; and was designated to a second consulship for 118. His position was thus very strong when Trajan died at Selinus in Cilicia on 8 August 117. The next day his adoption by Trajan was announced. A single aureus with the reverse *HADRIANO TRAIANO CAESARI* (*BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 3. lxxxvi, 124) cannot dispel the rumours that Plotina had staged an adoption after Trajan died. Hadrian was disliked by his peers and had rivals, but the army recognized him; the senate had to follow suit. Plotina and the guard prefect Attianus took Trajan's body to Rome, while Hadrian faced the crisis in the east. He abandoned the new provinces (Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria), dismissed Trajan's favourite Lusius Quietus from his command in Judaea, and probably wintered at Nicomedia, leaving Catilius Severus as governor of Syria. A rising in Mauretania, no doubt provoked by the dismissal of Quietus, a Moor, was suppressed by Hadrian's friend Quintus Marcius Turbo. Britain was also disturbed; Quintus Pompeius Falco, gov-

ernor of Lower Moesia, was probably sent to Britain to restore control when Hadrian reached the Danube in spring 118. He negotiated with the Roxolani and evidently evacuated the Transdanubian part of Lower Moesia annexed by Trajan. Gaius Iulius Quadratus Bassus, governor of Dacia, had died campaigning; Hadrian summoned Turbo to govern part of Dacia, with Lower Pannonia. Dacia was divided into three provinces. Turbo, an equestrian, was given the same rank as a prefect of Egypt.

Meanwhile Attianus was active. Four ex-consuls, Gaius Avidius Nigrinus, Cornelius Palma Frontonianus, Publius Celsus, and Lusius Quietus, were killed for plotting treason. When Hadrian reached Rome (9 July 118), the senate was hostile. He claimed not to have ordered the executions but took steps to win popularity. First came a posthumous triumph for Trajan's Parthian 'victory'. Crown-gold (*aurum coronarium*) was remitted for Italy and reduced for the provinces; a new, more generous, largess was disbursed to the *plebs*; overdue tax was cancelled on a vast scale; children supported by the *alimenta* received a bounty, bankrupt senators a subsidy; lavish gladiatorial games were held.

Hadrian, consul for the second time for 118, took as colleague Pedanius Fuscus, husband of his niece Julia: Fuscus was a likely heir. In 119 he was consul for the third and

last time, and changed guard prefects. One new prefect was Septicius Clarus, to whom *Pliny the Younger had dedicated his Letters; *Suetonius, protégé of Pliny and Septicius' friend, became *ab epistulis* (in charge of imperial correspondence). The second prefect was Turbo: he was to take charge during Hadrian's absences, together with Marcus Annii Verus, a senator of Spanish origin, linked by kinship to Hadrian. Verus, consul for the second time in 121 and urban prefect, was rewarded by a third consulship in 126. On 21 April 121, the birthday of the city, Hadrian inaugurated a vast temple of *Venus and Roma in the forum Romanum, designed by himself: one of many fields in which he dabbled and claimed expertise. A poet, he boasted of his cithara-playing and singing, was expert in mathematics—and in military science. A favourite occupation was debating with sophists (*see* SECOND SOPHISTIC). Favorinus yielded: 'who could contradict the Lord of Thirty Legions?' To the legions Hadrian now turned, leaving in 121 for the Rhineland. In Upper Germany and Raetia he erected a continuous palisade, Rome's first artificial **limes*, symbolizing his policy of peace within fixed frontiers. Legions and *auxilia*—with a few exceptions—were to remain in the same bases, local recruiting became prevalent. Hadrian set out to improve discipline and training—*Arrian was to dedicate his *Tactica* to Hadrian, registering the emperor's innovations. In 122 he crossed to Britain, taking his friend Platorius Nepos, promoted from Lower Germany to Britain, and VI Victrix. The empress Sabina, the prefect Septicius, and Suetonius also went. An obscure imbroglio involving these three led to the men's dismissal. The main business was 'the wall to separate Romans and barbarians', as the SHA *vita* tersely puts it. The *wall of Hadrian was far more elaborate than any other *limes*: the bridge at the eastern end of the wall bore his name, Pons Aelius (Newcastle upon Tyne)—perhaps he designed it. From Britain he made for Spain, via southern Gaul, where he commemorated his horse in verse and Plotina with a basilica (she died early in 123). He wintered at Tarragona, calling a meeting of delegates from the peninsula: military service was on the agenda. Italica was not favoured with a visit, although—showing disdain—he granted it the status of *colonia*. Conscious perhaps of the coming 150th anniversary of 27 BC, Hadrian now shortened his names to Hadrianus Augustus: a claim to be a new founder of the empire.

A Moorish uprising was dealt with at this time, perhaps without his personal involvement. News from the east determined his next move. Perhaps visiting Cyrenaica *en route*—he resettled refugees from the Jewish uprising in a new city (Hadrianopolis)—his goal was the Euphrates, to confirm peace with Parthia. After an

extensive tour of Asia Minor, he sailed (autumn 124) to Athens. There he was initiated in the Eleusinian *mysteries, visiting many other cities before his return to Rome, via Sicily, in summer 125. He stayed in Italy for three years, touring the Po valley for six months in 127; during this period he created four 'provinces' in Italy, each with a consular governor. The senate was displeased—Antoninus abolished them (*see* ANTONINUS PIUS). In 128 he accepted the title *pater patriae* ('father of the fatherland'); then began his last tour with a visit to Africa and Mauretania, creating another *limes*; he lectured the troops at Lambaesis, displaying his knowledge of manœuvres (Smallwood 328). Briefly at Rome in late summer, he crossed to Athens, where he wintered again, dedicated the Olympieum and assumed the name Olympius. After participating in the mysteries (spring 129), he went via Ephesus to Syria, wintering at Antioch, visiting Palmyra in spring 130, and going through Arabia and Judaea to Egypt. In Judaea he founded a *colonia* at Jerusalem, Aelia Capitolina; and banned circumcision: measures to Hellenize the Jews—a fatal provocation. Hadrian was accompanied not only by Sabina but by a young Bithynian, Antinous: his passion for the youth, embarrassing to many Romans, was a manifestation of his *Hellenism. After inspections of *Pompey's and *Alexander the Great's tombs, debates in the Museum, and hunting in the desert, a voyage on the Nile ended in tragedy: Antinous was drowned. Hadrian's extreme grief was only assuaged by declaring his beloved a god (duly worshipped all over the empire) and naming a new city on the Nile (perhaps already planned) Antinoöpolis. Hadrian went from Egypt to Lycia; by the winter of 131–2 he was back at Athens, to inaugurate the Olympieum and found the Panhellenion, the culmination of his philhellenism.

In 132 the Jews rebelled under Bar Kokhba, rapidly gaining control of considerable territory. Hadrian was briefly in Judaea, summoning his foremost general, Sextus Iulius Severus, from Britain to crush the revolt. It lasted until 135; by then Hadrian had been back at Rome for a year, worn out and ill, staying mostly at his Tibur (Tivoli) villa. In 136 he turned his mind to the succession. The aged Servianus and his grandson Fuscus had aspirations; but Hadrian hated both and forced them to suicide. To universal surprise, he adopted one of the consuls of 136, as Lucius Aelius Caesar. It may have been remorse for the killing of Nigrinus, Aelius' stepfather, in 118. But Aelius died suddenly on 1 January 138. Hadrian now chose Aelius Antoninus (Pius) and ensured the succession far ahead by causing him to adopt in turn his nephew Marcus (= Marcus *Aurelius) and Aelius' young son Lucius (= Lucius Verus). Marcus, a favourite of Hadrian and

grandson of Annius Verus, had been betrothed to Aelius' daughter. Hadrian died (10 July 138) with a quizzical verse address to his restless soul. He was buried in his new mausoleum (Castel Sant'Angelo) and deified by a reluctant senate. An intellectual and reformer (the Perpetual Edict, codified by Salvius Iulianus, and the extension of Latin rights (*see* CITIZENSHIP, ROMAN) were major measures), by his provincial tours, amply commemorated on the coins, by his frontier policy, and promotion of Hellenism, he made a deep impact on the empire. ARBi

Hadrian's Wall *See* WALL OF HADRIAN.

Hannibal (*see following page*)

Hector, in mythology son of Priam and Hecuba, husband of Andromache and father of Astyanax (*Il.* 6. 394 ff.), and the greatest of the Trojan champions. In *Homer's *Iliad* he first appears leading the Trojans out to battle (2. 807 ff.); he reproaches Paris for avoiding Menelaus (3. 38 ff.), and arranges the truce and the single combat between the two (85 ff.). He takes a prominent part in the fighting of books 5 and 6, but in the latter goes back to the city for a while to arrange for offerings to be made to the gods. He thus meets Andromache and Astyanax on the city walls in one of the best-known scenes of the *Iliad*, then returns with Paris to the battle. In book 7 he challenges any Greek hero to single combat, and is met by the greater *Aias, who has rather the better of the encounter; they part with an exchange of gifts. In book 8 he drives the Greeks back to their camp and bivouacs on the plain. In the long battle of books 11–17 he takes a prominent part, leading the main attack on the fortifications of the Greek camp which nearly succeeds in burning the Greek ships. During the battle he is struck down with a stone thrown by Aias (14. 409 ff.), but restored to strength by *Apollo at the command of Zeus (15. 239 ff.). He kills Patroclus (16. 818 ff.), and strips him of his arms despite the efforts of the Greeks. After the appearance of *Achilles at the trench, full of rage at Patroclus' death, Hector again bivouacs on the plain, against the advice of Polydamas (18. 249 ff.). After the Trojan rout on the following day, he alone refuses to enter Troy, but stands his ground and waits for Achilles despite the entreaties of his parents (22. 35 ff.). At Achilles' approach he flees, but after a long chase halts, deceived by Athena into thinking that Deiphobus has come to his aid. In the subsequent fight he is killed, and with his dying words begs Achilles to return his body to Priam, then predicts Achilles' own death (22. 337 ff.). But Achilles, still overcome with rage and hatred, drags Hector's body behind his chariot, though the gods keep it safe from harm. Finally, when Priam comes by night to the Greek camp to beg for the return of his son

(24. 189 ff.), Achilles' anger is eased and replaced by pity. The body is ransomed, an eleven-day truce is agreed, and the *Iliad* ends with Hector's funeral. Later poets add nothing of importance to Homer's account.

Hector is depicted in art from the 7th cent. BC on, setting out for battle, fighting Aias or some other hero, meeting his death at Achilles' hands, and his body being dragged and ransomed: *see* O. Touchefeu, *LIMC* 4. 1 (1988), 482–98; Gantz, *EGM* 612–21. HJR/JRM

Helena Augusta, mother of *Constantine I. Born of humble origins at Drepanum in Bithynia, she became c.AD 270 the first wife (or perhaps concubine) of the future emperor Constantius I. On Constantius' later dynastic marriage to Theodora, Helena lapsed into obscurity, returning to prominence after her son's elevation as emperor in 306; she followed Constantine in adopting Christianity. In 324 she was given the title *Augusta*, and c.327 made a celebrated imperial progress through the eastern provinces as far as Jerusalem, where she engaged in charitable activities and was associated with the building of Constantine's new churches at the holy places. In Christian tradition her journey became a model of Holy Land pilgrimage, and by the later 4th cent. she was believed to have discovered relics of the True Cross. EDH

Helios, the sun. In early Greece Helios was always treated with reverence but received little actual cult. Anaxagoras' announcement that the 'sun was a red-hot mass' caused outrage (*DL* 2. 12, etc.) and it was not uncommon to salute and even pray to the sun at its rising and setting (*Pl. Symp.* 220d, *Leg.* 887e, cf. *Hes. Op.* 339, and for respect *Pl. Ap.* 26c), but *Aristophanes can treat the practice of sacrificing to sun and moon as one that distinguishes *barbarians from Greeks (*Pax* 406). Hence evidence for actual cults is scarce and usually cannot be shown to be ancient (*Farnell, Cults* 5. 419 f.; but for Athens in the 3rd cent. BC *see* now *SEG* 33. 115. 12). The exception was *Rhodes, where Helios—subject in fact of the original 'colossus of Rhodes'—was the leading god and had an important festival, the Halieia (*Nilsson, Feste*, 427); the myth explaining this prominence is told in *Pindar, Ol.* 7. 54 ff. In Homer he is invoked and receives an offering as witness to an oath (*Il.* 3. 277), and his all-seeing, all-nurturing power is often stressed in poetry (*see* *Aesch. Cho.* 984–6 with A. F. Garvie's note).

His most important myth concerned his son Phaethon (too weak to manage the immortal horses, and likely to ignite the world as a result, Phaethon was struck down by Zeus). He is regularly conceived as a charioteer, who drives daily from east to west across the sky (a conception with both Indo-European and near eastern parallels). His journey back each night in a cup is already attested in

[continued on p. 359]

HANNIBAL

Hannibal, Carthaginian general. He was born in 247 BC, the eldest son of Hamilcar Barca. After making Hannibal swear an oath never to be a friend of Rome, Hamilcar took him to Spain in 237, where he stayed during the commands of both his father and his brother-in-law Hasdrubal, marrying a Spaniard from Castulo. In 221 he assumed the supreme command in Spain on the death of Hasdrubal (confirmed by the popular assembly at Carthage) and reverted to his father's policy by attacking the Olcades, who lived on the upper Anas (Guadiana). In 220 he advanced beyond the Tagus (Tajo) as far as the Durus (Duero), defeating the Vaccaei and the Carpetani. Regarding Rome's alliance with Saguntum (Sagunto) as a threat to Carthage's position in Spain, he decided to defy her, and put pressure on Saguntum. He rejected a Roman protest, and after consulting Carthage began the siege of Saguntum in spring 219, knowing that war with Rome would result, and took the city eight months later.

Hannibal had decided, without waiting for a Roman declaration of war, to take the initiative by invading Italy; probably less with the object of destroying Rome than of detaching her allies (an expectation warranted by Carthage's experience in her wars with the Greeks) and so weakening her that she would give up Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and undertake not to molest Carthage's North African and Spanish empire. He left his capital, Carthago Nova (mod. Cartagena), in May 218, with a professional army of 90,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry (Iberians, Libyans, and Numidians) and elephants, leaving his brother Hasdrubal to hold Spain; and subdued, regardless of cost, the area between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. He remained there until September, presumably in the expectation of meeting and destroying the army of the consul Publius Cornelius Scipio before invading Italy. Then, with 50,000 infantry, 9,000 cavalry, and 37 elephants, he marched to the Rhône, avoided battle with Scipio (belatedly *en route* to Spain), and continued towards the Alps, which he crossed in about fifteen days, with great difficulty and enormous loss of life. The route he took remains a matter for conjecture: he seems to have marched up the valley of the Isère, past Grenoble, and then perhaps took the difficult Col du Clapier pass, having missed the easier Mt. Cenis pass. He arrived in the area of Turin about the end of October, defeated Publius Cornelius Scipio (who had returned to Italy) in a cavalry skirmish at the Ticinus (Ticino) near Pavia, and then, having been joined by many Gauls, won the first major battle of the war at the Treb(b)ia, a little to the west of Placentia (Piacenza), against the combined forces of Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus (end of December). In May 217 Hannibal crossed the Apennines (losing an eye in the passage of the Arno), ravaged Etruria, and with the help of early-morning fog, trapped the consul Gaius Flaminius in an ambush at Lake Trasimene. Flaminius and 15,000 men were killed and 10,000 captured. Hannibal proceeded to Apulia, and thence to Samnium and Campania, while the dictator Quintus *Fabius Maximus Verrucosus embarked on his strategy of following Hannibal but avoiding a pitched battle. Hannibal returned to Apulia (eluding Fabius) for the winter. In 216 he inflicted a devastating defeat on both consuls, who commanded over-strength armies, at Cannae; only 14,500 Romans and allies escaped death or captivity. After each battle he dismissed the Italian prisoners to their homes while holding the Romans (see e.g. Livy 22. 58).

Cannae led to the defection of southern Italy, including Capua (S. Maria Capua Vetere), the second city in Italy, and part of Samnium; but central Italy and all the Latin colonies remained loyal to Rome, and with Roman commanders avoiding another pitched battle, Hannibal achieved little in the following three years (215–213), although he concluded an alliance with Philip V of Macedon (215), and helped to bring about the revolt of *Syracuse (214). He received no assistance from Spain, where Hasdrubal was on the defensive, and little from Carthage. He failed to gain control of a port, despite attacks on Cumae, Neapolis (Naples), Puteoli (Pozzuoli) and Tarentum (Taranto), and his persistent assaults on Nola were repulsed; several towns were recaptured by Rome, notably Casilinum (Capua) and Arpi (near Foggia). In 212, however, he captured Tarentum by stealth, although the citadel remained in Roman control, and this was followed by the defection of three neighbouring Greek cities. In 211, in an attempt to relieve the siege of Capua (begun the previous year), Hannibal marched on Rome itself but failed to force the Romans to withdraw troops from Capua, and returned to the south; soon afterwards Capua fell, its fall being preceded by that of Syracuse. Hannibal was now being pressed ever further south—from 212–11 onwards, with one possible exception, he spent every winter in the extreme south of Italy—and suffered a further blow in 209 when Fabius recaptured Tarentum. In 208, however, he caught both consuls in an ambush in Lucania; one, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, was killed immediately, his colleague fatally wounded. In Spain, *Scipio Africanus had captured Carthago Nova (209) and defeated Hasdrubal at Baecula (Bailen) (208). Hasdrubal slipped out of Spain, but in 207 his defeat and death on the Metaurus (Metauro) dashed

Hannibal's hopes of receiving reinforcements. Hannibal was now confined to Bruttium, where he stayed until 203—in 205 he could not prevent Scipio recapturing Locri Epizephyrri—when he was recalled to Africa to defend Carthage. After abortive peace negotiations with Scipio, he was decisively defeated at Zama (202), and successfully urged his countrymen to make peace on Rome's terms.

Hannibal now involved himself in domestic affairs; as suffete (chief magistrate) in 196 he introduced constitutional reforms to weaken the power of the oligarchs, and reorganized the state's finances so that the war indemnity could be paid to Rome without levying additional taxes. His enemies reacted by alleging to Rome that Hannibal was intriguing with *Antiochus III of Syria. When a Roman commission of inquiry arrived, Hannibal fled, ultimately reaching Antiochus (195). He urged Antiochus to go to war with Rome; he asked for a fleet and an army with which to stir Carthage to revolt, or, failing that, to land in Italy. He accompanied Antiochus to Greece in 192, and advised him to bring Philip V into the war and invade Italy. In 190, bringing a fleet from Syria to the Aegean, he was defeated by the Rhodians off Side. The peace agreed between Rome and Antiochus provided for his surrender; he fled to Crete and then to Prusias I of Bithynia, whom he supported in his war with Eumenes II of Pergamum. In 183 or 182 *Flaminius persuaded Prusias to surrender Hannibal, a fate which he preempted by taking poison.

Hannibal has been widely acknowledged, in both antiquity and modern times, as one of the greatest generals in history. He brought to perfection the art of combining infantry and cavalry, he understood the importance of military intelligence and reconnaissance, and he commanded the unflinching loyalty of his troops. But he failed against Rome because all the assumptions upon which his policy and his strategy were based—that huge numbers of Gauls would follow him to Italy, that Carthage would recover the command of the sea and reinforce him from Africa and that Hasdrubal would bring him reinforcements from Spain, and, above all, that Rome's confederation would break up following Rome's defeat in the field—proved fallacious. Roman propaganda accused Hannibal of perfidy and cruelty; as far as the latter charge is concerned, although he could be chivalrous at times, his attitude to those who resisted him was uncompromising. But the record of Rome's treatment of defectors makes far grimmer reading. BMC

Mimnermus fr. 12 West (for many further early poetic references, see Ath. 469c ff.)

The identification of the Sun with *Apollo was familiar in the 5th cent. BC but did not become canonical until much later (doubts still in Callim. *Hecale* fr. 103 Hollis): *Aeschylus in *Bassarides* probably associated it with *Orpheus, the religious innovator (M. L. West, *Studies in Aeschylus*, (1990), 38–42), and a passage in *Euripides (*Phaethon* 225 Diggle) where it appears unambiguously for the first time also mentions (whether for this reason or another is unclear) 'those who know the secret names of the gods'. (The identification is also attested for the scientists Parmenides and Empedocles: DK 28 A 20, 31 A 23). The 'visible gods' of heaven acquired new prominence in the astral religion of *Plato, and Cleanthes the Stoic named the sun the 'leading principle' (*hēgemonikon*) of the world (*SVF* 1. 499). Through indirect influence from philosophy, worship of Helios probably became more common in the late Hellenistic period and after. But it was not until the later Roman empire that Helios/Sol grew into a figure of central importance in actual cult. RCTP

Hellenism, Hellenization, Greek culture and the diffusion of that culture, a process usually seen as active. The relation between the two modern words is controversial: should the longer word be avoided (see ORIENTALISM)

because of its suggestion of cultural imperialism? (Cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (1990) xi: 'Hellenization is... a modern idea, reflecting modern forms of cultural domination'.)

The ancient terminology is interesting but treacherous. The earliest use of the verb 'Hellenize' (Gk. ἐλληνίζειν) is in a linguistic context: Thucydides 2. 68 says the Amphilochean Argives were 'Hellenized as to their present language' by the Ambraciots. But the extra words 'as to... language' perhaps (though see *CR* 1984, 246) indicate that the word normally had a wider, cultural sense. Nevertheless, 'Hellenism' in the Classical period is not quite on all fours with *Medism*, which has a political tinge. The asymmetry is interesting because it underlines the absence, in the evidence which has come down to us, of a non-Greek point of view from which political sympathy with Greece could be expressed.

But the most famous use of 'Hellenism' is at 2 Maccabees 4: 13, cf. Acts of the Apostles 6: 1; 9: 29 for 'Hellenists'. Here too it seems that more is meant than just speaking Greek. *How* much more, is disputed.

In modern times the 19th-cent. historian J. G. Droysen, taking his cue above all from the Maccabees and Acts passages, gave 'Hellenismus' (the German is best not translated) a powerful and extended sense, not just 'correct Greek' but 'fusion of Greek and non-Greek'. Droysen

associated the word with a particular period, that between *Alexander the Great and the victory of Octavian (later *Augustus) at *Actium. It was in this period, the 'Hellenistic Age', that Greek culture was most intensely diffused; this diffusion was seen as a success story, not least because it made possible the eventual rise and spread of *Christianity.

The post-colonial, late 20th cent. has reacted against such a simple picture. In the Droysenian and post-Droysenian view of the ancient world there was arguably (cf. M. Bernal, *Black Athena* (1987–2006)) some neglect of the non-Greek, especially the Semitic, contribution to Greek achievements. Even in the study of the religion and art of the Archaic period (see GREECE (HISTORY)) the near eastern element has recently (W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (1992)) been stressed.

'Hellenization or Hellenism?' is a question best approached by considering the main alleged agents of the process of Hellenization (alternatively phrased, 'the main vehicles of Hellenism').

Conventionally, Hellenization has in modern times been associated with the post-Alexander period, so that as we have seen the word 'Hellenistic' was (and is) regularly confined to the centuries 323–31 BC. But inscriptional evidence, above all that collected and edited by the great French epigraphist Louis Robert, has shown that in the Persian Empire of the Achaemenids (5th and 4th cents. BC), Greek language and even constitutional forms were adopted by dynasts in Lycia like Pericles of Limyra and by Mausolus and his family. Such adoption was perfectly compatible with anti-Greek political behaviour, as the career of Mausolus himself demonstrates. (There is a parallel here with the ambiguities of *philhellenism in the Roman period.) And rulers like Mausolus did strange things with the Greek governmental apparatus they copied: Greek eyebrows would lift at the sight of a decree like that (RO 55) by which Mausolus and Artemisia conferred block proxeny (essentially an individual honour, see GREECE (HISTORY)) on the citizens of Cnossus, in a decree which opens 'it seemed good to Mausolus and Artemisia', just like a two-person *polis. And Mausolus avoided the great Panhellenic sanctuaries, preferring the local Carian shrines like Sinuri and Labraunda: this is a sort of 'Carianization' alongside the more obvious, and surely real, Hellenization. See ASIA MINOR.

Such patriotic retention or reinvention of local culture goes right through the history of post-Classical Asia Minor. It is true that places like Aspendus or Side 'discovered' their Greek origins in the early Hellenistic period when it was convenient to do so (see e.g. SEG 34. 282, Argos/Aspendus link); Greeks expressed this sort of thing in terms of '*kinship', *syngeneia*; that is, the relation

between mētropolis and daughter-city. (The idea is not just Hellenistic, note already Thuc. 1. 95. 1, the justification for the *Delian League in terms of kinship between Ionians.) Fictitious descents and *genealogies were popular, especially Argive (*Philip II and Alexander the Great themselves claimed Argive descent; cf. Hdt. 5. 22 and Thuc. 5. 80; see KINSHIP). But against such assertions of Greekness, real, exaggerated, or imagined, must be set the survival (or artificial resurrection?) of Iranian and other indigenous proper names into the Roman imperial period, and ambiguous cultural behaviour like that of Mausolus, already considered.

Alexander's own aims in this department have not escaped the re-examination to which the rest of his behaviour and career have been exposed in the years since the Second World War. *Plutarch's enthusiastic view of Alexander the Hellenizer was always suspect, and the opposite, modern, view—Hellenization as an instrument of oppression—was never wholly convincing. P. Briant (see his entry COLONIZATION, HELLENISTIC in this work) now offers a subtler conception: the indigenous populations were neither marginalized on the one hand, nor subjected to enforced Hellenization on the other. Whatever Alexander's intentions, exciting new evidence like that from Kandahar in Afghanistan shows that the Greek culture introduced by him flourished thousands of miles from the old Greek centres (see also AI KHANOUK; and note SEG 20. 326, a bilingual (Greek and Aramaic) Buddhist text from 3rd-cent. BC Kandahar).

Similar, though worse, problems of understanding arise with the *Seleucids. Their foundation of enduring Greek *poleis* (see POLIS) has long been reckoned as an impressive Hellenizing achievement, and here too (see ICAROS, mod. Failaka) epigraphic evidence speaks eloquently about geographical areas on which the literary sources are silent. But recent work (A. Kuhrt and S. M. Sherwin-White, *Hellenism in the East* (1987) and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis* (1993)) has tended to emphasize the continuity between Achaemenid Persian and Babylonian structures (see SELEUCIDS). Traditionalists will however still wish (see esp. F. Walbank, *LCM* 13 (1988), 108 ff.) to protest that the Seleucids never forgot that they were a Graeco-Macedonian dynasty; and it has been convincingly shown (C. Habicht, *The Hellenistic Monarchies* (2006), ch. 3 and p. 290, replying to critics) that the number of indigenous personnel employed by the Seleucids was very small. In one troubled area of policy, Seleucid treatment of the *Jews, the modern debate has been specially lively (M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (1974); Millar, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 1978, 1 ff.). How far are early 2nd-cent. developments (see MACCABEES) to be attributed to a 'Hellenizing



Hellenism, Hellenization This life-size marble statue of a charioteer, carved c.460 BC, was found in 1979 at Motya, one of the great military and commercial strongholds of *Carthage in *Sicily. Undoubtedly carved by a Greek hand, it exemplifies the Hellenic cultural influence to which this Carthaginian enclave was open. Both views Whitaker Museum, Motya. Regione Siciliana Assessorato dei Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana, Soprintendenza Beni Culturali ed Ambientali U.O.VIII per I Beni Archeologici, Trapani

party' in Judaea itself and how much to Seleucid insistence?

At Rome too, the acceptance or rejection of cultural Hellenism remained an issue (see PHILHELLENISM; CATO (THE ELDER)) even after the possibility of Greek or Macedonian military or political victories over Rome had evaporated.

The Greek *polis* and its culture not only survived into the Roman period; the introduction of the *polis* was the normal method by which Romans imposed their own authority in the Greek east (though 'polis' by that time did not quite mean the same as in the days of the Delian League; see further ROMANIZATION (In the east), and F. Millar in M. H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City State* (1993)). There is plenty of evidence, especially epigraphic, for élite acceptance of this long-lasting blend of Greek and Roman values. But inscriptions and literary texts are never the whole story; and in Asia Minor, in particular, the attachment to cultural systems other than those of Hellenism continues to be traceable until very late dates. Large allowance must, then, be made both for the tastes of groups other than the élites whom alone our evidence allows us to see, and for the assertive awareness, by the élites themselves, of the non-Greek dimension to their own past. This is particularly true of Asia Minor. Nevertheless it is remarkable that highly traditional Greek forms of discourse should have been used to negotiate a relationship with non-Greek culture in the Hellenistic period proper (Parsons). It is also remarkable that these same traditional literary forms (including and especially *rhetoric and *epigram), and also that traditional pagan Greek *religion (including and especially *oracles (see R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (1986))), should have propelled Hellenism as far into late antiquity as they did. Even in Byzantine antiquity, Christian epigrammatists catch perfectly the idioms of pagan Hellenism. See also GREEK LANGUAGE; JULIAN. SH

Hellenistic philosophy While the history of Greco-Roman philosophy is essentially continuous, it has long been customary to recognize distinct periods, each with its own characteristics. 'Hellenistic philosophy' is one such period, beginning with the foundation of several new philosophical schools and movements in the late 4th cent. BC, after *Alexander the Great's conquests and the consequent dramatic expansion of the Greek cultural zone. The end of the period is more controversial, with some leading specialists arguing for a date around 100 BC and others preferring the date of the battle of *Actium (31 BC), when Roman political influence in the eastern Mediterranean was consolidated. A case has also been made for 86 BC, the date of the sack of *Athens by the Roman

general *Sulla as result of the Mithradatic wars (see MITHRADATES VI). Regardless of the terminus chosen, the key political and social development relevant to the end of the period is the rise to dominance of Roman power in the area of the Hellenistic kingdoms; philosophically, the most significant markers of the change were the decline or closure of important schools in Athens, the beginnings of commentarial study of the texts of *Plato and *Aristotle, and the abandonment of scepticism within the *Academy. All of these developments unfolded during the 1st cent. BC.

The school whose foundation marks the beginning of the period was *Epicurus' Garden. An Athenian citizen, Epicurus (342/1–271/0) first taught at Mytilene and Lampsacus and founded his own school in Athens in 305/4. He and his early followers (including his successor as head of the school, Hermarchus of Mytilene) established a doctrine based on a version of *atomism, an empiricist theory of knowledge, an ascetic form of hedonism in ethics, and a political theory characterized by a form of contractarianism. The school was known for loyalty to the founder and relatively stable doctrines over time. Epicureanism spread throughout the Mediterranean world, especially Anatolia and central Italy, where it flourished among the Roman élite in the 1st cent. BC; it lasted long after the Hellenistic period ended.

The other major school whose foundation marks the Hellenistic era is *Stoicism. Zeno, from Citium on *Cyprus, was probably born in 334/3 BC and founded his school in Athens c.300. He led the school until his death in 262/1, by which point it had become a dynamic and growing philosophical movement characterized by vigorous internal debate among philosophers such as Cleanthes of Assos (his successor), Ariston of Chios, Herillus of Carthage, and Dionysius of Heraclea Pontica, on the shores of the Black Sea. Unified by a variety of Socratic commitments (see SOCRATES) and influenced by *Cynic philosophers among others, Stoicism reacted against Platonic and Academic philosophy both in metaphysics and in epistemology, but tended to share its commitment to providential teleology in cosmology. The most influential Stoic of the Hellenistic period was the third leader, Chrysippus of Soli, whose career spanned the 3rd cent. BC and whose students dominated the school for the next two generations. Towards the end of the Hellenistic period some Stoics took a renewed interest in Plato and Aristotle, though the school remained distinct and independent in doctrines until well into the Roman imperial period.

The Academy predates the Hellenistic period; its fourth leader, Polemon, was reputed to have taught Zeno of Citium and so influenced early Stoic philosophy. The

characteristically Hellenistic phase of the Academy, though, began with Arcesilaus (who became sixth scholarch in the 260s). His turn to scepticism changed the focus of Plato's school for generations. Arcesilaus and later Carneades in the 2nd cent. BC opposed Stoic dogmatism in many areas and these inter-school debates grew to be characteristic of the Hellenistic era. At the end of the period, the Academy gradually returned to a more dogmatic form of Platonic philosophy; as it did so, scepticism was championed by Aenesidemus, who founded (or revived) Pyrrhonism.

Cynic philosophy continued to flourish throughout the Hellenistic period, as did the Cyrenaic school and several minor movements. The Peripatetic school founded by Aristotle's successor Theophrastus (also known as the Lyceum) continued to be a powerful philosophical force, especially in physics and the sciences; in the conventional historiography of ancient philosophy its importance is often and unjustifiably slighted during the Hellenistic period, but the impact of Peripatetics in the 2nd and 1st cents. BC was considerable, especially in ethics and physics.

BI

Hephaestus Greek god of fire, of blacksmiths, and of artisans (see ARTISANS AND CRAFTSMEN). The name, of uncertain etymology, has no certain attestation in Linear B, though there is the possibility of reading a theophoric name in Minoan Cnossus. See MINOAN CIVILIZATION.

In *Homer, Hephaestus is so closely connected with fire that earlier scholars felt tempted to derive the god from the element: he owns the fire (e.g. *Il.* 9. 468) and helps fight Scamander with it (*Il.* 21. 328–82); in a formula, his name is metonymically used for fire (*Il.* 2. 426 etc.). On the other hand, he is the divine master-artisan who fabricates *Achilles' shield and miraculous automata, self-moving tripods (*Il.* 18. 373–9), golden servant maidens (ibid. 417–21), or watchdogs for king Alcinoos (*Od.* 7. 91–4, after oriental models). In the divine society of Homer, he is an outsider: he works, even sweats (*Il.* 18. 372); he is laughed at when he tries to replace Ganymedes (*Il.* 1. 571–600); he is married to *Aphrodite but cuckolded (*Od.* 8. 267–366); his feet are crippled (in Archaic iconography they are turned backwards): the outsider even lacks divine bodily perfection. His mother *Hera had conceived him without a male partner (Hes. *Theog.* 927; *Zeus as father *Il.* 1. 578, 14. 338; *Od.* 8. 312), as Gaia had done with some monsters; seeing the crippled offspring, she cast him out of Olympus, and he grew up with the sea goddesses Eurynome and Thetis (*Il.* 18. 395–405); or Zeus had thrown him out because he had sided with Hera, and he had landed on Lemnos where the indigenous Sinties tended him (*Il.* 1. 590–4). But he is not to

be underestimated: his works evoke wonder; when serving the gods he intentionally provokes laughter; and he takes his cunning revenge on *Ares and Aphrodite and on Hera, and is brought back into Olympus (Alc. 349 LP). Thus, the Homeric picture preserves among an aristocratic society the physiognomy of a cunning blacksmith whose professional skills are highly admired and secretly feared, and whose social skills should not be underrated. It is very much the position blacksmiths have in Archaic societies. With the exception of Athens (see below), later mythology continues without fundamentally new concepts. His workshop was located beneath active volcanoes, especially Aetna, and the Cyclopes were assigned to him as his workmen; he was also connected with natural fires, like the one on Lycian Olympus (Sen. *Ep.* 79. 3). That he had created mankind (Lucian, *Hermot.* 20) is but a witty extrapolation from his role in the creation of Pandora (Hes. *Op.* 70 f.).

Foremost among his cult places is the island of Lemnos where he landed when thrown out from Olympus. One of its two towns is called Hephaestia, with a sanctuary whose priest was eponymous. He is connected with the mysteries of the Cabiri whose father he was (Hdt. 3. 37; Samothracian mythology according to Strabo 10. 3. 20 f., 472 C) and whose ritual structure may derive from secret societies of blacksmiths. The Homeric Sinties were regarded as pre-Greek Thracians (Stephanus of Byzantium entry under *Lēmnos*) or *Etruscans (*Tyršēnoi*, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 608), and the cult in the Lemnian sanctuary of the Cabiri begins before the Greek settlement; thus, non-Greek elements play a role in this cult, reinforcing the marginality of Hephaestus.

Better known is the Athenian cult where he is connected with Athena, the goddess of cunning intelligence. In his sanctuary above the Agora ('Theseion'), which was built after 450 BC, there stood a group of Hephaestus and Athena Hephaestia, set up in 421/0 by Alcámenes (Cic. *Nat. D.* 1. 83). At the same time, the festival Hephaestia in honour of Hephaestus and Athena was reorganized as a *pentetēris* (festival celebrated every fifth year) with a splendid torch-race and lavish sacrifices (LSCG 13): the splendour of the festival reflects the position of artisans in the Athenian state. The same holds true for the Chalkeia on the last day of Pyanopsion, a festival dedicated to Athena and Hephaestus when the artisans went in procession through the town (Soph. fr. 844 Radt). The god was also important in the Apaturia when the participants in their best robes and with torch in hand offered a hymn and a sacrifice to the god (Harp. entry under *lampas*). Here and in the Hephaestia, the torch alludes to the theme of new fire (which is also present in the Lemnian cult). Athenian mythology tells of Hephaestus'

abortive attempt to rape *Athena; from his spilled semen grew Erichthonius, the ancestor of the autochthonous Athenians—the myth explains Hephaestus' role in the Apaturia and the theme of (new) beginnings.

He was very early identified with Roman *Vulcan (F. Coarelli, *Il foro romano: periodo arcaico* (1983), 177) and with Etruscan Sethlans.

In Archaic iconography, Hephaestus appears especially in the scene of his return to Olympus under the guidance of *Dionysus. He is also shown helping Zeus to give birth to Athena (east pediment of the Parthenon) and in the assembly of the gods. The statue of a standing Hephaestus by Alcamenes with a discreet indication of his limp was famous (Cic. *Nat. D.* 1. 83). FG

Hera This major figure in the pantheon, daughter of Cronus and wife of *Zeus, is already attested by name on two Mycenaean tablets, one from Thebes (TH Of 28), the other from Pylos (PY Tn 316), where she appears together with Zeus. In continental Greece, the *Peloponnese is the region where the cult of Hera is most prevalent. According to Homer (*Il.* 4. 51–2), Hera's favourite cities were Argos, *Sparta, and Mycenae; several cults are actually attested at Sparta, and her most famous sanctuary was on the hill dominating the Argive plain, where there was a temple perhaps from the 8th cent. BC. Sanctuaries with buildings at least as ancient are known at Perachora, Tiryns (on the site of the megaron of the Mycenaean palace), and *Olympia. Of island sites, the best known is the sanctuary on *Samos, where the main building, rebuilt in the 6th cent. BC, was mentioned by Herodotus, who comments on its magnificence (3. 60). Thus, as Burkert observes (*GR* 131), the most ancient and important temples were those of Hera. Her cults also spread at an early date to the colonies of the west, where later she became identified with the Roman *Juno. Her sanctuaries on the Lacinian promontory (near Croton) and at the mouth of the Sele (near Paestum) were much frequented.

In the Classical period, Hera's distinguishing feature compared with other goddesses is her double connection with royalty and marriage. In this way she is closely associated with Zeus, who made her 'last of all, his flourishing wife' (Hes. *Theog.* 921). Her queenliness and noble beauty are abundantly stressed in her epithets and in artistic representations. The ancient formula *potnia Herē* is succeeded by that of *basileia*, 'queen'. She is described as 'golden-throned', and is often thus represented, sometimes seeming to surpass her husband in importance: at Olympia, an Archaic statue showed Zeus standing beside Hera enthroned, while in the Argive Heraion the famous chryselephantine statue by Polyclethus showed

her holding a sceptre with Zeus in the form of a cuckoo perched on it—in her other hand she held a pomegranate; and on her head-dress were figures of the Charites and the Horae (Paus. 2. 17. 3–4). One of Plato's myths (*Phdr.* 253b) clearly underlines her royal qualities: according to this the followers of Hera are those who seek in love a 'kingly nature'.

Marriage is stressed constantly in Hera's myths and cults. It is attested by epithets such as Gamelia, Gamostolos, Syzygia, Zeuxidia, and especially Teleia, sometimes in connection with Zeus Teleios. Rituals in her honour connected with a sacred marriage are recorded in various places, notably in Athens, where this marriage served as a social and institutional paradigm: at the festival of Theogamia, celebrated in Gamelion, the divine couple were given the title of *prytaneis tōn gamōn*, 'magistrates of marriages' (schol. on Ar. *Thesm.* 973–6). In Crete, the marriage was re-enacted annually at the river Theren 'in imitation of weddings' (Diod. Sic. 5. 72. 4). But Hera was not only the patron of marriages; she was often given the title of *Parthenos*, 'girl', and associated with prenuptial rites, including sometimes the lying together of the two sexes (Callim. fr 75 Pf.; cf. Hom., *Il.* 14. 295 with scholia). At Stymphalus, Hera was called simultaneously *Pais* 'child', *Teleia* 'wife', and *Chēra* 'widow' or 'separated', thus covering the whole life of women, with its turning-points. A similar idea was connected to an Argive spring, where every year, Hera was thought to restore her virginity (Paus. 2. 38. 2).

Motherhood, though part of Hera's personality, is little stressed, particularly in cult. Her children are Ares, Hebe, and Eileithyia, goddess of childbirth, whose name she bears at Argos; in her sanctuary at Paestum, she is sometimes shown as a *kourotrophos* ('child-nurturer'). She suckled *Heracles, a scene often shown on Etruscan mirrors, but her relationship with the hero, whose name could be taken to mean 'glory of Hera', is ambivalent. She acted as nurse to monsters born to Earth, the Lernaean Hydra and the Nemean lion; in addition she was the sole parent of the monster Typhon and also, according to Hesiod (*Theog.* 927–8), *Hephaestus, whom she produced in anger, to defy her husband. But these episodes by their exceptional nature in fact illustrate Hera's close links with the marriage bond, which she herself protects and guarantees.

The marriage of Zeus and Hera is part of a complex symbolism including the natural world of plants and animals. This is shown by Hera's oldest sanctuaries, which are often situated in fertile plains away from urban settlements. The statue of Polyclethus mentioned above is relevant here. The divine union described by Homer (*Il.* 14. 346–51), despite the alterations due to epic, still bears

traces of this natural symbolism, and we also find mentioned the flourishing garden at the edge of the Ocean, which served as marriage-bed for the two deities (e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 748–51). We can see a relationship between the goddess called Boöpis (‘ox-eyed’) and herds of cows, and also with horses, especially in connection with a sacred marriage. Io, changed into a heifer by Zeus in bull form, was the priestess of Hera at Argos, where Hera’s rule extended over the animal herds of the plain. At *Olympia, where Hera Hippiā (‘of horses’) was worshipped alongside *Poseidon Hippios, contests among girls had been established in honour of the goddess by Hippodamia in thanks for her marriage to Pelops. These facts may be linked with two other chthonian features, isolated as they are: the oracles of Hera, at Perachora and Cumae, and the funerary cult given to *Medea’s children in one of Hera’s sanctuaries at Corinth.

Hera was also worshipped as protector of cities and other social groups, especially at Argos and on Samos. It is in this context that she is sometimes shown armed. At Argos the prize at the games held during the Heraia festival was a shield. Despite this protecting function, it is noteworthy that literary presentations, from the *Il.* onwards, tend to stress the destructive and capricious side of Hera’s nature.

As with most of the Greek pantheon, Hera’s origins are unclear. There is no certain etymology for her name; if the modern consensus sees Linear B *Era* as the feminine of *hērōs*, this itself has given rise to differing interpretations. The supporters of an Indo-European origin from the root **yer* explain the name variously as meaning ‘heifer’, ‘the goddess of the year’, or ‘a girl of marriageable age’. Others incline towards a pre-Greek origin for both Mycenaean words. But a solution to the problem of the name would not explain the whole issue of Hera’s origin. Associated as she is with Zeus from the Mycenaean period onwards, it is clear that Hera preserves certain characteristics of an Indo-European divine couple; but searching for the origin of Greek gods is not a simple task and, even though this might be possible for Hera, we would not necessarily better understand her functions in the Greek pantheon. AMOT/VP-D

Heracles, the greatest of Greek heroes. His name is that of a mortal (compare Diocles), and has been interpreted as ‘Glorious through *Hera’. In this case, the bearer is taken as being—or so his parents would hope—within the protection of the goddess. This is at odds with the predominant tradition (see below), wherein Heracles was harassed rather than protected by the goddess: perhaps the hostility was against worshippers of Heracles who rejected allegiance to the worshippers of Hera on

whom the hero depended. This could have happened when Argos had established control over the Heraion (a temple to Hera, some distance from Argos itself) and Tiryns (possibly reflected in an apparent falling-off of settlement at Tiryns late in the 9th cent. BC: A. Foley, *The Argolid 800–600 BC* (1988) 40–2). Some of the inhabitants of Tiryns might have emigrated to Thebes, taking their hero with them. Traditionally Heracles’ mother and her husband (Alcmene and Amphitryon) were obliged to move from Tiryns to Thebes, where Heracles was conceived and born (*LIMC* 1/1. 735). However, there is no agreement over the etymology of the name, an alternative version deriving its first element from ‘Hero’.

Heracles shared the characteristics of, on the one hand, a hero (both cultic and epic), on the other, a god. As a hero, he was mortal, and like many other heroes, born to a human mother and a god (Alcmene and *Zeus; Amphitryon was father of Iphicles, Heracles’ twin: the bare bones of the story already in Homer, *Il.* 14. 323–4). Legends arose early of his epic feats, and they were added to constantly throughout antiquity. These stories may have played a part in the transformation of Heracles from hero (i.e. a deity of mortal origin, who, after death, exercised power over a limited geographical area, his influence residing in his mortal remains) to god (a deity, immortal, whose power is not limited geographically).

Outside the cycle of the Labours (see below), the chief events of Heracles’ life were as follows: Hera pursued him with implacable enmity from before his birth, which she managed to delay until after that of Eurystheus. She then sent serpents to Thebes to attack Heracles in his cradle, but the infant strangled them. Later, she drove him mad and caused him to murder his Theban wife, Megara, and their children (there are different versions). In his youth, Heracles led the Thebans in their successful revolt against Minyan Orchomenus. He also took part in an expedition against Troy and sacked Oechalia (*LIMC* 5/1. 111–13), accompanied the Argonauts (113–14), founded the *games at *Olympia, and ultimately died by burning on Mt. Oeta (128–9: death came as a relief from the poison given him inadvertently by his wife Deianira, who had hoped to regain his love thereby: the dying *Centaur Nessus, from whom Heracles rescued his wife, had given her the poison as a love potion. She used it when Heracles took Iole home).

The Labours themselves (twelve is the canonical number, but there is little agreement on the full complement) support, by their geographical distribution, the contention that, however popular Heracles became in other parts of the ancient world, his origins were in the *Peloponnese, and more specifically in the Argolid. He was sent to perform them by Eurystheus of Argos, to



Heracles An Athenian vase (c.490 BC) shows the conventional image of Heracles in Greek art as a bearded, athletic male in his prime, carrying his club and lion-skin cape. Here he defends his seizure of the Delphic tripod. © Martin von Wagner Museum, University of Würzburg. Photo: K. Oehrlein

whom he was bound in vassalage. Six belong to the northern part of the Peloponnese, and might be taken to represent either a gradual spread of Argive ambitions in that region, or, with equal likelihood, the growing popularity of Heracles over a steadily widening area. These tasks were to deal with (1) the Nemean lion (northern border of the Argolid); (2) the Lernaean Hydra (SW Argolid); (3) the Erymanthian boar (NW Arcadia); (4) the hind of Ceryneia (Achaëa); (5) the Stymphalian birds (NE Arcadia); (6) the stables of Augeas (Elis). The other Labours are situated at the ends of the habitable world or beyond: the Cretan bull to the south, the horses of the Thracian Diomedes to the north, the quest for the belt of the *Amazons queen to the east, the search for the cattle of Geryon to the west, the apples of the Hesperides at the edge of the world, and Cerberus in the world of the dead. Many but not all of the Labours are already depicted in Greek art of the geometric and early Archaic periods (*LIMC* 5/1. 5–111 and 187). Also early to appear are two feats outside the canon, a fight against Centaurs (187), and a struggle with *Apollo for the Delphic tripod (133–43 and 187). The encounters with Centaurs take place in Arcadia and Thessaly; the fight with Apollo might reflect a struggle for political control over *Delphi between its inhabitants and those of Malis (Trachis and Mt. Oeta). A good survey of Heracles' Labours (*Praxeis*) and *Parerga* (incidental labours) in art is given by T. H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (1991), 117–34.

The iconography of Heracles was firmly established by the Archaic period, but even before then it is possible to identify him from the subject-matter. The major identifying symbols were the lion-skin cape and hood (flayed from the Nemean lion), his club, and his bow and arrows (*LIMC* 5/1. 183–6).

Throughout his life and many adventures, Heracles was guided closely by *Athena (*LIMC* 5/1. 143–54), by whom he was introduced to Olympus after his death (122–8). The apotheosis of Heracles was represented in literature and art by giving him—after his death—a wife in the person of Hebe, i.e. 'youth', or rather the embodiment of the prime of life, for it is the permanent possession of this boon which most distinguishes gods from men. The story is attested definitely by the 6th cent. BC (121–2 and 160–5). In popular cult, Heracles was recognized and invoked as a god from at least late in the 6th cent. (e.g. the inscription *CEG* 1. 309 = *IG* 1². 825 = *IG* 1³. 1017 from Phaleron). *Herodotus (2. 44. 5) writes approvingly of those Hellenes who worshipped Heracles both as an immortal Olympian and as a hero. The practice must have been common, if not widespread (cf. Pind. *Nem.* 3. 22: Heracles a 'hero god').

As in the case of Apollo, his divine rival for the Delphic tripod, the cult of Heracles spread at least partly through the absorption of local cult figures—in Heracles' case, mostly heroic—of similar nature. Individuals adopted Heracles as a more or less personal patron; at the communal level, he presided over ephebes (young men in military training) as their ideal in warfare and their patron in military training, whence his patronage of the *gymnasium (a role often shared with Hermes), and over the young in general (Kearns 35–6). He was primarily associated with the activities of men rather than women, which may explain the regulations barring women from his rites or even his sanctuaries, e.g. *LSS* 63 (Thasos), *LSAM* 42 (Miletus). Occasionally, however, the character of the local hero whom Heracles had deposited might override the general practice, as in the case of the western Boeotian Charops Heracles, who was served by a priestess.

The geographical distribution of his cults is, as one might expect, as wide as that of his legends. Interestingly, evidence from Tiryns and Argos, although early in the former, is sparse (Tiryns: *SEG* 30. 380. 15a, first half of the 6th cent.; Argos: his name scratched on two fragments of an Attic crater of the fourth quarter of the 5th cent., *SEG* 49.367). That he was established at Thebes by the Homeric period cannot be doubted, although the earliest contemporary evidence for cult occurs at Thebes in the late Archaic period and the 5th cent. (*Arch. Rep. for 2004–2005*, 47–8; for 2005–2006, 55). He was worshipped fairly widely throughout Boeotia, and neighbouring Attica.

One of the earliest places to produce archaeological evidence for a cult of Heracles is the sanctuary on Mt. Oeta, site of his immolation (Béquignon 206–15). Another important early site is at Thasos, where evidence extends from soon after the foundation of the colony. The Thasian cult exemplifies several features of the worship of Heracles: first, his treatment as a god; second, his function as *promachos*, champion or protector, of the community (particularly its urban centre); third, the tendency to syncretize Heracles with other deities, local or otherwise, in the case of Thasos, the other being Melqart of Tyre.

The sanctuary at Thasos, which may be typical, included not only a sacrificial area, but also a temple and extensive dining facilities (the last often illustrated in vase-painting and so probably typical); descriptions of other Herakleia (e.g. at Thebes: Paus. 9. 11. 4–7) would lead us to expect the existence of extensive athletic facilities as part of the complex. All of this public devotion to bodily well-being would have helped to produce the impression of Heracles as a boisterous glutton.

As noted above, Heracles was adopted by individuals or states as a symbol or protecting deity, to which

numerous towns named after him bear eloquent testimony. Boeotian Thebes used Heracles as its symbol from at least the second half of the 5th cent. BC, if not earlier. In the preceding century *Pisistratus of Athens made Heracles his personal divine protector and legitimator of his actions (but see IMAGERY; PROPAGANDA). The Macedonian royal family ('Argeads') claimed lineal descent from Heracles for similar motives (see HELLENISM; KINSHIP). Most notoriously, however, the Dorian rulers of the Peloponnese sought to legitimate their claims to sovereignty by tracing their descent to Heracles through his sons, the Heraclidae, who, as the tale was told, 'returned' to the Peloponnese from the north to claim their inheritance. ASCH

Herculaneum (see ◀Map 3, Bc▶) Roman *municipium* on a spur of Vesuvius commanding the coast-road, 8 km. (5 mi.) south-east of Naples (Strabo 5. 4. 8). An independent member of the Samnite league centred on Nuceria in the 4th cent. BC and subsequently allied to Rome, it joined the allied cause in the Social War of 91–89 (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.5): Oscan civic institutions were replaced by Roman ones in 89 BC. Its origins are still obscure, though the regular street-plan and the name suggest that it may have been a dependency of the Greek *apoikia* (colonial settlement) at Naples (perhaps of the 6th or 5th cent.).

Recent discoveries have made its municipal life seem comparably vigorous with its neighbours', but restricted hinterland, limited communications, and a small harbour denied it much economic opportunity. On present evidence, the streets (whose plan is more regular than that of *Pompeii) show little sign of heavy traffic (nor are there stepping-stones for pedestrians); shops and workshops are unobtrusive. As the centre of a resort-coast, however, renowned for its beauty and salubrious climate, and close enough to Naples to be a kind of luxury suburb, the town benefited from the wealth of local proprietors (including Roman senators). The grandest property (known from its rifling in 1750–61), the Villa of the Papyri, north-west of the town, on terraces overlooking the sea, was embellished with gardens, waterworks, and statues and inspired the mod. Getty Museum, Malibu (USA). The name derives from the 1785 papyrus scrolls found there. Though carbonized, these can be painstakingly unrolled: Epicurean in taste (see EPICURUS), they include many of the works of Philodemus of Gadara. Many of the town houses were also expensively equipped. See HOUSES, ITALIAN.

The town was damaged by the *earthquake of AD 63 and obliterated by the eruption of AD 79. Deeply buried by ash which solidified to form a tufaceous rock, the

remains (especially organic material such as wood or papyrus) are better preserved, but much more difficult to excavate, than those of Pompeii. The first explorations, using tunnels, date from the early 18th cent.; some 5 ha. (12 acres) have since been completely uncovered (representing only about a quarter of the urban core and inner suburbs). The houses appear less atrium-centred and generally more varied in plan than those of Pompeii; they preserve considerable evidence of the upper stories (e.g. the Casa a Graticcio, built of rubble in a timber frame). Public buildings, mostly dating from the Julio-Claudian period, are much less well attested (a theatre and basilica were recorded by the first excavators: a modest forum, essentially the widening of the Decumanus Maximus, and a large palaestra lie on the edge of the existing site). On the ancient coast are important baths (the 'Terme Suburbane'), and recent work has uncovered the skeletal remains of many dozens of the inhabitants killed at the harbour while attempting to escape the eruption. NP

heresy The Greek word *hairesis*, 'choice' or 'option', was used for a school of thought in philosophy or medicine. Followers of one school often disagreed with the beliefs of other schools, but Christian authors are especially fierce in denouncing 'heresy'. For them, *hairesis* is false belief about human beings in relation to God: it endangers the soul by departing from *orthodoxia*, 'right thinking', and it must be inspired by human arrogance or by demonic deception. Most information on heresies comes from opponents who listed and attacked them. *Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*) presented heretics as an internal threat to the church, more dangerous than persecution. This influential model of orthodoxy resisting attack from heresies has been challenged, both by the rival suggestion that orthodoxy developed in response to heresies, and by efforts to reconstruct and reassess the arguments of heretics, helped especially by new discoveries of Gnostic and Manichaean texts.

Bishops could excommunicate heretics (i.e. exclude them from communion). Heresy became political when *Constantine I intervened to prevent disputes among Christians. He set a precedent by exiling, then recalling, the Alexandrian priest Arius; but his son Constantius II favoured Arian theology and its supporters. Laws of the 4th and 5th cents. (collected in *C.Th.* 16.5) imposed fines and loss of privileges on heretics, and banned them from teaching and assembly. These were probably responses to complaints, not a campaign of repression, but pressure on heretics became more intense as divisions persisted and theology became a marker of group identity. EGC

Hermes Already attested among the Mycenaean pantheon (tablets from Cnossus in *Crete, Pylos, and

Thebes), the god has no original connection with the *herma* or cairn of stones, as was once thought. Myths about Hermes are mostly concerned with his childhood, told in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (last third of the 6th cent. BC). He was the son of *Zeus and the nymph Maia, born on Mt. Cyllene in Arcadia. On the day of his birth, he left his cradle, found a tortoise which he made into a lyre, then went to Pieria where he stole 50 cows belonging to *Apollo, which he led backwards to a cave where he sacrificed two and hid the others, before returning to Cyllene; finally he made up the quarrel with Apollo. Later, he invented the syrinx (pipe) and was taught divination by Apollo. Apart from these stories of his childhood, Hermes plays only a secondary part in other myths. He has no recognized wife, but two sons, Eudorus and *Pan, are attributed to him. He is characterized by a great variety of functions. Above all, he is a messenger god, who carries out the orders of Zeus with due respect. In this capacity, he appears as a subordinate deity, giving the ultimatum of Zeus to Prometheus, for instance, or acting as his go-between when he is enamoured of Ganymedes. He is generally well disposed, and negotiates the ransom of *Hector with pleasantness and good humour. His titles stress his speed and beneficence. He is also the god who guides: he shows transhumant shepherds the way and leads teams of animals; he guides people, especially travellers, for whom he marks out the route in the form of a pillar or herm (see below). He takes divine children to safety (thus he gives *Dionysus to the Nymphs of Nysa, as depicted in the famous statue by Praxiteles, and Arcas to Maia, and is generally a patron of children (*Heracles, *Achilles); he also helps heroes such as Perseus, for whom he obtains the bronze sickle used by the hero to decapitate Medusa, and Heracles. He leads *Hera, *Aphrodite, and *Athena to Paris, the judge in their beauty contest. As god of movement, he is leader of the Nymphs and the Charites. Finally as *psychopompos* (one who escorts *souls), he leads the dead to *Hades, summoning them to the journey beyond, taking them by the hand and accompanying them on to Charon's boat.

Another aspect of Hermes is that of a god of abundance, fertility, and prosperity (*Hym. Hom. Merc.* 529). He is the patron of herdsmen and of the fruitfulness of herds and flocks; he is himself a cowherd and shepherd (*ibid.* 491–4). This form of Hermes is called Nomios, 'pastoral' and Epimelios, 'presiding over sheep', and is often shown in art as Hermes *kriophoros* ('ram-bearing'), especially in Arcadia and Boeotia. He is also sometimes a 'lord of animals', of horses in particular. More generally, he is the god of every kind of prosperity. The herm, a quadrangular pillar topped with a head, with tenons on its sides and a phallus on the front, was very popular from the end of the



Hermes: Four-cornered pillars called 'herms', featuring a bust of Hermes and an erect phallus (symbolizing masculine strength), were set up in public and at private doorways as protectors of houses and cities. This 6th-cent. BC example comes from the Aegean island of Siphnos. Photo: Hermann Wagner, DAI Athens, neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-NM 4072. All rights reserved

6th cent. onwards, and not only recalls Hermes' powers of fertility but, as an apotropaic talisman, also guarantees the success of all sorts of undertakings. It is found in towns both at the threshold of houses and inside them, and became a sort of mascot bringing luck both to cities and to individuals (the mutilation of the herms at Athens was perceived as a bad omen on the eve of the Sicilian expedition: Thuc. 6. 27. 3). In the same context, Hermes is also the god of trade (on Delian seals of the Hellenistic age he appears holding a purse).

Hermes is an ingenious god, expert in both technology and magic. From his birth onwards, he was skilled in trickery and deception, and in the *Homeric Hymn* (292) he is 'prince of thieves'. Even in cult, he is attested as tricker and thief (Hermes Dolios at Pellene in Achaëa and Hermes Kleptes in Chios). But most often he uses his power in mischief, illusion, and mystery. He creates a lyre out of the shell of a tortoise, he puts on his feet sandals which erase footprints. He is an expert in knots and chains. Like a magician he knows how to put the enemy camp to sleep (*Il.* 24) and to call up the dead. As a corollary, this god of *mētis* (prudence, cunning) and of meditation (see L. Kahn, *Hermès passe ou les ambiguïtés de la communication* (1978)), has no part in violence. He is the least warlike of the gods; he is dragged into the battle with the *Giants, and linked with murder only in the story of the monster Argus. He prefers persuasion to weapons, and appears frequently as patron of orators. He can also be a musician: he is the inventor of the syrinx, and accompanies the dances of the Nymphs and the Charites. Only in a late period, as Trismegistus ('thrice-greatest'), does he come to preside over mystical revelations, as the successor to the Egyptian god Thoth and god of the 'hermetic'. A final function of Hermes, attested above all from the 4th cent. BC, is that of god of athletes—one linked, no doubt, to the youthful appearance and charm which the god assumed for seduction (*Il.* 24. 376–7, 433). See ATHLETICS. In this role he is frequently associated, particularly in the *gymnasium, with *Heracles. He even became, at a late date, the god of the school and of *education.

Hermes' main aspects are shown in his physical appearance and iconography. His attributes are the caduceus (*kērūkeion*), the herald's sign which he almost always carries, the traveller's hat (*petasos* or *pilos*), with or without wings, and the winged sandals which evoke his quality of speed. He is generally bearded in the earlier period, but an unbearded type develops from the 4th cent. onwards. He is clothed in a *chlamys* or a *chlaina*, with sometimes a furry leopard-skin. Side by side with this very frequent representation of the god of herds and flocks, the god of music, the messenger and guide, or the chthonian god (e.g. as subterranean

guide), we find the herm (see above), whose identity as Hermes is sometimes stressed by a caduceus painted on the shaft. This form, attested in sculpture as well as on vases, was very popular and could symbolize most of the functions of the god. In some cases, especially to indicate Hermes as god of the gymnasium, the pillar wears a cloak.

The cult of Hermes is particularly widely diffused in the Peloponnese, where Pausanias mentions numerous myths, rituals, cults, and herms. Passing over the more ordinary examples (Pellene, Pheneos, and Mt. Cyllene, Megalopolis, Tegea, Corinth, Argos), we may point out the oracular ritual in front of a pillar of Hermes at Pharaë in Achaëa (Paus. 7. 22. 2). In Athens, Hermes had a very ancient cult (cf. the *xoanon* or ancient statue dedicated on the Acropolis by Cecrops), and in the form of the herm he was present everywhere in the city. The Hermaia, a young boys' festival, were celebrated in his honour. His cult is also attested in Boeotia (Tanagra) and in the Cyclades: at *Delos he is the god of the gymnasium. At Cydonia in Crete, the Hermaia were a popular festival where slaves took the part of their masters. Hermes was not a major divinity, but because he was essentially kindly, he was one of the most familiar gods in the daily lives of the Greeks. MJ

Herodotus (*see following page*)

Hesiod, one of the oldest known Greek poets, often coupled or contrasted with *Homer as the other main representative of early epic. Which was the older of the two was much disputed from the 5th cent. BC on (Xenophanes in Gell. *NA* 3. 11. 2; Hdt. 2. 53; *Ephorus, *FGrH* 70 F 101, etc.): Homer's priority was carefully argued by Aristarchus, and generally accepted in later antiquity. Hesiod's absolute date is now agreed to fall not far before or after 700 BC. Of his life he tells us something himself: that his father had given up a life of unprofitable sea-trading and moved from Aeolian Cyme to Ascrea in Boeotia (*Op.* 633–40); that he, as he tended sheep on Mt. Helicon, had heard the *Muses calling him to sing of the gods (*Theog.* 22–35, a celebrated passage); and that he once won a tripod for a song at a funeral contest at Chalcis (*Op.* 650–60). For his dispute with Perses see below (2). He is said to have died in Hesperian (Ozolian) Locris (Thuc. 3. 96, etc.), but his tomb was shown at Orchomenus (Arist. fr. 565 Rose, *Certamen* 14, Paus. 9. 38. 3). For the story of his meeting and contest with Homer see *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* (A. Rzach, Teubner ed. *Hesiod*³ (1913), 237ff.). The poems anciently attributed to him are as follows (only the first three have survived complete, and only the first two have a good claim to be authentic):

[continued on p. 374]

HERODOTUS

Herodotus, of Halicarnassus (now Bodrum on the Aegean coast of Turkey), historian.

1. 'Herodotus' is (in Greek) the first word of a long historical narrative, the earliest we possess. It looks back to the fall of the Lydian kingdom in western Turkey in 545 BC and forwards to events in the early 420s, during the great war between Athens and Sparta, but it has as its principal focus (proem) and *raison d'être* (1.1) the 'war between Greeks and non-Greeks', which we call the Persian Wars. We do not know exactly when it was written but some think that *Aristophanes parodied its opening chapters in one of his plays (*Ach.* 515 ff.): if so, it was known in Athens in 425 BC. We know very little about the life of its author: he nowhere claims to have been an eyewitness or participant in any of the major events or battles that he describes (unlike *Aeschylus), but records conversations with those who were (8. 65, 9. 16) and with the grandsons of those involved in events of the late 6th cent. (3. 54; cf. 3. 160, 4. 43 where Herodotus' informant may well be the exiled grandson of the Persian Zopyrus, referred to in 3. 160). This fits with the dating of his birth traditional in antiquity ('a little before the Persian Wars', Dion. Hal. *Thuc.*, 5; '484 BC', Gell. *NA* 15. 23). But the latter date is suspicious: it is 40 years before the foundation of the Athenian colony at Thurii in southern Italy in which Herodotus is said to have taken part and where he is said to have spent the rest of his life and died (Steph. Byz., entry under *Thourioi*: his grave was shown there; Aristotle, *Rh.* 3. 9, already refers to him as 'Herodotus of Thurii'); 40 years is an ancient biographer's formula for his subject's age at a turning-point in his life and the whole chronology may be imaginary. His birthplace, Halicarnassus in Caria, was a Greek city, founded some 500 years earlier, but by Herodotus' time it was subject to Persian control; it lay on the extreme western edge of the great empire that had its administrative centre three months' journey (5. 50) to the east, in Iran. Inter-marriage with the neighbouring non-Greek population, who were Carians, was widespread (ML 32) and Herodotus was a cousin or nephew of the Halicarnassian epic poet Panyassis, who had a Carian name. He seems to have taken part in political struggles against the Persian-nominated tyrant Lygdamis, grandson of the Artemisia who figures prominently in his narrative (7. 99; 8. 68–9, 87–8, 93, 101–3); these struggles ended in Panyassis' death and Herodotus' exile. Most of what he tells us about himself concerns his travels and inquiries (see (3) below). He is likely to have died where his allusions to later events themselves end, in the 420s; he may well have been less than 60 when he died.

2. Herodotus' narrative is built from smaller narratives and from summaries of events that are peripheral to his main concern. These smaller narratives, often told in rich detail and equipped with verbatim reports of many conversations, are sometimes told in Herodotus' own person; sometimes in the special syntax which ancient Greek reserves for things reported on another's authority. They are generally linked by chronological succession (particularly, at the beginning, the succession of eastern kings), and as cause and effect; but sometimes they go temporarily backwards (effect is followed by its explanatory cause in another story) or move sideways, to take in events elsewhere which throw light on something in the main line of the story. Their starting-point is in answer to the question with which Herodotus ends his first sentence: 'What caused Greeks and non-Greeks to go to war?'. After surveying traditions (Persian and Phoenician, according to Herodotus) which traced the origin of the conflict to the reciprocal abduction of legendary princesses (Io, Europa, *Medea, Helen: 1. 1–5), Herodotus declares his own view that the story cannot reliably be taken back beyond the reign of the Lydian king Croesus (1. 5), who began the process of absorbing the Greek communities of the Aegean coast into his kingdom and whose fall brought the power of Persia into contact with these communities, which were promptly forced into submission. The first book explains how these events occurred, deals with the Persian conquest of the Median kingdom which embroiled Lydia and led to its annexation by Persia, and continues the expansionist reign of the Persian king *Cyrus the Great to his death in battle in 530 BC. Book 2 takes the form of a massive excursus on the geography, customs, and history of *Egypt, which was the next target of Persian expansionism, under Cyrus' son and successor, Cambyses. Book 3 continues the reign of Cambyses down to his death in 522 BC, after a failed attempt to invade Ethiopia; it goes on to describe the turmoil that followed and the eventual emergence of *Darius I as the new king of Persia, and deals with his administrative settlement of the empire (3. 88–97). Book 4 covers Darius' abortive attempt to subdue the nomadic Scythian tribes who lived to the north and east of the Danube and across southern Russia, and deals also with Persian expansion along the North African coast. Book 5 traces further Persian expansion, into northern Greece and the southern Balkans, and narrates the unsuccessful attempt of the Aegean Greek communities to free themselves from Persian control (the so-called *Ionian Revolt: 5. 28–38, 98–6. 42): Herodotus signals, ominously, the fatal support that Athens gave to that revolt (5. 97). Book 6 begins the story that runs continuously to the end of Herodotus' narrative in book 9: the Persian determination to have

revenge for Athenian interference in the affairs of its empire and the first seaborne attack on mainland Greece, which was defeated at Marathon in 490 BC. Books 7–9 embrace the huge expedition mounted in 480–479 by Darius' son and successor, *Xerxes, and the Greek response to that threat; the opening engagements, at sea off Artemisium and on land at Thermopylae; the climactic battles of Salamis and Plataea, which forced the Persian army and navy to withdraw to the north; and the carrying of the war back across the Aegean, ending in the battle of Mycale, on the Turkish coast opposite *Samos. At various points, episodes in the history of Greek communities not at first directly in contact with Persian power, such as *Sparta, *Athens, Corinth, and Samos, are interleaved, often at length, with the main narrative of Persian expansion as they explain how these communities became involved or failed for a time to be involved, until all are seamlessly joined together in books 7–9.

3. The stories from which Herodotus' narrative is built derive sometimes (as we have seen) from distinguished individuals, sometimes from 'collective' informants ('the Corinthians say...'; 'we Spartans have a story...'; 'I heard the story in Proconessus and Cyzicus...'). Occasionally his source may have been a document (for example, his description of the satrapy system set up by Darius to administer the Persian empire). But the overwhelming mass of his material must derive from oral tradition and that tradition will always have been local, even familial. Thus the overall conception of a narrative that would draw on these local traditions but would connect them so as to span more than 70 years and take in much of the known world was Herodotus' own, and it is his most brilliant and original achievement. Herodotus did not speak any language other than Greek but he writes of interpreters in Egypt (2. 154) and at the Persian court (3. 38, 140), where also there were Greek officials in high places. He writes repeatedly of what was told to him in an astonishing range of places: where he could, he preferred to trust what he could see for himself (2. 99; cf. 2. 147, 4. 81, 5. 59) and could inquire into (Herodotus' word for 'inquiry' is *historiē*, which brought the word 'history' into the languages of Europe). Where he could not, he listened (*see* ORALITY). He writes of inquiries made in the northern Aegean, in southern Italy, round the shores of the Black (Euxine) Sea, in Egypt (where he travelled as far up the Nile as Elephantine: 2. 29), at Dodona in NW Greece, and at *Cyrene in Libya; of things seen on the Dnieper in southern Russia; in Babylon on the Euphrates; at Tyre in Lebanon; of talking to Carthaginians (*see* CARTHAGE) and to the inhabitants of *Delphi. He is familiar with the geography of Samos, of Attica, and of the Nile delta, which he compares to the mouth of the Achelous river in NW Greece, as well as to the coast of Turkey from Troy south to the Maeander. He takes for granted a detailed knowledge of the topography of *Delos, of the Athenian Acropolis, and of Delphi. Everywhere he writes of what was said to him by 'the locals'. It is of the essence of Herodotus' method of *historiē* that he builds the process of inquiry into his narrative: he writes not only of his sources, their agreements and disagreements, but also of his own belief and disbelief at what he is told (he is, he writes, under an obligation to report what was said to him, but under no obligation to believe it: 7. 152. 3); sometimes too he records his inability to decide, or the impossibility of arriving at an answer to some question he is inquiring into (sometimes because it is beyond the reach of human memory; sometimes because it lies too far away, too far beyond the limits of his travels). Unlike *Thucydides, he does not present his account of the past as smoothly authoritative, the result of work not to be done again (Thuc. 1. 23) but as one man's struggle, not always successful, to discover and record what heroic men, non-Greek as well as Greek, have achieved, before those achievements are obliterated by time (1. 1).

4. It is not merely Herodotus' travels that cover an astonishing range but also his understanding of the variety of human experience. He does not disguise the fact that the Greek-speaking world was the cultural as well as the geographical centre of his perceptions. But he writes, almost always open-mindedly, of the differences that distinguish Persians from Scythians, Babylonians, Indians, and Egyptians, as well as from Greeks. For Egypt, he has a model to help him understand the way their world works: it is simply the world of other men upside down; the Egyptians do the opposite of what is universal elsewhere, just as the Nile behaves in a way that inverts the behaviour of all other rivers by flooding in high summer (2. 35). He is less sure of what makes Persian culture cohere but describes what seem to him its distinctive features (the features, that is, that make the Persians un-Greek: 1. 131–40). He is relatively unsuccessful too in grasping the 'ideologies' that made one religion different from another. That is hardly surprising: he records religious practice everywhere with precision, but he has nothing to teach him the 'meaning' of *ritual, as he has for Greek religion in the epic poems of *Homer and *Hesiod (2. 53). He is sure that for all men, however much they know of other cultures, their own culture is superior (3. 38). But when he is faced with something totally alien to his experience and to Greek experience generally, such as the culture of the Scythian nomads, who have no aspect of permanence to their lives (no statues, altars, or temples, except to *Ares, the god of war; no agriculture, no buildings, no walls or settlements even), though he can admire their ability to escape Persian domination by never staying to confront the enemy, 'for the rest', he writes, 'I do not like them' (4. 46). They offer him no point of resemblance and they do not fit. None the less, he describes their culture also dispassionately. For Herodotus it is important that things

should fit: he is at home with symmetries. He is persuaded of the truth of a story of young Nasamonian tribesmen wandering across the Sahara and finding a great river flowing west–east, because the river they found must have been the Nile. Its identity is guaranteed by the symmetry of its course with that of the Danube, which flows west–east from the Pyrenees and then turns south, as the Nile turns north, to flow out ‘opposite the Nile’ (2. 32–3)! But such a priori geography exists alongside acute empirical observation of the world around him, as in his defence of the proposition that the land of Lower Egypt is the product of the Nile’s silting over ten or twenty thousand years (2. 11–12).

5. Herodotus’ vast narrative coheres because it is strung on two lines of connection which pass through time. The first is kinship; the second *reciprocity. Reciprocity is the demand that all men respond to what is done to them with like for like (‘equals for equals’, in Herodotus’ own phrase: 1. 2): with good for good and with hurt for hurt. The demands of reciprocity are absolute, admit of no exceptions and, Herodotus believes, are common to all men. They also outlive time, since they are inherited. The principle of reciprocity is essential to Herodotus’ writing: to answer the question ‘why did this happen?’ it is necessary to ask the further question: ‘to what previous act was this act a response?’. The chain of reciprocity may reach far back and encompass many people. Thus the search for a ‘beginning’ is common to all narrative and it is no surprise that, faced with the question ‘why did non-Greeks and Greeks go to war [in the 5th cent. BC]’, Herodotus finds an answer in events far distant in space and more than three generations in the past, with Croesus of Lydia and his ‘beginning of wrongful acts against Greeks’ (1. 5). It is the logic of reciprocity that explains not only the two Persian invasions of Greece but also, for example, the bitter hostility between Athens and Aegina, which lasted from the mid-6th cent. until the Athenians expelled the Aeginetans from their island in 431 BC (5. 82–7: Herodotus describes it as ‘owed from before’) and the complex of obligations which tied Persia, Sparta, Corinth, and Corcyra together in their several relationships with Samos over more than a generation (3. 44–53, 139–40). For the most part, the question ‘why?’ is not a problem for Herodotus. Events that are too uncanny, shocking, or momentous for merely human explanation call into play the actions of divinity which are assumed also to be determined by the logic of reciprocity (1. 90–1, 6. 75, 82, 7. 133–7). He seems too to be at ease with the question of the ‘meaning’ of events. Both in his own person and also in the person of various ‘warners’ who appear in his narrative (men such as *Solon; the Egyptian pharaoh Amasis; Xerxes’ uncle, the Persian Artabanus, and Croesus, after his downfall), the thread of events seems to be illuminated by general statements: ‘human success stays nowhere in the same place’, Herodotus (1. 5); ‘divinity is jealous and disruptive’, ‘man is the creature of chance’, and ‘in everything one must look to the end’, ‘Solon’ (1. 32); ‘there is a cycle of human experience: as it revolves, it does not allow the same men always to succeed’, ‘Croesus’ (1. 207). These look to add up to what D. Lateiner (*The Historical Method of Herodotus* (1989)) has called Herodotus’ ‘historical philosophy’. But they do not in reality fit together; rather they are what ancient Greeks called *gnōmai* (maxims or aphorisms) and their function is closer to that of the proverb than to any ‘law’ of historical process: they are not discountenanced by contradiction. Nor do references to ‘what was going to be’, to notions of a man’s ‘portion’, or ‘what is assigned’ make Herodotus a historical determinist. Rather they represent the storyteller’s sense of the shape of his story. Closer perhaps to the heart of Herodotus’ sense of things are ‘wonder’ (a very Herodotean word) at human achievement, the ‘great and wonderful deeds of men’ (1. 1) and the emotional undercurrent to events that so often gives his narrative a tragic colour: two compelling and haunting examples are the story of the deadly quarrel between Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, and his own son (3. 49–53: characteristically, the story is introduced to explain another event, Corinthian and Corcyrean involvement in the affairs of Samos), and the astonishing moment at Abydos when Xerxes, in the act of mounting his great invasion of Greece and engaged in reviewing his vast invasion force, bursts into tears on reflecting that in a hundred years not one of these splendid warriors would be living (7. 45–7: his uncle, Darius’ brother Artabanus, replies that more painful still is the fact that in so short a life there was not one who would not, again and again, wish himself dead to escape the distress of living).

6. The singularity of Herodotus’ methods and achievement has always meant that he was problematic to his readers. He has been read with most enthusiasm and greatest understanding in periods of the rapid expansion of men’s horizons, such as the Hellenistic period of *Alexander the Great’s eastern conquests and in the Age of Discovery. But two adverse responses constantly recur: the first that he is a mere storyteller, charming perhaps but not a serious historian (that view, without the acknowledgement of charm, goes back to Thucydides (1. 21–2; cf. Aristotle, *Gen. an.* 3. 5)); the other view is that he is a liar. This view also has ancient supporters (especially *Plutarch in his bizarre essay *On the Malice of Herodotus*: Plutarch’s beloved Thebes does not emerge very well from Herodotus’ account of events). But it was revived at the end of the last century by Sayce and is currently championed by Fehling and Armayor: D. Fehling’s view (*Herodotus and his ‘Sources’* (Eng. trans. 1989)) would make the untravelled Herodotus the inventor of plausible-sounding encounters with ‘those who should know’ about the fantastic events he wishes to pass off as veracious. There are problems, certainly, about believing everything that Herodotus says he saw or was told but they are not so great as the problem of recognizing Fehling’s Herodotus in the text that we have.

1. The *Theogony* (*Theogonia*). The main part of the poem, which is prefaced by a hymn to the Muses (1–104; cf. the *Homeric Hymns*), deals with the origin and genealogies of the gods (including the divine world-masses Earth, Sea, Sky, etc.), and the events that led to the kingship of *Zeus: the castration of Uranus by Cronus, and the overthrow of Cronus and the Titans, the ‘former gods’ (424), by the Olympians. This ‘Succession Myth’ has striking parallels in Akkadian and Hittite texts, and seems originally to have come from the near east. Hesiod’s version shows some stylistic awkwardness and inconcinnity, but is not without power. Interlaced with it are the genealogies, which run smoother. The first powers born are Chaos, Earth, and (significantly) *Eros (116–22). From Chaos and Earth, in two separate lines, some 300 gods descend; they include personified abstracts, whose family relationships are clearly meaningful. There is an interesting passage in praise of the un-Homeric goddess Hecate (411–52), further myths, notably the aetiological tale of Prometheus (521–616), and a detailed description of Tartarus (720–819). The poem ends with the marriages of Zeus and the other Olympians, and a list of goddesses who lay with mortal men. This last section, which refers to Latinus (1013) and led on to the *Catalogue* (below, 4), is agreed to be post-Hesiodic, though opinions vary as to where the authentic part ends.

2. The *Works and Days* (*Erga kai Hēmerai*), abbr. ‘Op.’ This poem, apparently composed after the *Theogony* (cf. 11–24 with *Theogonia* 225), would be more aptly entitled ‘the Wisdom of Hesiod’. It gives advice for living a life of honest work. Hesiod inveighs against dishonesty and idleness by turns, using myths (Prometheus again, with the famous story of Pandora, 42–105; the five World Ages, 106–201), parable (202–12), allegory (286–92), proverbial maxims, direct exhortation, and threats of divine anger. The sermon is ostensibly directed at a brother Perses, who has bribed the ‘kings’ and taken more than his share of his inheritance (37–9); but Perses’ failings seem to change with the context (cf. 28 ff., 275, 396), and it is impossible to reconstruct a single basic situation. Besides moral advice, Hesiod gives much practical instruction, especially on agriculture (381–617, the year’s ‘Works’), seafaring (618–94), and social and religious conduct (336–80, 695–764). There is a fine descriptive passage on the rigours of winter (504–35). The final section, sometimes regarded as a later addition, is the ‘Days’ (765–828), an almanac of days in the month that are favourable or unfavourable for different operations. Some ancient copies continued with an *Ornithomanteia*, a section on bird omens. The poem as a whole is a unique source for social conditions in early Archaic Greece. It has closer parallels in near eastern literatures than in

Greek, and seems to represent an old traditional type. (*Virgil’s *Georgics*, though much influenced by Hesiod, are shaped by the Hellenistic tradition of systematic treatment of a single theme.)

It has always been the most read of Hesiodic poems. There was even a ‘tradition’ that it was Hesiod’s only genuine work (Paus. 9. 31. 4); but he names himself in *Theog.* 22, and links of style and thought between the two poems confirm identity of authorship. Both bear the marks of a distinct personality: a surly, conservative countryman, given to reflection, no lover of women or of life, who felt the gods’ presence heavy about him.

3. The *Shield* (*Aspis*), abbr. ‘Sc’, is a short narrative poem on Heracles’ fight with Cycnus, prefaced by an excerpt from the fourth book of the *Catalogue* giving the story of Heracles’ birth (1–56). It takes its title from the disproportionately long description of Heracles’ shield (139–320), which is based partly on the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18. 478–609), partly on the art of the period c.580–570 (R. M. Cook, *CQ* 1937, 204 ff.; this proves that Aristophanes of Byzantium was right in denying the poem to Hesiod). Disproportion is characteristic of the work; the Homeric apparatus of arming, divine machination, brave speeches, and long similes is lavished on an encounter in which two blows are struck in all. Parts of the description of the shield betray a taste for the macabre.

4. The *Catalogue of Women* (*Gunaikōn Katalogos*) or *Ehoiai* (*Ēhoiai*) was a continuation of the *Theogony* in five books, containing comprehensive heroic *genealogies with many narrative annotations. Numerous citations and extensive papyrus fragments survive. The poem was accepted as Hesiod’s in antiquity, but various indications point to the period 580–520 BC.

5. Other lost poems. (a) Narrative: *Greater Ehoiai* (genealogical); *Melampodia* (at least three books; stories of famous seers); *Wedding of Ceyx*; *Idaeon Dactyls*; *Aegimius* (at least two books; alternatively ascribed to Cercops of Miletus or Clinias of Carystus). (b) Didactic: *Precepts of Chiron* (addressed to *Achilles; see CENTAURS); *Astronomy* (risings and settings—and myths?—of principal stars); *Greater Works*. A few fragments of most of these poems survive. MLW

heterosexuality and *homosexuality are not strictly applicable to the Graeco-Roman world (this remains controversial). Discussions of sex could focus on either pleasure or procreation. Pleasures were categorized and valued on the distinction between active (penetrating an orifice with a penis) and passive. Heterosexual acts (not people) were distinguished from homosexual not as radically differing pleasures but primarily on the basis of social consequence: only the former produce children.

What was most important in heterosexual acts was the status of the woman and the man's degree of responsibility towards her and her offspring: wife, concubine, hetaira (courtesan), prostitute, slave ([Dem.] 59. 112, 122). The purpose of wives was to produce legitimate children (Xen. *Mem.* 2. 2. 4; Men. *Dys.* 842; *FIRA* 3. 17). Marriage was primarily a nexus of social and economic exchange (see MARRIAGE LAW). Love between husband and wife was neither necessary nor expected (Lucr. 4. 1278–87; but contrast Cimon and Isodice, Sulla and Valeria). However, mutual respect, affection, passion, and love could and did arise (*IG* 2². 12067, Dem. 40. 27, Plin. *Ep.* 7. 5, Mart. 10. 38). Expressions of wives' love for husbands are common, seldom the reverse (*IG* 22 6288; *ILS* 7472). Wives were expected to be modest even during sex (Plaut. *Amph.* 839–42; Lucr. 4. 1268–77; Plut. *Praec. coniug.* 16–18). Later marriage contracts specify sexual responsibilities for both partners (*PEleph.* 1; cf. Plut. *Sol.* 20). A strict double standard was enforced. Men had recourse to hetairai for love affairs and sophisticated entertainment, or to prostitutes for quick relief (see PROSTITUTION, SECULAR). Slaves, male or female, could be routinely used for sex (Muson. 12). Concubinage offered a stable, legal (sometimes contractual) status to those for whom marriage was impossible or undesirable.

Control of wives' sexuality (virginity, *adultery) was important to assure the legitimacy of the children (Lys. 1. 33–5; [Dem.] 59. 112–13) and so social stability. Athenian fathers could sell their corrupted unmarried daughters into slavery (Hyp. *Lyc.* 1. 12–13; Plut. *Sol.* 23; no known cases). Tests (if ever applied) for virginity were mostly magical: the hymen was not fully recognized even by anatomists.

Adultery meant intercourse with a married woman; she was the object of adulteration. The offence was against her husband and a matter of 'self-help' justice until the *lex Iulia*. A man caught in the act (seduction or rape) with another's wife, mother, sister, daughter, or concubine, could be killed, sexually abused, or fined. Cuckoldry, however, was less of an obsession than in later 'Mediterranean' societies. Adulterous wives must be divorced ([Dem.] 59. 85–8; *Dig.* 48. 5. 2. 2) and were barred from public ceremonies. Roman law permitted fathers to kill adulterous daughters (*Dig.* 48. 5. 23–4). Rape of a free male or female was subject to monetary fine; half for a slave (Lys. 1. 32; Plut. *Sol.* 23).

Female orgasm is acknowledged (Hippoc. *De genitura* 4; Ar. *Lys.* 163–6; Lucr. 4. 1192–1207; Ov. *Ars am.* 2. 682–4) but largely ignored by the (male) sources. At the same time women were thought to be sexually voracious ([Hes.] fr. 275M–W). Roman (and to a lesser extent Greek) sources illustrate a marked scale of pleasure for

the actor and humiliation for the object: vagina, anus, mouth. Anal intercourse, considered a Spartan proclivity (Ath. 13. 602a; Ar. *Lys.* 1148–74), was also practised as a form of birth control (Hdt. 1. 61) and perhaps as a substitute for defloration early in marriage (for Rome, *Priapea* ed. A. Baehrens, *PLM* 3. 7–8; Sen. *Controv.* 1. 2. 22; Mart. 11. 78). Receiving fellatio was especially prized (Mart. 9. 67) but also presented as more necessary to older men (Suet. *Tib.* 44–45; Mart. 3. 75, 4. 50) and a speciality of older women (Hor. *Epod.* 8.19–20; *Anth. Pal.* 5.38). Cunnilingus was most vile and degrading to the giver (Ar. *Eq.* 1280–9, *Vesp.* 1280–3; Gal. 12. 249 Kühn; Mart. 11. 61).

Reproduction was controlled through infant exposure, contraception, and *abortion. Most forms of *contraception were useless but some barriers (wool and wax pessaries) or mild spermicides (e.g. cedar oil) may have been intermittently successful. Coitus interruptus is almost never attested (Archil. 196a West ?). Surgical abortion was dangerous and avoided by the doctors (Sor. *Gyn.* 1. 65; Ov. *Am.* 2. 13–14); oral or vaginal drugs were largely ineffective.

Vase-painting (c.575–450 BC) and other artistic (e.g. mirrors) and literary sources illustrate a wide variety of postures for intercourse. Black-figure favours standing rear-entry; red-figure shows greater use of couches. Intercrural sex with women seems unknown. Though the man is always the dominant partner, the positions seem to have few symbolic overtones. Sexual violence, group sex, as well as occasional scenes of tenderness (kisses, caresses, eye-contact) are shown. Sex reappears in Hellenistic and Roman decorative arts, depicting primarily heterosexual intercourse of individual couples in domestic rather than symposiastic settings (see SYMPOSIUM).

Love as a theme in literature shows a marked periodicity. The personal celebrations of the lyric poets largely disappeared in the Classical age. Love re-emerged in New Comedy (see COMEDY (GREEK), NEW) and the *novel (adumbrated in *Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*) in a predominantly social, domestic, and hence heterosexual form. Hellenistic poetry focused on forbidden and pathological love (Ap. *Rhod.* 3; Theoc. 2). *Epigram worked conceits on pleasure and pain with both women and boys. Roman comedy transmitted some of this to Latin poetry. *Catullus made romantic love in our sense central to his life and poetry. The theme of erotic passion was continued by the elegists, parodied by *Ovid, and largely disappeared from the western tradition until its rediscovery in Courtly Love. See EROS; PORNOGRAPHY. HNP

Hieronymus of Cardia historian and statesman, was in the entourage of his fellow Cardian (and relative?) Eumenes, acting as his emissary at the siege of Nora

(319/8 BC) and passing to the court of Antigonos the One-eyed (Monophthalmus) after Eumenes' death at Gabiene (316). He served with Antigonos in Syria (312/1) and at Ipsus (301), and under Demetrius Poliorcetes ('the Besieger') governed Thebes after its revolt in 293. He ended his days with *Antigonos Gonatas. His great history spanned the period from *Alexander the Great's death (323) to at least the death of *Pyrrhus (272). It was *Diodorus Siculus' authority for Greek affairs in bks. 18–20, and was used extensively by *Plutarch, *Arrian, and Justin. The extant fragments only hint at its dimensions and content. The main evidence is Diodorus' digest of his work, which in bks. 18–20 abruptly rises to a quality not found elsewhere in the *Bibliothēkē*. Excellently informed (see, for instance, the description of the battle lines at Paraetacene and Gabiene, which Hieronymus witnessed), he supplied documentation such as the texts of Alexander's Exiles' Decree and Polyperchon's *diagramma* (edict) of 319/18, and carefully explained the motives of the various protagonists (particularly Eumenes and Antigonos the One-eyed). The lively and lucid narrative was varied by pertinent digressions like the descriptions of Alexander's funeral car and the Indian practice of suttee. He was not without bias, understandably favourable to Eumenes and Antigonos Gonatas, and markedly unsympathetic to Athenian democracy, but there is nothing to equal the sustained prejudice of *Polybius, his only Hellenistic rival in 'pragmatic history'. (For this term see POLYBIUS.)

ABB

Hippocrates, Hippocratic corpus See MEDICINE §4.

historiography, Greek That Greeks invented history-writing is not certain: the Jewish 'Succession Narrative' in the books of Samuel and Kings antedates every Greek claimant to be the first historian. But direct Jewish influence on Greece is unlikely, and much biblical narration is driven by divine not humanly contingent causal forces.

*Homer is not historiography and is slippery ground for the historian. But his characters show awareness of the past, and are impelled by an urge to leave glory to posterity; thus *Achilles sings of the famous deeds of men and Helen weaves into a web the story of the sufferings she has herself brought about. The poet himself speaks of 'men who exist nowadays' by contrast with inhabitants of the world he describes. *Genealogies, of the sort that feature in Homeric battle-challenges, are essential to a historical perspective on human events, and they form the link between Homer and Hecataeus of Miletus, the first true Greek historian: he wrote a prose work on genealogy, as well as a description of the world known to him, and a work on mythology. His younger critic and improver was *Herodotus: the urge to correct and improve on a

predecessor is one of the main dynamics of Greek historiography. But the prose of Hecataeus was not Herodotus' only stimulus: Herodotus' nine-book work may owe at least as much to poets who (unlike Homer) did treat historical events in verse. Elegiac poets (see ELEGIAC POETRY, GREEK) like Mimnermus wrote about the military struggles which accompanied *colonization, and can thus be seen as 'ancestors of historiography' (E. Bowie); and it is now known that *Simonides handled the Persian War in detail and compared it explicitly to the Trojan War (*POxy* 3965).

Herodotus' repudiation of myth was less explicit and famous than that of *Thucydides, but equally or (because earlier) more important: Herodotus restricts himself to historical time and to information he can check. How far he did check that information has been controversial since antiquity, but the sceptical case has not been made out. On the contrary Herodotus' work shows many authentic traces of the oral tradition (see ORALITY) on which its author drew.

Thucydides knew and reacted against Herodotus' work and there are obvious differences, above all a more linear narrative which concerned itself more narrowly with male activities like war and politics. But there are similarities too; thus Homeric influence is detectable in detail not just on Herodotus but on Thucydides also, who has a rhetoric of his own and should not be crudely opposed to Herodotus as *literacy is opposed to orality: Thucydides' famous preface declares his work to be *not so much* a prize composition (a word which hints at the displays of the *sophists) as a possession for ever. This formulation does not exclude recitation of sections in high finish, or even performance of debates and dialogue. By including (i.e. inventing) speeches at all, both historians were copying Homer, and Thucydides' very difficult speeches resemble Homer's in that their style is different from the narrative.

Western Greece, i.e. Italy and Sicily, developed its own historiography, which however borrowed from and interacted with that of old Greece. Thus Antiochus of Syracuse may have written his account to supplement Herodotus' gappy treatment of the west; but Antiochus was in his turn drawn on by Thucydides; who was then a close model for Philistus, who straddles the 5th and 4th cents.

Much ancient Greek historiography was always 'local history' of *poleis* and areas (see next entry below). Antiochus and Philistus were in effect local historians, though Sicily is a big place and they were hardly parochial figures. Similarly, local historians studied the great states of old Greece, producing above all the *Atthides* or histories of Athens. The first Atthidographer was, however, not an

Athenian at all, Hellenicus of Mytilene on Lesbos. But the great 4th- and 3rd-cent. Attidographers, Androtion and Philochorus, were Athenians who used their literary works to express definite political viewpoints.

The main stream of historiography after Thucydides was, however, navigated, as so often in the ancient world, by more cosmopolitan and restless writers, like the exiled Athenian *Xenophon. His preoccupation in the *Hellenica* with the Peloponnese is marked but his perspective is just too wide for this work to be called local history. He takes his chronological starting-point and some other obvious external features from Thucydides, but his religious values and his use of the illuminating digression are more reminiscent of Herodotus. His *Anabasis* is a snapshot of Persian Anatolia which reveals his gifts as a social historian and is a prime source for modern students of religion and warfare.

Thucydides never ceased to have influence even in the 4th cent. when to find him cited by name is rare, though another and more hard-headed continuator of Thucydides than Xenophon, the Oxyrhynchus historian, does mention him. *Aeneas Tacticus, not an intellectual, shows knowledge both of Thucydides' narrative and his speeches, and Thucydides' remarks on speeches were discussed by Callisthenes, whose *Hellenica* (used by *Ephorus later in the 4th cent. and thus at one remove by *Diodorus Siculus) faintly transmits an important alternative tradition to that of Xenophon. 'Faintly', because Callisthenes resembles other big names of 4th-cent. Greek historiography in that he survives only in 'fragments' or quotations. The same is true of Ephorus, whose universal history, enormously popular in antiquity, drew on Thucydides for the 5th cent., then on the Oxyrhynchus historian (late 5th and early 4th), then on Callisthenes (? from the King's Peace of 386 BC onwards). But Ephorus also comes down to us mediated by Diodorus. The sources of Diodorus' Persian material for the 4th cent. (Ctesias? Dinon?) are disputed, even more so his Sicilian material. Ephorus was one 'Sicilian' source but it is hard to know how much to attribute to *Timaeus, a major figure in Greek understanding of the west.

Another Thucydidean continuator and partial imitator (he echoes the Thucydidean Funeral Speech) was *Theopompus, who wrote about *Philip II of Macedon in a way which may owe something to Thucydides' fascination with the individual *Alcibiades. But the great individual of the age was *Alexander the Great, whose 'Deeds' were reported by Callisthenes, by Dinon's son Cleitarchus (the source of Diodorus book 17 and of the vulgate tradition about Alexander generally), and by *Arrian's sources *Ptolemy I and Aristobulus. Alexander, the new *Achilles as his historians presented him or as he presented him-

self, and his glorious Deeds take us back to Homer, where this survey began. SH

historiography, Hellenistic In an age that witnessed the conquests by *Alexander the Great and his Successors and then the Roman succession to virtually all that had been theirs, Greeks substantially expanded history-writing to include new themes, styles, and genres. In the 1st cent., BC *Dionysius of Halicarnassus claimed that the day was not long enough for him to recite the names of all the historians (*Comp.* 4. 30). The increase in history-writing was due to the necessity to explain new events, lands, and peoples. It was nurtured by the patronage of Hellenistic monarchs and Roman aristocrats and by the growth of *libraries and centres of scholarship, most notably in *Alexandria and *Pergamum, and finally in Rome.

Most of that rich and diverse writing is lost. Substantial parts of *Polybius, *Diodorus Siculus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus survive, as do some of the works of *Appian, *Arrian, *Cassius Dio, Herodian, and *Plutarch from the Roman period. Fragments from the lost works of nearly a thousand historians, preserved by later authors as quotations or paraphrases, are collected in F. Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (FGH). Although still incomplete, it is a treasure trove of information and, arranged by genre, presents an organizational scheme which helps make sense of the complex subject. Work on it has (1994) been resumed by an international team.

Spanning centuries and continents, Hellenistic historiography, however, defies categorization. The ancients themselves did not submit history to the same rigours or canons as they did philosophy, rhetoric, and science; nor was history part of the educational curriculum. Rhetoricians, apparently far more often than historians themselves, commented on the principles of history writing, usually by evaluating historical narrative for style. Hellenistic history never developed acknowledged classics. Egyptian papyri, as well as literary references, suggest that *Herodotus, *Thucydides, and *Xenophon (followed by *Theopompus and *Ephorus) continued throughout antiquity to be the best-known historians. Polybius, the most renowned Hellenistic historian, was not read closely a century after he wrote (so Dionysius of Halicarnassus). The Attic revival made these Classical writers better objects of rhetorical imitation.

Rhetoric played an important role in the development of narrative. Historians had, since Thucydides, added speeches for variety, colour, and dramatic tension. *Isocrates, a practitioner of the epideictic style of oratory, influenced Theopompus and Ephorus to include also character assessments in passing moral and practical

judgements on their subjects. Perhaps related is the development of so-called tragic history. The invocation of highly emotive scenes lent drama to the narrative and entertained the reader. Although Polybius, in choosing a more utilitarian approach, inveighed against the use of tragic history as counterfactual (he attacked especially Phylarchus), a few episodes in his surviving narrative also bear its influence.

Local chronicles—important in the development of Classical historiography—continued to be produced in abundance in the Hellenistic period (see Chaniotis, *Historiker*; and K. Clarke 2008, as in previous entry). But other genres emerged. Biography developed fully, with its Hellenistic emphasis on individual characterization and character type. Satyrus and Cornelius Nepos were precursors of Plutarch, *Suetonius, Philostratus, Eunapius, and other pagan and Christian hagiographers. Ethnographies became important for explaining the new lands under Greek and then Roman control, and even traditional narratives contained much ethnographic material, leading to amalgams such as the works of *Strabo and *Pausanias. Indeed, the novel emerged from the same spirit of discovery, with many of the romances situated in exotic lands and the main characters ‘historical’ figures, such as Alexander the Great, Ninus, and Semiramis. Despite their interest in ethnography, Hellenistic historians rarely learned local languages and frequently forced their interpretations of foreign cultures into categories familiar to Greek audiences. Megasthenes idealized the social structure of India in Greek philosophical constructions, as did Hecataeus of Abdera in his analysis of Egypt; Polybius, who spent two decades in Italy, presented a description of Roman political institutions (book 6) based on an Aristotelian model of government (see ARISTOTLE) and marred by an inability to understand Romans on their own terms.

The most significant historical genre that developed in the Hellenistic period was universal history. The Roman conquest made the study of the *oikoumenē* (‘inhabited world’) a compelling topic, a subject initially treated by Polybius (although *Timaeus had been the first to cover Rome at length). The growth of universalistic philosophies, especially *Stoicism, brought another unifying theme: the power of the common good. Diodorus Siculus used the theme of individual benefactors and civilizing agents haphazardly, but Posidonius could suggest, with some ambivalence, that Roman might represented a unifying force for the common benefit of all. This notion, reinterpreted, became influential with Christian writers such as St *Augustine. But few practitioners of universal history were broadly inclusive of other ethnic groups except as they came into contact with Graeco-Roman

civilization. Universalistic historiography became truly ecumenical only when it abandoned time-bound narrative in the form of Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic and prophecy.

Just as Thucydides implicitly acknowledged and followed Herodotus, a series of later historians built their narratives on previous ones. This succession of historical works helped develop the notion of historical tradition, with historians increasingly quoting from and drawing on past works (no more evident than in the case of Plutarch). It also spawned the belief that historical narrative could be created without primary research: Diodorus Siculus and Arrian (to choose extremes in quality) compiled narratives based on accepted earlier traditions. New interpretations of past events were generally derived from rationalizing or from new perspectives, rarely from new research. The very diversity and abundance of Hellenistic history-writing assured a widespread acceptance of the principle that the past, as well as the present, needed to be recalled and reinterpreted—if not also re-investigated. It encouraged the invocation of history for justification of present policy or for *propaganda, such as occurred in the generally anti-Roman Sibylline oracles. In the Greek revival of the 2nd cent. AD (see SECOND SOPHISTIC), Arrian consciously modelled his works after Xenophon’s, as if an echo of Classical form and style would bestow legitimacy.

Greek historiography profoundly influenced its Roman counterpart (beginning with Quintus Fabius Pictor who wrote in Greek) and created the paradigms of historical investigation in other Mediterranean lands. *Maccabees II, an epitome of Jason of Cyrene’s larger work in Greek, contains episodes in the style of tragic history, and *Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities* reflects the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Manetho’s study of Egypt and Berossus’ history of Babylonia are based on Hellenistic examples of history-writing. Although early Christian historiography departs conceptually by identifying a pre-existing spirit that was to outlast all history, some books of the New Testament, especially Luke and *Acts of the Apostles, bear the influence of Hellenistic historiography and rhetorical devices. Christian hagiography develops from the Greek biographical tradition, and *Eusebius, who initiated ecclesiastical history, drew heavily on documents in a manner similar to his Greek predecessors.

See articles on individual historical writers. KSS

historiography, Roman Presentation of the Roman past was firmly rooted in the Roman present. Historians proclaimed a desire to help and inspire contemporary readers in their public life (e.g. Sall. *Iug.* 4; Livy, pref. 10;

Tac. *Ann.* 4. 32–3), and the past was often moulded to provide antecedents for contemporary events or rephrased in contemporary terms, sometimes for tendentious reasons, sometimes just to make the story more excitingly familiar. Roman writers were also more often public men than their Greek counterparts (e.g. *Cato the Elder, *Sallust, Gaius Asinius Pollio, *Tacitus), and their contemporary narrative told of events in which they had played a part: the result was an emphasis on this recent history, which usually comprised the bulk even of those works which covered Rome's history from its foundation (*ab urbe condita*).

Still, historiography was not simply a masked version of the memoir. It aspired to tell the story of the Roman state, not just of an individual's experiences. At first this usually involved an outline of Rome's history from its beginnings, with special emphasis on the inspiring foundation stories. The result was an hourglass structure, with most space given to the beginnings and the present, and a sketchier account of the period in between: that is already visible in Quintus Fabius Pictor, traditionally the earliest Roman historian, and survives in most of his *ab urbe condita* successors (including *Ennius, who did much to shape the Roman view of history). Another aspect, as Cicero (*De or.* 2. 51–3) ruefully observed, was the evocation of traditional Roman *annales*. Writers may only rarely have consulted the *annales maximi* themselves, but the texture of such material—bare lists of omens, magistrates, triumphs, etc.—was still familiar; Cato fr. 77 and Sempronius Asellio frs. 1–2 (both ed. Peter) protested at the historical inadequacy of such catalogues, but versions of these lists figured even in the developed genre, usually conferring an aura of tradition and antiquity. The annalistic structure, organizing material in a year-by-year fashion, also became regular.

Rome took her past seriously; it became part of that seriousness to insist that its history was told with suitable literary and rhetorical art (cf. Cic. *Leg.* 1. 5, *De or.* 2. 36). For Fabius Pictor and his early successors—Lucius Cincius Alimentus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, Gaius Acilius—this meant writing in Greek, thus fitting Roman history into the mainstream of Hellenistic historical literature, which greatly influenced its Roman equivalent; the use of Greek also promoted the presentation of Rome to a cultured Greek audience as Rome advanced eastwards. The Latin prose genre was pioneered by Cato, whose *Origines* extended the focus to the Italian cities, and Lucius Cassius Hemina; but the change of languages did not end the influence of Greece, nor reduce the literary pretensions. From an early stage history drew a great deal from rhetoric, including many clear boons: an eye for evidence, a nose for bias, an alertness

to arguments from probability, the capacity to impose structure on recalcitrant material. But rhetorical virtuosity also promoted the imaginative expansion of the past. Second- and 1st-cent. BC writers filled out the bare annalistic record with circumstantial narrative, sometimes creatively reconstructing what 'must have' happened, sometimes glorifying a family or providing a precedent, sometimes simply for artistic effect. The voluminous works of Gnaeus Gellius in the 2nd cent. and Valerius Antias in the 1st seem to have been particularly rich in such elaboration.

This should not obscure the commitment to discovering the truth, however much it might then be embellished and strengthened with supporting detail. Writers do discuss the reliability of questionable material, with varying critical acumen (e.g. Livy 2. 21, 6. 1, 38. 56–7; Tac. *Ann.* 4. 10–11, 13. 20); *Livy's predecessors aspired to find out new facts as well as provide a new artistic veneer (pref. 2). There was no clear distinction between antiquarianism and historiography at least in the 2nd cent. BC, and even later writers show some respect for documentary sources, e.g. Gaius Licinius Macer and Quintus Aelius Tubero with the 'linen books', and perhaps Tacitus with the senatorial acta (official record of proceedings). Still, Roman writers doubtless underestimated the sheer difficulty of discovering distant truth. Cicero (*De or.* 2. 62–3) insists on truthfulness as the first law of history, but gives most emphasis and thought to the rhetorical 'superstructure' (*exaedificatio*) built on this acknowledged 'foundation' (*fundamentum*); when *Pliny the Elder, *Ep.* 5. 8, considered writing ancient history, he considered it 'easy to find out about, but burdensome to bring together'. Writers might identify their sources' political bias; they rarely asked more searching questions about the texture and origin of their material.

Partisan bias was intensified by the struggles of the Gracchan age (see GRACCHUS, GAIUS; GRACCHUS, TIBERIUS), and these accentuated the concentration on the present. One aspect was a stepping up of the reinterpretation of the past in contemporary terms: this seems to have typified the work of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi, then in the 1st cent. Gaius Licinius Macer. The more straightforward development was the tendency to omit earlier history altogether. Asellio combined this with a Polybian determination (see POLYBIUS) to emphasize important interpretative strands; he apparently began in 146 BC, perhaps deliberately beginning where Polybius stopped. A number of writers carried on this practice of continuation, self-consciously producing a serial canon of Roman history: thus, it seems, Sisenna continued Asellio, and Sallust's *Histories* continued Sisenna. A middle position, less exclusively contemporary but still

eschewing the distant past, was occupied by Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius, who apparently began with the Gallic sack (387 BC), and earlier by Lucius Coelius Antipater, whose work on the Second Punic War introduced the historical monograph to Rome. Cicero (*Leg.* 1. 6–7) stresses the stylistic advances made by Coelius and Sisenna, but he felt that Rome was still waiting for her great national historian. Cicero never wrote the work himself.

*Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Iugurthinum* abandoned annalistic form and developed the monograph, using these two episodes to illustrate themes of wider significance, especially that of moral decline. The analysis is carried through with concentration and structural deftness; and Sallust moulded an appropriate style, concise, epigrammatic, rugged, and abrupt. Meanwhile *Caesar had written a different sort of monograph in his commentaries; their form leaves them outside the mainstream, but he still adapted techniques from historiographic rhetoric to fit his insidiously persuasive plainness of manner. Gaius Asinius Pollio wrote of the Civil War (between Caesar and *Pompey) and its antecedents, beginning with 60 BC. His incisive and independent analysis influenced the later Greek versions of *Appian and *Plutarch.

Pollio was less influential in Rome itself, largely because *Livy's 142-book *ab urbe condita* came to dominate the field. The great Roman history had been written at last. Livy offered something new, with a more even treatment of past and present: the great bulk of his history was pre-contemporary, partly, as he explains in the preface, because decline was relatively recent, and the best ethical examples were to be found in the earlier centuries. His moralizing is, however, more than Roman bias; it is also a form of explanation, isolating the strengths which carried Rome to its success, and might yet prove her salvation. The preface suggests that his contemporary books may have projected a less rosy view of Rome's morality, with degeneration explaining the less happy developments of the last century.

As in other genres, an Augustan classic had a stifling effect, and Livy's bulky eminence deterred rivals. History too changed, and the early Principate shows writers balancing traditional forms with a new world where the achievements of the Roman people, with the annual rhythm of changing magistracies, no longer captured the central themes of imperial reality. *Velleius Paterculus controlled his recent narrative around leading individuals, Caesar, *Augustus, and *Tiberius, and treated his material with rhetorical exuberance. His enthusiasm for the new world contrasted with Aulus Cremutius Cordus' nostalgia for the old, and Cremutius paid with his life; the

elder Seneca dealt more safely with the transition from republic to Principate. Trogius had earlier set Roman history in its universal context; Hyginus and Valerius Maximus collected *exempla*; at some point Quintus Curtius Rufus turned to Greece, and wrote in Roman style about *Alexander the Great's heroics. A more traditional style was followed by Aufidius Bassus and his continuator *Pliny the Elder, though their general histories were complemented by detailed studies of particular wars. Marcus Servilius Nonianus, Cluvius Rufus, and Fabius Rusticus also wrote substantial works.

*Tacitus' achievement is accentuated by this background. In many ways he was highly traditional. He kept the annalistic form; he chose relatively recent events; he wrote of senate and generals, not just emperors and courts. Yet the old forms are at odds with their content, so often pointing the contrast with the republic. The annual rhythms are overridden by the impact of emperors and their changing characters; further themes cut across the years and reigns—the power of advisers and the great ladies of the court, the regrettable necessity of one-man rule in a world unfit to rule itself, the inert senators who exchange hypocrisies with their prince. Brilliant rhetorical sharpness and devastating analysis serve each other well. Livy, at least in his surviving books, was the historian of a romanticized past; Tacitus exposed dispiriting reality.

Tacitus defied imitation as much as did Livy. Imperial historiography was always in danger of collapsing into imperial biography; that had been clear since Velleius, and from the 2nd cent. AD biography dominated the field (see BIOGRAPHY, ROMAN). The classical historians stimulated epitomes (Ampelius, Justin, Eutropius, Pompeius Festus, Obsequens) or at most rhetorical reformulation (Florus, Granius Licinianus, Exsuperantius); they were not imitated until the last flowering of the genre with *Ammianus Marcellinus, who finally addressed a great theme, and was adequate to the task. CBRP

history of classical scholarship See SCHOLARSHIP, ANCIENT and SCHOLARSHIP, HISTORY OF CLASSICAL.

Homer (*see following page*)

homosexuality No Greek or Latin word corresponds to the modern term *homosexuality*, and ancient Mediterranean societies did not in practice treat homosexuality as a meaningful category of personal or public life. Sexual relations between persons of the same sex certainly did occur (they are widely attested in ancient sources), but they were not systematically distinguished or conceptualized as such, much less were they thought to represent a single, homogeneous phenomenon in contradistinction

[continued on p. 388]

HOMER

Homer The existence of a poet called Homer was accepted throughout Antiquity, but the restriction of the Homeric corpus to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* became acknowledged only in the 520s. Before this date, it included the *Epic Cycle*, all the *Homeric Hymns*, and two mock-epics, the *Margites* and perhaps the *Battle of Frogs and Mice* (though this last may well be later). Nothing was known of the author who makes only fleeting appearances in his own work in the form of first-person pronouns. The first mention of Homer's name is perhaps to be found in the mid-7th cent. (Callinus fr. 6 West), but the first securely datable references to him belong to the last third of the 6th cent. and coincide with the emergence of a new interest in the personality of the author. The ancient biographies of Homer were then composed several centuries later: the most detailed *Life of Homer*, wrongly attributed to *Herodotus in Antiquity, belongs to the end of the Hellenistic era at the very earliest. Our version of the *Contest between Homer and Hesiod* that goes back to the *Museum* of Alcidamas dates from the time of Hadrian. The two books reunited in *On the Life and Poetry of Homer* and attributed to *Plutarch were probably written by a grammarian at the end of the 2nd cent. AD. The other biographies are dated to the Byzantine period. We can no doubt trace their origin back to the rhapsodes, more precisely to the Homeridae from Chios, who claimed 'Homer' as their putative ancestor.

All the ancient sources except Josephus (*Ap.* 1.2) present Homer as a writer. But according to *Cicero, Aelian and the *Suda*, Homer left others to make a unified whole out of his scattered poems. In the phase of modern Homeric study that began in the late 18th cent., scholars placed a great deal of weight on these traditions and took the Homeric poems to pieces. In 1795 the German Friedrich Wolf in his *Prolegomena to Homer* opened a new chapter in the history of philology. (See SCHOLARSHIP, HISTORY OF CLASSICAL.) According to Wolf, the poems, originally transmitted by oral tradition, were first written down in Athens during the 6th cent. (under *Pisistratus or his son) in connection with the creation of the Panathenaea and were not given their definitive form until the 3rd cent. BC, by Alexandrian scholars such as Zenodotus and Aristarchus. For 150 years after Wolf scholarship was dominated by the 'Homeric question' and the fight between Analysts, who attempted to extract the original poems from the morass of later interpolations, and Unitarians, who tried to demonstrate the existence of a single author. Later on so-called Neo-analysts such as J. T. Kakridis (*Homeric Researches* (1949)) and W. Kullmann (*Die Quellen der Ilias* (1960)) maintained the unity of the poems, but explained their inconsistencies by going back to Homer's own sources preserved for us by later texts such as the poems of the Epic Cycle. A more recent strand of criticism (e.g. J. M. Foley, *Homer's Traditional Art* (1999), and B. Graziosi and J. Haubold, *Homer: the Resonance of Epic* (2005)) explores 'traditional referentiality' or 'epic resonance', finding extra suggestions in particular passages or phrases by reference to the broader oral tradition from which they come (rather in the manner of intertextuality in written texts).

The Homeric question and the polemic between Analysts and Unitarians were fundamentally altered by Milman Parry's 1928 essay on the traditional epithet in Homer (see A. Parry (ed.), *The Making of Homeric Verse* (1971), ch. 1). He identified the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as products of an oral tradition of hexameter poetry which had its origins long before the 7th cent., as demonstrated by the existence of some lines which do not scan properly unless pronounced as they would have been at an earlier stage of the Greek language. He demonstrated the existence of a widely extended system of formulae—that is 'expressions regularly used, under the same metrical conditions, to express an essential idea'—elaborated by a long tradition of illiterate bards and characterized by its 'economy' and 'extension'. At almost the same time as Parry, Walter Arend drew attention to the existence of 'type-scenes' in which certain actions or events (such as sacrifices, banquets, arming scenes etc.) are narrated with the same expressions used in the same order. Others have pointed out the existence of similar phenomena at different levels (e.g. repeated motifs, duplicated characters and similes constructed from identical elements). This repertoire allowed the bard to compose while he sang, as is demonstrated by a comparison first with South Slavic epic, then with a wider range of oral traditions.

It remained to explain how and when the text came to be written down. Some scholars still posit a late crystallization of the Homeric poems under the Pisistratids. But after A. Lord, most scholars, relying on various indications, have come to speak of 'oral-derived' texts and to situate the composition of the poems as well as their fixation in writing at the transition between orality and literacy around 750–700 BC. They imagine either an outstanding illiterate bard dictating his poems to an expert scribe (a phenomenon explained perhaps by the exceptional quality of the poems, perhaps also by their ideological content, which is assumed to have been particularly appealing to the aristocratic élite) or

to an oral poet who learned to write and created a poem of unrivalled scale and complexity. Even after it was fixed, the text was still subject to alterations, as demonstrated by early quotations and papyri. A stable vulgate eventually emerged under the influence of the Alexandrian grammarians.

This lengthy history has left its mark in the artificial language of the poems. It is nowadays agreed that Homeric Greek is basically the Ionic Greek which was spoken in the poet's own day, but it includes some older Achaean and Aeolic elements and some Euboean veneer as well as Atticisms introduced in the 6th cent. This poetic dialect—distant from everyday speech but still comprehensible—helped to transport the audience to the distant heroic world.

The new understanding of Homeric poems as oral-derived texts had far-reaching consequences. The Homer prisoner of tradition portrayed by the pioneers of orality has given place to the 'Homer against his tradition' of J. Russo (*Arion* (1968)). It has been convincingly shown that epithets do not simply fill out the line but are used with an eye to the context. Type-scenes show a wide range in scale and elaboration: in the *Iliad* the arming of Patroclus takes up fifteen lines, that of Achilles twenty-seven lines; in the *Odyssey*, despite their length, the four banquet scenes involving the impious suitors omit the sacrifice proper and the libations. Recent studies have also underlined the importance of choice in the treatment of similes, the use of crucial moral terms and emotionally tinted expressions in the speeches as opposed to narrative, and the exceptionality of the language of Achilles who redeploys the traditional formulas for new effect.

A better knowledge of oral traditions and the progress of archeology has also contributed to an improved understanding of the Homeric world. Comparative evidence shows that oral traditions in general tend to update the past in accordance with a contemporary agenda. Thus Homer's portrait of the heroic age is unlikely to be a reflection of the distant bronze age: the more we know about the organization of the Mycenaean society from the Linear B documents, the more problematic its relation appears to Homer's world, and the few fossilized memories of the Mycenaean age may be explained either by an unbroken tradition dating back to this period or by a new awareness of ancient artefacts discovered in graves. The poems are no longer viewed, as by M. I. Finley in his *World of Odysseus* (1954, 2nd edn. 1977), as an accurate portrait of the social institutions of the so-called Dark Ages. Most scholars today agree that Homeric epics, like the spread of heroes' cult, reflect the great surge of interest in the past. This past purports to be real and its truth is guaranteed by its divine origin: the Muse invoked at the beginning of both poems has privileged eye-witness knowledge of all things and gives the poet the ability to make them visible to his audience. But it is in effect an imaginary construct, walled off from subsequent times (the poet prevents us from looking for its remains by stressing in the *Iliad* that the great wall built by the Achaeans was totally destroyed by *Poseidon and *Apollo after the sack of Troy). It is an idealized image more attractive and more noble than present-day reality that transports the listener into another time (hence the almost total absence of any features that were felt to be 'modern', like iron weapons). The exploits of its heroes surpass anything in the modern world. But in order to be credible, this heroic past is modelled on what the poet and his audience took for granted about the world. In fact a more careful reading of the poems, combined with a more flexible conception of the archaic Greek city-state, has revealed a whole series of elements (maritime trade, colonization, dominance of aristocracy, familiarity with Panhellenic sanctuaries) characterizing the 8th cent. BC.

Iliad

Divided into 24 books by the Alexandrian grammarians, the *Iliad* is the more ancient of the two poems, as demonstrated by the greater frequency of older forms. There is now broad agreement that we have the poem virtually as it was composed, with the exception of book 10. The *Iliad* does not deal with the whole of the Trojan War, but selects one major episode, 'the wrath of *Achilles, son of Peleus and its devastating consequences, which inflicted pains a thousandfold upon the Achaeans' (1.1–2). It is framed by careful ring composition: it begins in book 1 with a negative intervention of Apollo, the refusal of *Agamemnon to release Chryseis to his father, and two visits of Thetis first on earth when called by her son and then to *Zeus, and ends in book 24 with a positive intervention of Apollo, the return of *Hector's corpse to his father and two visits of Thetis, first to Olympus when called by Zeus and then to her son on earth. It falls into three parts:

Books 1 to 9 cover the quarrel with Agamemnon and its consequences: the withdrawal of Achilles from the battle and the plan of Zeus to avenge him by supporting the Trojans (1), the sending of a deceptive dream to Agamemnon (2), a truce and a duel between Paris and Menelaus (3), the breaking of the truce by Pandarus (4), the beginning of general fighting in the plain with the *aristeia* (an individual warrior's glorious rampage) of Diomedes (5), the visit of Hector to Troy (6), the duel between Hector and *Aias (7), the success of the Trojans (8), the sending of an embassy to appease Achilles and its failure (9).

Books 9 to 18 include, together with the Doloneia (10), the *aristeia* of Agamemnon, the casualties of the Achaean leaders and the appeal of Nestor to Patroclus (11), the success of the Trojans (12), the advance of Hector checked by Ajax

(13), the distraction of Zeus by *Hera and the defeat of the Trojans (14), the awakening of Zeus and the Trojan victory (15), the setting on fire of the first Achaean ship, the *aristeia* of Patroclus and his killing by Hector (16), the fight around the corpse of Patroclus (17), Achilles' decision to avenge him and the new armour that he gets from *Hephaestus (18).

Books 19 to 24 begin with the reconciliation between Achilles and Agamemnon (19), the beginning of the *aristeia* of Achilles (20), his fight against the Scamander and the battle of the gods (21), and concludes with the killing of Hector (22), the funerals of Patroclus and the games in his honour (23), the ransoming of Hector and his funeral (24).

As opposed to the poems of the Epic Cycle, the *Iliad* is characterized by an extraordinary concentration both in space (its action is located in four places: the city of *Troy, the Achaean camp, the plain in between, and Olympus) and time (it covers altogether a period of 53 days, but the bulk of the poem [2 to 22] covers only five days and the narrative of the central day alone occupies 8 books [11 to 18]).

But Homer manages to work the story of the entire war into the *Iliad*. Books 2 to 4 recall the beginning of the war. The catalogue of ships in book 2 takes up the traditional catalogue of the army assembling at Aulis. In book 3, the view from the wall and the single combat between the two husbands of Helen displace events which belong naturally to the first year of the war, and the actions of Paris and Helen retell the origin of the war without actually narrating it. Pandarus' breaking of the truce in book 4 is a symbolic re-enactment of the original Trojan guilt. There are also many foreshadowings of the two major events that occur after the end of the poem. Achilles' coming death is constantly lamented by Thetis, and reaffirmed in books 19 to 22 by his immortal horse, by the hero himself, and by Hector. His funeral attended by the Nereids in the *Aithiopsis* is prefigured in the *Iliad* by their participation in the mourning of Patroclus in book 18. The sack of Troy is successively evoked from books 4 to 24 by characters, omens, and comparisons. The *Iliad* looks even beyond the end of the war: for an audience well acquainted with the tradition, the wrestling match between Odysseus and Ajax points to their fatal conflict over the arms of Achilles.

The *Iliad* is a tragic epic dominated by the heroic choice of death. It is also a poem full of contrasts between gods and mortals, divine and human heroes, war and peace.

The Olympians play an important role in the plot. The action is initiated by Apollo who drives Agamemnon and Achilles into conflict. Then the plan of Zeus to damage the Achaeans, though momentarily disrupted by Hera in book 14, commands the action from book 2 to book 18 until Achilles' decision to avenge Patroclus, and his final intervention in book 24 convinces Achilles to return Hector's body to Priam.

The gods' interventions in the human world are usually based on partisan attachments. They help their children, their favourites, their priests and those who offer them lavish sacrifices, harm their enemies or those who dare to compete with them, and often punish the group for the crimes committed by one of its members: all the Trojans pay the price for Paris' crime. It is usually vain to attempt to propitiate them, as in the negative answer of *Athena to the Trojans' prayers and offerings in book 6. Gods also prevent the happening of events that would be 'beyond fate', which may mean 'before due time', such as the return of the Achaeans (2), the sack of Troy by Patroclus (16) or by Achilles (20 and 21), the killing of Sarpedon by *Odysseus (5) or the death of *Aeneas (20). Their interest in justice is also stated by the characters who invoke them as witnesses for oaths (3) and say that Zeus punishes oath-breaking (4), and is also suggested in an exceptional simile (16. 384–8) that portrays Zeus sending a storm to express his displeasure at those who pronounce crooked judgements.

As in the normal world, gods may reveal their will indirectly through omens, dreams and prophets. In the heroic world, they may also intervene physically, in the assembly (as Athena in book 1 takes Achilles by the hair to prevent him from killing Agamemnon) and on the battlefield, but miracles are few. The gods also influence mental processes, either directly or indirectly and for the better or for the worse, and thus one often sees an inseparable connection between divine and human causation.

On the one hand the supreme power of the gods throws into relief the weakness and insignificance of mankind. The encounter between Apollo and Diomedes on the battlefield (5) is emblematic of this disparity. Successively Hephaestus (1), Hera (8), Poseidon (20), and Apollo (21) point out that the gods should not quarrel or fight for the sake of mere mortals. On the other hand their 'sublime triviality', to quote K. Reinhardt, acts as a foil for the tragedy of men. Their immortality, their carefree life (their real ordeals all belong to a bygone era), and their happiness set them apart from the 'wretched mortals'. Because they ignore death, their quarrels are frivolous and end quickly: the quarrel between Zeus and Hera (1) spoils only for a while the enjoyment of the gods' feast, whereas the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles will provoke endless killings. Their wounds are quickly healed (5). Their battle (20), despite a grand introduction reminiscent of a Titanomachy, is ludicrous. The marvellous description of Poseidon's chariot ride over the sea (13), much admired by 'Longinus' (9.8), contrasts with the descriptions of Hector's (11) and Achilles' (20)

chariots trampling down dead men. But such an existence makes it even more striking that they may not merely watch the mortals' fighting with delight but also come to care deeply about them, feeling pity like a tragic audience: thus their presence serves as a device to heighten for us the emotional significance of terrible events.

Gods are only a background. The true protagonists of the *Iliad* are the heroes, those who, like Sarpedon, know that all men are born to die, but also that they can choose to die well and win renown (12.310–28). The crucial decisions in the poem are made by men alone: it is the wrath of Achilles that causes the plague sent by Apollo (1) and the plan of Zeus is the consequence of his appeal to his mother. Achilles' rejection of the proposals of the embassy is explained only by his own wrath (9). The hero also acts entirely on his own when he dispatches Patroclus (16) and when he decides to avenge him (18) or to reject Hector's entreaties (18). This is especially true for the two major characters of the poem, Achilles and Hector.

As a warrior, Achilles is the best of the Achaeans: after his withdrawal from the battle, the Achaeans are pinned back against their ships and when he re-enters the fight, his *aristeia* surpasses all the others. He is a very special hero through his removal from a society that deprived him of his due honour and gave the same lot to the brave and the coward (1 to 18) and through his closeness to the gods (his mother is a goddess, his horses are immortal, his arms are a gift from the gods who consistently grant him special favours). His wrath directed first against Agamemnon, then against Hector, is quasi-divine in its magnitude, as indicated by the word *mēnis* usually applied to the gods: he refuses the compromise offered to him by Agamemnon (9) and behaves with unparalleled savagery towards Hector (22); but he obeys without protest the orders of Athena (1) and Zeus (24). He is the most heroic in his willingness to look death in the face: given a choice between two fates, a return to his fatherland and a long life without glory or an immortal glory if he dies at Troy, he left for war (9), and he decides without hesitation that he will return to the fight and kill Hector, after having heard from his mother that his death will soon follow (18). This awareness allows him in front of Priam (24) to reach a heightened form of humanity and compassion based on an objective vision of the ruthlessness of life itself.

As opposed to Achilles, Hector is totally human and has only a limited perception of his circumstances. Firmly located in a family and a city, as the son of Priam, the husband of Andromache, the father of Astyanax and the leading warrior among the Trojans, this hero of *aidos* who embodies the ideal norm of Homeric society is tragically trapped in contradictory obligations to his family and to his city. But when he realizes that his time has come, his heroic decision to die 'not without glory, but after having done something great, for future generations to learn of' (22.304–5) gives precedence to the community.

The *Iliad* is neither an unqualified expression of heroic ideology nor a straightforward criticism of it. Its celebration of 'the beautiful death' does not obliterate the destructive aspect of war that pervades the whole poem. It is expressed first in regular epithets for war such as *poludakrus* ('of many tears') and in the portrait of the war-god *Ares. The scenes in Troy and the emphasis on the former wealth of this sacred city contribute to the pathos of slaughter; so do the necrologies of lesser heroes killed far from their families and their homeland, and the evocation of their bereaved parents; so does the setting of the death of Hector in a landscape reminiscent of peace and beauty. The similes that recall fertility, creative human activity, peace and innocent delight also emphasize by contrast the grimness of war. On a far larger scale the description of the shield of Achilles (18) brings into the poem aspects of life that are otherwise left out and place the battle scenes against the perspective of the world at large; its beauty contrasts with the increasingly savage fighting of the surrounding books.

Odyssey

Composed shortly after the *Iliad* and divided in 24 books, the *Odyssey* was defined as 'an epilogue' ('Longinus' 9.12) to the former poem. 'Longinus' (9.13) also considered it to be a work of Homer's old age, and some scholars still agree, given its many structural similarities with the *Iliad* and its choice of a beginning *in mediis rebus*. But many prefer to favour separate authorship, in view of the differences in subject and sensibility.

The opening invocation to the *Muses presents the *Odyssey* as the portrait of a man through the history of his wanderings, beginning 'at some point'. In fact the poem takes up Odysseus' journey at its very end, when he is stranded on Calypso's remote island, at the year that the gods, in their first assembly (1), had set for his journey home. The narrative of this return begins only in book 5, with the second assembly of the gods. It is preceded by an introduction of four books: the first two focus on the situation on Ithaca and demonstrate how much Odysseus is needed at home, whereas books 3 and 4 follow Telemachus, in his travels to Pylos and *Sparta to get news of his father. So despite his absence Odysseus is still at the centre of the narrative. Moreover, the short and painless journey of Telemachus under Athena's protection functions as a contrast to Odysseus' adventures.

At the beginning of book 5, the action starts afresh with the second assembly of the gods and the departure of Hermes to Ogygia. The story then narrates Odysseus' travel to Phaeacia at the end of book 5 and his stay among the Phaeacians up to the moment when he is put ashore on Ithaca (13.123). The unity of this first part of the *Odyssey* is strongly indicated by a ring composition and the recurrence nearly word for word at 13.90 of the formula that described Odysseus at 1.4.

Book 13, which focuses on Odysseus and takes place entirely on Ithaca, also marks the start of a complex interweaving of Odysseus' adventures with those of Telemachus in books 14 to 16 until the moment when the two narrative threads merge into one with the reunion of father and son in Eumaeus' hut at the opening of Book 16.

From Book 16 onwards, the action coincides with the new trials announced in the first lines of the epic, for Odysseus still has to wreak vengeance on the suitors. This is carried out in book 22 through the plan made together by Odysseus and Athena (13) and revealed to Telemachus (16).

The poem ends with Odysseus' recognition by Penelope (23) and Laertes (24), and his re-establishment as a king, after a reconciliation with the suitors' families. This ending parallels the *Iliad* where the death of Hector (22) is followed by the reconciliation between Achilles and Priam (24).

Like the *Iliad*, the poem covers only a short time-span (42 days) as it moves between Olympus, Ithaca, Pylos and Sparta with Telemachus, then from Ogygia to Scheria with Odysseus, and is finally set in various places of Ithaca. Moreover, some days such as the second (8.1 to 13. 17), the fourth (17. 1–20. 90), and the fifth (20. 91–23. 343) are especially developed. Again, its scope is considerably broadened by foreshadowings and, especially, flashbacks. Several allusions to events preceding Odysseus' departure for Troy are introduced as digressions by the principal narrator (the famous story of Odysseus' scar in book 19) or told by his characters. The poem also evokes the Trojan War, but besides general references to the sufferings of the Greeks, it usually refers to episodes absent from the *Iliad*. Such a systematic avoidance, far from demonstrating that the author of the *Odyssey* did not know the *Iliad*, is likely to be deliberate: the quarrel opposing Odysseus and Achilles (8) and signalling for the Achaeans the imminence of their success, looks like a refashioning of the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon that marked the beginning of the woes for the Achaeans in the *Iliad*. There are also many allusions in the speeches to the 'returns' of various Achaean leaders, and Odysseus himself tells lengthily to the Phaeacians the first part of his adventures (9 to 11), in the so-called *Apologoi*. But anticipations of events that fall outside the temporal framework of the poem are exceptional. The most significant of these is the prophecy of Teiresias (11) about the last trial of Odysseus and his gentle death at home. Moreover, the poet uses extended similes, but their decrease in number is striking. Given that one of the main purposes of similes is to introduce 'variety' (*poikilia*), this change is usually traced back to the diversity of the *Odyssey*. But one does not find in the *Iliad* the equivalent to the performances given by two bards at the feasts of the élite in the palaces of Odysseus and Alcinous in scenes that indirectly illuminate Homer's conception of poetry. Both Phemius and Demodocus depend, like Homer, on the Muse when they sing the fame of the heroes in such good order that Odysseus vouches for their accuracy. And the song of Ares and Aphrodite, which is the only one to be quoted, combines narration and direct speech in the manner of the *Odyssey* itself. This poetics of truth is also a poetics of pleasure that delights a fascinated audience, despite its painful content. The same enchantment is provided by Odysseus when he gives a truthful account of his adventures to the Phaeacians or invents a series of lies that are closely modelled on his actual travels but are usually more realistic.

The *Odyssey* is far more varied than the *Iliad*. One has first to distinguish between the wonderful world of the *Apologoi*, the world of the Phaeacians on the threshold of myth and reality, and the more 'real' world of Pylos, Sparta, and Ithaca.

As opposed to the main narrative told by the Muse, Odysseus' journey is narrated by the hero himself (9 to 12). However there is no doubt about the reality of an account that is echoed at several points in the main story. It begins with the Ciconians who are a real people. But after Cape Malea, the hero enters a mythical world populated by lotus-eaters, cannibals (Cyclopes and Laestrygonians), deities (Aeolus, Circe, and Calypso), immortal cattle, enchanted beasts, monsters (Charybdis and Scylla), and ghosts. These encounters help to define by contrast the meaning of human life, the importance of memory and the value of civilization. By eating the lotus fruit or listening to the song of the Sirens, men forget to return. The victory of Odysseus over the Cyclopes who ignores agriculture and navigation and lacks political institutions demonstrates the superiority of civilization over barbarity. Aeolus' island is also far removed from normal Greek society by its perpetual feasting and its practice of endogamy. Scylla and Charybdis are monsters close to the creatures of folktales. Circe, who facilitates Odysseus' return and Calypso who delays it both live in remote and strange places: Aea is inhabited by wild beasts who behave like domesticated

animals and Ogygia looks like a paradise. Odysseus' visit to Hades (11) and more precisely his dialogue with Achilles, demonstrate the priceless value of life.

Scheria is a utopian place, settled on the boundary between myth and reality. Its inhabitants are 'close to the gods' (5.35) and share their feasts. Removed from war and human pain, they have magic ships that understand men's purpose. Alcinous' miraculous orchard ignores the seasons, his palace has a divine splendour and his relations with the other 'kings' are entirely harmonious. As opposed to the Cyclops, they provide a lavish hospitality to Odysseus. But they are fated to disappear, victims of Poseidon's wrath.

The real world includes gods and heroes, but also pays attention to women, men of the people, and slaves.

The gods still play a major role: the action is initiated in book 1 by the proposal of Athena to go to Ithaca and dispatch Hermes to Calypso and concluded in book 24 by a conversation between Zeus and Athena that puts an end to the civil war at Ithaca. It has long been a commonplace of Homeric scholarship that the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* widely differ in their presentation of the gods, but recent studies tend to tone down this opposition. Admittedly, the divine cast is less rich: besides Zeus, only Athena, Poseidon, and Hermes play an active role in the main plot, together with Calypso and Ino Leucothea in book 5. The other Olympians as well as many lesser deities only appear in secondary narratives. Moreover the gods never openly dissent: the two divine assemblies of books 1 and 5 both take place in the absence of Odysseus' principal enemy Poseidon. Even when there are direct conflicts, the gods of the *Odyssey* are careful not to encroach on others' domain: before reaching Phaeacia, Odysseus is under the power of Poseidon and Athena does not help. Conversely, Poseidon acknowledges that once Odysseus has landed in Phaeacia, he cannot harm him. Zeus has no difficulty imposing his authority: both Hermes and Calypso obey his orders without question (5) and Poseidon, in contrast with his behavior in the *Iliad*, complies with his will and even asks for his permission to punish the Phaeacians (13).

Their interventions in the human world remain usually within the same limits as in the *Iliad* since 'Gods themselves cannot ward off death' (3.236–7). The only exceptions are Menelaus who, as Zeus' son-in-law, will be sent to the Elysian fields and *Heracles who is among the immortals. The gods also broadly retain the same characteristics as in the earlier poem. However miracles are more numerous: not only in the *Apologoi* but also in the main narrative, the gods are able to transform the appearance of a human being for the better or for the worse or make a landscape look otherwise than it is. But other miraculous events are few and far between.

Gods have also the same selfish motivations: they want to help their human favourites or their family and to punish those who do them no honour, slaughter their cattle, dare to challenge them or fail to sacrifice. As in the *Iliad*, the gods punish the group for the crimes committed by one of its members, as demonstrated by the returns of the Achaeans and the death of all the suitors, including the 'good' ones, and attempts to soften their wrath are still bound to fail. Still, it is widely believed that the *Odyssey* differs from the *Iliad* with regard to divine justice: the bulk of evidence for the gods' interest in morality in the *Odyssey* comes from the plot itself that shows justice in action and from opinions expressed by men. Yet even in book 1 the speech in which Zeus makes the mortals responsible for the sorrows 'beyond their fate' does not represent a radical shift. One can also draw a parallel between the disobedience of Aegisthus who was warned by Hermes not to kill Agamemnon and the Iliadic Patroclus who would have escaped death if only he had listened to the warning of Achilles (16). The change between the two epics is really limited to a more frequent and sharper distinction of the two spheres human and divine (significantly in the battle of book 22 Athena turns the battle in the favour of Odysseus and his son only after she made a trial of their courage), and to a clearer opposition between two sorts of ills, those that mortals bring upon themselves by their crimes and those that they were always destined to suffer.

Scenes among the Olympians are rarer. The only illustration of their inconsequential lightness is to be found in the song of Ares and Aphrodite that has justly been defined as a 'sophisticated pastiche of Iliadic motifs'. With the exception of this episode, the gods are no longer portrayed as detached spectators. When they look at mortals, it is to gaze upon their sin and their righteousness (17. 485–7).

Even more than in the *Iliad*, men are the true protagonists of the *Odyssey*. Its hero, Odysseus, is the man par excellence: he refuses the immortality offered to him by Calypso and heroically chooses to endure human trials and gain the fame attached to them. He is a complex character, a complexity doubtless explained by the interaction of several different traditions. Like Achilles, he is a warrior: he destroyed the holy city of Ilion (1.2) and fights victoriously against the suitors (22) and their relatives (24). But in contrast to Achilles, he is also a mere human who cannot forget the needs of his belly, a son, a father and husband who longs for home, a leader who cares for his companions, and a king 'who was kind like a father' (four times). He is also cautious, and on several occasions—for instance in front of

Scylla (12)—it is possible to see a conflict between heroism and caution. Moreover Odysseus is an embodiment of curiosity, cunning and skill, a man who knows how to tell stories that suit his listeners, as emphasized by a series of epithets. Last but not least he stands out for his ability to endure the hardships on sea and for his self-control in front of the insults of the suitors. These qualities are made conspicuous in the narrative of his travels through the contrast with his companions who perish when they fail to listen to him, and even more through his behaviour when he reaches Ithaca. The 'shrewd' Telemachus is his worthy son, and his father Laertes first embodies the disastrous consequences of his absence and becomes at the end, with the help of Athena, the warrior he was before. Their foils, the suitors, are like them members of the élite. But their actions are in stark contrast to their appearance and their glowing reputation. They are consistently criticized for their breaking of all the rules of decent behaviour. Their villainy is thrown into sharp relief by the presence among them of two just men, Amphinomus and Leiodes.

The world of the humble subordinates is also prominent in the *Odyssey*. They are shaped according to the poem's ideological biases. The 'good' ones, like Eumaeus and Philoetius or Eurycleia and Eurynome, retain their affection for Odysseus and his family and care for his possessions. The bad ones, Melanthios and his sister Melantho, side with the suitors and show no consideration to Telemachus, his mother, and his guests.

The importance of female figures is also characteristic of the *Odyssey*. Much critical attention has been given recently to the female elements, especially to Penelope. But her sphere of activity is quite limited. Significantly she is defined through her male relatives: she is the worthy wife of Odysseus, the daughter of Icarius, and the mother of Telemachus. Her excellence mostly consists in a conjugal fidelity. From books 1 to 16 her heroism is mostly passive (her only trick belongs to the past). In Books 17 to 21, by contrast, Penelope is at the origin of two actions that have a considerable impact on the way events unfold, as she appears to the suitors and instigates the contest of the bow. But the origin of her decisions is left opaque by the poet. It is only in book 23 that she becomes a match for her husband by testing him.

As it is, the *Odyssey* is certainly not a tragedy. It has often been defined as a romance. But it may also be read as 'a kind of comedy of manners' (Longinus' 9.15) and a collection of examples illustrating how to act and not to act in relation to others.

Reception

Many books and papers have been devoted recently to Homer's ancient readers and Homeric reception. A complete overview would require writing a history of Greek and Latin literature, as well as of philosophy and art history from the perspective of Homeric influence, an influence linked to the place of the 'poet par excellence' in the school curriculum, its status as a foundation of the Greek cultural identity, and its major impact on the Romans. It explains why the Trojan War soon became the war against which all the others were measured and why its heroes served as authoritative paradigms over centuries. Homer was first explicitly quoted by *Simonides of Ceos and indirectly by *Stesichorus' *Palinode*, which is an implicit criticism of Homer. His artificial language became the basis of all subsequent hexameter and elegiac poetry. All the epic poems, from the Hellenistic *Argonautica* of *Apollonius of Rhodes and the miniature epics of Callimachus and *Theocritus to the *Aeneid* of *Virgil, and the late productions of Triphiodorus, Quintus Smyrnaeus, and Nonnus are to be understood as a creative refashioning of Homer, greatly influenced by the interpretation given by the Homeric scholia. Homer was also the 'father' of many subsequent literary genres. According to Aeschylus quoted by Athenaeus, his own plays were only 'slices from the banquet of Homer' and Sophocles was labelled 'the most Homeric' of the tragedians. Conversely the scholia, following the lead of Plato and Aristotle, regarded Homer as the first of the tragedians and modern scholars justly defined tragedy as 'an exploration of the significance of the Homeric heritage'. Historiography inherited from Homer not only its purpose but also its form, notably the insertion of speeches into the narrative; and its interest in causation (see EXPLANATION, HISTORICAL). Sophists and orators like *Aeschines or *Isocrates or much later Libanius relied heavily on Homeric quotations and used his characters as models. The *Odyssey* became also a founding text for the new genre of the *novel and its influence is most visible in the first (Chariton's *Callirhoe*) and the last (Heliodorus' *Ethiopian Story*) illustrations of the genre. Beginning with the *Presocratic philosophers and *Plato, *philosophers attempted to debunk Homer's authority or used etymology or moral and physical allegory to defend him. Under the Empire, *Dio of Prusa devoted three speeches (35, 35, 53) to Homer, portrayed Homeric heroes such as Nestor (57), Achilles (58), and Chryseis (61), and attempted to refute Homer by Homer in his *Trojan discourse* (11) as did Philostratus in his *Heroicus*. Last but not least Jewish writers such as Philo and many Christian writers, notably Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, and Basil, quoted the Homeric poems lavishly and made them into a 'propaedeutic' teaching. ss

to sexual relations between persons of different sexes. That is because the ancients did not classify kinds of sexual desire or behaviour according to the sameness or difference of the sexes of the persons who engaged in a sexual act; rather, they evaluated sexual acts according to the degree to which such acts either violated or conformed to norms of conduct deemed appropriate to individual sexual actors by reason of their gender, age, and social status. It is therefore impossible to speak in general terms about ancient attitudes to 'homosexuality', or about the degree of its acceptance or toleration by particular communities, because any such statement would, in effect, lump together various behaviours which the ancients themselves kept rigorously distinct and to which they attached radically divergent meanings and values. (Exactly the same things could be said, of course, and with equal justification, about *heterosexuality.)

It is not illegitimate to employ modern sexual terms and concepts when interrogating the ancient record, but particular caution must be exercised in order not to import modern sexual categories and ideologies into the interpretation of the ancient evidence. Hence, students of classical antiquity need to be clear about when they intend the term 'homosexual' descriptively—i.e. to denote nothing more than same-sex sexual relations—and when they intend it substantively or normatively—i.e. to denominate a discrete kind of sexual psychology or behaviour, a positive species of sexual being, or a basic component of 'human sexuality'. The application of 'homosexuality' (and 'heterosexuality') in a substantive or normative sense to sexual expression in classical antiquity is not advised.

Greek and Roman men (whose sexual subjectivity receives vastly greater attention in the extant sources than does women's) generally understood sex to be defined in terms of sexual penetration and phallic pleasure, whether the sexual partners were two males, two females, or one male and one female. Although lovemaking could be spoken of as 'mingling', the physical act of sex was thought to involve a polarization of the partners into contrasting categories of penetrator and penetrated as well as a corresponding polarization of sexual roles into 'active' and 'passive'. Those roles in turn were correlated with superordinate and subordinate social status, with masculine and feminine gender styles, and (in the case of males, at least) with adulthood and adolescence. Phallic insertion functioned as a marker of male precedence; it also expressed social dominance and seniority. The isomorphism of sexual, social, gender, and age roles made the distinction between 'activity' and 'passivity' paramount for categorizing sexual acts and actors of either gender; the distinction between homosexual and hetero-

sexual contacts could still be invoked for certain purposes (e.g. *Ov. Ars am.* 2. 682–4; *Achilles Tattius* 2. 33–8), but it remained of comparatively minor significance for the classification and moral evaluation of sexual behaviour. Exclusive preferences on the part of men for male or female partners, on the rare occasions when they are voiced, are treated by our sources not as deep psychological orientations of sexual desire but as extreme, amusing, and faintly absurd expressions of sexual partisanship (*Pl. Symp.* 189C–193D, ps.-*Luc. Amat.*).

Any sexual relation that involved the penetration of a social inferior (whether inferior in age, gender, or status) qualified as sexually normal for a male, irrespective of the penetrated person's anatomical sex, whereas to be sexually penetrated was always potentially shaming, especially for a free male of citizen status (e.g. *Tac. Ann.* 11. 36). Roman custom accordingly placed the sons of Roman citizens off limits to men. In Classical Athens, by contrast, free boys could be openly courted, but a series of elaborate protocols served to shield them from the shame associated with bodily penetration, thereby enabling them to gratify their male suitors without compromising their future status as socially dominant adult men.

Pederasty

'*Paidierastia*' is the word that the Greeks themselves employed to refer to the sexual pursuit of 'boys' (*paides* or *paidika*; Lat. *pueri*) by 'men' (*andres*; *viri*). The conventional use of the term 'boy' to designate a male in his capacity as an object of male desire is somewhat misleading, because males were customarily supposed to be sexually desirable to other males mostly in the period of life that extended from around the start of puberty to the arrival of the full beard (see AGE); the first appearance of down on a boy's cheeks represented to some the peak of his sexual attractiveness, to others the sad end of his youthful bloom (*hōra*), while the presence of more fully developed hair on the male face, buttocks, and thighs typically aroused in men intense sexual distaste. Since puberty probably began quite late in the ancient Mediterranean world, some youths may have been pursued by older males while still sexually immature. Still, the ancients designated by 'boy' what we would call an adolescent rather than a child. Moreover, 'man' and 'boy' can refer in both Greek and Latin to the senior and junior partners in a pederastic relationship, or to those who play the respective sexual roles appropriate to each, regardless of their actual ages. A boy on the threshold of manhood might assume the sexual role of a boy in relation to a man as well as the sexual role of a man in relation to another boy (e.g. *Xen. Symp.* 8. 2), but he might not play both roles in relation to the same person. Although some

Athenian men may have entertained high-minded intentions towards the boys they courted, it would be hazardous to infer from their occasional efforts at self-promotion (Pl. *Symp.* 184c–185b; Aeschin. *In Tim.* 132–40) that Greek pederasty aimed chiefly at the education and moral improvement of boys instead of at adult sexual pleasure: the market for male prostitutes and handsome slaves indicates that male same-sex desire often had a purely sexual motive.

Sexual relationships between women are occasionally described by male authors in the vocabulary used to articulate distinctions of age and sexual role in pederasty (e.g. Plut. *Lyc.* 18. 4, *Amat.* 763a), but solid evidence for a comparable polarization of sexual roles in female same-sex sexual relations is lacking.

Periodization

The most remarkable feature of ancient ‘homosexuality’ is the longevity of the age-structured, role-specific, hierarchical pattern that governed all of the respectable and most of the recorded sexual relationships between males in classical antiquity. There is evidence for the existence of such a pattern as early as Minoan times and as late as the end of the Roman empire in the west. *Homer, to be sure, did not portray *Achilles and Patroclus as sexual partners (although some Classical Athenians thought he implied as much (Aesch. frs. 135, 136 Radt; Pl. *Symp.* 179e–180b; Aeschin. *In Tim.* 133, 141–50)), but he also did little to rule out such an interpretation, and he was perhaps less ignorant of pederasty than is sometimes alleged: he remarks that Ganymedes was carried off to be the gods’ cupbearer because of his beauty (*Il.* 20. 232–5) and he singles out for special mention the man who was—with the exception of Achilles—the most beautiful man in the Greek host (*Il.* 2. 673–4). (Male beauty contests are well documented in the Greek world from Hellenistic times; they may have been institutionalized earlier: Ath. 13.565F; Paus. 7.24.4.)

Sexual relations between males at Rome conformed closely to the age-differentiated, role-specific pattern documented for Greece. The traditional belief that Roman men regarded ‘homosexuality’ with repugnance and that its presence at Rome was the result of Greek influence is mistaken. To be sure, sexually receptive or effeminate males were harshly ridiculed, and the public courtship of free boys (which the Romans thought of as ‘Greek love’) was discountenanced as severely as was the seduction of free girls; however, the sexual penetration of male prostitutes or slaves by conventionally masculine élite men, who might purchase slaves expressly for that purpose, was not considered morally problematic. We do hear a good deal more from Roman sources about adult

pathics (Sen. *QNat.* 1. 16. 1–3; Petron. *Sat.* 92. 7–9, 105. 9; Juv. *Sat.* 9) and about the sexual pursuit by adult males of male beloveds who had passed beyond the stage of boyhood (Suet. *Galb.* 22). None the less, as in Greece so in Rome did masculinity consist not in the refusal of all sexual contact with males but in the retention of an insertive sexual role and in the preservation of bodily (particularly anal) inviolability. In neither society did sexual relations between males necessarily indicate an exclusive sexual preference on the part of the participants or an inaptitude for sexual relations with women.

‘Greek Love’

The fullest testimony for Greek pederastic norms and practices derives from Classical Athens, but surviving evidence from elsewhere in the Greek world largely accords with the Athenian model. Greek custom carefully differentiated the sexual roles assigned to men and to boys in their erotic relations with one another. Good-looking boys supposedly exerted a powerful sexual appeal that men, even when good-looking, did not. Accordingly, men were assumed to be motivated in their pursuit of boys by a passionate sexual desire (*erōs*) which the boys who were the targets of that desire did not conventionally share, whence the Greek habit of referring to the senior partner in a pederastic love-affair as a *subject* of desire, or ‘lover’ (*erastēs*), and the junior partner as an *object* of desire, or ‘beloved’ (*erōmenos*). Those terms did not necessarily imply a sexual relationship: they could equally be used to denote a relation of unconsummated desire—even of distant (though passionate) admiration—indicating courtship or bedazzlement rather than physical sex.

A boy who chose to ‘gratify’ (*charizesthai*) the passion of his lover might be actuated by a variety of motives, including (on the baser end of the scale) material gain or social climbing and (on the higher end) affection, esteem, respect, and non-passionate, non-romantic love (*philia*), but—although a man might stimulate a boy sexually—neither sexual desire nor sexual pleasure represented an acceptable motive for a boy’s compliance with the sexual demands of his lover. Even pederastic relationships characterized by mutual love and tenderness retained an irreducible element of emotional and erotic asymmetry, as is indicated by the consistent distinction which the Greeks drew in such contexts between the lover’s *erōs* (passionate desire or ‘being in love’) and the beloved’s *philia* (non-erotic, non-passionate love). By contrast, women were believed capable of returning their male lovers’ sexual passion, and so could be spoken of as ‘loving them back’, as exhibiting *anterōs* (‘counter-desire’)—a term never applied in an erotic sense in the

Classical period to boys, except by *Plato in a highly tentative philosophical context (*Phdr.* 255c–e).

The asymmetries structuring pederastic relationships reflected the underlying division of sexual labour. Whereas a boy, lacking his lover's erotic motivation, was not expected to play what the Greeks considered an 'active' sexual role—he was not expected, that is, to seek a sexual climax by inserting his penis into an orifice in his lover's body—a man was expected to do just that, either by thrusting his penis between the boy's thighs (which was considered the most respectful method, because it did not violate the boy's bodily integrity) or by inserting it into his rectum. Respectable erotic relations between men and boys preserved the social fiction, to which some honourable lovers may even have adhered in actual practice, that sexual penetration of the boy took place only between the legs (the so-called intercrural position), never in the anus or—what was even worse—in the mouth. It was not a question of what people actually did in bed (the boy was conventionally assumed to be anally receptive to his older lover) so much as how they behaved and talked when they were out of bed. Hence the story about Periander, the 6th-cent. BC tyrant of Ambracia, who asked his boy, 'Aren't you pregnant yet?': the boy, who had apparently raised no objection to being anally penetrated on repeated occasions, was sufficiently outraged by this question when it was put to him aloud—and doubtless in the presence of witnesses—that he responded by killing the tyrant in order to recover his masculine honour (*Plut. Mor.* 768 f).

The Greek insistence on drawing a clear distinction between the beloved's *philia* and the lover's *erōs* reveals its purpose in this context. Whatever a boy might do in bed, it was crucial that he not seem to be motivated by passionate sexual desire for his lover, because sexual desire for an adult man signified the desire to be penetrated, to be subordinate—to be like a woman, whose pleasure in sexual submissiveness disqualified her from assuming a position of social and political mastery. A boy who indicated that he derived any enjoyment from being anally receptive risked identifying himself as a *kinaidos*, a pathic, a catamite: no modern English word can convey the full force of the ancient stigma attached to this now-defunct identity. Similarly, a man who retained as his beloved a boy on the threshold of manhood thereby cast doubt on his own masculinity, for if the grown boy was not himself a *kinaidos*, then the man who continued to love him must be (cf. *Aeschin. In Ctes.* 162; *Anth. Pal.* 12.4.7–8; *Sen. Ep.* 47.7). And since both Greek men and Greek women (if we credit the desires imputed to the latter by male authors) liked males who looked young, any man who

either did look or who tried to look younger than his years exposed himself to the suspicion of harbouring pathic desires or adulterous intentions.

A rare pictorial representation of *kinaidoi* can be found on one of the so-called Homeric vases, a 'Megarian' bowl decorated in relief, extant in two copies, the better preserved of which, from Thebes, is now in the Louvre (C. A. 936). It probably dates from the Hellenistic period and portrays a group of *kinaidoi* attacking a flour-mill, no doubt a scene from a mime (Rostovtzeff, *AJArch.* 41 (1937), 86 ff.).

Origins and causes

Scholars have speculated about the factors responsible for the visibility and cultural prestige accorded to pederasty in Greek culture. Among the explanations commonly advanced are: (1) Greek males were driven to seek romance and sexual gratification with other males, *faute de mieux*, by the seclusion and enforced intellectual impoverishment of *women; (2) pederasty was a vestige of earlier male *initiation rituals which featured sexual contact between men and boys; (3) the Greeks inherited pederasty from their Indo-European ancestors.

Against the first explanation it may be objected that the seclusion of women was less an actual social practice than an occasional social ideal, that the plentiful availability of both male and female prostitutes (see PROSTITUTION, SECULAR) argues for the existence in some men of specifically pederastic preferences, and that many societies rigorously separate male and female social spheres without also promoting pederasty. In assessing the limited explanatory value of the initiatory model, it is important to notice, first of all, that pederastic rites of passage are more fully (though still scantily) attested in Crete and the Peloponnese than in Attica; next, that Classical Athenian pederasty proceeded by means of elective pair-bonding, not by the compulsory induction of entire *age classes (individual boys had to be courted, unless they were prostitutes, and they could always withhold their consent); and, finally, that pederastic sex was not a prerequisite for admission to any rank or group membership in Athenian society, and it could in fact lead to the forfeiture of certain privileges, if a boy conducted himself disreputably. Moreover, recent comparative work in ethnography has shifted the burden of explanation by establishing that age-structured and role-specific patterns of same-sex sexual contact are relatively common in pre-industrial cultures, including non-Indo-European ones, whereas the homosexual/heterosexual pattern is rare, and tends to be limited to the modern, western, industrialized world.

Lesbianism

Evidence for sexual relations among women in antiquity is sparse, although ancient writers did on occasion represent women as erotically attracted to one another (e.g. Pl. *Symp.* 191e; Ov. *Met.* 9. 666–797). In an irony all too typical of the state of preservation of ancient sources, the earliest attestation of female same-sex desire occurs in the work of a male author—namely, in the *partheneia* of the late 7th-cent. Spartan poet *Alcman, who wrote choral odes to be performed by a cohort of unmarried girls in which individual maidens extol the beauty and allure of named favourites among their leaders and age-mates (frs. 1, 3 Page, *PMG*). Further expressions of female same-sex love and desire can be found a few decades later in the fragmentary poetry of *Sappho, who came from Mytilene on the island of *Lesbos, whence the 19th cent. derived its euphemisms for female homosexuality, *sapphism* and ‘lesbianism’. In antiquity, by contrast, at least from the 5th cent. BC, ‘lesbian’ sex referred to fellatio and Sappho figured as a prostitute; the earliest association of Lesbos with female homoeroticism dates to the 2nd cent. AD (Lucian, *Dial. meret.* 5. 2; cf., however, Anac. fr. 358 D. L. Page, *PMG*). The interpretation of Sappho’s poems is complicated by the fact that no writer of the Classical period found their homoeroticism sufficiently noteworthy to warrant mention (although a red-figure Attic hydria, attributed to the Polygnotus group, from about 440 BC portrays Sappho in what may be a female homoerotic setting (Beazley, *ARV²* 1060, no. 145)); the earliest touch on it were the Augustan poets of the late 1st cent. BC (Hor. *Carm.* 2. 13. 24–5; Ov. *Her.* 15. 15–19, *Tr.* 2. 365). So either Sappho’s earlier readers and auditors saw nothing homoerotic in her poems or they saw nothing remarkable in Sappho’s homoeroticism. One solution to this conundrum may be to suppose that the social function of Sappho’s poetry, like that of Alcman’s *partheneia*, was to celebrate the beauty and desirability of the rising generation of girls and young women in the local community—something which could only be done, without causing offence, by a woman, since common decency constrained men from so much as mentioning in public the name of a woman belonging to a respectable citizen family. The Sapphic tradition may have been revived by the Hellenistic poet Nossis of Locri.

A highly sensual love-poem, addressed by one woman to another, arguing that women are preferable to men, was written on a wall in Pompeii—by whom we do not know (*CIL* 4.5296). Perhaps the cultural predominance of the penetration model of sex has obscured non-penetrative eroticism among conventionally feminine women in the ancient world (cf. Petron. *Sat.* 67); in any case, there seems to have been no established terminology for such

relations. The female same-sex sexual practice that imperial Greek and Roman writers alike singled out for comment was ‘tribadism’, the sexual penetration of women (and men) by other women, by means of either a dildo or a fantastically large clitoris. Although the word *tribas* is attested for the first time in Greek in the 2nd cent. AD, an equivalent Latin loan word crops up in the previous century (Phaedrus 4. 15(16). 1; Sen. *Controv.* 1. 2. 23) and the figure of the hypermasculine phallic woman may be considerably older. The tribade makes memorable appearances, though not always under that name, in imperial literature (Sen. *Ep.* 95. 21; Mart. 1. 90, 7. 67, 7. 70; Lucian *Dial. meret.* 5): she is represented as a shaven-headed butch, adept at wrestling, able to subjugate men and to satisfy women.

Deviance and toleration

Ancient sources are informed by the routine presumption that most free adult males, whatever their particular tastes, are at least capable of being sexually attracted by both good-looking boys and good-looking women; such attraction was deemed normal and natural. An adult male’s preference for male or female love-objects did not indicate anything in particular about his gender identity or his ‘sexuality’ in the modern sense; it had more to do with erotic connoisseurship and personal style, and it was not expected to affect the serious business of family life. No specifically sexual stigma attached to sexual penetration of a woman, boy, foreigner, or slave, although certain kinds of sexual licence did incur disfavour (the expenditure of extravagant sums of money on prostitutes of either sex, the corruption of free boys, and the adulterous pursuit of citizen women were regarded as signs of bad character in a man and even as actionable offences at Athens; the seduction of free youth of either sex was criminalized as *stuprum* at Rome). Thus, it would not have been unexpected to ask of a man who confessed to being in love whether his object was a boy or a woman, and at least one surviving marriage-contract from Hellenistic *Egypt (*PTeb.* 1. 104) commits the prospective husband not to maintain either a female concubine or a male beloved. The most glamorous and boastworthy same-sex liaison in Greece was that between a free man and a free boy of good family, unaffected by considerations of material gain and untainted by suggestions of sexual degradation; a respectable citizen could brag about such a relationship in the law-courts. And the song of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which celebrated the pederastic couple who killed one of the Pisistratids and thereby supposedly freed Athens from tyranny, functioned in the democratic period as something like the Athenian national anthem.

Not all expressions of same-sex eroticism were approved by the ancients. They did not have a concept of sexual perversion, but they did stigmatize forms of sexual behaviour that they considered shameful, unconventional, or unnatural. Plato is exceptional in treating pederasty (along with female homosexuality) as unnatural in the *Laws* (636b–c, 838–41), although some later moralizing writers did so treat it (along with other civilized luxuries such as warm baths and potted plants: Sen. *Ep.* 122. 7–8). Women who prefer women over men may have incurred male disapproval as early as the Hellenistic period (Asclepiades 7 (Gow–Page, *HE* 1. 46, no. 7)). But what principally seemed deviant to the ancients was sexual behaviour at odds with a person's gender identity and social status—that is, sexual receptivity in men and sexual insertivity in women, both interpreted as signs of gender inversion. Ancient writers occasionally speculated about the causes of inversion: their explanations range from ingenious physiological hypotheses (Arist. [*Pr.*] 4. 26; Phaedrus 4. 15(16)) to observations about the tyranny of pleasure (Pl. *Grg.* 494c–e) and imputations of pathology (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 7. 5. 3–4 = 1148^b26–35; Caelius Aurelianus, *On chronic diseases* (ed. I. Drabkin), 4. 9). See EDUCATION.

DMH

Horace (*see following page*)

household

Greek

The household (*oikos*) was the fundamental social, political and economic unit of ancient Greece (Arist. *Pol.* 1. 2), though its precise links into larger political and economic structures changed regionally and over time. At one level it was a co-resident group, many (though not all) of whose members were kin or affines (related by marriage). Patrilineal kinship was probably more common than matrilineal in household settings, since marriage was patrilocal, i.e. women tended to move into their husband's house and household on marriage. Though a nuclear family (parents and children) might form the household's core, there is considerable evidence for the regular appearance of stem families (nuclear family plus a grandparent) and various kinds of extended families, especially incorporating unmarried female relatives (aunts, sisters, nieces, cousins, etc.). The senior man in the household usually took charge of 'official' relations with the outside world and acted as the head of household (*kyrios*). None the less, women never relinquished membership of the household into which they were born and might move back into if the marriage were dissolved. Women, then, usually lived out their lives in two households, men in only one.

Households also included many non-kin members, of lower, non-citizen status. Most notable were slaves, who belonged to most of the well-off households mentioned in the sources; *see* SLAVERY. But other dependants such as freedmen or women might also be present (the household in Demosthenes 47 included an old, ex-slave nurse who must have been of metic status; *see* METICS). Lodgers (*Antiphon) might also have been considered household members during their sojourn. Households, especially wealthy ones, must often have been quite large. Given the relatively small size of even rich Greek *houses (e.g. at 4th-cent. BC Olynthus the size-range of houses was 150–300 m.²: 1,600–3,200 ft.²), living conditions must have been crowded by modern standards. *See* HOUSES, GREEK.

The concept of the household rose above its physical reality and covered not only people but property, land, and animals as well. At this level the households of the élite frequently expanded in scope beyond the co-resident unit to include other estates, farms, and businesses. The household formed the most significant structure of economic management in ancient Greece. (*See* ECONOMY, GREEK.) Transmission of property to the succeeding households of the next generation was via partible inheritance. Because the household conceptually constituted the limits of trust and loyalty, businesses and long-term financial arrangements rarely expanded beyond it. Even on the death of the head of household, male heirs (normally brothers) did not necessarily divide all the economic resources and construct two new households (Lys. 32).

LF

Roman

'Household' is the usual English translation of Latin *familia*, a term to which the jurist Ulpian (*Dig.* 50. 16. 195. 1–5), understanding its application to both property and persons, assigned several meanings: the physical household; the persons comprising a household (e.g. patron and freedman); a body of persons united by a common legal tie such as all kin subject to a living *paterfamilias* (male with paternal authority in law), or a body more loosely connected such as all agnatically related kin; a body of slaves, or slaves and sons; and all blood descendants of an original family founder. (To some degree *familia* overlapped with the term *domus*.) Accordingly, study of the Roman household can range from archaeological investigation of the physical structures in which Romans lived (*see* HOUSES, ITALIAN) to the exclusive history of *slavery. But it is now primarily associated with the field of family history, the principal constituents of which are the composition, organization and evolution of the family through its life-course. Understood ideally to comprise a married couple, their children, the house in

[continued on p. 396]

HORACE

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) was born on 8 December 65 BC in Venusia in Apulia (mod. Venosa) and died on 27 November 8 BC (*Epist.* 1. 20. 26–7; *Life*). Thanks to the almost complete preservation of *Suetonius' *Life* and numerous biographical allusions in the poetry, we are relatively well informed about his life. His father was a *freedman (*Sat.* 1. 6. 6, 45–6), though this need not mean, as some have supposed, that he had come as a slave from the east. Even an Italian could have been enslaved as a result of the Social War of 91–89 (see *ROME (HISTORY)* §1.5), in which Venusia was captured by Rome. Horace presents himself as brought up in the old Italian style (cf. *Sat.* 1. 4. 105–29 with *Ter. Ad.* 414–19) and his father may well have come from Italy itself. The father had a fairly small landholding in Venusia (*Sat.* 1. 6. 71) but in his role as *coactor* (public auctioneer) obtained what was clearly not an inconsiderable amount of money (*Sat.* 1. 6. 86, *Life*); otherwise he could not have afforded to send his son to Rome and then Athens for an education that was the equal of that of a typical upper-class Roman of the time (*Sat.* 1. 6. 76–80, *Epist.* 2. 1. 70 f.; *Life*). This ambitious education was clearly intended to help Horace to rise in society, and at first this plan met with success. While in Athens, Horace joined the army of *Brutus as a *tribunus militum* or military tribune (*Sat.* 1. 6. 47 f.; *Life*), a post usually held by **equites*. But all these high hopes were brought to nothing by the fall of Brutus and the loss of the family's property (*Epist.* 2. 2. 46–51). Horace counted himself lucky to be able to return to Italy, unlike many of his comrades-in-arms, and to obtain the reasonably respectable position of *scriba quaestorius* (*Sat.* 2. 6. 36 f.; *Life*). It was in this period that he wrote his first poems (*Epist.* 2. 2. 51 f.), which brought him into contact with *Virgil and Varius Rufus. They recommended him to *Maecenas, then gathering around him a circle of writers; and when Maecenas accepted him into this circle in 38 BC (*Sat.* 1. 6. 52–62, 2. 6. 40–2), and later gave him the famous Sabine farm, his financial position was secure. His property put him in the higher reaches of the *equites* census (cf. *Sat.* 2. 7. 53) and he now possessed the leisure to devote himself to poetry. He was acquainted with many leading Romans, and on friendly terms with a considerable number of them, most notably his patron Maecenas. In his later years *Augustus also sought to be on close terms, as several letters written in a warm and candid tone attest (*Life*). But Horace knew well how to preserve his personal freedom. Augustus offered him an influential post on his personal staff (*officium epistularum*) but Horace turned this down (*Life*) and as *Epistle* 1. 7 demonstrates he showed a similar independence towards Maecenas.

Works

Epodes

The *Epodes* or *Iambi* (cf. *Epod.* 14. 7; *Epist.* 1. 19. 23) form a slender book of 17 poems. They include some of Horace's earliest poems, written before the encounter with Maecenas, but work on them continued throughout the 30s BC and poems 1 and 9 allude to the battle of *Actium: the collection as a whole seems to have been published around 30 BC. Horace's formal model was *Archilochus, the founder of *iambus*, to whom he joins Hipponax (*Epod.* 6. 13 f.; *Epist.* 1. 19. 23–5). He thus introduced for the first time into Rome not only the metrical form of early Greek iambus, but also some of the matter (cf. *Epod.* 10, which is closely related to the disputed papyrus fragment Archilochus 79a Diels = Hipponax 115 West). Horace's adoption of this early form may be compared with the incorporation of classical and pre-classical motifs in the visual art of the day, but it did not represent a rejection of the Callimachean principle (see *CALLIMACHUS*) that every detail of a poem should be artistically controlled and contribute to the overall effect. Even the 'archaic' epodes are written in a style of painstaking elegance. The central theme of iambic poetry was traditionally invective, that is personal attack, mockery, and satire (*Epist.* 1. 19. 25, 30 f.; cf. *Arist. Poet.* 1448^b26 ff.), and Horace may have taken up the genre in his affliction after the battle of Philippi as a way of preserving his self-respect in hard times. But only some of the *Epodes* are invectives (4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 17), and even in these the targets are either anonymous or figures about whom we know next to nothing. Horace clearly avoids the sort of personal attacks on important contemporary figures that we find in *Catullus. A different aspect of early Greek poetry is taken up in *Epodes* 7 and 16. Just as the early Greek poets (including Archilochus: cf. fr. 109 West with *Epod.* 16. 17 ff.) on occasions addressed themselves to the general public, so in these poems Horace represents himself as warning and exhorting the Roman people. There are no iambic elements in the poems to Maecenas: *Epod.* 3 is a joke, *Epod.* 14 an excuse, and in *Epod.* 1 and 9 one friend talks to another in the context of the decisive struggles of 31 BC. Other epodes take up motifs from other contemporary genres

(elegy in 11 and 15, pastoral in 2) but with significant alterations of tone: Horace ironically breaks the high emotional level of the models with a detached and distant *closure. *Epode* 13 anticipates a theme of the *Odes* (cf. *Carm.* 1. 7).

Satires

Contemporaneously with the *Epodes*, Horace composed his two books of *satires (*Satira*: 2. 1. 1, 2. 6. 17). He also calls them *Sermones*, ‘conversations’ (2. 3. 4, *Epist.* 1. 4. 1, 2. 1. 250, 2. 2. 60), which suits their loose colloquial tone that seems to slide from one subject to another almost at random. The first book contains ten satires, the second eight. The earliest datable reference is to the ‘journey to Brundisium’ undertaken with Maecenas and his circle in 38 or 37 BC and described at length in *Sat.* 1. 5, the latest is to the settlement of veterans after the civil war in 30 BC (*Sat.* 2. 6. 55 f.). Some of the poems may have been written before 38, but there is no evidence that any are later than 30. Horace’s model is Lucilius, but he represents himself as determined to write with greater care and attention to form (*Sat.* 1. 4, 1. 10, 2. 1), and thus, again, as a follower of Callimachus (cf. especially *Sat.* 1. 10. 9–15, 67–74). Another difference from Lucilius is that Horace’s satires are less aggressive. While the pugnacious poet of the 2nd cent. took sides in the political struggles of his time, Horace chooses a purely private set of themes. In *Sat.* 1. 4 and 2. 1 he represents personal abuse as a typical element in satire, but declares that he himself does not attack any contemporary public figures. When he names people as possessed of particular vices, as in the *Epodes* they are either unknown or no longer alive, and it is clear that the names represent types rather than individual targets. The criticism of vice occurs less for its own sake than to show the way to a correct way of life through an apprehension of error. In these passages Horace comes close to the doctrines and argument-forms of popular philosophy (so-called diatribe), even if he rejects the sometimes fanciful tone of the Cynic–Stoic wandering preachers; see CYNICS; STOICISM. His style is rather to tell the truth through laughter (*ridentem dicere verum*), and not only to show others the way but also to work at improving himself and making himself more acceptable to his fellow human beings (*Sat.* 1. 4. 133–8). The autobiographical aspect of many satires is another Lucilian element. Just like Lucilius, he makes his own life a subject for his poetry, and his personal situation is a central theme of poems like *Sat.* 1. 4, 1. 6, 1. 9, and 2. 6, and a partial concern in many others. Both books are arranged according to theme. In the first book, related poems are grouped together in three groups of three: 1–3 are diatribes, 4–6 are autobiographical, and 7–9 relate anecdotes, while in the last poem of the book Horace offers a retrospective look at the individuality of his satiric production. In contrast to the first book, the poems of the second book are mostly dialogues. They are arranged so that poems from the second half of the book parallel poems of the first in motif: in the dialogues of *Sat.* 1 and 5 an expert is asked for advice, the theme of 2 and 6 is the value of a simple life on the land, in 3 and 7 Horace faces some decidedly dubious representatives of popular philosophy who inflict long sermons on him, and the theme of 4 and 8 is the luxuriousness of contemporary Roman banqueting.

Odes (*Carmina*)

After the publication of the *Epodes* and *Satires* around 30 BC, Horace turned to lyric poetry. The earliest datable reference is in *Odes* 1. 37, which celebrates Augustus’ defeat of *Cleopatra VII at Actium in 31 BC, though it is not impossible that some odes were written earlier than this: 1. 14, for instance, on the ‘ship of state’, whose situation fits best the time before Actium (though the poem is open to different interpretations, and it has even been doubted whether it is in fact a political allegory at all). At any rate, the first three books of the *Odes*, 88 poems in all, seem to have been published as a collection in 23 BC. The concluding poem, 3. 30, looks back on the work as a completed unit, and does not envisage a sequel. After the composition, at Augustus’ bidding, of the *Carmen saeculare* in 17, however, a fourth book of 15 poems was added, which also seems to have been inspired by Augustus (*Life*).

Horace declares that his main literary model in the *Odes* was the early Greek *lyric poetry from *Lesbos, especially that of *Alcaeus (*Carm.* 1. 1. 33 f., 1. 32, 3. 30. 13 f.; *Epist.* 1. 19. 32 f.). He is indebted to this model for the metrical form of the *Odes* but he also begins a series of poems with an almost literal translation of lines by Alcaeus (the so-called ‘mot-toes’), which serve as a springboard for his own developments (e.g. 1. 9, 1. 18, 1. 37, 3. 12). He also takes over motifs from other early lyric poets, such as *Sappho (1. 13), *Anacreon (1. 23), and *Pindar (1. 12, 3. 4, and some of the higher-style poems in book 4). His view of this early poetry, however, is that of a poet trained in the modern contemporary Hellenistic style: the *Odes* are not written in the simple language of the archaic models but are full of the dense and sophisticated allusivity that was the inevitable result of the complex literary world of Augustan Rome. He also takes over a number of themes from Hellenistic poetry, especially from Greek *epigram (cf. 1. 5, 1. 28, 1. 30, 3. 22, 3. 26).

Although the major themes of the *Odes* are the usual ones of ancient poetry, Horace’s treatment of them is, as far as we can tell, markedly different. The hymns to the gods, for instance, are not meant for cult performance but encounter the world of Greek divinity more with aesthetic pleasure than in an act of pious worship. His love poetry takes a dif-

ferent line from that of his contemporaries. While Catullus and the elegists (see ELEGIAC POETRY, LATIN) had tended to make a single beloved the focus of their life and poetry, Horace's poems are concerned with a variety of women (and boys; see HOMOSEXUALITY). Although passionate obsession is not entirely alien to the *Odes*, typically Horace tries to free himself from extreme emotion and move himself and his beloved towards a calm and cheerful enjoyment of the moment. The sympotic poetry (see SYMPOSIUM) diverges distinctively from that of Alcaeus. Horace does not set out to drown his sorrows, but to give himself and his friends at the drinking-party a brief moment of freedom from care, in poems which, as earlier in the *Satires*, lead often to reflection on the right way to live one's life. Friendship is an important theme throughout the *Odes*: they are hardly ever soliloquies, but poems addressed to a friend offering help and advice. The political themes begun in the *Epodes* are taken further. Although Horace declines to celebrate Augustus or Agrippa in the traditional Roman form of panegyric epic (1. 6, 1. 12), from the time of the poem celebrating the defeat of Cleopatra (1. 37) on he offers explicit praise of the new ruler as one who had brought peace and through his policies maintained it. He also declares his support for the attempt by Augustus to restore 'ancient Roman' customs and morality (3. 1–6 and 3. 24). In the later *Ode* 3. 14, in the *Carmen saeculare*, and in the poems of book 4 the panegyric of the Augustan epoch comes even more to the fore, and it is celebrated as an epoch of peace, a second golden age.

Horace's *Odes* differ in one essential respect from the norms of modern, especially post-Romantic, lyric poetry. Modern lyric strives as far as possible for a unity of atmosphere within one poem, but this is found in Horace only in his shortest poems. More commonly, as F. Klingner (*Studien zur römischen und griechischen Literatur* (1964)) noted, within a single poem there are significant movements and changes in content, expression, and stylistic level. Poems written in high style with important content often conclude with a personal and apparently insignificant final turn. In other odes, the whole poem moves considerably from the content or atmosphere of the opening, most often from a distressed or agitated emotional level to a dissipation of tension. In other odes again, a concrete situation gives rise to thoughts which move far away from it, with the result that the meaning of the poem seems to rest on these general reflections rather than in the poem's situation. And a fourth possibility is a form of ring-composition: an opening section is followed by a second part very different in content and tone, and the final section then returns to the mood of the opening. A harmonious balance is also aimed at in the order of poems within the books. Poems of important content and accordingly a high stylistic register tend to be placed at the beginning and end of books, with lighter poems placed next to them for contrast (cf. 1. 4, 1. 5, 2. 4, 2. 5, 3. 7–3. 10 towards the beginning of books, 3. 26, 3. 28, 4. 12 towards the end). In contrast, the first book ends with the light, cheerful, short sympotic poem 1. 38, preceded by the weighty victory poem 1. 37.

Epistles book 1

After the publication of the *Odes*, Horace returned to hexameter poetry and the conversational style of his earlier *Sermones*, but this time in the form of letters addressed to a variety of recipients. Although Lucilius had written satires in the form of letters, the notion of a complete book of verse epistles was comparatively novel. The poems are naturally not real letters actually sent to their addressees, but the choice of the letter-form was a literary device which gave Horace a concrete starting-point and a unified speech-situation. The dating of the collection is uncertain: the last line of *Epistles* 1. 20 refers to the consuls of 21 BC, and many would place the publication in that year, but 1. 12. 26 seems to refer to the defeat of the Cantabri in 19 BC (Cass. Dio 54. 11). In the programmatic *Epistle* 1. 1 Horace grounds his choice of the new form in his advancing old age: philosophical reflection and a concentration on questions of how to lead one's life now suit him better than the usual themes of lyric. The philosophical meditation that this declaration places at the centre of his work is an essential theme of the book, but not its only concern. Horace writes also more generally of the circumstances of his own life, and offers his friends various forms of counsel. Many elements recall the *Satires*, but the choice of the letter-form brings a more unified tone to the varied content. The last epistle (1. 20) is an address to the book itself, portrayed as a young slave eager to be free of its master.

Epistles book 2, Ars poetica

From *Satires* 1. 4 and 1. 10 on, poetry itself had been a constant concern of Horace's poetry, and this becomes the central theme of the two long poems of *Epistles* book 2 (2. 1. 1 to Augustus and 2. 2 to Florus) and the *Ars poetica*. These poems are again hard to date: but *Epist.* 2. 2. 141 ff. contrasts a philosophical concern for the right way of life with the themes of lyric in similar terms to *Epist.* 1. 1 and the two poems are unlikely to be far apart chronologically. *Epist.* 2. 2 is thus probably written before Horace's resumption of lyric poetry in book 4 of the *Odes* (17 BC). On the other hand *Epist.* 2. 1. 132–7 probably alludes to the *Carmen saeculare*, and 2. 1. 252 seems to recall *Odes* 4. 14. 11 f. from the year 15. Thus the letter to Augustus (2. 1) seems to be later than the letter to Florus (2. 2). The dating of the *Ars poetica* is particularly controversial: in 301–9 Horace says that he is not currently writing (lyric) poetry, but this ironic remark can be situated

either before or after *Odes* book 4. The interpretation of all three letters is difficult, because their logical articulation is deliberately obscured by the colloquial tone of a *sermo* or conversation and their various themes are interwoven without clearly marked transitions between them. The great commentary of C. O. Brink has however made many points clearer. In the letter to Augustus (2. 1), Horace complains that the taste of the contemporary public turns more to the cheap theatrical effects of earlier Latin writers than the authors of his own generation. He sees this as unfair, and accuses the older writers of being careless and deficient in taste. The letter to Florus (2. 2.) is more personal. In it, Horace explains to his friend why he no longer writes poetry but has turned to philosophy, and offers a candid picture of the restrictions and difficulties of a poet's life at Rome. The *Ars poetica* begins with the proposition that every poem must be a unified whole (1–41), and after a few verses on the necessary ordering of material (42–4) turns to poetic language and the correspondingly appropriate style (45–118). Lines 119–52 then move via a sliding transition to the choice of material and its treatment, with examples taken both from epic and from drama. Lines 153–294 concentrate on the various genres of dramatic poetry, and in the final section (295–476), after another sliding transition, the reader is offered general rules for the poet's craft. This varied subject-matter is given unity by the recurring insistence on values such as appropriateness, clarity, and artistic composition. Horace's teaching lies in the tradition of *Aristotle's school, the Peripatetic, though the *Ars* does not draw directly on the extant *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* but on later versions of the school's doctrine, particularly (according to the ancient commentator Pomponius Porphyrio) the early Hellenistic philosopher Neoptolemus of Parium. There are striking parallels between the *Ars* and the meagre fragments we possess of Neoptolemus, but it is not impossible that other works also lie behind the *Ars poetica*. At any rate, Horace's own contribution lies less in offering a new view of the existing tradition than in his poetic transformation of it through images and vignettes.

HPS

which they lived, and their common property (which could include human property), the household in *Cicero's view (*Off.* 1. 54) was the very foundation of society. The special case of Roman *Egypt apart, it is about the household at the social level Cicero represents that most is known.

The orientation of the household was strictly patriarchal, with its head (*paterfamilias*) wielding enormous power (*patria potestas*) over his dependants, including the power of life and death over his children and slaves. In reality the implicit harshness of the regime towards adult children who, unless emancipated, could not become legally independent and own property until their fathers died, was probably tempered by demographic factors that released many from its constricting effects as they reached their early and mature adult years. The role of the *materfamilias*, stereotypically conceived, was subordinate and, beyond reproduction in marriage, largely confined to matters of domestic management in a context where ideas of economic self-sufficiency were all-important. It does not follow, however, that Roman wives and mothers were devoid of all social and economic power, as the example of Cicero's wife Terentia indicates. The ideal was propagated that marriage (*see* MARRIAGE LAW) was a union for life, but because of early spousal death and divorce both men and women might anticipate a succession of marriages through their adult lives. This frequently produced family and household reconstitution, with

principals commonly finding themselves aligned in complex familial arrangements, involving both kin and non-kin members. Accordingly the composition of the Roman household was far from simple, its membership constantly in flux, and, especially because of the presence of servants (to whom the day-to-day care of children was often entrusted), not at all confined to immediate nuclear attachments.

KRB

houses, Greek Private houses of the Classical and Hellenistic periods were basically the same throughout the Greek world. Most rooms opened onto one or more sides of a small, rectangular courtyard, as did a doorway to the street, often preceded by a short passage. Windows were few and small and living areas were not visible from the street. An upper storey, reached by a ladder or, more rarely, a built stairway, was common but is often hard to detect. Construction was in mud-brick or rubble on stone socles. Interior walls were plastered and often painted simply, mostly in red and white. Floors were of beaten earth. In most houses, on the ground floor, one or two rooms with heavier floors and provisions for bathing, heating water, and cooking can be identified, but cooking could take place on simple hearths or portable braziers in any room or in the courtyard. The concept of the hearth and its goddess, Hestia, symbolized the identity and cohesion of the *household (*oikos*) but formal, fixed hearths were not common, nor were altars for domestic ritual.

A larger room, facing south for winter sunshine, and shaded by a shallow porch, may often have served as the principal living-room in the type of house that has been termed *prostas* (it is especially clear at Priene). A type with a long porch or room fronting more than one other room has been called the *pastas* type (favoured at Olynthus, Thasos, and Eretria). Roofs were either pitched and covered with brush and terracotta tiles (or only by brush) or flat, depending on regional climate and traditions.

Frequently a more elaborately decorated room with a distinctive floor-plan served to receive guests, predominantly men (it was usually called the *andrōn*, 'men's room'). The floor, in cement, was raised slightly around all four sides for the placement of dining-couches, usually five, seven, or eleven in number, which resulted in the room's doorway being off-centre (see SYMPOSIUM). The lower rectangle in the middle of the room was sometimes decorated with pebble *mosaics. The *andrōn* has been found in modest as well as large houses, in country as well as town, all over Greece, but is lacking at Thasos.

Women's quarters are mentioned in literary sources but cannot be securely identified in the surviving architecture and are not simply to be equated with the second storey. Rather, certain rooms or areas of the house, depending on the composition and needs of the inhabitants, were assigned primarily to women. The house as a whole may have been regarded as women's domain (see WOMEN), apart from the *andrōn* and wherever unmarried men, slave or free, slept. No distinct quarters for slaves are distinguishable architecturally, although female slaves might be separated by a locked door from the male.

The household was an economic as well as social unit. Much of the processing and storage of the products of the family's land took place in the house. Stone parts of oil-presses have been found in the houses of towns inhabited mostly by farmers. Wells, cisterns for rainwater, and pits for collecting waste for manure are found in courtyards; see WATER. If a craft was practised that too took place in the house; distinctive workshops are rare. One room, opening onto the street, was sometimes separated to serve as a shop, not necessarily occupied by the residents of the house. Houses could be home to several persons or families, especially in cities like Athens with large transient, foreign, and slave populations (see METICS; SLAVERY).

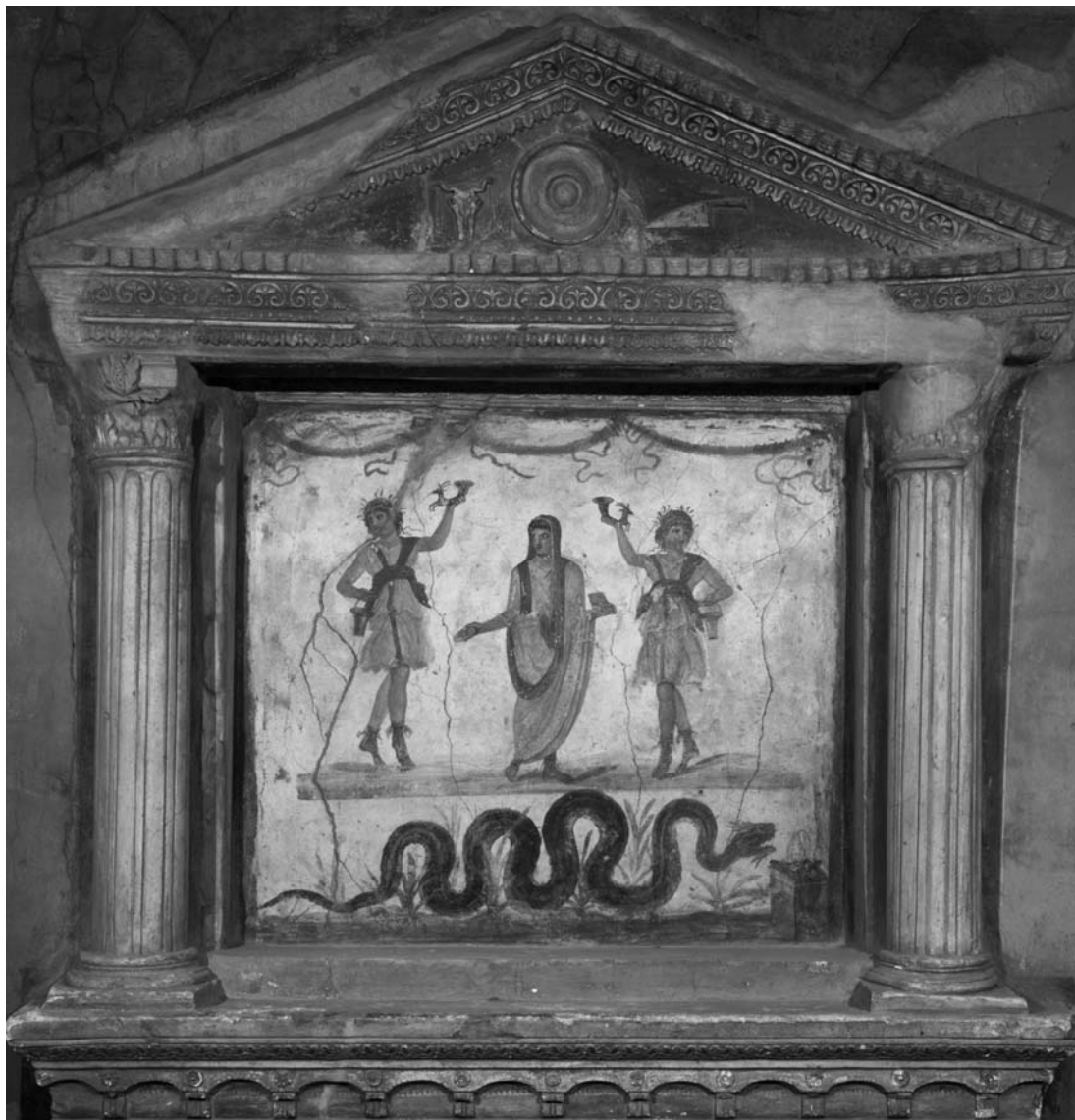
The same general concept and design of the private house was used in city, village, and countryside. In the last the courtyard might be larger to accommodate animals and equipment and commonly a tower of two or three storeys, round or square, and more heavily built than the rest, was entered from the courtyard. Such towers, often the only conspicuous remains of houses in

the countryside, have been identified in towns as well. They appear to have been used primarily for the safe keeping of goods and persons, slave and free, especially, but not only, in more isolated locations.

The development of the Greek house is inseparable from that of the settlement. Houses were contiguous, sharing party-walls. The privacy of each adjacent unit and the concomitant independence of each *oikos* were vital. When new settlements were established, streets were laid out orthogonally (see URBANISM); initially house plots were probably of uniform size, though in the course of time changes occurred. The modesty of the Classical houses of all classes is striking. Large houses with two courtyards are first found in Eretria in the 4th cent. BC and in towns of the Hellenistic period. Courtyards may have a peristyle on four sides. Only in the Hellenistic and Roman periods do some Greek houses approximate to the descriptions of the Roman author *Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6. 7). The palaces of monarchs and tyrants (see TYRANNY) took the form of elaborations of the larger private houses. MHJ

houses, Italian The social structures which underlay the Greek house, a *household unit (in Greek, *oikos*), which was capable of representing both a citizen lot in the space of the town, and the symbolic abode of the head of a lineage, were shared by Italy in the period of its first *urbanism. Where there was an idea of equality among a limited group of ruling families the two ideas coalesced comfortably. *Etruscan urbanism shows signs of both ends of this spectrum; fine aristocratic houses are known, which tally with the power and pretensions of what we know of some of the city élites, while the urban texture of places like Marzabotto resembles the topography of wider citizen franchise as seen at Olynthus or Priene. The discoveries of the 1980s on the slopes of the Palatine hill at Rome showed how already in the 6th cent. BC the Roman élite was living along the via Sacra, beside the Forum, in a series of roughly equal *oikopeda* (house-plots) of considerable size which formed the base of the topography of the area until the great fire of AD 64. The Roman aristocracy thus identified itself with a historic home in the city centre as much as any early modern or modern aristocrat with a feudal estate in the countryside. Something similar may be guessed for other Italian aristocracies of tenacious traditions like that of Tarquinii.

This is the background to the first really copious evidence, the 3rd–2nd-cent. BC houses of *Pompeii, which show a regular plan and a systematic division of urban space, but a very considerable variety of size and levels of wealth, the House of the Faun being absolutely



houses, Italian The Italian house was a religious unit under the protection of household gods. This wall-painting from a house at *Pompeii depicts (centre) the *genius* (guardian) of the male head of the house or *paterfamilias*, flanked by two Lares, gods of the home. © Scala, Florence, courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali

outstanding by the standards of anywhere in the Mediterranean world. In these houses it is relatively easy to identify the features which *Vitruvius, our principal literary source, regarded as canonical, but their evolution in different parts of Italy should not be taken for granted. The traditional houses of the centre of Rome seem also to have adhered to the basic pattern of atrium with rooms round it; where more space was available, this traditional

arrangement could be combined with peristyles and gardens, offering scope for planned suites of rooms, interesting light effects, and amenities such as ornamental plantings or fountains, and providing more flexible spaces for living, entertaining, politics, and the cultural activities which were integral to upper-class life. The politicians of the late republic were credited with various changes to the use of houses; and luxury in domestic

appointments was thought to have taken off dramatically in the 1st cent. BC; but the setting for both processes seems to have been the traditional 'Pompeian/Vitruvian' house.

The salient feature of this traditional plan was the atrium—a rectangular space open to the sky at the centre, columned in the more elaborate forms, with wide covered spaces on each of the four sides, one of which gave onto the outside world through a vestibule. Originally the site of the family hearth, whose smoke caused the blackening (*ater*) which gave the place its name, this was also the abode of the household deities, and housed the copies of the funerary masks which were the sign of the family's continuity and identity. The adjacent rooms, including a *tablinum* and *cubicula*, were in fact flexible in their use, and this flexibility is the key to the understanding of all Roman domestic space, even in very much more elaborate dwellings. A *triclinium* for convivial dining was an early and frequent adjunct, but *meals could be taken in a variety of different rooms, if they were available, according to season and weather.

*Augustus' house on the Palatine, reached by passing along the street of venerable aristocratic addresses (the houses had been rebuilt many times) from the Forum, consisted of an amalgamation of several *domus* of the traditional sort, so that he could enjoy the advantages of considerable space while claiming moderation in his domestic circumstances. The building of very large complexes nearby under *Gaius (for example, the platform of the 'Domus Tiberiana', which supported a country villa in the heart of Rome) and *Nero, whose Golden House (Domus Aurea) spread over a large section of the city centre and took playful manipulation of Roman domestic tradition to the limit, took a different line, but *Domitian's enormous palace, overpowering and monarchic in its axiality though it was, is recognizably an ancient *domus* on a hugely inflated scale.

For most inhabitants of the Roman city, however, this spacious life was impossible; it was normal to live in someone else's property, and in much less space. The wealthy had long accommodated slaves, dependants, and visitors around the principal spaces of their houses—on the street frontages, from which the principal rooms were averted, on upper floors, or even under the floors of the main premises, in warrens of small rooms. Parts of the *domus* accessible from outside could be let profitably for accommodation or for a variety of economic activities. Purpose-built rental accommodation, in the form of whole blocks in the city or its environs given over to the sort of unit that fringed a normal *domus*, goes back at least to the middle republic. The demand for such premises grew so fast that those who could afford to build them

saw a valuable source of rental income, and a style of architecture developed which had this type of dwelling-space in mind. By the imperial period, multi-storey tenement blocks, which are usually known as *insulae*, housed all but a tiny fraction of the population of Rome and other big cities. Not all this accommodation was of low quality; some was sited in attractive areas, some *cenacula* (apartments) were sufficiently large, those on the lower floors were not inconvenient (the 'Garden Houses' at *Ostia for instance), and many people of quite high status could afford no better. The introduction of kiln-fired brick almost certainly made these developments safer and more salubrious than had been the case in the republic. Estimates of the living conditions in the *insulae* we know best, those of Ostia—where we cannot tell if we are looking at privileged or marginal housing—illustrate a more general difficulty in the study of the Roman house, that of understanding the density of occupation and the pattern of human interaction represented by the layout of rooms. Scholarship has concentrated on typology rather than function, and has been given to making facile assumptions about standards of comfort, convenience, and cleanliness based on modern cultural stereotypes. Despite the enormous quantity of archaeological explanation, ancient domestic society still needs investigation.

The atrium proved remarkably tenacious. But by late antiquity the houses of even the topmost élite had adopted in preference the looser arrangements of porticoes and reception rooms which had been developed in suburban villas (*horti*, see GARDENS) and the country *villa.

NP

housework, a specifically female task, was evidently not of interest to male authors, and there are no surviving household accounts or instructions. 'Women's work' meant weaving and the other tasks required in fabric-making: cleaning and carding wool, spinning and dyeing thread. *Xenophon, in the *Oeconomicus*, envisages a young wife whose only domestic training is in fabric-making: he suggests that she can train slaves to make fabric, supervise household supplies, equipment, and labour, and, for exercise, fold clothes and bedding and knead dough. Columella (*Rust.* 12. 1–3) says that the bailiff's wife on a Roman estate should supervise wool-working and preparation of meals, and should ensure that the kitchens, the shelters for animals, and especially the sickroom are clean. But there is silence on the details of ordinary daily tasks: providing meals and washing up; washing and drying clothes and household textiles; cleaning the house and its equipment, including fireplaces, braziers, and lamps; and, in many households, tending plants, poultry, and domestic animals. There are

inscriptions recording the jobs of slaves in great Roman households, but they specify the more prestigious tasks of the dining-room staff and personal attendants.

The most informative sources on everyday housework are Christian texts on virginity, which (if addressed to women) emphasize the burdens of the harassed housewife or (if addressed to men) minimize the tasks for which a man might want a female partner: washing clothes, making beds, lighting fires, and cooking (see *COOKERY*). Some household equipment has survived relatively well, especially pottery, metal furniture and tableware, and stone tables and benches, but there are few examples of wooden furniture or textiles. See *HOUSEHOLD*; *HOUSES, GREEK*; *HOUSES, ITALIAN*; *TEXTILE PRODUCTION*. EGC

hubris, intentionally dishonouring behaviour, was a powerful term of moral condemnation in ancient Greece; and in Athens, and perhaps elsewhere, it was also treated as a serious crime. The common use of *hubris* in English to suggest pride, over-confidence, or alternatively any behaviour which offends divine powers, rests, it is now generally held, on misunderstanding of ancient texts, and concomitant and over-simplified views of Greek attitudes to the gods have lent support to many doubtful, and often over-Christianizing, interpretations, above all of Greek tragedy.

The best ancient discussion of *hubris* is found in *Aristotle's *Rhetoric*: his definition is that *hubris* is 'doing and saying things at which the victim incurs shame, not in order that one may achieve anything other than what is done, but simply to get pleasure from it. For those who act in return for something do not commit *hubris*, they avenge themselves. The cause of the pleasure for those committing *hubris* is that by harming people, they think themselves superior; that is why the young and the rich are hubristic, as they think they are superior when they commit *hubris*' (*Rh.* 1378^b23–30). This account, locating *hubris* within a framework of ideas concerned with the honour and shame of the individual, which took a central place in the value-systems of the ancient Greeks, fits very well the vast majority of texts exploiting the notion, from *Homer till well after Aristotle's time (with the notable exception of some philosophically significant developments in some of *Plato's later works). While it primarily denotes dishonouring by those who are, or think they are, powerful and superior, it can also denote the insolence of accepted 'inferiors', such as women, children, or slaves, who disobey or claim independence; at times the emphasis may be on the attitude or settled state of mind of the arrogant person who over-values his own honour; at other times it may be used to emphasize the degree of humiliation actually inflicted on a victim, regardless of

the agent's intention; revenge taken to excessive or brutal lengths can be condemned as constituting fresh *hubris*; while some cases, especially applied to verbal insults between friends, may be humorously exaggerated. *Hubris* is most often the insulting infliction of physical force or violence: classic cases are Meidias' punch on *Demosthenes's face in the theatre (see *Demosthenes* 21), and the assaults by Conon and sons on the speaker of Demosthenes 54, when the middle-aged Conon allegedly gloated over the body of their battered victim in the manner of a triumphant fighting-cock. Further common forms of hubristic acts are sexual assaults (rape, seduction, or deviant practices), where emphasis is thereby placed on the dishonour inflicted on the victims or on the male householders responsible for them. Since states too seek to protect their honour, *hubris* is commonly applied to invasions, imperialist 'enslavement', or military savagery, often, but not exclusively, when committed by '*barbarian' powers. In consequence, Greek cities took *hubris* very seriously as a political danger, both to their collective freedom and status, and as communities functioning internally through respect for law and the well-being of their members. Unchecked *hubris* was held to be characteristic of *tyrannies, or of *oligarchies or democracies serving their own class (depending on one's viewpoint), and to be a major cause of *stasis* or civil wars. In Athens, probably from *Solon's laws of the early 6th cent. BC, a legal action for *hubris* existed, and its public significance was signalled by the possibility of the heaviest penalties, and by the fact that the action was (as a *graphē*; see *LAW AND PROCEDURE, ATHENIAN* §3) open to any Athenian with full citizen rights, not restricted to the victim of the dishonour. While our limited evidence suggests that the action was infrequently used, its ideological importance as a safeguard for poorer citizens in the democracy was none the less considerable.

Hubris is not essentially a religious term; yet the gods naturally were often supposed to punish instances of it, either because they might feel themselves directly dishonoured, or, more frequently, because they were held to uphold general Greek moral and social values such as justice or respect for others. Nor is it helpful to see Greek tragedy centrally concerned to display the divine punishment of hubristic heroes; tragedy focuses rather on unjust or problematic suffering, whereas full-scale acts of *hubris* by the powerful tend to deprive them of the human sympathy necessary for tragic victims. NREF

Hyperides (389–322 BC), prominent Athenian statesman, rated by the ancients second only to *Demosthenes amongst the canonical Ten Orators. He studied rhetoric under *Isocrates and began his career by writing

speeches for others (i.e. he was a *logographos*). His political career opened with an attack on Aristophon in 363/2. There were other, perhaps numerous, such prosecutions of leading figures, the most notable being his successful prosecution of Philocrates in 343 which heralded his future bitter opposition to Macedon (see PHILIP II), and after the battle of Chaeronea (380) he assumed a leading role. Immediately after the action in which 1,000 Athenians had died and 2,000 were captured, he sought to provide replacements by making metics citizens and freeing slaves; he was himself duly indicted for this unconstitutional measure but it showed his determination to resist, as did indeed his prosecution of Demades and other collaborationists and his vigorous plea to the Athenians not to accede to Alexander the Great's demand in 335 for Demosthenes and others (amongst whom Hyperides was counted by Arrian, but Plutarch *Dem.* 23 makes it clear enough that he was not one). In 324/3 he led the attack on Demosthenes and others who were accused of appropriating the money deposited by Harpalus. Presumably he wanted it for the coming revolt against Macedon. Indeed Hyperides was the chief supporter of Leosthenes and of Athenian action in the Lamian War of 323–322. Fittingly he was chosen to deliver the Funeral Oration of late 323, a speech of which much survives. With the collapse of the Greek resistance, Hyperides had to flee. He was captured and put to death, Antipater, in one version,

first ordering the cutting out of the tongue which had so bitterly assailed him and Macedon, a not ignoble end for one of the heroes of Greek liberty.

Works

Although in antiquity of the 77 speeches preserved under the name of Hyperides over 50 were regarded as genuine, except for a few fragments his work was unknown to moderns until 1847. Between that year and 1892 papyri were discovered containing several of his speeches, in whole or in part, most notably the all too fragmentary attack on Demosthenes of 324/3. Extended fragments of two more speeches, one 'private' and one 'public', have now been identified and read from the 'Archimedes palimpsest'. Decipherment and publication have been accomplished, with great virtuosity and speed, by an international team of experts. *Against Diondas* covers some of the same ground as *Dem.* 18, *On the Crown*.

In general tone Hyperides is akin to Lysias. He borrowed words and phrases from comedy, thus bringing his language into touch with the speech of everyday life. Longinus' *On the Sublime* draws attention to his wit, his suavity and persuasiveness, and his tact and good taste. He can be sarcastic and severe without becoming offensive; his reproof often takes the form of humorous banter. He speaks with respect of his adversaries and avoids scurrilous abuse. GLC



I

Icaros (mod. Failaka), an island off Kuwait, at the mouth of an ancient course of the Euphrates river. It was settled from the third millennium BC, and visited by an expedition sent by *Alexander the Great to the Persian Gulf (Strabo 16. 3. 2): *Ikaros* might be the Hellenization (i.e. Greek version) of a local name. The *Seleucids built a fortress on Failaka, in use from the early 3rd to the mid-2nd cent. BC: it is 60 m. (200 ft.) square, and two temples were excavated inside the walls; two other sanctuaries were found outside. Greek material and inscriptions attest a Macedonian settlement which probably served as a military—and naval—outpost on the maritime route to *India. After the fall of the Seleucid empire, the island temporarily came under Characene domination in the 1st cent. AD. A Christian church of the 6th cent. has recently been excavated.

J-FS

imagery The identification of scenes in sculpture, painting, and the minor arts has long been a major activity of classical *archaeology, although it has traditionally been accorded less emphasis than the identification of artists' hands. In all the figurative arts conventional schemes were developed, sometimes under the influence of near eastern iconography, for portraying particular mythological figures and episodes, and the use and development of these schemes can now conveniently be studied through the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (= *LIMC*, 1981–). Individual artists exploited conventional imagery not simply by replicating it, but by playing variations on a theme or by echoing the conventional scheme for one episode when portraying a different one. An extreme form of this is iconographic parody.

The origins of particular iconographic schemes, and the reasons why the popularity of scenes changes over time, are rarely clear. Ceramic vessels may owe some of their imagery to lost gold or silver plate, and some vases can reasonably be held to take over the imagery of lost wall-paintings or of famous sculptures, such as the

Tyrannicides group, although it is also possible in some cases that vase-painting influenced subsequent sculptural imagery. Influence from drama (*see* TRAGEDY, GREEK; COMEDY, GREEK) has also frequently been alleged: few images in Attic vase-painting represent scenes from tragedies on stage in any straightforward way, but direct representation of scenes from comic drama is popular in 4th-cent. BC south Italian pottery. In the Greek world, public sculpture often carried broadly political meaning, using the otherness of more or less fantastic figures, *Centauri or *Amazons, to define the behaviour of the good citizen. Whether particular mythical images on pottery also carry political significance, and the popularity of particular scenes at particular times is a result of their value as political *propaganda, is more hotly debated. At Rome, sculptural style as well as imagery were used to convey political points, particularly during the empire, and the Classical and Hellenistic Greek and republican Roman heritage was manipulated to political ends.

Recently, much work has been devoted to the non-mythological imagery on painted pottery, and has exploited this to excavate the ideology of the Greek city, stressing the way in which imagery can create ways of seeing as well as reflect them. Changes in the popularity of particular scenes or types of scene over time, at least when those changes extend over the work of several different painters, may indicate changing social agendas. There is no doubt that the imagery on pots has a close relationship with the use to which those pots are put, and this can be seen particularly clearly with both vessels deposited in graves and vessels used at the *symposium, many of which are, in one way or another, self-referential. One of the most valuable sources of information here lies in the way in which painters restrict scenes of certain types of activity to imaginary characters, such as *satyrs. But it is obviously problematic to assume that the attitudes displayed at the symposium were shared by society as a whole. The chance preservation of extensive areas of private housing at *Pompeii and *Herculaneum, enables



Icaros View of the 3rd–2nd-cent. BC Greek *temple inside the *Seleucid fortress on Icaros (mod. Failaka), an island off Kuwait. Seleucid interest in the Persian gulf was a legacy from *Alexander the Great, whose unrealized plans to conquer and colonize eastern Arabia reflect the region's importance in the lucrative ancient *trade in incense and spices. Moesgård Museum, Højbjerg

us to see programmes of imagery with which some rich individuals surrounded themselves, and the care and originality with which they constructed visual narratives out of linked imagery.

Images were an extremely important part of religious cult. Cult statues sometimes incorporated whole programmes of mythical imagery, as in the *Athena Parthenos. In the Roman world religious imagery became increasingly complex, and more or less arcane symbolic programmes are associated with mystery cults. Christianity, with its use of types and antitypes drawn from

pagan mythology as well as from both Old and New Testaments, further enriched the interpretative range of familiar imagery. *See* ART, ANCIENT ATTITUDES TO; ART, FUNERARY; MYTHOLOGY; PAINTING; PISISTRATUS; POTTERY; PROPAGANDA; SCULPTURE. RGO

immortality By contrast with the immortal gods, humans and animals are identified in ancient thought as mortals. Yet the idea that shades survive in *Hades or the Underworld, was standard. More elaborate theories of reincarnation occur in Pythagoreanism (*see* PYTHAGORAS),

Orphism, Empedocles, and *Plato. There may also be hints of a theory of immortality in Heraclitus. Plato uses transmigration to support the claim that learning is recollection (in the *Phaedo*) and for several myths about rewards and punishments after death. *Epicurus denied immortality of souls (while retaining immortal gods). *See also* DEATH, ATTITUDES TO. CJO

imperialism

Carthaginian

See CARTHAGE.

Greek and Hellenistic

One Greek definition of *freedom included the ability of a state to exercise rule over others (cf. Hdt. 1. 210; Thuc. 8. 68. 4; Arist. *Pol.* 1333^b38–1334^a2; Polyb. 5. 106. 4–5). The 5th-cent. BC Athenians justified their rule over other Greeks by appealing to the motives of fear, honour, and interest: ‘it has always been the law that the weaker should be subject to the stronger’ (Thuc. 1. 76. 2). *Thucydides himself interpreted the early history of Greece as the gradual emergence of greater powers with the ability to control superior resources (1. 1–19). It was common for the major states to seek to dominate weaker ones, as *Syracuse in Sicily, especially under the tyrants (*see* TYRANNY), and Sparta and Athens on the mainland of Greece and in the Aegean (*see* DELIAN LEAGUE). Smaller states did the same: for example Elis in the NW Peloponnese claimed to hold neighbouring cities through the right of conquest (Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 23), and Sinope extracted tribute from her colonies on the Black (Euxine) Sea (Xen. *An.* 5. 5. 7–10). But the fragmentation of the Greek world into hundreds of states, the consequent dispersion of resources, and the strong Greek attachment to independence and its symbols, all militated against the emergence of lasting empires in the Greek world, and even inhibited the formation of durable alliance systems except in special circumstances. The territorial empires of the near east, based on deliberate military conquest and the imposition of regular tribute on subjects, were long familiar to the Greeks (cf. Hdt. 1. 6 on the Lydians, 1. 95–6 and 130 on the succession of empires from the Assyrians to the Persians, 3. 89–97 on the tribute of the Persian empire; *see* PERSIA). But this eastern model did not transfer easily to Greek conditions. Athens’ exceptional success in the 5th cent. encouraged emulation by others, but also stimulated the resistance of smaller states to encroachments on their independence and the imposition of regular tribute (cf. the manifesto of the Second Athenian Confederacy in 377, RO 22). Hence the numerous failures of Greek

interstate relations in the 4th cent.: the Greeks never successfully bridged the gap between alliance or league (*see* FEDERAL STATES) on the one hand, and empire on the other. The future lay rather with military monarchies that could command greater resources and work on a scale that would eventually transcend the Greek world itself. *Dionysius I of Syracuse, Jason of Pherae, and Mausolus of Caria may variously be seen as precursors to *Philip II of Macedon. His transformation of Macedonian power provided the basis for *Alexander the Great’s conquest of the Persian empire and the subsequent emergence of the kingdoms of the Successors (or Diadochi). The new Macedonian monarchies in Asia, culturally part of the Greek world, became heirs to the former eastern empires and their methods. But the Antigonid rulers of Macedon (e.g. *Antigonus the One-eyed; Demetrius Poliorcetes (‘the Besieger’); *Antigonus Gonatas; later Antigonid rulers including Philip V and Perseus) never succeeded in devising a formula that would permanently reconcile the Greek mainland to their domination. This failure facilitated Roman intervention, hence eventually the absorption of much of the Hellenistic world into the Roman empire. MMA

Persian

See PERSIA.

Roman

Although ‘imperialism’ was first used to describe the growth of the colonial empires of the European powers in the late 19th and early 20th cents., it is now frequently used in the context of the expansion of Roman power in Italy and particularly of the creation of its Mediterranean and European empire from the 3rd cent. BC to the 1st cent. AD.

Rome in the early and middle republican periods (5th to 2nd cents. BC) was a profoundly military society, as can be seen for instance from the military nature of the political power of the city’s magistrates (**imperium*), the need of any aspiring magistrate to have performed ten years of military service (Polyb. 6. 19. 4), and the religious and political importance attached to the *triumph. By the end of the war with *Pyrrhus in 272 BC, Rome controlled the greater part of Italy south of the river Po by a network of relationships which had grown out of the fighting against the Aequi, Volsci, and *Etruscans in the 5th and early 4th cents., the Latins and the Campanians in the mid-4th cent. (leading to the dissolution of the Latin federation in 338), and the Samnites and other south Italians, of which the final stage was the Pyrrhic wars (*see* PYRRHUS). Some communities (mostly former Latin and Campanian allies) were incorporated into the Roman people (though

geographically distinct from it, and often without full political rights), and the remainder were classified as allies (*socii*), either as part of a reconstituted 'Latin' alliance or with a separate treaty of their own. Of these, only the Roman communities were properly speaking part of the expanded city of Rome, while the allies were under an obligation to provide military assistance and (especially in the case of the Latins) held certain rights from the Romans.

In the period of the two great wars against the Carthaginians (264–241 and 218–202 BC; see ROME (HISTORY) §1.4), the Romans, backed by this military alliance, became involved in wars in *Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, *Spain, *Greece, and North Africa (see AFRICA, ROMAN). From this grew the beginnings of the Roman empire outside Italy. Roman commanders were assigned commands by the senate by the allocation of a **provincia* or area of responsibility. Such *provinciae* were not essentially territorial, nor were they permanent; but in areas in which the Romans wished to exercise a long-term military control through the presence of armed forces it became necessary to allocate a *provincia* on a regular basis. Sometimes this seems to have occurred considerably later than the conflict that initially brought Roman soldiers to the area. The Carthaginians were defeated in Sicily by 241 and Sardinia was seized in 238, but Roman praetors were sent to these islands on a regular basis only from 227 BC (Livy, *Per.* 20; Pomponius, *Dig.* 1. 2. 2. 32). Similarly in Spain, although it was a *provincia* from the beginning of the Second Punic War in 218, praetors were only sent on a regular basis from 196 (Livy 32. 27–8). Within this essentially military pattern, other elements of imperial control developed, particularly taxation of the local communities and jurisdiction exercised by Roman commanders over non-Romans.

In the first half of the 2nd cent. BC, and especially in the context of the wars with the Hellenistic powers of the eastern Mediterranean, Roman imperialism took a different form. Roman armies were sent to Greece during the Macedonian wars and to Asia Minor to fight against the Seleucid king, *Antiochus III. Here long-term *provinciae* were not established when the fighting ended, and control of the regions was exercised in a more remote fashion, through treaties and diplomacy. For *Polybius, however, writing in the second half of the century, this represented an extension of Roman control as real as that exercised directly in the western Mediterranean (Polyb. 1. 1); and although Macedonia became a long-term province after the failure of Andriscus' attempt to seize the throne there (149/8 BC), Polybius seems to regard this as no more than a different and more direct form of the domination which the Romans already held.

Further large-scale additions were made as a result of the organization of the east by *Pompey, following the defeat of *Mithradates VI of Pontus (66–62 BC), and of the campaigns of *Caesar in Gaul (58–49 BC). The largest expansion, however, came under *Augustus, who not only completed the conquest of the Iberian peninsula but also added the new provinces of Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Moesia along the line of the river Danube. It appears that he was only prevented from a further expansion into that part of Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe by the disastrous defeat of Publius Quinctilius Varus in AD 9, which led to the loss of three legions. Thereafter, apart from *Claudius' conquest of southern Britain in 43, *Trajan alone (97–117) made further large-scale additions, of which only Dacia and Arabia survived the retrenchment of his successor, *Hadrian.

Although the mechanisms of Roman imperialism are fairly clear, the motivation of the Romans has been the subject of much debate. It was long believed, following Mommsen, that their intentions were essentially defensive, and only incidentally expansionist. Modern scholars have rejected this view, and have suggested alternative motives, including economic benefits (which undoubtedly resulted from the growth of the empire) and a desire for territorial annexation. Whatever else was the case, it is clear that throughout the period of expansion, the political classes at Rome were determined that other states should do what Rome required of them, and, although it is dangerous to attempt to provide a single explanation of so complex a phenomenon as Roman imperialism, it would appear that it was changes in the Roman understanding of what were the most effective means of achieving this control that shaped the way the empire grew. JSRI

imperium was the supreme power, involving command in war and the interpretation and execution of law (including the infliction of the death penalty), which belonged at Rome to the kings and, after their expulsion, to *consuls, military tribunes (*tribuni militum*) with consular power (from 445 to 367 BC), praetors, *dictators, and masters of the horse (*magistri equitum*). Viewed generally, *imperium* represents the supreme authority of the community in its dealings with the individual, and the magistrate in whom *imperium* is vested represents the community in all its dealings. In practical terms, *imperium* may be seen as the power to give orders and to exact obedience to them (cf. *imperare*, to command). It was symbolized by the *fasces* (rods of office) borne by the lictors, of which the dictator had 24, the consul 12, and the praetor 6, to which was added the axe when the magistrate left the precincts of the city. Later in the

republic *imperium* was held also by proconsuls and praetors, who were either ex-magistrates or private individuals upon whom a special command had been conferred (*privati cum imperio*), and by members of certain commissions (e.g. boards for the distribution of land, Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2. 28). Its application was increasingly restricted: first, when two consuls (originally two 'praetors') replaced the king, by the principle of collegiality and tenure of office limited to one year; the dictator, who had no colleague, held office for a maximum of six months. Secondly, by the *leges Valeriae* (traditionally of 509, 449, and 300 BC) and the *leges Porciae* (probably of the early 2nd cent. BC), magistrates were not allowed to execute citizens at Rome without trial owing to the citizen's right of *provocatio* (appeal) to the people. This right of appeal was extended, whether by a *lex Porcia* or, possibly, by convention, to citizens abroad. Thirdly, the *imperium* of promagistrates was generally restricted to the bounds of their *provinciae*. *Imperium* needed ratification by a *lex curiata*, a convention which persisted at least to the end of the republic (Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2. 26; *Fam.* 1. 9. 25). To a promagistrate (whether ex-magistrate or *privatus cum imperio*), *imperium* was granted for a year at a time, or until his commission was achieved. Grants of *imperium* for a specified term of several years occur only towards the end of the republic, the earliest being the grant of *imperium* to *Pompey for three years by the *lex Gabinia* of 67 BC; this *imperium* was further distinguished by being *infinutum*, i.e. not subject to the usual territorial limits of a *provincia*.

Under the republic, in case of conflict, the *imperium* of a consul, with twelve fasces, could probably override that of a praetor, who held six. As between consuls and proconsuls, each with twelve fasces, the consul could override the proconsul by virtue of the *auctoritas* (prestige) of his office. Conflict in the same area between proconsuls arose first in 67 between Pompey (pursuing pirates with proconsular *imperium*; see PIRACY) and Quintus Caecilius Metellus (Creticus), proconsul of *Crete. So, in 57, the question of allowing Pompey, in virtue of his corn commission, *imperium* greater than that of other proconsuls was mooted, and *Brutus and Cassius were granted *imperium maius* in the east by the senate in 43.

Octavian held *imperium*, first *pro praetore* and later as consul, in 43, as triumvir (member of board of three with Mark *Antony and *Lepidus) from 42 to 33, and as consul in 31–23 (and, from 27, as proconsul of a large number of provinces). When in 23 he resigned the consulship, his proconsular *imperium* was made *maius*, and it was provided that it could be exercised from within the city. By this same enactment (or by another in 19 BC according to Cass. Dio 54. 10. 5) Italy was included within the field of

his *imperium*. *Imperium* was granted to him for ten-year periods in 27 and 8 BC and AD 3 and 13, and for five-year periods in 18 and 13 BC. It was voted to succeeding emperors at their accession by the senate (cf. *ILS* 229, with Tac. *Ann.* 12. 69, referring to *Nero's accession), though ratification of the senate's decree by a *lex curiata* probably remained a formal requirement (Gai. *Inst.* 1. 5, and cf. *FIRA* 1². 15, the *lex 'de imperio Vespasiani'*, where the *imperium* is defined; see VESPASIAN).

Imperium maius was sometimes granted to others besides the emperor for the creation of a single military command, as to *Germanicus in the east in AD 17 (Tac. *Ann.* 2. 43) and to Corbulo in AD 63 (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 25). It might also be conferred as a way of associating an individual with the *imperium* of the emperor and thereby signalling him as a suitable successor, as with *Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 1. 3; Vell. Pat. 2. 121).

As Rome's dominion came to extend overseas in the 3rd and 2nd cents. BC (see IMPERIALISM (ROMAN)), it was conceived of in terms of the power to issue orders and to exact obedience to them (so Polyb. 3. 4. 2–3 and elsewhere), in terms, that is, of *imperium* (cf. Cato the Elder fr. 164 Malcovati). The first official expression of this is found in Greek. The treaty between Rome and Thracian Maronea from the 160s BC (*SEG* 35. 823) refers to 'the Roman people and those under them', and this standard phrase appears in Latin in Rome's treaty with Callatis on the Black Sea (*ILLRP* 516, from the early 1st cent. BC) as 'the Roman people and those under their *imperium*' ([... *poplo Rom*]ano quei[ve] sub inperio [ei]us erunt...). It was with reference to the principle and nature of supreme authority within the state that the authority of Rome itself over others was perceived and defined, and so it was to the *imperium Romanum* of the republic that the Roman empire succeeded. PSD

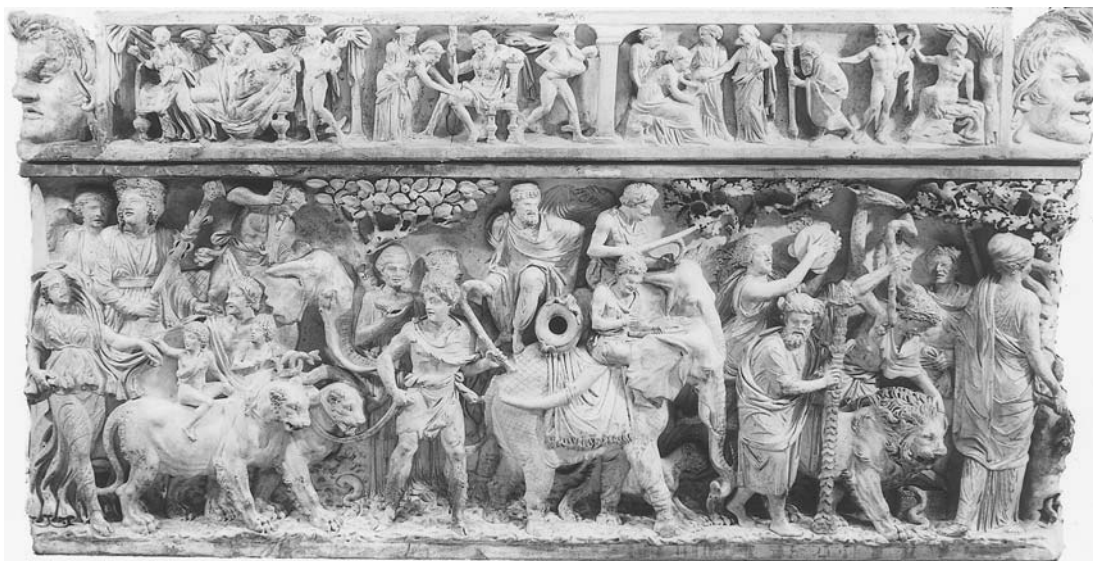
incest, sexual intercourse or marriage with close kin, was restricted throughout classical antiquity. However, terminology and the particular relations prohibited varied with place and time. Though *mētrokoiitēs*, 'mother's bedmate', occurs in Hipponax, most of the Greek words referring to specific close-kin unions are much later in date and no general word for incest is found before the Byzantine period. *Incestum*, attested as a Latin technical term from the late republic, carries connotations of impurity absent from the Greek vocabulary. Sexual relations involving parent and child were forbidden everywhere we have evidence; their occurrence in Greek myth generally evokes horror, yet the participants are sometimes marked as numinous by their transgression of the usual limits of human conduct. Siblings of the same father could marry at *Athens, of the same mother at *Sparta.

Even marriages between full siblings were recognized among the Greeks of Hellenistic and Roman *Egypt, an unusual practice perhaps intended to preserve the ethnic identity of a small and isolated settler élite and the privileges to which it provided access. Siblings by adoption might marry under Roman law if one of them was first emancipated from *patria potestas* (the legal authority of a *paterfamilias*, usually a father or grandfather). But marriages between nieces and paternal uncles—encouraged in the Athenian epiclerate (when the niece was an ‘heirless’ who had no son)—were made legal only in the time (and the marital interests) of *Claudius, and were outlawed again by Constantius II and Constans (*Cod. Theod.* 3. 12. 1). Marriages between men and their sisters’ daughters, granddaughters, and great-granddaughters, or between men and their aunts, were forbidden throughout. Despite a tradition that marriages between first cousins were once unknown, they are attested for the 3rd cent. BC and unremarkable until banned by Theodosius I in about AD 384 or 385. (The ban was lifted in 409, *Cod. Theod.* 3. 10. 1.) Allegations of incest were aimed at political opponents at both Athens (Cimon, *Alcibiades) and Rome (Publius *Clodius Pulcher). Public legal sanctions at Athens, if any, are unknown. In republican Rome, offenders are said to have been thrown from the Tarpeian Rock, though the penalty in classical law was deportation, and that only in the cases of closest kin. Women involved in incestuous marriages with collateral kin might escape punishment entirely, though extramarital incest risked the usual penalties for adultery. But the Christian emperors imposed harsher provisions. MG

India (see ◀ Map 2a ▶) This country had early trade connections with the Persian Gulf, but it remained unknown to Mediterranean peoples until the extension of the Persian empire to the Indus and the voyage of Darius’ admiral Scylax down the Kabul and Indus rivers and perhaps round Arabia to Suez (Hecataeus, *FGrH* 214 F-294-9; *Hdt.* 3. 98 ff., 4. 44). Even so, India remained a land of fable and wonders (as in the *Indica* of Ctesias, c.400 BC); it was believed to lie in the farthest east, yet Indians were confused with Ethiopians, and in popular belief India and Ethiopia formed one country. The conquests of *Alexander the Great (327-325) brought more accurate knowledge of NW India as far as the river Hyphasis (Beas) and vague information about the Ganges valley and Sri Lanka; and the voyage of Nearchus informed the Greek world about the sea connection with the Persian Gulf. *Seleucus I controlled the north-west but c.302 conceded the control to the Mauryan king Chandragupta. He is said to have kept a resident named Megasthenes at Chandragupta’s court at Pataliputra (Pal-

ibothra), who published much detail about India (see *ARRIAN*; *DIODORUS SICULUS*; *STRABO*); and King Ashoka in the 3rd cent. sent embassies to the Hellenistic kings. In the 2nd cent. NW India was occupied by the Graeco-Bactrian rulers (see *BACTRIA*); but the rise of the Parthian empire (see *PARTHIA*) separated India from the Greek lands, and invaders from central Asia (c.80-30 BC) obliterated the Greek principalities in the Indus valley. In the 1st cent. AD Chinese silk reached the Roman dominions through India, but land communications with India remained irregular. The chief routes to India were (1) via Meshed and the Bolan and Mula passes, (2) via Merv (Antioch), Balkh, Kabul, and Peshawar. Roman connections with this area, although not direct, are evident from the excavations at sites such as Sirkap (Taxila) and Begram.

Sea communications between India and the Persian Gulf were maintained by the *Seleucids, but were interrupted under Parthian rule. Direct travel from Egypt to India was impeded for long by the Arabs of Yemen, whose monopoly of trade was not seriously challenged by the Ptolemies of *Egypt, and the voyages of Eudoxus to India were not too successful. The Arab obstruction was removed by the great appetite of Rome for eastern luxuries in the prosperous days of *Augustus, and by the discovery of open-sea routes from Aden to India. In the 1st cent. BC, or soon after, observation of the monsoon encouraged mid-ocean routes leading to various points on the western coast where settlements were subsequently established (*Plin. HN* 6. 96-100). Augustus received Indian envoys (*Cass. Dio* 54. 9), and Greek and Levantine merchants organized a regular trade from Egypt. In Augustus’ day 120 ships sailed to India every year, and under his early successors the drain on Roman money to pay for Indian imports caused occasional anxiety (*Plin. HN* 6. 101, 12. 84). But recent studies suggest that this drain was illusory. The main goals of visitors from the Roman world were western India and the Chera, Chola, and Pandya kingdoms of south India. The principal imports to Rome were perfumes, spices (especially pepper), *gems, *ivory, pearls, Indian textiles, and Chinese silk. The Romans exported linen, coral, *glass, base metals, ‘Arretine’ tableware (see *POTTERY, ROMAN*), *wine in amphorae, etc., and also sent quantities of gold and silver (and later copper) coins, of which large hoards have been found in south India and the eastern Deccan as well as some clay *bullae* (‘amulets’) of Roman coins. Roman artefacts occur in western India, the Deccan, and southern India at sites such as Nasik, Nevasa, Kolhapur, Akota, and Karvan; at Ter, Bhokardan, Brahmagiri, Chandravalli, Maski, Kondapur; and at Amaravati and Sisupalagarh.



India Marble Roman sarcophagus (c. AD 180), showing the Indian triumph of Bacchus, the Roman *Dionysus. His fabled wars in India, a familiar subject in later classical literature and art, were modelled after the eastern campaigns of *Alexander the Great, with whom a more accurate western knowledge of India begins. The Walters Art Museum

The chief markets on the west coast were Barbaricon and Barygaza (mod. Bharuch) and the southern towns of Muziris (? Cranganore) and Nelcynda (? Kottayam). Beyond Cape Comorin the Greeks visited Colchoi (Kolkai), Camara (perhaps Kaveripattinam), a trading-station now called Arikamedu near Pondicherry (? Poduce), and Sopatma (? Madras); a few reached the Ganges mouth and brought news of Burma, Malaya, and the Thinae or Sinae (in south China). Greek traders figure in Tamil literature as residents in ports and some inland centres (AD 70–140). The Maldives and Laccadives came into this circuit, Sri Lanka (Taprobane) was circumnavigated; and one Alexander, taking advantage of the bay of Bengal monsoon, is said to have sailed past Burma and Malaya to Vietnam and even to China proper (Ptol. *Geog.* 7. 1–2). A few Roman artefacts of the 2nd cent. AD were found at Oc-éo in Cambodia and on the Mekong river. These could have come in the course of the Roman trade with India being extended eastwards by Indian traders. Nevertheless, Greek geographers always underrated the extent of India's southward projection and exaggerated the size of Sri Lanka. From c. AD 200 direct Graeco-Roman trade declined, communications with India passed into the hands of intermediaries (Arabians, Axumites, Sasanid Persians), and India again became a land of fable to the Mediterranean world. The founders of Christian settlements in India came largely from Persia.

EHW/RTH

industry (Greek and Roman). Industry in the sense of hard labour (Gk. *ponos*; Lat. *labor*) the Greeks and Romans knew all too much about; total freedom from productive labour (*scholē, otium*) remained a governing ideal from one end of pagan antiquity to the other. But industry in the modern sense of large-scale manufacturing businesses seeking to exploit economies of scale and the division of labour they knew hardly at all, let alone as the characteristic form of manufacturing unit. That role was always filled by the individual workshop (*ergastērion*), and it is no accident that the largest Greek or Roman industrial labour force on record barely tipped over into three figures. Nor did élite Greeks and Romans value labourers any more highly than *labour as such; this was partly because manual labour, even when not actually conducted by slaves (see SLAVERY), was nevertheless always apt to attract the opprobrium of slavishness. As Herodotus (2. 167) put it, the Corinthians despised manual craftsmen (*cheirotechnai*) the least, the Spartans the most—but all élite Greeks despised them. On the other hand, they always felt boundless admiration for skill (*technē, ars*), and some forms of ancient pre-industrial craftsmanship demanded that quality in the highest degree. See ART, ANCIENT ATTITUDES TO; ARTISANS AND CRAFTSMEN.

Craftsmanship in stone, wood, bone, clay, and leather, as well as the use of colour for painting and of fire for cooking, were palaeolithic inventions; textiles, fired pottery, architecture, and shipbuilding were neolithic



industry Imaginative reconstruction of a large-scale fishery excavated at Cosa, central Italy, with a fish farm, saltery, and kilns for making transport jars (*amphorae*). Dating from the 2nd–1st cent. BC, the complex illustrates the relatively large scale of Roman industry in certain exceptional areas. From Anna Marguerite McCann, *The Roman Port and Fishery at Cosa*, © 1987 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission from Princeton University Press

discoveries. Metalwork and glass-making began with the bronze age, as did the oversight of craftsmanship by written prescription and the imposition of exact measures and weights in the Minoan and Mycenaean palace-economies. Besides smiths and glaziers the Linear B tablets present an array of specialist craftsmen including potters, brewers, jewellers, leather-workers, and perfumiers. See MINOAN CIVILIZATION; MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION.

*Homer and *Hesiod mention a considerable variety of craftsmen, some of the more expert and specialized being non-Greek. But only the metalworkers had their own workshops, and this is in accord with the florescence of bronze-working associated with the great Panhellenic sanctuaries of *Olympia (from the 10th cent. BC), *Delphi (9th), and *Delos (8th) in particular. Their standards were eventually matched by the potters and (if they were separate) vase-painters, above all those of *Athens, Argos, and Corinth; the latter too could boast at least one

shipbuilder of distinction by 700 BC (Thuc. 1. 13. 3). In the course of the 7th and 6th cents. workshops and studios proliferated, no longer tied principally to sanctuaries. Depictions of potters, leather-workers, and smiths occur on Attic black- and red-figure vases, themselves often products of the highest craft and finish. As is revealed both by the workers' names (Lydus = 'the Lydian', Amasis (Egyptian), Epictetus = 'the purchased') and by an isolated painted text (Lydus 'the slave'), many of the craftsmen were not only not Athenian citizens but non-Greek slaves.

The concomitant development of the Athenian empire and the Piraeus in the 5th cent. BC provided a further stimulus to Greek craftsmanship, both quantitative and qualitative. No one, according to *Plutarch, would wish actually to be Phidias, but the products of Phidias' extraordinary craft skill were universally admired. The anonymous labours of an army of stone-carvers have left us a legacy of accomplished dressed masonry and decorative

sculptural detail carved in the hardest material (marble). Gem-cutters such as Dexamenes of Chios and die-engravers (see COINAGE, GREEK) like those who produced the decadrachms of *Syracuse were hardly less accomplished. At Athens craftsmanship interacted with high culture and politics in interesting ways. Plato's *Socrates was fond of analogies from craftsmanship, and the real Socrates was reputedly the son of a stonemason. The fathers of Cleon, *Isocrates, and *Demosthenes made their piles through employing skilled slave craftsmen—tanners, flute-makers, and cutlers respectively. But the biggest 'industrialists' on record in Classical Athens were the metic brothers (see METICS) Polemarchus and *Lysias (the latter a noted speech-writer), even if it is not absolutely certain that their 120 slaves all worked full time in the family shield-making business (exceptionally lucrative, thanks to the Peloponnesian War of 431–404 BC). A more usual size of workshop was the one staffed by ten slaves owned by *Aeschines' opponent Timarchus. Some such skilled slaves were privileged to be set up in business on their own account by their masters. The craftsmen of Athens were sedentary—indeed, in the case of the mine-slaves who extracted and processed the argentiferous lead ores of Laurium, possibly shackled. But itinerant Greek craftsmen operated as far afield as south Russia (within the Scythian sphere) and the Alps, working on the spot under commission from local potentates. There may also have been a few wandering craftsmen in rural districts of Greece during the Classical period.

The Hellenistic age produced a growth of the Greek *ergastērion* system but also to some degree marked a return to the Mycenaean pattern of palace-centred industries. Textile and food production were affected. Several glass-producers of the 1st cent. BC and a potter, Aristion, of c.200 BC seem to have had workshops in more than one town. Glass-blowing was invented in the second half of the 1st cent. BC. The Ptolemies (see EGYPT (PTOLEMAIC)) 'nationalized' several Egyptian crafts: the production of papyrus scrolls, oil, perfumes, textiles (other than woollen), and beer became government monopolies. Craftsmen in these trades became government employees, who were controlled by tax-farmers and government officials, received salaries, and, in the production of oil, a share of the profits. A government production-schedule was issued annually, and the workers received their tools and raw materials from central stores. Large enterprises for fish-curing, metalworking, and brick-making were also properties of the Ptolemies.

In Rome of the kings (c.750–500 BC), according to tradition, specialized crafts of metal- and leather-workers, potters, dyers, musicians, and *fabri* (all-purpose handymen) were organized in societies known as *collegia*. In later

republican times (coeval with the Hellenistic age) Roman craft production developed on Greek lines. This was a period of enormous expansion of the Roman empire and intense specialization of all kinds of economic activity (see ECONOMY, ROMAN), and among the many imports to Rome and Italy from the Greek east were not only staple foodstuffs and luxury finished goods but skilled Greek craftsmen, not a few of whom had been reduced to servitude by their slave-hungry imperial masters. These worked generally on a larger scale, though not usually according to radically different legal or economic conditions, than their free and slave counterparts in the old country. As in old Greece, an attempt was made to erect social barriers between the political élite and the sordid business of production and commerce, but even the Roman senate was not entirely devoid of manufacturing entrepreneurs; the big names of Gaius Rabirius Postumus with his large *terra sigillata* workshops, Gaius Sestius and his stamped wine-amphorae, and Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus and his stamped bricks are examples. The large and assured demand provided by Roman armies outside Italy was often a vital factor stimulating the production and distribution of consumable commodities. The politicization of the *collegia* at Rome was another late republican phenomenon, prompting official measures to dissolve or curb them.

Under the Principate craftsmanship of the Greek and Roman workshop type spread throughout the provinces of the empire. Remnants of administered economy persisted, especially in mining districts, temples, and public domains; but even the Ptolemaic monopolies were broken up or changed into monopolistic concessions for small districts farmed out to independent craftsmen. The local markets of provincial districts were furnished with bricks, coarse pottery, cheap leather goods and metalwork, *terra sigillata*, cheap textiles, and so on by craftsmen working from public and private estates. There were, however, local exceptions to the general pattern both in scale and in management; an apparently huge private-enterprise development of olive-growing and *olive oil distribution in Cyrenaica (see CYRENE), traceable physically through the surviving containers (*amphorae*), and an imperially inspired development of stone quarries in the mons Claudianus area of Egypt, are just two conspicuous instances.

During what appears to have been the general crisis of the 3rd cent. AD control of industry and craftsmanship began to revert to centralized, imperial direction. *Diocletian's reforms aimed at rendering the compulsory organization of labour final. The number of independent workshops decreased everywhere, and the state provided for its own requirements by establishing manufactories in

all provinces and by regulating the more important *collegia* of craftsmen throughout the empire. Sons had to follow their father's trade, and large taxes were levied on the corporations collectively. Gradually, and especially during the reign of Justinian I (6th cent. AD), they received privileges that enabled them to influence prices, to buy raw materials cheaply for all members, to regulate production and sale, workshop capacity, and size of membership. See also TECHNOLOGY; TRADE. PAC

initiation is a word used with two distinct, if related, meanings. For *myēsis* or initiation into mystery cults, see MYSTERIES. This entry discusses the set of rituals which transforms girls and boys into adults. In Greece, these rituals were the combined product of the Indo-European heritage and indigenous traditions, as the Minoan frescos show (see MINOAN CIVILIZATION). In historical times full rituals can be found only in Sparta and Crete, but scattered notices from other cities and the mythological tradition about the 'career' of heroes, such as *Achilles and *Theseus, suggest that puberty rites once existed all over Greece. *Apollo and *Artemis were the most important gods connected with these rites.

The Greeks had no term for initiation, but various cities used the term *agōgē*, literally 'the leading of a horse by one's hand', and related words. This view reflects itself not only in Archaic poetry, where boys and girls are often addressed as foals and fillies, but also in mythological onomastics: youths connected with initiation regularly have names with the element *hippos* ('horse'): Leucippus, Leucippides, Melanippe, etc. Clearly, youths were seen as wild animals, who had to be domesticated before entering adult society.

Regarding girls, our best information comes from Sparta, where their 'education' prepared them for motherhood through physical exercises and dancing in choruses. Aristocratic girls had to pass through a lesbian relationship (see HOMOSEXUALITY) to mark the contrast with their final destination, marriage; a similar custom existed on Lesbos where *Sappho instructed aristocratic girls. Special stress was laid on the enhancing of the girls' physical beauty: not unusually, a beauty contest concluded the girls' initiation. See BRAURON.

Male puberty rites survived into the 4th cent. BC on *Crete, where at the age of 17, after an informal training, sons of aristocrats together with boys of lower classes were gathered into bands, *agelai* or 'herds of horses', which were supervised by their fathers. Here they received a training in dancing, singing, hunting, fighting, and letters. The rites were concluded with a brief stay in the countryside, where the aristocratic youth passed through a homosexual affair (see HOMOSEXUALITY). The

festivals in which the new adults showed off to the community belong to the most important ones of Crete.

Similar rites existed in Sparta, but their character changed after the Messenian Wars. The *agōgē* was extended by the introduction of *age classes and training became increasingly harsher when Sparta's position started to depend on a decreasing number of citizens. In Athens the original initiatory structures had disintegrated in the course of the Archaic age, but its 'military service', the *ephēbeia* (see GYMNASIUM), still displays various initiatory features.

In Rome, boys' initiation did not survive into the republic, but the traditions about *Romulus and Remus with their band of youths and run-away criminals strongly suggest its one-time existence, as does the myth of Caeculus of Praeneste. JNB

interest, rates of As in modern, industrial society, the ancient world had a complex of rates of interest, varying across time and space. There, however, the similarity ends: ancient interest rates are more social than economic indicators and cannot be read to reveal trends over time. Underlying rates of interest were fixed by custom and stayed stable over long periods: from the 5th to the 2nd cent. BC the temple of *Apollo on *Delos lent money at 10% p.a. (akin to a tithe?). In 4th-cent. Athens, the 'prevailing' rate of interest seems to have been 12% p.a. (literally, 'one drachma interest on each mina lent per month'). The major distinction in loan transactions lay between charging interest and lending interest-free: a pre-existing personal relationship between lender and borrower was thought to preclude the taking of interest. A rate of 1% per month was apparently seen in Athens as reasonable for an 'impersonal' loan transaction (Dem. 27. 17; *Ath. pol.* 52). Particular circumstances could result in higher rates: high risk of default (3% per month: *Lys. fr.* 38 Gernet-Bizos), unsecured, short-term lending of small sums (25% per day: *Theophr. Char.* 6. 9). As the great majority of loans was raised to cover unforeseen, often emergency expenditure, the charging of interest could be seen as exploitation of the borrower's misfortune (Dem. 45. 69); hence a part of the opposition to lending at interest from *Plato (*Leg.* 742c) and [*Aristotle] (*Pr.* 950^a28 ff.). Compound interest (*anatokismos*) was seen as particularly exploitative (*Ar. Nub.* 1155 f.; *Pl. Leg.* 842d). The major exception was maritime loans, from which the borrower could hope to make a profit, justifying the charging of anything between 12½ and 30% (possibly more) on the sum lent for the duration of the voyage. From the Roman world, Tacitus (*Ann.* 6. 16) singled out lending at interest as a long-standing social problem. The *fenus unciarium* of the *Twelve Tables may well refer to an annual interest maximum of 100%.

Throughout Roman history, attempts were made to fix maximum rates of interest: the *lex Genucia* of 342 BC apparently banned all lending at interest. This and less extreme measures were undermined by the practical needs of borrowers (App. *BCiv.* 1. 54) and the power of creditors. *Brutus avoided the official interest maximum of 12% in the province of Cilicia (and possibly the whole empire) by virtue of a special decree from the senate (Cic. *Att.* 6. 1, 2). Justinian I (6th cent. AD; see JUSTINIAN'S CODIFICATION) attempted to match annual interest maxima to specific circumstances: c.5% for cash loans, 12½% for loans in kind, and 4% for loans made by senators. With greater realism, Athenian law forbade any restriction on the charging of interest (Lys. 10. 18). PCM

intolerance, intellectual and religious For most Greek states our evidence is too poor and patchy for us to be able to say much. We know a little about 5th-cent. BC Athens. Sir K. Popper famously praised it as an 'open society' but the tolerance of that society had limits. There is some evidence for literary censorship, though of a haphazard and perhaps ineffective sort. Phrynichus got into trouble near the beginning of the century for putting on a *tragedy dealing with a sensitive political topic (Hdt. 6.21). Between 440 and 437 BC there were formal restrictions on ridicule in theatrical comedy (Fornara no. 111 with the important discussion of 'political censorship' at *DFA*³ 364; cf. COMEDY (GREEK), OLD, § 4). On the other hand there were no 'witch-hunts' against intellectuals, though Anaxagoras and other associates of *Pericles were prosecuted in the courts. Anaxagoras' ostensible offence was impiety, and the decree of Dioppeithes, if historical, would provide hard evidence for public control of religious teaching. *Alcibiades and others were punished severely for profaning the Eleusinian *mysteries (see ANDOCIDES), but Dover is right that the offending action was not necessarily 'the product of earnest intellectual inquiry'. The reasons for *Socrates' execution in 399 are still disputed by scholars, but political considerations were surely at least as relevant as religious: Socrates was critical of the working of *democracy, and had taught prominent oligarchs (see OLIGARCHY). *Aeschines (1.173) in the mid 4th cent. explicitly makes the latter point, which could not be made openly in 399 because of the amnesty granted to oligarchs compromised by involvement with the Thirty Tyrants (see GREECE (HISTORY)).

In the Hellenistic period the poet Sotades incurred severe, perhaps capital, punishment for his outspokenness, but he went quite far in his criticism of the *incest of *Ptolemy II. The historian Philochorus was put to death by *Antigonos Gonatas for being too partial to the same Ptolemy. The most notable (actually unique) instance of

Hellenistic religious persecution was the *Seleucid Antiochus IV's treatment of the *Jews. In Rome, *censors, despite their name, were not responsible for literary or artistic censorship in the modern meaning of the word. Book-burning is however attested in authoritarian periods of Roman history (see e.g. Cassius Dio 56. 27. 1). Roman attitudes to foreign religions were generally cosmopolitan; see RELIGION, ROMAN. The suppression of the *Bacchanalia in 186 BC was exceptional. For Roman treatment of Jews see JEWS and GAIUS: *Gaius and the Jews*; for persecution of Christians see CHRISTIANITY. See also PHILOSOPHERS AND POLITICS; PROTAGORAS; ANTI-SEMITISM. SH

Ionian Revolt The eastern Greeks, prosperous and compliant subjects of *Persia from c.546/5 BC, remained uniquely quiet at *Darius I's irregular accession. Further Persian expansion in *Egypt, the Black Sea, and Thrace, however, increased imperial tax-exactions and reduced Hellenic market-share and attractive mercenary opportunities. Resenting *barbarian overlords, autocratic regimes (see TYRANNY), and conscript service for Persian power, most Ionian cities (on the modern west coast of Turkey) followed Milesian Aristagoras in deposing local tyrants (499; Hdt. 5. 37). Significant Athenian and Eretrian assistance arrived to raze Sardis, a satrapal capital. Ethnic religious assembly (the federal religious sanctuary known as the 'Panionium'), political organization, and intercity operations proved eastern Greek capacities for unified action. Hellespontines, Carians, and many Cypriots consequently joined the rebels. Samian and Lesbian interests (see LESBOS; SAMOS), however, diverged from Milesian and Carian. Inadequate revenues and budgetary mechanisms and disputed military hierarchies further crippled determination.

Persia mobilized and defeated Hellenes and allies at *Ephesus, *Cyprus, and Labraunda, then reconquered Anatolian territories by amphibious, triple-pronged, city-by-city advances. Both commands welcomed a decisive naval battle near crucial Miletus (at Lade, 494; Hdt. 6. 6–17). Approximately 70,000 allied Greeks in 353 ships, capable Dionysius of Phocaea commanding, faced 600 largely Phoenician vessels. Co-operation among the predominantly Chian, Samian, Milesian, and Lesbian contingents—rivals to begin with—collapsed when battle commenced. Persian 'politics' and bribery succeeded where sheer force had not. Many fought bravely, but most Samians had agreed to defect. Miletus was sacked, the inhabitants killed, enslaved, or expatriated. The coastal and island mop-up was easy and ruthless (6. 18–20, 31–3).

*Herodotus' account, based on surviving losers' biased reconstructions, replays and exasperatedly explains the defeat. Like the westerners' later edifying victory, the eastern Greeks' edifying defeat demanded

heroes and villains. Short-sighted tyrants, Ionian disorganization, and military disinclination are blamed throughout. Ionian achievements are trivialized or negated, as each *polis* castigated the others' motives (6. 14). Herodotus condemned the liberation as doomed from birth (5. 28, 97, 6. 3, 27), but his facts allow alternative reconstructions. Initial successes and co-ordination suggest that liberation was possible.

Revolt produced four positive results. The Persian general Mardonius replaced the unpopular Hellenic tyrants on Persia's western borders with more democratic regimes. Another prominent Persian, Artaphernes, renegotiated tribute collections (6. 42–3). Persian westward expansion was delayed. The autonomous Balkan Greeks, observing the risks of capitulation and resistance to Persia, realized that independence could be preserved. DGL

Isaeus, Athenian speech-writer (c.420–340s BC)

Life

The skimpy ancient biographical tradition ([Plut.] *Mor.* 839e–f, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus' critical essay *Isaeus*, and a Life preceding the speeches in the main MSS) preserves his father's name, Diagoras, but was uncertain whether he was Athenian or from Chalcis in Euboea. *Isocrates reportedly taught him, but he plainly also studied *Lysias' speeches and was himself a teacher of *Demosthenes and author of a *technē*, a speech-writer's manual. His working life extended from c.389 to the 350s, perhaps to 344/3 if a lengthy quotation by Dionysius traditionally printed as speech 12 was by him and is correctly dated. The ancient tradition had his activity extend down to the reign of *Philip II of Macedon.

Works

As a professional speech-writer (*logographos*) in Athens, he specialized in inheritance cases. Some 64 speech-titles were known in antiquity, 50 of which were reckoned genuine. Eleven survive complete, of which four can be internally dated (speech 5 in 390 or 389, 6 in 364 or 363, 7 in 355 or 354, and 2 in the 350s), while stylometric criteria have been plausibly used by R. F. Wevers (*Isaeus: Chronology, Prosopography, and Serial History* (1969)) to date the remainder. The subject-matter of his speeches is fundamental for Athenian social history, lying as it does where the study of Athenian legal practice converges with those of oratorical professionalism, property acquisition strategies, and private familial behaviour.

Style

Dionysius chose him, with Lysias and Isocrates, to illustrate the older style of Attic oratory, and devoted a shrewd

and sympathetic essay to him, comparing his style to that of Lysias. As he rightly said, though each speech is superficially lucid, he so 'uses insinuations and preliminary expositions and contrived divisions of material...and embroiders his speeches by alternating argument with emotional appeal' that he gained 'a reputation for wizardry and deceit' (*Isaeus* 3 and 4). The accuracy of Dionysius' judgement can be confirmed by following the analyses in Wyse's classic edition, a masterpiece of sceptical deconstruction. JKD

Isocrates (436–338 BC), Athenian orator of central importance. Although he lacked the voice and the confidence ever to address a large audience and so played no direct part in the affairs of the state, his written speeches, which presumably were of some influence on public opinion, provide us with a most valuable commentary on the great political issues of the 4th cent. His system of education in rhetoric exercised a profound effect on both the written and the spoken word: his many pupils included the historians *Ephorus and *Theopompus, the Atthidographer Androtion, and the orators *Hyperides and *Isaeus. Judgements of his importance have variously treated him as the prophet of the Hellenistic world, and as the specious adulator of personal rulers, but, admired or despised, he cannot be neglected in the study of his age.

Life

As son of a rich man, he studied under Prodicus, *Gorgias in Thessaly, Tisias, and the moderate oligarch Theramenes. He was also a follower of *Socrates. Thus, while the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) was destroying both his father's fortune and his city's, he was receiving his education from teachers who included the critics of democracy and empire, and the effect was lasting.

In the 390s he turned his theoretical training to account and wrote speeches for others to use in the courts. Orations 16–21 belong to this early phase. Soon discontented with the profession of *logographos* (speech-writer), he began to train others in rhetoric. In *Against the Sophists* he advertised his principles, and of the early writings the *Helen* and *Busiris* displayed his skill on themes already treated by others. It was perhaps in this period before the King's Peace of 386 that he opened a school on Chios. The *Panegyricus*, published in 380 after ten years of composition, was his version of a conventional subject celebrated by Gorgias and Lysias; its demand that the Greeks unite under the shared hegemony of Athens and Sparta was familiar, and the long period of composition suggests that it was intended to be an enduring masterpiece of its kind, not, as some have supposed, a topical plea for the establishment of the Second Athenian Confederacy. One

of Isocrates' most distinguished pupils was the Athenian general Timotheus, whom at some stage Isocrates had accompanied on campaign and served by writing his dispatches to the Athenian people, and as a result of Timotheus' successes Athens was able in 375 to make the peace which embodied the principle of the shared hegemony. Despite the fact that Persia's position in the peace was unchanged, Isocrates lauded it, perhaps partly on personal grounds, and began to address pleas, very similar in form to the *Philippus* of 346, to eminent individuals begging them to assume the lead against Persia, first Agesilaus, then *Dionysius I, then Alexander of Pherae in *Thessaly (cf. Speusippus' *Letter to Philip* 13) and later perhaps Archidamus III of Sparta (cf. *Epistle* 9, of doubtful authenticity). Their reaction is not recorded, nor that of other Greeks, but the ambitious proposals of Jason of Pherae suggest that Isocrates' pleas were to some not wholly impracticable.

In 373 when Thebes seized Plataea, he composed the *Plataicus* purporting to be a speech to the Athenian assembly urging reprisals, and this may have been a sincere manifestation of antipathy to Thebes as a disruptive rival to Athens and Sparta. Likewise the *Archidamus* (366), the imagined speech of the future Spartan king about the Peace of 366/5, may reflect Isocrates' own inclinations. But other writings in this period can hardly be much more than rhetorical exercises, viz. the orations *To Nicocles* (c.372), *Nicocles* (c.368), and *Evagoras* (c.365).

The failure of Athens in the Social War of 357–355 (see ATHENS (HISTORY)) and the perilous financial position of the state in 355 stirred Isocrates to denounce in the *De pace* the war policy of the imperialists as the way to bankruptcy, and to demand, in place of the limited peace being made with the allies, a Common Peace and the solution of economic difficulties by the foundation of colonies in Thrace: on the question of a Panhellenic crusade the speech is strikingly silent; the Persian ultimatum of 355 had ruled it out for the moment. The speech is a companion piece to the *Poroi* of *Xenophon; both writings illuminate the financial and foreign policy of Eubulus. Shortly after, in the *Areopagiticus*, Isocrates advocated return to a sober constitution under which the Areopagus would exercise its ancient general supervision of all aspects of life: although some would ascribe the speech to the period before the Social War, it probably belongs to 354 when the supporters of Chares were beginning to raise their heads again, and in view of the impending prosecution of Timotheus Isocrates may have been in a gloomy mood about the future of Athens under its existing constitution. The treatise must have made a curious impression on his countrymen. Certainly by 353 Isocrates

was very much on the defensive. By then he had amassed wealth unprecedented for his profession, and by the law of Periander (? 357) he had become liable to frequent *trierarchies; challenged in 354/3 to an *antidosis* (a kind of legal challenge which might result in an exchange of properties), Isocrates had emerged from the court unsuccessful and, imagining himself as a second Socrates, felt moved to write his apology in the *Antidosis* of 353, in which he criticized his rivals and gave some account of what he himself professed. This is the chief source of our knowledge of his system of education.

In 346 he published his most important treatise, the *Philippus*. Written between the voting of the Peace of Philocrates and *Philip II of Macedon's intervention in Phocis, it expounded afresh the programme of the *Panegyricus* and called on Philip 'to take the lead of both the concord (*homonoia*) of the Hellenes [Greeks] and the campaign against the *barbarians' (§ 16) and to relieve the misery of Greece by planting colonies in the western satrapies of the Persian empire (§ 120). In the following year, when Philip instead of beginning the crusade had got himself wounded in war against northern barbarians, Isocrates sent a further letter (*Epistle* 2) urging Philip to begin the campaign against Persia and so acquit himself of slanderous accusations about his real intentions; there is no suggestion here that Isocrates thought of a League of Corinth (see PHILIP II) as the necessary instrument for Philip's leadership of 'the concord of the Hellenes'. We do not know how Isocrates reacted to Philip's proposal to extend the peace brought in 344 by his old pupil Python, but shortly after the collapse of this diplomatic initiative in early 342, he began the last of his great treatises, the *Panathenaicus*, the completion of which was delayed by illness until 339. It was in part personal apology, in part a comprehensive comparison of Athens and Sparta greatly to the glory of the former. Nowhere did he manifest any further interest in the great theme of the *Panegyricus* and the *Philippus*. Events had disappointed him and the epistles *To Alexander* (? 342) and *To Antipater* (? 340) were purely personal. One last effort remained. After discussion with Antipater, when after the battle of Chaeronea (338) he came to negotiate, Isocrates wrote an appeal to Philip (*Epistle* 3) to set about the programme of the *Philippus*. The Peace of Demades was the answer, and at the time of the annual burial of the dead in autumn 338 Isocrates starved himself to death.

Significance

In the realm of political ideas large claims have been made for Isocrates as the man who inspired Philip with the idea of attacking Persia, who envisaged not only the form of Hellenic league that established concord and

defined the relation of Greece and the Macedonian kings but also the flowering of Greek culture in the Hellenistic world. These claims cannot be substantiated. The various writings addressed to Philip probably helped Philip to form a clearer idea of the nature and strength of the Panhellenist movement the support of which he needed, but that they did more is a conjecture against which Isocrates' own words in *Epistle 3* (§ 3) contend. His ideas about the partnership of Philip and the Greeks appear from the treatises to have been very imprecise, and the fact that he was said to have sent substantially the same epistle to Philip as to Agesilaus suggests that he sought little more than a good general for the campaign. As to the role of the new colonies, he appears not to have thought of a dispersion of Greeks beyond Asia Minor, and far from the leavening of barbary he spoke as if Greek cities would form separate free entities surrounded by barbarians, ruled as barbarians had to be ruled. For the colonies were to effect merely the removal from Greece of the impoverished, and he had no vision of the prosperity that could and did flow from the creation of new trading areas. On the other hand, Isocrates did provide answers to the two great problems of his age, viz. the discord (*stasis*) within cities due to poverty, and the discord between cities due to petty ambitions and rivalries, and one has only to compare the views of *Plato and *Aristotle to see that, naïve as Isocrates seems, he was by far the most practical; neither of the philosophers explained how cities were to be kept from destroying each other, and their plans for ensuring concord within the city by controlling the growth of population contrast unfavourably with Isocrates' proposals to settle in prosperity those whose poverty was the source of revolutionary violence.

Much has been made of the somewhat imprecise proposals for curing the ills of *democracy in the *Areopagiticus*. It is to be noted that these proposals are part of a long tradition deriving from his early master, Theramenes, and found fulfilment in the arrangements of Demetrius of Phalerum: Isocrates was not alone. In his other writings the tone is very different, and this outburst may have been occasioned largely by the serious condition of Athens after the Social War.

In the history of education Isocrates has an important place. See EDUCATION, GREEK. The details of his system remain somewhat obscure, but it would seem that his pupils received under his personal supervision a course of instruction which was neither purely speculative nor a mere training in rhetoric. He disdained the business of the lawcourts as well as 'astrology, geometry, and the like' which at best, he held, did no harm but were of no use 'either in personal matters or in public affairs', and he eschewed the logic-chopping of dialectic, 'the so-called

eristic dialogues'. For him the true concern of higher education was 'discussion of general and practical matters', the training of men for discussion and action in the sphere of the practical. What exactly such 'great affairs' were he did not specify, but it would seem that the sort of matters discussed in his own speeches provided the themes for his pupils' speeches which were to be well, that is persuasively, argued.

In all this he was in contrast to Plato, whose teaching was at once highly theoretical and essentially dogmatic. Plato aimed to teach men what to think, Isocrates how to argue. There was, not surprisingly, tension between the two and (though many have denied it) with delicate irony Plato in the *Phaedrus* (279a) sneered at Isocrates, who defended himself and his system in the *Antidosis*.

Writings

Of the 60 orations extant under his name in Roman times, 25 were considered genuine by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and 28 by Caecilius. Twenty-one survive today; six are court speeches. Of the nine letters extant the authenticity of 1, 3, 4, and 9 has been questioned but never disproved.

The works of Isocrates represent Attic prose in its most elaborate form. Dionysius (*Comp.* 23) compared it to 'closely woven material', or 'a picture in which the lights melt imperceptibly into shadows'. He seems, in fact, to have paid more attention to mere expression than any other Greek writer. He was so careful to avoid hiatus that Dionysius could find no single instance in the whole of the *Areopagiticus*; he was very sparing even in the elision of short vowels, and crasis, except of *kai* and *an*, occurs rarely. Dissonance of consonants, due to the repetition of similar syllables in successive words, and the combination of letters which are hard to pronounce together, is similarly avoided. These objects are attained without any perceptible dislocation of the natural order of words. Another characteristic of the style is the author's attention to rhythm; though avoiding poetical metres, he considered that prose should have rhythms of its own, and approved of certain combinations of trochee and iambus. His periods are artistic and elaborate; the structure of some of the longer sentences is so complex that he overreaches himself; he sacrifices lucidity to form, and becomes monotonous. His vocabulary is almost as pure as that of *Lysias, but while the simplicity of Lysias appears natural, the smoothness of Isocrates is studied. GLC

Italy (see ◀ Map 3 ▶) The name *Italia*, probably a Graecized form of Italic *Vitelia* (= 'calf-land'), was originally restricted to the southern half of the 'toe' but was gradually extended. By 450 BC it meant the region subse-

quently inhabited by the Bruttii (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 5. 8); by 400 it embraced Lucania as well (Thuc. 6. 4, 7. 33); Campania was included after 325, and by *Pyrrhus' day (early 3rd cent. BC) Italia as a geographical expression meant everything south of Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul (Zonar. 8. 17; see GAUL (CISALPINE)); this area, however, only acquired political unity after the Social War of 91–89 BC (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.5). Cisalpine Gaul was not officially incorporated until *Augustus' time when, accordingly, Italy reached its natural Alpine frontiers. Unofficially, however, whatever the administrative divisions, the whole country south of the Alps had been called Italy from *Polybius' time onwards. The Augustan poets also call Italy *Hesperia* (= 'the western land'), *Saturnia* (= strictly Latium), *Oenotria* (= strictly SW Italy), *Ausonia* (= 'the land of the Ausones', *Opica* to the Greeks; strictly Campania).

Italy's greatest length is roughly 1,100 km. (680 mi.); the greatest breadth of the peninsula proper is some 240 km. (150 mi.). Its long coastline possesses comparatively few, mostly indifferent ports, Genoa (Genua), Spezia, Naples (Neapolis), Tarentum, Brundisium, Ancona, and Pola being noteworthy exceptions. In compensation, however, Italy could exploit its central position to build a Mediterranean empire. Mountains, valleys, and plains in juxtaposition feature the Italian landscape. On the north are the Alps, a natural but not impossible frontier: the Carnic Alps pass is not formidable and the Brenner from time immemorial has been used by invaders attracted by Italy's pleasant climate, fertility, and beauty; the Alps actually are steeper on the Italian side. Between Alps and Apennines lies the indefensible north Italian plain watered by the Po (Padus). The Apennines traverse peninsular Italy, impeding but not actually preventing communications; the ancients' belief that they abounded in minerals was erroneous, since Italy only possessed some alluvial gold, copper (Etruria), iron (Elba), and marble (Liguria).

Despite fertile upland valleys the mountain districts usually permitted only a relatively frugal existence. The plains, however, were amazingly productive, being enriched partly by volcanic activity (Euganean district in the north, Alban hills in Latium, mons Vultur in Apulia, the still-active Vesuvius in Campania), partly by fertilizing silt carried down by numerous rivers which in winter contained adequate amounts of water. (Northern Italy also possessed important lakes, but not central and southern Italy apart from Trasimene, Fucinus, and water-filled craters like Albanus and Avernus.) Italy's natural products were consequently abundant and varied: *olives, various fruits, cereals, *timber, etc., even though some typically Italian products of today e.g. oranges and

tomatoes, were unknown in antiquity. The variety is explained chiefly by the varied climate, which is temperate if not cold in the mountains and northern Italy and warm if not hot in southern Italy. Possibly the ancient climate was slightly more equable; malaria (see DISEASE) was certainly less prevalent. Italy contains excellent pasturage; in many districts ranching supplanted agriculture. Also its seas abound in fish (see FISHING).

Italy was thus well adapted to support human life, and did so from palaeolithic times. Agriculturally based neolithic settlements first appear in some parts of the peninsula around 5000 BC, and metal technology in the third millennium BC. During the bronze age (the so-called Apennine culture of the second millennium BC), the first settlements in naturally-defended positions are found, especially in western central Italy. There was some trade with, and perhaps colonization by, the Mycenaeans in SW coastal areas from about 1400. In the flatlands of Emilia, around Modena (Mutina), Parma, and Piacenza (Placentia), there emerged in the middle to late bronze age the *terramara* culture, with low-lying villages built on piles; a mould for casting a *terramara*-type axe has been found at Mycenae. From the late second millennium BC, there began to develop the 'proto-Villanovan' and then the Villanovan cultures. Iron came into limited use, and during the 8th cent. BC, contact was established between Etruria, Latium, and the early Greek colonies in southern Italy (see COLONIZATION, GREEK). This was a stimulus to, and a profound influence upon, the emergence of the *Etruscan cities, which grew out of Villanovan settlements in Etruria. The cities of Latium, including Rome, likewise expanded. Elsewhere in Italy an immensely diverse mosaic of peoples began to achieve cultural and political identities. Down the east coast were Veneti, Picenes, Daunians, Peucetians, and Messapians. In the mountainous backbone of Italy were Ligurians, Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, Volsci, Lucanians, and the Bruttii of Calabria; the Samnites in particular expanded out of their homelands in the 5th cent. BC. The coastal fringes of SW and southern Italy, together with *Sicily, comprised Magna Graecia. In the north, Gauls settled from c.400 or before. In the west, apart from the Etruscans, there were the Latins of Latium, the related Faliscans and Hernici, Aurunci-Ausones, and Oenotri (= Sicels?). Some 40 languages were spoken altogether, and the peoples varied greatly in culture and level of civilization. Italy's mountainous topography accentuated and perpetuated such divergences.

Ultimately, the peoples of Italy were for the first time united under the hegemony of Rome. This was a protracted task, occupying the half-millennium between the 5th cent. BC and the reign of Augustus. *Romanization

was slow and uneven, but was aided by the gradual creation of a new road network; by the founding of citizen, Latin and, later, veteran, colonies; and by the diffusion of the Latin language, mass-produced Roman goods, new concepts of town planning, and the spread of Romanized villas and farms. It was also fuelled by the profits brought in through the wars of conquest, which encouraged public and private patronage, as a means of social and political advantage.

With Italy finally unified, Augustus divided it into eleven administrative districts (*regiones*):

- I. Latium, Campania, Picentini district
- II. Apulia, Calabria, Hirpini district
- III. Lucania, *ager Bruttius*
- IV. Region inhabited by Samnites, Frentani, Marrucini, Marsi, Paeligni, Aequeculi, Vestini, Sabini
- V. Picenum, Praetuttii district
- VI. Umbria, *ager Gallicus*

- VII. Etruria
- VIII. Gallia Cispadana
- IX. Liguria
- X. Venetia, Istria, Cenomani district
- XI. Gallia Transpadana

From the late 1st cent. AD, Italy's political and commercial pre-eminence began to wane. The process accelerated under the African and Syrian Severan dynasty (193–235), and, under *Diocletian, the imperial court moved to Mediolanum (Milan), 300. Diocletian also initiated administrative changes, so that by *Constantine I's time, Italy was divided into sixteen provinces which now included Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Raetia. *Christianity made relatively gradual progress in Italy after the edict of Milan (313) until the later 4th cent., a major period of church building in Rome, Milan, and elsewhere. In 404 the imperial court moved to the well-protected town of Ravenna, and when the Ostrogoths under



ivory Ivory plaque showing *Dionysus, satyr, and maenad, from the 'Prince's Tomb', *Aegae (late 4th cent. BC). Such plaques, sometimes with added gilding, commonly decorated Greek luxury furniture. Museum of the Royal Tombs of Aigai, Vergina / Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Tourism Archaeological Receipts Fund (Law 3028/2002)

Odoacer deposed the last western Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus, in 476, Ravenna was retained as a capital, and further embellished. The Byzantine reconquest (535–54) was soon checked by the Lombard invasions of 568.

ETS/TWP

ivory (Gk. *elephas*, Lat. *ebur*), a material derived from the tusk of the Asiatic or African *elephant or the tooth of the hippopotamus. Capable of being carved in the round, or in relief, used as inlay, as a veneer, turned on a lathe, or even moulded, ivory was a multi-purpose commodity that was imported into the Mediterranean from North

Africa and the Levant. The Old Persian for the Nile delta meant 'The Tusks'. There were flourishing schools of ivory-working in bronze age Crete (*see* MINOAN CIVILIZATION), but many 'Minoan' statuettes in museums outside Greece are suspected forgeries. Rich finds of ivory inlays at Nimrud, Arslan Tash, and other near eastern sites have echoes in ivory objects found at *Ephesus, *Samos, *Delphi, and in Laconia. At all periods, furniture was decorated with ivory plaques. Ivory was used for the flesh parts of cult statues (e.g. Phidias' chryselephantine *Athena Parthenos and his *Zeus at *Olympia), and for temple doors.

JB/MV

J

Janus, god of door and gate (*ianua*) at Rome (the term also for the type of honorific gateway that we misleadingly call 'triumphal arch'). Like a door, he looked both ways, and is therefore depicted as a double-headed and bearded man (the image chosen for many early Roman coins). More generally he controlled beginnings, most notably as the eponym of the month January (he was named first in prayer, e.g. Livy 8. 9. 6, the *devotio* (ritual self-sacrifice) of Publius Decius Mus), and was linked with the symbolism of the gate at the beginning and end of military campaigns (the bad omen of the departure of the Fabii from Rome before their destruction at the battle of the Cremera involved going through the right-hand *ianus* or arch of the city-gate instead of the left, Livy 2. 49. 8). This was most famously expressed in the ritual of the closing of the temple of Janus Geminus in the Forum in times of complete peace: under Numa, in 235 BC, three times under *Augustus, and more frequently in the imperial period. *Domitian transferred the cult to a new shrine in the forum 'Transitorium'.

This shrine (as depicted on coins) was little more than a gateway itself. It was probably *geminus*—'twin'—in being a four-way arch, like the 'arch of Janus' which survives in the forum Boarium (the porta Triumphalis through which victorious generals crossed the *pomerium* (religious boundary) into the city probably had this shape). There are serious topographical problems about the nature and relationship of the other ancient shrines of Janus along the via Sacra, which may have been related to crossings of the early watercourses in the area. A sanctuary in the forum Holitorium was Gaius Duilius' monument for his victory at Mylae (260 BC).

Janus was a god of considerable importance (*divom deus*, god of gods, in the *Hymn of the Salii*, Varro, *Ling.* 7. 27; for cosmic significance, Ov. *Fast.* 1. 101 f.). The *rex sacrorum* sacrificed to him in the Regia on the *dies Agonalis* of 9 January.

NP

Jews (see following page)

Jocasta Daughter of Menoeceus, sister of Creon, wife of *Laius, mother and later wife of *Oedipus. She is called Epicaste (*Epikastē*) by *Homer, Iocaste (*Iokastē*, Lat. Iocasta, Eng. Jocasta) by the tragedians. In tragedy she is the mother, by Oedipus, of Eteocles, Polynices, Antigone, and Ismene, though an alternative tradition in the *Oidipodeia* and elsewhere said that these were the children of Oedipus by a second wife, Euryganeia.

A late passage at *Od.* 11. 271–80 includes Epicaste among the women whom *Odysseus saw in the Underworld. She had unwittingly married her son Oedipus, but the gods had soon made this known and she had hanged herself, leaving Oedipus to be pursued by her Erinyes. *Sophocles follows this account for the manner of Jocasta's death (*OT* 1263–4, *Ant.* 53–4), though not for the timing of events or for the Erinyes. In *Euripides' *Phoenissae*, however, where she has a leading role, she survives up to the war between Eteocles and Polynices, tries to prevent their deaths, and kills herself with a sword (1455–9) when she has failed to do so. The mother's attempt to mediate between the princes dates back to *Stesichorus (*PMGF* 222b), though here she may be either Jocasta or Euryganeia.

ALB

Josephus (Flavius Iosephus) (b. AD 37/8), was a Greek historian but also a Jewish priest (see JEWS) of aristocratic descent and largely Pharisaic education and a political leader in pre-70 Jerusalem. While a zealous defender of Jewish religion and culture, his writing attacks the various revolutionary groups, whom he regarded as responsible for the fall of the Temple: his own understanding was that God was now supporting the Romans. Participation in a delegation to Rome (c.64) had impressed on him the impracticality of resistance. When the Jerusalem leaders put him in charge of Galilee, he played an ambiguous role. He was besieged at Jotapata, but when captured, evaded a suicide pact and, he claims, was freed when his prophecy of *Vespasian's accession came true. He remained close to *Titus until the fall of Jerusalem, making several attempts

[continued on p. 422]

J E W S

Jews (in Greek and Roman times). The Jews at the beginning of the period were an ethnic group with distinctive religious practices. In due course, the religious definition acquired new emphasis, and significant numbers of Jews became Jews by conversion rather than birth.

Palestine

A demographically mixed region, this was understood to be the homeland of the Jews throughout the period, though in fact housing a minority of them. More precisely, the Jews belonged to the territory around Jerusalem known in Greek as *Ioudaia*, whence the name *Ioudaioi*. However, the two revolts against Roman rule brought about the physical exclusion of the Jews from their centre.

From 538 to 332 BC the Jews of Palestine were a part of the Persian empire (*see* PERSIA). Coins reveal that their territory was called Yehud and the Persian governor *pekah*. The high priest seems to have been the highest Jewish official. A century of Ptolemaic rule (*see* EGYPT (PTOLEMAIC)) followed *Alexander the Great's death. The Zeno papyri illuminate in general the administration and economic life of the area, and reveal the high-level dealings of Tobias, a Jewish landowner east of the Jordan, with the Ptolemaic governor Apollonius.

In 200 Palestine passed into *Seleucid hands, and the influence of Greek culture was manifested, first in dissension within the high priestly families, and then in an extreme form in Antiochus IV's installation of a pagan cult in the Temple (168/7 BC), which was resisted by the *Maccabees. Only in 142 BC was the Seleucid garrison expelled from Jerusalem. For the next 80 years, the Jews were ruled by the hereditary Hasmonean high priests, attaining complete autonomy after the death of Antiochus VII in 134 BC. The expansion of Jewish territory involved a phenomenon new to Judaism, the conversion of the neighbouring peoples, Idumaeans and Ituraeans, at least partly by force.

*Pompey's intervention in 63 BC, occasioned by a quarrel between the two sons of the defunct queen, Alexandra Salome, led to the installation of one of them, Hyrcanus, and to the reduction of the kingdom, with the freeing of the conquered Greek cities. Aulus Gabinius organized the ethnarchy in 57 into five self-governing communities, with Hyrcanus remaining as ethnarch until his removal by the *Parthians and the appointment of the Idumaeen convert Herod as ruler.

In AD 6 Judaea was annexed, together with Samaria and Idumaea, to form the Roman province of Judaea, administered by equestrian officials (prefects, later procurators). A census in that year crystallized opposition and generated an ideology of resistance. Called by *Josephus the 'fourth philosophy', this tendency was apparently the source of the subsequent, more famous rebel groupings, *sicarii* and Zealots. A pattern of procuratorial misgovernment enlisted the sympathies of the Jewish crowd in Jerusalem and of non-landowners in Galilee to the anti-Roman cause. The high-priestly and landowning élites criticized Rome only under extreme provocation, as when the emperor *Gaius attempted to have his statue placed in the Temple (39/40). The installation of Marcus Julius Agrippa I (41–4) by Claudius was to prove merely a brief interlude in the regime of the procurators. Famines, banditry, and the breakdown of the working relationship between the Jewish ruling class and Rome marked the years before the outbreak of the First Jewish Revolt in 66. The Temple sacrifices for the emperor's welfare were terminated, and a provisional government in Jerusalem appointed regional leaders (including the historian Josephus), chose a demotic high priest by lot, abolished debt, and issued its own freedom coinage. But the Jews were deeply divided politically. In Galilee the conflict between pro- and anti-war elements made resistance ineffectual. In besieged Jerusalem, three rebel factions conducted a civil war until the last stages of the siege.

In 70 the Judaeen victory of *Vespasian and *Titus, confirmed by the burning of Jerusalem and the (perhaps accidental) destruction of the Temple, was crucial in consolidating the Flavian seizure of power. Much was made of '*Judaea capta*' in Flavian *propaganda, culminating in the *triumph over the Jews. Jewish-owned land in Judaea was expropriated.

From 70 the province of Judaea was governed by legates and a legion (X Fretensis) was stationed in Jerusalem. Jewish religious and cultural life centred for a generation on Jamnia (Jabneh), an enclave on the Judaeen coast, where a new definition of Judaism without a Temple was evolved by the rabbis.

The revolt in the Diaspora under Trajan, in 115–17, produced disturbances in Palestine, suppressed by Lusius Quietus. Of greater significance was the second great revolt in Palestine, led by Bar Kokhba. Its long-term causes are

ill-documented, but the immediate triggers were *Hadrian's prohibition of circumcision, and probably his plan to turn Jerusalem into the Roman *colonia* of Aelia Capitolina. After the costly suppression of this revolt, in 135, the name of the province became *Syria Palaestina, another legion (VI Ferrata) was stationed in Galilee, and, according to Christian sources, Jews were altogether excluded from Jerusalem except for one annual visit.

A further revolt occurred under *Antoninus Pius, in spite of his exemption of the Jews from Hadrian's ban on circumcision. Later, the Jews are said to have supported Avidius Cassius; and a rebellion in the time of *Septimius Severus is probably associated with the rising of Pescennius Niger.

During the 3rd cent. Jewish life flourished in Galilee: decorated *synagogues began to proliferate, in villages as well as towns; rabbinic influence on daily life grew; and Jews played their part in some of the newly refurbished cities, notably Caesarea. The patriarch, located successively in several Galilean towns, operated as the representative of the Jews of Palestine and was closely associated with the rabbis. Greek was widely used by the educated élite, though the first great rabbinic compilation, the Mishnah, was written in Hebrew, c.200. Prosperous Jews from the Syrian and Phoenician Diaspora were buried, alongside rabbis, in heavily figurative sarcophagi, in the spacious vaults and catacombs of Beth Shearim.

This vigorous community life, and the building of synagogues, continued into the era of Christianization (*see* CHRISTIANITY) in the Holy Land which followed the conversion of *Constantine I, when sites associated with biblical events became focuses of *pilgrimage.

A destructive Jewish revolt in Palestine, allegedly centred on a supposed Messiah, is ascribed by one source to the reign of Gallus Caesar (350/1). This may have been a protest against Christian anti-Jewish legislation. But it was left to a pagan emperor, *Julian 'the Apostate', to plan for the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple and the restoration there of the blood sacrifices. An earthquake, a fire, and various supernatural manifestations put a stop to the construction; and a year later (363) Julian was dead.

The Diaspora

The dispersion of the Jews began in 586 BC, when Nebuchadnezzar took the inhabitants of Jerusalem into captivity. Many of them did not return when permitted by *Cyrus the Great of *Persia in 538, but remained voluntarily in *Babylonia, where flourishing communities existed for centuries, producing in late antiquity the greatest monument of rabbinic learning, the Babylonian Talmud. During the Hellenistic period, many Jews migrated from Palestine and also from Babylonia, settling around the eastern Mediterranean, especially in Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt. There, Jewish military colonists had lived at Elephantine for centuries, and now they were joined by new military and civilian settlers in both countryside and town. The community at *Alexandria became the most important in the Diaspora, the splendour of its synagogue a byword, its mixed Jewish-Greek culture highly creative. Numbers alone made the Jews prominent inhabitants of the city. But by the 1st cent. AD there were sizeable communities in most of the cities of the eastern Mediterranean. The *Acts of the Apostles is important testimony to the local prominence of synagogues.

Expansion to the west began later but the community in Rome was established by the mid-2nd cent. BC. Jews taken as slaves after the various wars in Palestine swelled the numbers of the Diaspora, as in due course did the voluntary attachment of pagans to the Jewish synagogues of Rome. Inscriptions from the Jewish *catacombs of Rome reveal the existence of some eleven synagogues in the 2nd to 4th cents. AD, whose names suggest an earlier, in some cases an Augustan, foundation.

Diaspora Jews retained their identity and the basic religious practices of Judaism—male circumcision, observance of the sabbath, and other festivals (notably Passover and Tabernacles), and the avoidance of non-kosher meat. Until AD 70, their allegiance to the Temple and to Jerusalem as their mother city was signalled by the payment of the Temple tax and by the practice of pilgrimage at the major agricultural festivals.

At the same time, inscriptions concerning Jewish benefactions and commemorations from many cities in the eastern Roman empire make it clear that the Jews adapted to their varied environments. Greek was their native language, in which they read their Scriptures. In Cyrenaica, at Berenice (a), there were Jewish town-councillors and Jewish ephebes (*see* GYMNASIUM) as early as the 1st cent. AD. In the 3rd cent. the phenomenon is quite common. Non-Jews expressed attachment to the Jewish synagogue by becoming benefactors, 'God-fearers' (or sympathizers), and proselytes. The great Jewish inscription from *Aphrodisias shows an association of Jews and proselytes subscribing to a memorial together with a separate group of 'God-fearers', including councillors.

The advocacy of Hyrcanus and the Herodians, together with their own diplomacy, gained for Jewish communities in the Roman provinces the patronage successively of *Caesar, of Mark *Antony, and of *Augustus. In their disputes

with their neighbours, the Jews were assisted by Roman decrees which upheld their right to observe their customary practices; and these decrees were adopted empire-wide as precedents. Synagogues, though classed as *collegia* (associations), were exempted by Caesar from his general ban. The right to raise, deposit, and transmit the Temple tax was upheld. Sometimes, special food markets were permitted, sometimes exemption was granted from court appearances on the sabbath or from military service which rendered sabbath observance impossible. Christian authors were later to describe Judaism as a *religio licita* ('legitimate religion') in the Roman empire on the basis of these arrangements; see RELIGION, ROMAN. Furthermore, after the destruction of the Temple, the two-drachma (half-shekel) tax paid by all adult Jewish males to the Temple was extended to women and children, diverted to *Jupiter Capitolinus, and deposited in the new *fiscus iudaicus* (Jewish fisc or treasury). *Domitian's exactions were notoriously harsh, but *Nerva issued coins announcing his removal of the abuses. Implicit in the taxation was an official acknowledgement of the existence of Jewish communities, and this also contributed to the Christians' sense that Judaism had been 'legalized'.

Periodic expulsions of the Jews from the city of Rome were short-lived and did not undermine their standing elsewhere. Three expulsions of the Jews are recorded: in 139 BC; by *Tiberius in AD 19; and by *Claudius. The authorities' fear of disturbance and of un-Roman practices, rather than overt proselytizing, was the immediate cause of anti-Jewish measures, as of those against other alien cults and practices. The Jews do not appear to have been actively seeking converts during this period. It was not until the reign of *Septimius Severus that conversion to Judaism was legally forbidden.

In spite of—or because of—Jewish acculturation, friction between Jews and their neighbours was not uncommon. In Alexandria, anti-Semitic literature was produced in the Hellenistic period; but it was the Roman annexation of Egypt which shook a centuries-long political equilibrium by redefining the privileges accorded to Alexandrian citizens, and excluding the Jews from them. In AD 38, a visit of Marcus Iulius Agrippa I to Alexandria sparked the first 'pogrom' in Jewish history, when synagogues were burnt, shops looted, and the Jews herded into a ghetto. Trouble returned in 66, at a time when the outbreak of revolt in Palestine also provoked Greek–Jewish violence in a number of Syrian cities. The failure of the revolt saw further attacks on urban Jews.

In 115 the Jews of Cyrenaica rose against their pagan neighbours and against the Roman authorities, inflicting considerable damage and targeting pagan temples. The uprising, which suggests intense frustration, spread to Alexandria and other parts of Egypt; and to *Cyprus, where it was furthered by a charismatic leader. The rebellion in 116 in *Trajan's new Mesopotamian province, coinciding with these events, brought in the Jews of Babylonia. The revolts were suppressed by Quintus Marcius Turbo with massive military effort. An era of more peaceful co-existence for the Jewish Diaspora ensued, and the increasingly high profile of Jewish communities in some cities is attested by excavated remains of synagogues. The case of Sardis is particularly noteworthy, where a massive synagogue adjoined the city's main baths-complex, and was refurbished several times, well into the Christian era. The legal restrictions placed on Jews by the Christian emperors of the 4th and 5th cents. did not in the first instance curtail the activities of the synagogues. See ANTI-SEMITISM.

TR

to persuade the besieged city to surrender. He was given Roman citizenship, and, after the war, an imperial house to live in in Rome, a pension, and land in Judaea.

He first wrote an account of the war, now lost, in Aramaic for the Jews of Mesopotamia. Most, if not all, of the seven books of the Greek *Jewish War* appeared between 75 and 79. The first book and a half sketch Jewish history from the Maccabean revolt (see MACCABEES) to AD 66. Much of the rest is based on Josephus' own experience, together with eyewitness reports from others and perhaps some help from the diaries (*commentarii*) of Vespasian and Titus. The triumph at Rome over *Judaea capta* is described in detail. The *Jewish Antiquities*, in twenty books, published in 93/4, is a history of the Jews from the Creation to just before the outbreak of revolt, ostensibly

for Greek readers. The biblical history of the first ten books depends not only on the Hebrew and Greek Bibles, but also on current Jewish oral interpretation. For the post-biblical period, works of Jewish-Hellenistic literature such as the Letter of Aristeas, 2 Esdras, and 1 Maccabees (see MACCABEES) are incorporated. In the second half, Josephus drew on the histories of Nicolaus of Damascus and also on those of Strabo. The famous *testimonium* to Jesus is partly or even wholly an interpolation, but there are brief references to John the Baptist and to James, brother of Jesus. Appended to the *Antiquities* was the *Life*, not a full autobiography, but a defence of Josephus' conduct in Galilee, responding to his critics, especially Iustus of Tiberias. The *Against Apion* was an apologia for Judaism in two books, demonstrating its

antiquity in comparison with Greek culture, and attacking anti-Semitic writers, from the 3rd cent. BC to Apion. Josephus' writings were preserved by the early Church. See HISTORIOGRAPHY, HELLENISTIC. EMS/TR

judges, foreign, modern coinage to describe a judge or panel of judges (*xenikon dikastērion*) sent by one Greek city to hear lawsuits in another, often on the basis of a shared tie of *kinship (*syngeneia*). Attested mainly from honorific decrees on stone, these judges—commonly between one and five with a secretary—are known from the 4th cent. BC until the Antonines, but above all in Hellenistic times (see HELLENISM), when their dispatch could be orchestrated by kings or royal officials, as well as the Greek leagues (*koina*). They are found hearing both public and private suits, including disputes over written contracts (*sumbolaia*); long backlogs in local courts are a frequently cited reason for their presence. References to foreign judges who restored concord (*homonoia*) among citizens link this demand for impartial jurisdiction with the internal unrest (*stasis*), often based on the indebtedness of the poor to the rich, which marked many Greek cities in Hellenistic times. AJS

Julia, only daughter of *Augustus (by Scribonia), was born in 39 BC and betrothed in 37 to Marcus Antonius Antyllus. She was brought up strictly by her father and stepmother *Livia. In 25 she married her cousin Marcus Claudius Marcellus and in 21 Agrippa, to whom she bore Gaius Iulius Caesar and Lucius Iulius Caesar, the younger Julia, Agrippina the Elder (Vipsania Agrippina), and Agrippa Postumus (Agrippa Iulius Caesar). Her third marriage, to *Tiberius (in 11) is said to have been happy at first, but estrangement followed, and her behaviour may have contributed to Tiberius' decision to retire from Rome in 6. In 2 BC Augustus learned of her alleged adulteries (e.g. with Iullus Antonius) and banished her to Pandateria; in AD 4 she was allowed to move to Rhegium. Scribonia voluntarily shared her exile. Augustus forbade her burial in his mausoleum, and Tiberius kept her closely confined and stopped her allowance, so that she died of malnutrition before the end of AD 14. Macrobius (*Sat.* 2. 5) speaks of her gentle disposition and learning, and gives anecdotes attesting her wit. TJC/RJS

Julian 'the Apostate' (Flavius Claudius Iulianus), emperor AD 361–3, was born at Constantinople in 331, the son of a half-brother of *Constantine I, Julius Constantius. After his father's murder in dynastic intrigues of 337, Julian was placed by Constantius II in the care of an Arian bishop and from 342 was confined for six years on an imperial estate in Cappadocia. He impressed his Christian tutors there as a gifted and pious pupil (see

CHRISTIANITY), but his reading of the Greek classics was inclining him in private to other gods. In 351, as a student of philosophy, he encountered pagan Neoplatonists and was initiated as a theurgist by Maximus of Ephesus. For the next ten years Julian's pagan 'conversion' remained a prudently kept secret. He continued his studies in Asia and later at Athens until summoned to Milan by Constantius to be married to the emperor's sister Helena and proclaimed Caesar with charge over Gaul and Britain (6 November 355). Successful Rhineland campaigns against the Alamanni and Franks between 356 and 359 proved Julian a talented general and won him great popularity with his army. When Constantius ordered the transfer of choice detachments to the east the army mutinied and in February 360, probably with tacit prompting, proclaimed Julian Augustus. Civil war ensued in 361, but Constantius' fortuitous death late that year soon ended it and Julian, now publicly declaring his paganism, entered Constantinople unopposed in December. A purge of the imperial court quickly followed, drastically reducing its officials and staff. In his brief reign Julian showed remarkable energy in pursuit of highly ambitious aims. An immediate declaration of general religious toleration foreshadowed a vigorous programme of pagan activism in the interest of '*Hellenism': the temples and finances of the ancestral cults were to be restored and a hierarchy of provincial and civic pagan priesthoods appointed, while the Christian churches and clergy lost the financial subsidies and privileges gained under Constantine and his successors. Though expressly opposed to violent persecution of Christians, Julian overtly discriminated in favour of pagan individuals and communities in his appointments and judgements: measures such as his ban on the teaching of classical literature and philosophy by Christian professors and his encouragement of charitable expenditure by pagan priests mark a determination to marginalize Christianity as a social force. His attempts to revive the role of the cities in local administration by restoring their revenues and councils and his remarkable plan to rebuild the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem are best appraised in the light of this fundamental aim.

Julian's military ambitions centred on an invasion of *Persia intended to settle Rome's long-running war with Sapor II. To prepare his expedition he moved in June 362 to *Antioch, where his relations with the mainly Christian population deteriorated markedly during his stay. The expedition set out in March 363 but despite some early successes it was already in serious difficulties when Julian was fatally wounded in a *mêlée* in June 363. He left no heir (Helena died childless in 360, and Julian did not remarry), and after his death the reforms he had initiated quickly came to nothing.

Julian's personal piety and intellectual and cultural interests are reflected in his surviving writings, which show considerable learning and some literary talent. They include panegyrics, polemics, theological and satirical works, and a collection of letters, public and private. Of his anti-Christian critique, *Against the Galileans*, only fragments remain. His own philosophic ideology was rooted in Iamblichan Neoplatonism and theurgy. How forcefully it impinged on his public religious reforms is controversial: on one view, they were directed more to the founding of a Neoplatonist 'pagan Church' than to a restoration of traditional Graeco-Roman polytheism, and their potential appeal to the mass of contemporary pagans was correspondingly limited. RBES

Julii Caesares A Roman *patrician family, descended from the Julii Julii, who were prominent in the early republic and who several times held the consulship (traditionally first in 489 BC) and other offices of similar rank in the 5th and early 4th cents., last in 379. Their family god was probably Apollo (cf. Livy 4. 29. 7). For several generations after 379 only two Julii appear in high offices: soon after, a dictator in 352, then a consul, Lucius Iulius Libo, in 267, who links the Julii Julii with the later Caesares. The *cognomen* Caesar is first found in a praetor of 208, Sextus Iulius Caesar, whose homonymous son became the first Julius in over a century to hold the consulship (157).

By then it was agreed that the Julii were one of six aristocratic families of Alba Longa that joined the Roman Patriciate when Alba Longa was destroyed. To reinforce this belief, the *gens Iulia* dedicated an altar to Vediovis, often identified with Apollo, at Bovillae, a successor city to Alba Longa, in which no Julius had shown any interest before (*ILLRP* 270, late 2nd cent.); the interest was later considerably expanded by *Augustus and *Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 2. 41. 1, 15. 23. 2). By about the middle of the 2nd cent., the Caesares were claiming descent from Ascanius and, through him, from his grandmother Venus (see the coins Crawford, *RRC* 258, 129 BC, and 320, 103 BC, the latter with a symbolic reference to Apollo, the ancient god of the *gens*). In earlier tradition Ascanius had acquired the name Iulus, but had died childless (see Cato in *HRR* 1. 58–9, F and F 11). By the late 1st cent. he had been fitted out with children and Iulus was the name of the eldest of them (Dion. Hal. 1.70.3). The descent from Venus, thus supported, became one of the bases of the transformation of the Roman republic into the Roman empire by two members of the family, Julius *Caesar and Augustus. EB

Julius Caesar *see* CAESAR, JULIUS.

Juno, an old and important Italian goddess and one of the chief deities of Rome. Her name derives from the

same root as *iuventas* (youth), but her original nature remains obscure. G. Wissowa's argument (*Religion und Kultus d.Römer*, 2nd edn. (1912)) that she developed from the *iuuo* attributed to individual women is probably mistaken, since that concept apparently arose during the republic on the analogy of the *genius*. On the other hand, her roles as a goddess of women and as a civic deity were both ancient and widespread, and it is difficult to give priority to either. Juno was widely worshipped under a number of epithets throughout central Italy. Some of her important civic cults in Rome were in fact imported from this region. Thus in the 5th cent. BC Juno Regina was brought from the *Etruscan town of Veii and received a temple on the Aventine. Also apparently Etruscan in origin was the Capitoline Triad of *Jupiter, Juno, and *Minerva; the Capitoline Juno was by the late republic also identified as Regina ('Queen'), and regularly carried that epithet in the imperial period. Another imported cult was that of Juno Sospita, the chief deity of Lanuvium (mod. Lanuvio), which from 338 BC onwards was administered jointly with Rome. The distinctive iconography of this goddess, who wears a goat-skin and carries a spear and shield, indicates a martial character; Dumézil believed that her full epithet, Sospita Mater Regina, confirmed his thesis that Juno was originally trivalent, with influence over military prowess, fertility, and political organization. The cult of Juno Lucina, the goddess of childbirth, appears both in Rome and in other parts of Latium. The foundation-day of her temple on the Esquiline, March 1, was traditionally celebrated as the Matronalia, when husbands gave presents to their wives. Peculiar to Rome is Juno Moneta, whose cult dates to the 4th cent. BC. The ancient association of her epithet with *monere* (to warn) is usually accepted, but its origins are unknown. The first mint in Rome was later located in or near her temple on the *arx*, hence the derivation of 'money' from Moneta. Other epithets, such as Pronuba, belong more to poetry than cult. The Roman conception of Juno's character was deeply affected by her identification with similar goddesses of other cultures. The most important was the Greek *Hera: her mythology and characteristics were largely adopted for Juno, who was thus firmly established by the time of *Plautus as the wife of Jupiter and the goddess of marriage. The great goddess of *Carthage, Tanit, was also identified at a relatively early date with Juno, but had much less influence on her character. Apart from her part in the Capitoline Triad, Juno played a relatively minor role in the provinces. The exceptions are northern Italy, where the mother goddesses were sometimes called *iunones*, and Africa, where Juno Caelestis was heir to the cult of Tanit. JBR

Jupiter (Iuppiter), sovereign god of the Romans, bears a name referring to the 'luminous sky' (+*Dyew-pater*), the first member of which is etymologically identical with that of *Zeus. He was known to all Italic peoples.

Even if associated with the sky, storms, and lightning, Jupiter was not just a god of natural phenomena. These expressed and articulated, in fact, his function as sovereign divinity. Jupiter was sovereign by virtue of his supreme rank and by the patronage derived from exercise of the supreme power. His supreme rank was signified by the fact that the god or his priest was always mentioned at the head of lists of gods or priests, and that the climactic point of the month, before the waning of the moon, was sacred to him in particular (Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 15. 14). In addition, the Roman symbol of power, the sceptre (*sceptrum*), belonged to him and functioned as his symbol (Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 210). This privilege was described by the traditional epithets of *optimus maximus*, 'the best and the greatest', or by the title *rex* given him by the poets (cf. G. Radke, *Entwicklung der Gottesvorstellung und der Gottesehrung in Rom* (1987), 241 ff.). His patronage of the exercise of sovereign power expressed itself in the fact that no political action could be accomplished without his favourable and prior judgement, expressed through the auspices and in the celebration of the *triumph, representing the fullest exercise of Roman supremacy. Between these two poles the figure of Roman Jupiter must be constructed.

In rituals as well as in mythical narratives (see G. Dumézil, *Les Dieux souverains des Indo-Européens* (1977)), the exercise of sovereignty by Jupiter, which made him into a deity with a political function, is presented under two aspects. On the one hand Jupiter was patron of the violent aspect of supremacy. As well as falling lightning, the Roman triumph, ending at his temple, represented the inexorable side of this power. From this point of view it is understandable that the grape and its product, *wine, were placed under his patronage. But Jupiter was also a political god, who agreed to exercise power within the limits imposed by law and good faith. It was he who took part in the institution of *templa*, those inner spaces in which the important activities of the Roman people took place, and patronized the *nundinae*, traditional days of popular assembly (Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 16. 30). It was he too who, by means of the auspices, conferred legitimacy on the choices and decisions of the Roman people. Finally, he was the patron of oaths and treaties, and punished perjurers in the terrible manner appropriate.

From the end of the regal period, the most brilliant of Jupiter's seats was his temple on the Capitol, which he shared with *Juno Regina (in the cella or chamber to the left) and *Minerva (in the right-hand cella). This triad

constituted the group of patron deities of the city of Rome, whose well-being was the subject of an annual vow (Livy 41. 14. 7 ff.); under the empire, vows for the health of the ruler and his family were celebrated on 3 January. The first political action of the new consuls was the acquittal of these vows, formulated the previous year, and their utterance afresh. The anniversary of the Capitoline temple was celebrated during the *Ludi Romani* (4–19 September) on the Ides of September (13 September). On the Ides of November, during the *Ludi Plebei* or Plebeian Games (4–17 November; see *PLEBS*), a great banquet was celebrated on the Capitol (*Iovis epulum*), reuniting the Roman élite around the supreme god, along with Juno and Minerva. It was to the Capitol as well, and specifically to the *arx*, that the procession concluding the 'rites of the Ides', *sacra idulia*, ascended (Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 392, entry under 'sacram viam'). Finally, the *Ludi Capitolini*, celebrated in honour of Jupiter Feretrius (15 October, Plut. *Rom.* 25; *Schol. Bern.* on Verg. *G.* 2. 384), their date of foundation uncertain, point to a third ancient sanctuary of Jupiter on the Capitol. Jupiter Feretrius, whom it is difficult to separate from Jupiter Lapis or 'Stone' (see Gell. *NA* 1. 21. 4; Livy 1. 24. 8, 30. 43. 9; Festus (Paul) *Gloss. Lat.* 239), was invoked in treaties; the famous flint used in the most solemn oaths was kept there, as well as the *sceptrum* by which oaths were taken (Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 210). A tradition reactivated by *Augustus attributed to Jupiter the 'first' *spolia opima* (Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 302; cf. J. Rüpke, *Domus militiae* (1990), 217 ff.).

Jupiter was frequently associated with other deities. From a very early period an association thought by many to reflect Indo-European ideas linked him with *Mars and Quirinus. On the Capitol he shared his temple with Juno and Minerva. Near this temple were found deities who fell in some sense within his orbit: Fides and the problematic Dius Fidius, patrons of good faith and oaths.

The special priests of Jupiter were the *flamen Dialis* and his wife and, where the auspices were concerned, the *augures* (*interpretes Iovis optimi maximi*, 'interpreters of Jupiter Best and Greatest', Cic. *Leg.* 2. 20). JSch

Justinian's codification is a term loosely used to describe the three volumes (*Codex*, *Digesta* or *Pandectae*, *Institutiones*) in which Justinian (AD 527–65) tried to restate the whole of Roman law in a manageable and consistent form, though this restatement, which runs to over a million words, is too bulky and ill-arranged to count as a codification in the modern sense.

Ninety years after the Theodosian Code of 438 a new codex was needed to collect the laws enacted in the intervening period. Justinian, with a keen sense of his predecessors' neglect and his own superior dedication, seized

the opportunity to carry out part of the programme envisaged by Theodosius II in 429. This involved including all imperial laws in one volume and ensuring that the laws in it were consistent with one another (*C. Haec* pref.). Within a few months of becoming emperor in 527, he ordered a commission of ten, mostly present or recent holders of public office, to prepare a comprehensive collection of imperial laws including those in the three existing codices (*Gregorianus*, *Hermogenianus*, and *Theodosianus*), so far as they were still in force, together with more recent laws (*novellae*). The laws were to be edited in a short and clear form, with no repetition or conflict, but attributed to the emperors and dates at which they had originally been issued. The commission contained some lawyers but its head was the politically powerful non-lawyer John of Cappadocia. Within fourteen months the *Codex Iustinianus* in twelve books (*libri*) was finished and on 7 April 529 was promulgated as the exclusive source of imperial laws, the earlier codes being repealed (*C. Summa*). Its practical aim was to curtail lawsuits; and its compilation was widely regarded as a major achievement. It fitted a vision in which Justinian saw himself as rapidly restoring and extending the empire, in which process military and legal achievements would reinforce one another (*C. Summa* pref.). This 529 *Codex* does not survive, but the second edition of 534 does.

Besides the laws in the *Codex*, *C. Summa* allowed the writings of the old lawyers of authority to be cited in court. Their views not infrequently conflicted, the conflicts being settled by counting heads according to the Law of Citations of 426. In 429 Theodosius II had looked forward to a time when this voluminous material could be arranged under subject-headings and harmonized. Probably, though the matter is controversial, Justinian from the start intended to undertake the further project of collecting, condensing, and amending the rest of Roman law, provided someone could organize it: the incentive to outdo Theodosius still applied. At any rate, Justinian first arranged for the 50 most prominent conflicts between the old writers to be settled (*Quinquaginta decisiones*), then in December 530 (*C. Deo auctore*) ordered that these old works, which ran to over 1,500 books (*libri*), be condensed in 50 books and given the title *Digesta* ('Ordered Abstracts') or *Pandectae* ('Encyclopaedia'). For that purpose he set up a second commission consisting of élite lawyers under the quaestor Tribonianus, who had shown his mettle as a member of the earlier commission, along with another official, four law professors, and eleven advocates. They were to read the works of authority, none of them written later than about AD 300, and excerpt what was currently valid. As for the *Codex*, the commissioners were to edit the texts in a clear

form with no repetition or contradiction. Thirty-nine writers were used for the compilation. The commission was not to count heads but to choose the best view, no matter who held it. In the upshot Ulpian, who provided two-fifths of the *Digesta*, was their main source; Paulus provided one-sixth.

The commission worked rapidly and the *Digesta* or *Pandectae* was promulgated on 16 December 533 (*C. Tanta/Dedöken*). The speed of the operation has led some scholars to suppose that the commissioners, instead of reading the original sources, worked from previous collections of material. But nothing on the required scale has been traced, and Tribonianus would have dismissed reliance on secondary sources as disreputable, even supposing it escaped detection. Time was saved in another way. As F. Bluhme discovered in 1820, the works to be read were divided into three groups, extracts from which are generally kept together in the finished *Digesta*. The inference is that three subcommittees were appointed to read the three groups of works; and the operation was perhaps further subdivided within the committees. Justinian, in whose palace the commission was working, could be relied on to see that the timetable was kept to, as he did with the construction of Hagia Sophia.

The compilers had authority not merely to eliminate obsolete or superfluous texts but to alter those they kept. The extent to which they made use of this power is controversial. In any event, if the new version of a text differed from the old, the new prevailed, on the theory that Justinian was entitled to amend the previous law as he wished. But the amended texts were 'out of respect for antiquity' attributed to the original authors and books. This was a compromise, unsatisfactory from a scholarly point of view, which enabled Justinian to claim that everything in the *Digesta* was his, while in fact often reverting to the law as it was before 300.

The practical aims of the *Digesta* were to shorten lawsuits and provide a revised law syllabus to be used in the schools of Berytus (mod. Beirut) and Constantinople (*C. Omnem*). To complete the reform of law-teaching Justinian ordered Tribonianus and two of the professors to prepare an up-to-date edition of the famous 2nd-cent. AD law teacher Gaius' lectures, the *Institutiones*, making use also of other elementary teaching books by writers of authority. The professors perhaps each drafted two books, while Tribonianus brought the whole up to date by adding an account of recent legislation, especially Justinian's. The *Institutiones* like the *Digesta* was promulgated in December 533. It has survived and was for many centuries a successful students' first-year book. Then in 534 a second edition of the *Codex* of 529 was produced, which

included the reforming laws of the intervening five years. This also has survived. The codification was now at an end. To avoid conflicting interpretations, commentaries on it were forbidden. Justinian however continued to legislate without pause, mainly in Greek, and private collections of his later laws (*novellae*) have been preserved, including a shortened Latin version known as the *epitome Iuliani*.

His codification had a practical and a political aim. Its practical impact, though considerable, was limited by the fact that it was wholly in Latin. Hence in the Greek-speaking Byzantine empire few could make proper use of it until the coming of a Greek collection of laws, the *Basilica*, which in the 9th and 10th cents. at last fused the two main sources of law, *Codex* and *Digesta*. In the west Justinian's laws were in force for two centuries in parts of Italy and in North Africa until the expansion of Islam in the 7th cent.

The political aim of the codification was to renew, reform, and extend the Roman empire in its civil aspect. In this Justinian was in the long run successful, but not in the way he foresaw. He thought that the spread of Roman law depended on military conquest. In the west that proved short-lived; and when from the 11th cent. onwards his codification came to be taken as the basis of legal education and administration throughout Europe, it was not by force of arms but through its prestige and inherent rationality that his version of Roman law was adopted.

THON

Juvenal (Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis), Roman satirist. Known primarily for the angry tone of his early *Satires*, although in later poems he developed an ironical and detached superiority as his satiric strategy. The highly rhetorical nature of the *Satires* has long been recognized but only recently has the allied concept of the 'mask' (*persona*) been deployed (primarily by W. Anderson, *Essays on Roman Satire* (1982)) to facilitate assessment of the *Satires* as self-conscious poetic constructs, rather than the reflections of the realities of Roman social life for which they have often been read. This approach is reinforced by rejection of the biographical interpretation, in which Juvenal's 'life' was reconstructed from details in the *Satires*. In fact, virtually nothing is known of his life: he is the addressee of three epigrams of *Martial (themselves highly sophisticated literary constructions) which indicate his skill in oratory. The absence of dedication to a patron in Juvenal's *Satires* may suggest that he was a member of the élite. The few datable references confirm Syme's assessment that the five books were written during the second and third decades of the 2nd cent. AD (or later), at about the same time as *Tacitus was writing

his *Annals*. There is no reason to doubt that the *Satires* were written and published in books. Book 1 comprises *Satires* 1–5, book 2 *Satire* 6 alone, book 3 *Satires* 7–9, book 4 *Satires* 10–12, and book 5 *Satires* 13–16 (the last poem is unfinished).

In book 1 Juvenal introduces his indignant speaker who condemns Rome (satire is an urban genre), especially the corruption of the patron–client relationship (*amicitia*) (in *Satires* 1, 3, 4, and 5; see PATRONAGE) and the decadence of the élite (in 1, 2, and 4). *Satire* 1, following predecessors in the genre, provides a justification for satire and a programme of the angry tone and the victims of satirical attack. These include the 'out-groups' (A. Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus* (1983)) who transgress sexual and social boundaries, such as the passive homosexuals of *Satire* 2 (see HOMOSEXUALITY) and the social upstarts, criminals, and foreigners attacked by Umbricius in *Satire* 3 (Umbricius figures himself as the last true Roman, driven from an un-Roman Rome). The Roman élite are portrayed as paradigms of moral corruption: the selfish rich are attacked in *Satires* 1 and 3 and the emperor *Domitian is portrayed as sexual hypocrite and autocrat in 2 and 4. Those dependent on these powerful men are not absolved from blame: the courtiers humiliated by Domitian by being asked to advise on what to do with an enormous fish in *Satire* 4, like the client humiliated by his wealthy patron at a dinner party in 5, are condemned for craven compliance.

The focus upon Roman men in book 1 is complemented by the focus upon Roman women in book 2, which consists of the massive *Satire* 6, comparable in length to a book of epic. The speaker fiercely (but unsuccessfully) attempts to dissuade his addressee from marriage by cataloguing the (alleged) faults of Roman wives. Here Juvenal develops his angry speaker in the ultimate rant which seems to exhaust the possibilities of angry satire; thereafter he adopts a new approach of irony and cynicism. Initially (in book 3) Juvenal's new, calmer *persona* takes up the same topics as treated in book 1, although his detachment invites a less stark perspective: clients and patrons (*Satires* 7 and 9) and the corruption and worthlessness of the élite (8). He then marks his change of direction explicitly at the start of book 4, where the speaker states his preference for detached laughter over tears as a reaction to the follies of the world; in the remainder of *Satire* 10 he accordingly demolishes first the objects of human prayer, then the act of prayer itself. His programmatic declaration is borne out by the 'Horatian' tone and topics (see HORACE) of *Satire* 11 (where an invitation to dinner conveys a condemnation of decadence and a recommendation of self-sufficiency) and 12 (where true friendship is contrasted with the false friendship of

legacy-hunters). The speaker of book 5 becomes still more detached and cynical as he turns his attention to the themes of crime and punishment, money and greed. The opening poem, *Satire* 13, offers a programmatic condemnation of anger in the form of a mock consolation, which indicates clearly the development from book 1 where anger was apparently approved.

Juvenal claims that his satire replaces *epic (*Sat.* 1) and *tragedy (6. 634–61): his chief contribution to the genre is his appropriation of the ‘grand style’ from other more elevated forms of hexameter verse, notably epic. This contrasts markedly with the sometimes coarse language of Lucilius and the tone of refined ‘conversation’ adopted by Horace in his satirical writings. Juvenal’s satiric ‘grand style’ mingles different lexical levels, ranging from epic and tragedy (e.g. the epic parody in *Satires* 4 and 12) to mundanities, Greek words, and occasional obscenities. His penchant for oxymora, pithy paradoxes, and trenchant questions makes Juvenal a favourite mine for quotations, e.g. *mens sana in corpore sano* (10. 356) and *quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* (6. 347–8): ‘a healthy mind in

a healthy body’ and ‘who guards the guards themselves?’ The *Satires* also appropriate the themes and structures of other forms of discourse: they are rhetorical performances which develop for satiric ends material drawn from epic (*Homer, *Virgil, *Ovid) and pastoral poetry; situations and characters of comedy and mime; philosophical ideas and texts (including *Plato and the Hellenistic philosophical schools); and rhetorical set-pieces (consolation, persuasion, farewell speech).

Juvenal’s *Satires* apparently present reassuring entertainment for the Roman male élite audience. However, inconsistencies written into the texts allow alternative views of Juvenal’s speakers as riddled with bigotry (chauvinism, misogyny, homophobia) or as cynically superior. In literary history, Juvenal’s significance is in bringing to fullest development the indignant speaker: his ‘savage indignation’ had a lasting influence on Renaissance and later satire (as Johnson’s imitations of *Satires* 3 and 10, *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, indicate) and remains central to modern definitions of ‘satire’. See SATIRE.

SMB

K



kingship (*basileia*) The Mycenaean political system (see MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION) was monarchic, with the king (*wanax*) at the head of a palace-centred economy; the 10th-cent. BC 'hero's tomb' at *Lefkandi may imply some limited continuity into the Dark Age. Kingship appears to have been rare later: *Homer borrows elements from Mycenae and the near east, but seems essentially to be describing an aristocratic world, in which the word *basileus* is often used in the plural of an office-holding nobility. The earliest true monarchies were the 7th–6th-cent. *tyrannies, which were regarded as aberrations; the Spartan dual 'kingship' (see SPARTA) is a form of hereditary but non-monarchic military leadership. The Classical period knew kingship only from myth and as a *barbarian form of rule, found in tribal areas and in the near east. *Sophists established a theoretical table of constitutions, with kingship and tyranny as the good and bad forms of monarchy, opposed to the rule of the few and the rule of the many (see OLIGARCHY; DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN; POLITICAL THEORY). In the 4th cent. BC, developments in *Thessaly (Jason of Pherae), *Syracuse (*Dionysius I and Dionysius II), Caria (Mausolus), and *Cyprus (Nicocles and Evagoras), and especially the rise of Macedon under *Philip II, demonstrated the practical importance of monarchy; and *Plato, *Xenophon, and *Isocrates elaborated theories justifying kingship.

After *Alexander the Great, monarchy became a dominant form of government in the Greek world. The Hellenistic monarchies (see GREECE, PREHISTORY AND HISTORY; HELLENISM) controlled vast territories by conquest ('land won by the spear'), and often made use of existing local administrative practices, presenting themselves as successors to earlier kings; they encouraged and adapted indigenous forms of king-worship (see RULER-CULT). In practice monarchies were hereditary, and claims were made to divine descent. In Greek cities the forms of king-worship were based on the idea of the king as saviour and benefactor (see EUERGETISM), or new founder of the city: the king and sometimes his family

were living gods to be worshipped with temples, cult statues, and festivals. In the free cities such honours were often diplomatic, and reflected the needs of alliances. Roman proconsuls also found themselves honoured; and the emperors accepted and systematized emperor-worship in the Greek provinces of the empire.

A philosophical theory of monarchy developed in the early Hellenistic period: philosophers were often welcomed as advisers at court, and representatives from all major philosophical schools except the *Cynic are known to have written treatises *On Kingship*. These seem to have rested on a common theoretical basis: kingship was 'rule without accountability'; it was justified by the perfect virtue of the king, which should be exemplified in a series of actions towards his subjects. The main virtue was love of his subjects (*philanthrōpia*); others were beneficence (*euergesia*), justice, self-control, wisdom, foresight, courage. Though the king need not be a philosopher, he should listen to their advice. The king's actions would ensure the love of his subjects. The doctrine of the king as 'living law' was not part of the theory, which was singularly weak in legal justification. Apart from some derivative pseudo-pythagorean fragments of uncertain date (see PYTHAGORAS), no treatise *On Kingship* survives, but their influence can be detected in contemporary literature (most clearly in the pseudonymous Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates on the Greek translation of the Torah), and in the language used in government documents.

It is doubtful whether this theory affected Roman attitudes to the emperor until the mid-1st cent. AD. But thereafter a series of writers describe the duties of the emperor in language derived from Hellenistic kingship theory; the most important of these are Philo Judaeus, the younger *Seneca, *De clementia*, and *Dio of Prusa, *Or.* 1–4. In the high empire a distinction became established between rhetorical speeches addressed 'to a king' and in direct praise of him, and philosophical treatises of advice 'on kingship', presenting an ideal picture even when addressed to a particular king. Fourth-cent. writers (Themistius,

*Julian, Libanius, Claudian, Synesius) make much of this distinction. Kingship theory also influenced Christian theology (see CHRISTIANITY), and was used by *Eusebius in the portrayal of *Constantine I, the first Christian emperor. It was therefore an important influence on Byzantine political thought.

OMU

kinship in antiquity constituted a network of social relationships constructed through marriage and legitimate filiation (including *adoption). It stretched beyond the *household (which usually included non-kin, especially slaves (see SLAVERY)), and also extended through patrilineal filiation to form corporate descent groups (tribes, etc.) recognized as subdivisions of the state.

Indo-European kinship seems generally to have been bilateral (with more agnate bias in Roman law), without any prescriptive marriage rule (the range of kin with whom marriage was prohibited varied, being wider in Rome than in Greece).

Association between tribes and their named subgroups may have stabilized only as the city-state developed. Momigliano (A. D. Momigliano, *CAH*. 8² (1989) 96 ff.) argued that early Roman pairs of social categories (patricians/plebeians, gentiles/clients, classis/infra classis) overlapped, being used in different contexts. In early Greece the same sets of 'Ionian' and 'Dorian' tribe names recur from the mainland to the Anatolian coast; the phratry also seems to be an early and widespread institution, but phratry names are local. Perhaps, then, tribal affiliation was more significant in travel, phratry membership at home.

As citizenship and inheritance law were formalized, Greek states (which, unlike Rome, rarely conducted censuses) delegated the task of admission of new citizens (and hence controlling marriage and legitimacy) to descent groups (in *Sparta and *Crete, men's houses). If such groups were reorganized on territorial principles, they continued to recruit by patrilineal filiation, ignoring changes of residence (see N. F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (1987); for Rome, TRIBUS). These groups were also used in Greece to ensure a representative distribution of political office (in Rome there was free competi-

tion between *gentes*). Any military functions seem to have dwindled with the spread of the hoplite phalanx, although in the more loosely organized armies (including Athens) kin may have camped and even marched together.

Inheritance rules privileged males (property passing through daughters in the absence of sons); this, together with patrilineal recruitment to descent groups, meant that men might have agnates as neighbours and would join them at group reunions. The same factors would separate women from close kin unless they married within the local group.

In the absence of centralized registers proof of legal status depended on witnesses; kin figured prominently in disputes over status and inheritance as both witnesses and opponents. They (and friends) would be invited to name-givings, weddings, and funerals. However, epigraphic and archaeological evidence does not support the view that burial in 'family tombs' was a primordial tradition. Funerals and monuments were public statements.

After the classical period increased migration made citizenship less relevant for the urban poor, and the role of descent groups as extended kindreds was partly taken over by voluntary associations (*thiasoi*). Christianity developed its own rites of passage and system of fictive kinship (godparents).

Kinship was also 'good to think with'. Ideas about hereditary qualities encouraged careful breeding of horses and dogs, and *Plato's *Republic* extended it to humans. *Genealogy could be a tool for mapping the world of the gods (*Hesiod) or stories about heroes (Hecataeus of Miletus). Such stories were still used in diplomatic negotiations in the Hellenistic period (A. Erskine, in D. Ogden (ed.), *The Hellenistic World* (2002), 97 ff.). Fantasy kinship reversed norms, from Homer's Aeolus to Herodotus' Nasmoneans; gods and powerful kings could be polygynous and marry incestuously. The widespread brother-sister marriage documented in census records from Greco-Roman Egypt—not, it seems, an Egyptian custom—may have derived some of its legitimacy (though hardly its popularity) through Ptolemaic knowledge of the close-kin marriages of Persian kings.

SCH

L

labour, as a factor in the production of wealth, has no equivalent in Greek or Latin. Association of the terms *ponos* and *labor* with drudgery reflects the negative attitudes of ancient élites, for whom 'labour' was the antithesis of *scholē* and *otium* (time available for leisure, politics, education, and culture). Consequently, the labour of theoretically free wage-earners and craftsmen tended to be assimilated to slavery (Arist. *Pol.* 1337^b19 ff.; Cic. *Off.* 1. 159 f.). Wages were seen as purchasing the person as opposed to labour-power; the supposedly degrading nature of craft-work (*banausia*) led to the downgrading of the individual worker (see ART, ANCIENT ATTITUDES TO; ARTISANS AND CRAFTSMEN). Surviving sources reveal nothing resembling modern conceptions of unions or trade-guilds, strikes, or common programmes of action; nor, aside from occasional epitaphs, is there any awareness of the 'dignity of labour'. Striking is the absence of any sustained competition or resentment between types of labour. Throughout the Greek and Roman worlds are found instead shifting, complementary relationships between different forms of exploitation. Already in *Hesiod's *Works and Days* (less clearly in the *Odyssey*) there exist crude equivalents of 'free', 'wage', and 'slave' labourer, combined on the peasant farm. In quantitative terms, the dominant form of labour on the land throughout the ancient world may broadly be described as 'compulsory labour', whereby the politically weak performed obligatory labour dues for the powerful. From the Greek world, the Spartan helots (state slaves) are the best known of these unfree agricultural workforces 'between freedom and slavery' (Pollux). There was a similar pattern in the Roman empire, with Romans in the provinces retaining pre-existing systems of compulsory labour. In cities, the labour of independent artisans and their families would be supplemented by slaves (a permanent workforce) or wage labourers (for casual labour). Large public projects would require extensive hired labour (Plut. *Per.* 12. 5; Suet. *Vesp.* 8. 5). Exceptional were Classical Athens and Roman Italy and Sicily during the late republic, where

chattel-slavery was widespread in the countryside (though supplemented by wage labour at harvest). In both cases, the citizen status of peasants made problematic their direct exploitation by landowning élites. Italian peasants, however, always remained vulnerable. As the number of chattel-slaves gradually (though never completely) diminished, the later centuries of the empire saw a lowering of peasant status and their progressive re-exploitation: tenant farmers were tied to the land as *coloni*. The relationship of the colonate and allied forms of compulsory labour to the eventual emergence of feudalism remains obscure. See CLASS STRUGGLE; INDUSTRY.

PCM

Laius (*Laïos*), king of Thebes, son of Labdacus, husband of *Jocasta and father of *Oedipus. His abduction of Chrysippus son of Pelops was said to be the origin of *homosexuality among men. The boy committed suicide and Pelops uttered a *curse which could be seen as the source of the troubles of Laius and his family.

*Aeschylus wrote a *Laius* which was the first play of a tetralogy, being followed by *Oedipus*, the surviving *Seven against Thebes*, and *Sphinx*. It is uncertain whether he knew and used the Chrysippus story. Some think that the abduction is the 'ancient transgression' mentioned at *Sept.* 742–3, others that it could have been the invention of *Euripides, who certainly wrote a *Chrysippus*. *Sophocles does not explicitly mention it.

Be that as it may, Laius later received a *Delphic oracle telling him to die childless (*Sept.* 745–9) or warning that he would be killed by his son (Soph. *OT* 711–14); and all sources agree that he was killed in due course by Oedipus.

ALB

Latin language

1. Introduction

Latin belongs to the Italic group of Indo-European (IE) languages, which includes Faliscan, Umbrian, and Oscan. It was originally spoken in Latium from 800 BC or earlier



and with the spread of Roman power became the common language first of Italy, then of the western Mediterranean and Balkan regions of the Roman empire. The language of the illiterate majority of Latin-speakers, Vulgar Latin (VL), evolved through its regional dialects into the Romance languages. It is known from casual remarks by ancient grammarians, comparative Romance reconstruction, and deviations from classical norms in manuscript and epigraphic texts.

Refined versions of the language were developed early on for specific socio-cultural purposes—legal and ritual texts, public oratory, senatorial and pontifical records, and Saturnian verse. The earliest of these survive in corrupt and fragmentary forms, e.g. the *Twelve Tables and the *Carmen arvale* ('Hymn of the Arval Brethren'). Later examples are the senate's decree (ILLRP 519) on the cult of Bacchus (186 BC; see BACCHANALIA) and the Scipio Epitaphs (c.250–150 BC; ILLRP 309–17). The combination of these native written genres and the influence of Greek models from c.240 BC onwards led eventually to the written form of the Roman dialect, *sermo urbanus* 'urban(e) speech', that we know as Classical Latin (CL). In contrast to the dialects of Greek the non-Roman dialects played no part in Latin literary culture or, from the classical period onwards, in local administration.

CL is defined by the characteristics common to literary authors in the period c.90 BC–c.AD 120. It is a highly artificial construct which must be regarded linguistically as a deviation from the mainstream of the language, namely VL. Nevertheless for centuries a spectrum of usage linked the highest literary compositions through the informal idiom of the letters and conversation of their authors and the plain registers of legal, administrative, and technical writings to the Latin of the masses. The spectrum was ruptured long before the 9th century. The Strasburg Oaths (AD 842), which are in an early form of French, are reported in a contemporary chronicle composed by Nithard in medieval Latin. The regional variants of VL, difficult to infer from the written texts of any period, had now become the Romance languages. The literary tradition, modelled on CL but infiltrated by vulgar elements, was now medieval Latin. Most oral renderings of medieval Latin would have been almost as incomprehensible to *Cicero as the Romance languages.

A spectrum of Latinity did survive however in the various registers of ecclesiastical Latin, which has no linguistic unity apart from its common Christian lexicon—*ecclesia* 'church', *baptizāre* 'baptize', *presbyter* 'priest', *resurrexiō* 'resurrection', *saluātor* 'saviour', *iustificāre* 'justify', etc. At one end is the vulgarized idiom of the Scriptures, then the plain technical Latin of the Church

bureaucracy and doctrinal pronouncements, finally the language of the early hymns and above all the collects and prayers of the Liturgy.

Sections 2–5 indicate some of the more distinctive characteristics of Latin.

2. Phonology

Vowel length was functional in CL, both in the lexicon, e.g. *pōpulus* 'people', *pōpulus* 'poplar', *lēuis* 'light', *lēuis* 'smooth', *incidere* 'to fall on', *incidere* 'to incise', and in the grammar, e.g. *rosā* (nom. sing.) 'rose', *rosā* (abl. sing.), *manūs* 'hand' (nom. sing.), *manūs* (nom. pl.). The rounded front vowel [y], written as *y*, was used to render Greek upsilon, e.g. *tyrannus* 'tyrant'. The relative frequency and distribution of short vowels were affected by raising ('vowel weakening') in non-initial syllables between c.450 and c.250 BC, e.g. *†obfaciom*>*officium* 'duty', *†abagetes*>*abigitis* 'you drive off', *†exfactos*>*effectus* 'done'. Syncope, the end-point of raising, occurs at all periods, e.g. *†retetoleit*>*rettulit* 'brought back', *†opifacina*>*officina* 'workshop', *ualidē*>*ualdē* 'very much', later *dominus*>*domnus* 'master'.

Most of the inherited diphthongs survived into early Latin but were reduced to long vowels by 150 BC, e.g. *indoucere* 'to bring in', *oimos* 'one', *deicere* 'to say'>*inducere*, *ūnus*, *dicere*. Only two remain frequent, *ae* and *au*. The former (<*ai*>) is replaced by *e* in some dialects before 150 BC and the new pronunciation was general by AD 400, though the digraph continued to be written inconsistently. Most dialects of VL seem to have retained *au*, but some Italian dialects already had *o*, as in Sabine *plostru* for *plaustrum* 'cart'.

The glides [w] and [j] were never graphically distinct from [u] and [i], of which they are often regarded merely as positional variants. Even their consonantal reflexes, [v] and [ɰ] etc., continued to be written as *u* and *i* until the Renaissance. The first secure evidence for a phonetic shift is *baliat*, *iuuente* for *ualeat* 'farewell', *iubente* 'ordering' in early imperial VL and *Gianuarua* for *Ianuaria* in the 6th cent.

Of the inherited stops *p*, *d*, *k*, etc., *qu*, a velar *k* with lip-rounding inherited from Proto-Indo-European (PIE), survives in Latin. Its original voiced equivalent *gu* may already have been a cluster [gw]. Scattered evidence for palatalization occurs already in the 2nd and 3rd cents. AD, e.g. *oze*, *terciae*, *Vincentzus* for *hodie* 'today', *tertia* 'third', *Vincentius*. These changes were accepted by some 5th-cent. grammarians. By this time spellings like *intcīamento*, *dissessit* for *incitāmentō* 'at the instigation', *discessit* 'he left' were appearing in VL.

Aspirated stops, written as *ph*, *th*, *ch* from c.150 BC, were introduced for Greek loanwords like *theātrum*, *māchina*.

Of the two nasals *n* had a positional variant [ŋ] before velars, as in *uncus* ‘hook’, *tangō* ‘I touch’. The sequence *Vns* tended to be replaced by *Ūs*, as in *agrōs* (+*agrōns*) ‘fields’, *cōsul* (+*consul*), and this became universal in VL, with *mēsa* for *mensa* ‘table’, *pēsare* for *pensare* ‘to weigh’. A weak articulation of *-m*, reflected in metre, is attested in early *uīro*, *omne* (CL *uīrum* ‘man’, *omnem* ‘all’), and in its total disappearance in VL.

The unvoiced sibilant *s* was rhotacized intervocalically before c.350 BC, e.g. *āsa*, *Numisios*) *āra* ‘altar’, *Numerius*. Loss of *-s* in sequences like *omnibu(s)* *prīnceps* is attested in some dialects and in Ennian epic, but was repaired analogically before the Classical period, and *-s* survived in most areas of early Romance. The letter *z*, representing [z:] was imported to render Greek zeta; e.g. *Zephyrus* ‘West Wind’. The precarious status of [h] is shown by variants like *nīl*, *mī*, *comprehendere* for *nihil*, *mihi*, *comprehendere* and the grammarians’ debates about (*h*) *erus*, (*h*)*arēna*, etc.

There were severe restrictions on consonant clusters. Many had been reduced in early Latin, e.g. *iouxmenta*, †*trānsdō*>*iūmenta* ‘beasts of burden’, *trādō* ‘I hand over’. Those that survived were often restricted positionally; thus *gn* occurs medially, e.g. *cognōscō*, but no longer initially, e.g. *nōscō*<*gnōscō*, and never finally; *sp*, *st*, *sk* initially and medially, but in final position only *-st*, as in *est*, *post*; *ps* and *ks* occur initially only in Greek loans, but are often found in medial and final position, e.g. *dixi*, *ops*; *nt* medially and finally, never initially.

Latin like English and Modern Greek had a stress accent. It originally fell on the initial syllable but before 250 BC had shifted, falling on the penultimate syllable, if heavy, otherwise on the antepenultimate, e.g. *legētis* ‘you will read’, *legētēs* ‘reading’, but *lēgitis* ‘you read’, *mīlītēs* ‘soldiers’. The connection between quantity and stress is seen in early ‘iambic’ shortening, e.g. *bēnē* (+*bēnē*) ‘well’, *égō* (+*égō*) ‘I’, in syncope (see above), and in the tendency in later Latin for vowel length to correlate with stress, e.g. *quāndō* ‘when’, *lēgītis*, *bēne*.

3. Lexicon

A high proportion of the basic lexical stock has wide-spread IE cognates; e.g. *auris* ‘ear’, *canis* ‘dog’, *dare* ‘to give’, *edere* ‘to eat’, *nouus* ‘new’, *plēnus* ‘full’, *quīnque* ‘five’, *trēs* ‘three’, *uīuere* ‘to live’. Some have assured cognates only in Greek, e.g. *cinis* ‘ash’; others only in West IE, e.g. *annus* ‘year’, *flōs* ‘flower’, *manus* ‘hand’, in Celtic, e.g. *loquor* ‘I speak’, or in Germanic, e.g. *aqua* ‘water’. Finally some have no known cognates, e.g. *arbor* ‘tree’, *mulier* ‘woman’, *niger* ‘black’, *caedere* ‘to cut’.

The native resources were extended by derivation. Complexes, formed by affixation to lexical roots, are

frequent. Thus *pater* ‘father’, *patrius* ‘ancestral’; *legere* ‘to choose’, *leg-iō* ‘legion’, *lec-tor* ‘reader’, *lec-tiō* ‘a reading’; *figere* ‘to fashion’, *fig-mentum* ‘image’, *fig-ūra* ‘shape’; *pro-bus* ‘honest’, *prob-itās* ‘honesty’; *fortis* ‘brave’, *forti-tūdō* ‘bravery’. Some of these formants are distinctively Latin. Denominative verbs were assigned to the first conjugation in all periods, e.g. *dōnāre* ‘to give’ from *dōnum* ‘gift’, *pācāre* ‘to pacify’ from *pāx* ‘peace’. Compounds, made up of more than one lexical root, were not as frequent as in Greek but were productive in every period, e.g. *agri-cola* ‘field-dweller’>‘farmer’, *arti-fex* ‘maker of craftwork’. Compound-complex forms like *bene-fic-ium* ‘benefit’, *ad-uen-tus* ‘arrival’ carry the process even further.

Latin had many loanwords. From Oscan or Sabine came *bōs* ‘cow’, *multa* ‘fine’, *nāsus* ‘nose’; from *Etruscan *ātrium* ‘hall’, *fenestra* ‘window’, *satelles* ‘attendant’, perhaps even *populus* ‘the people’. Greek was a very prolific source, e.g. *āēr* ‘air’, *balineum* ‘bath’, *bracchium* ‘arm’, *cista* ‘chest’, *gubernāre* ‘to direct’, *massa* ‘lump’, *nauta* ‘sailor’, *poena* ‘punishment’. In the learned vocabulary, beside loans such as *grammaticus* ‘philologist’, *historia* ‘history’, *mūsica* ‘music’, *philosophus* ‘philosopher’, many calques were modelled on Greek, e.g. *essentia* ‘essence’, *quālītās* ‘quality’, as were loan translations like *cāsus* ‘grammatical case’, *ratiō* ‘logical argument’.

VL even replaced basic lexemes by Greek loans, e.g. *colpus* (<*kólaphos*) for *ictus* ‘blow’, *gamba* (<*kampē*) for *crūs* ‘leg’, *parabolāre* (<*parabolē*) for *loquī* ‘to speak’. Lexical mortality is illustrated by the replacement of *canō* ‘I sing’, †*speciō* ‘I look at’, *pleō* ‘I fill’, †*fundō* ‘I ward off’ by *cantō*, *spectō* (and *conspiciō*), *impleō*, *dēfendō*. Again VL has many examples: *bellus* (and *formōsus*) for *pulcher* ‘beautiful’, *bucca* for *ōs* ‘mouth’, *caballus* for *equus* ‘horse’, *iectāre* for *iacere* ‘to throw’, *portāre* for *ferre* ‘to carry’, etc.

4. Morphology

Nouns were organized into six paradigms, e.g. (1) *mensa* ‘table’, (2) *seruus* ‘slave’, (3a) *urbs* ‘city’, (3b) *turris* ‘tower’, (4) *manus* ‘hand’, (5) *diēs* ‘day’. All were inherited types except (5), which was formed in Italic. The *i*-stems (3b), which in PIE had been closely parallel to *u*-stems (4), gradually merged in Latin with the consonant stems (3a). Paradigms (4) and (5) had few members. In VL these were either transferred to (2) and (1), as *manus*, *-ūs* to *manus*, *-ī*, and *diēs* to *dia*, or were replaced by other lexemes, as *rēs* ‘thing’ by *causa* ‘cause’.

The three inherited genders are systematically identifiable only in adjectives. Thus *nauta ualidus* (masc.) ‘a sturdy sailor’, *humus ūda* (fem.) ‘moist ground’, *animal formōsum* (neut.) ‘a well-formed animal’. Of the three PIE numbers the dual was lost already in Italic, traces surviving only in forms like *duo* and perhaps *duae*.

Seven of the eight PIE cases survived, ablative and instrumental having already merged in Italic. Nominative and vocative remained distinct only in the singular of (2), *Marcus* (nom.) *Marce* (voc.). The locative has no distinct morphology at all; thus *Rōmae* (1) ‘at Rome’ is identical with genitive and dative, and the locative plural is identical with the dative-ablative in all paradigms. Of the eleven possible case forms (nom. voc. acc. gen. dat. loc. abl. sing.; nom.-voc. acc. gen. dat.-loc.-abl. pl.) paradigm (2) has the most, with eight, paradigm (5) has the least, with six. In VL the cases eventually collapsed to two, a nominative and an oblique.

The gen. sing. *-ī* in (2) *seruī* ‘of the slave’ has a Celtic correspondent in Old Irish *maqi* ‘of the son’, while the nom.-voc. pl. of (1) *mensae* ‘tables’ and (2) *seruī* ‘slaves’, in which the Italic forms in *-ās* and *-ōs* have been replaced by the pronominal endings, are paralleled in Greek. The pronouns, as in other IE languages, share only a few of their case-forms with nouns. The anaphoric and deictic pronouns *is* and *ille* supply third-person pronouns beside *ego* ‘I’ and *tū* ‘thou’.

Adjectives all belong to paradigms (1), (2), or (3). In the comparison of adjectives the formants *-ior-*, *-is-*, and *-mo-* are inherited, the composite superlative formant in *-is-mo-*, the source of e.g. *alt-is-simus* ‘highest’, being confined to Italic and Celtic.

Verbs were organized into five paradigms; e.g. (1) *stāre* ‘to stand’, (2) *monēre* ‘to warn’, (3a) *dicō*, *dicere* ‘to say’, (3b) *capīō*, *capere* ‘to take’, (4) *audire* ‘to hear’. Inherited athematic verbs such as Gk. *hístēmi* were reshaped and assigned to conjugations (1) and (2). Thematic verbs like Gk. *légō* are reflected in (3).

All the PIE grammatical categories—person, number, tense, mood, and voice—were retained. Number was determined solely by concord with the subject.

The tense system, as in Greek, distinguishes imperfective and perfective aspect, e.g. *scribēbam* ‘I was writing’, *scripsī* ‘I wrote’, also used as a perfect ‘I have written’; cf. Gk. *égrapsa* ‘I wrote’, but *gégrapha* ‘I have written’. PIE aorist and perfect formants both appear in the Latin perfect, e.g. *dixī* ‘I (have) said’ and *tutudī* ‘I (have) struck’. Notable innovations are the *-b-* forms in the future (also in Faliscan) and imperfect (also perhaps in Oscan), e.g. *stābō* ‘I shall stand’, *stābam* ‘I was standing’, which were possibly periphrastic in origin, also the *-w-* perfects, which are used mostly in paradigms (1), (2), and (4); and the creation of new relative-time tenses, past-in-the-future *audiuerō* ‘I shall have heard’, past-in-the-past *audiueram* ‘I had heard’. Important for Romance are the reintroduction of the perfect/past definite distinction by the use of *scriptum habēō* as a perfect ‘I have written’, which was already emerging in CL, and the use of *scribere*

habēō in rivalry with *scribam* ‘I shall write’, not attested before the late 2nd cent. AD.

Inherited subjunctive forms are the source of non-periphrastic futures, e.g. *eris* ‘you will be’, *dicēs* ‘you will say’. The Latin (and indeed Italic) subjunctive continues the functions of both the optative and subjunctive of Indo-European, the forms being old optatives in e.g. *sim* ‘I would be’ and probably *stēs* ‘you would stand’ but of uncertain origin in the type *dicās* ‘you would say’. The creation of imperfect and pluperfect subjunctives, *dicerem*, *dixissem*, is an innovation. The inherited medio-passive formant *-r-*, also found in Old Irish, Hittite, and Tocharian, was well preserved in Italic. The perfect passive tenses were analytic: *laudāta est* ‘she has been praised’ beside *laudātur* ‘she is being praised’. The middle sense is seen in e.g. *uertor* ‘I turn myself’ and *indūtus* ‘having put on’. It also accounts for ‘deponents’ like *sequor* ‘I follow’, *utor* ‘I use’.

The infinitives reflect PIE verbal nouns. They had however become absorbed into the verb system both in syntax, e.g. *pācem petere* ‘to seek peace’ beside *pācis petitiō*, and by their marking for tense and voice, e.g. *dicere* ‘to say’, pass. *dicī*, perf. *dixisse*, etc. The supines in *-tum* and *-tū* are cognate with Sanskrit declined infinitives. The gerund, as in *audiendō* ‘by hearing’ etc., seems ultimately to be derived from the gerundive *audiendus* ‘which is to be heard’, a verbal adjective unknown outside Italic. The imperfective participle in *-nt-*, as in *monens* ‘warning’, and the perfect passive in *-tus*, as in *monitus* ‘warned’, are both inherited; the future in *-tūrus*, as in *monitūrus*, is peculiar to Latin.

5. Syntax

Among distinctively Latin case uses is the extension of the allative dative of inanimate nouns, e.g. *ūsui est* ‘it is useful’, *quindecimuirī sacrīs faciundis* ‘the fifteen commissioners for religious practices’; also the comitative use of the ablative to assign a quality adnominally, e.g. *dux aequō animō* ‘a leader with a calm mind’; and to indicate attendant circumstances adverbally, e.g. *dis fauentibus* ‘with the blessing of the gods’, *crīnibus dēmissis* ‘with their hair let down’, whence the ‘absolute’ construction, which in Latin acquired, as the Greek genitive absolute also did, fully clausal functions.

As in other IE languages, prepositions had been developed to give precision to ‘local’ case functions. Thus in the accusative the allative *ad urbem* ‘to the city’ and perlatival *per tōtam noctem* ‘all through the night’ are distinguished from *urbem condidit* ‘he founded the city’, *proelium pugnābant* ‘they were fighting a battle’. In the ablative the instrumental *gladiō pugnābat* ‘he fought with a sword’ was similarly distinguished from the locative in

urbe ‘in the city’ and the ablatival *ex urbe* ‘from the city’ and *ab eō condita est* ‘it was founded by him.’ Abstract extensions, as in the last example, are widespread; cf. *propter* ‘because of’ (‘close to’) and *de* ‘concerning’ (‘down from’) etc. In contrast to Greek most Latin prepositions were confined to one case, thus reducing the semantic importance of the case. Hence VL *cum discentēs suōs* ‘with his pupils’, with accusative for ablative. In VL these prepositional phrases encroached on simple case uses; as in *dē sagittā percutere* ‘to hit with an arrow’, for the simple ablative, *uenditiō dē campō* ‘sale of the field’ for gen. *campī*, and *ad illam dixit* ‘he said to her’ for dat. *illī*. All this contributed substantially to the massive case syncretism in late VL (see § 4 above).

Latin shares exclusively with Greek the development of the accusative+infinitive construction to render indirect speech. There were not enough infinitives or subjunctives to represent the distinctions required in principal and subordinate clauses respectively, and the whole inefficient construction gave way to clauses with *quod, quia* (perhaps modelled on Gk. *hōs, hōti* ‘that’), to a larger extent in the later written language and totally in VL. The subjunctive as the mood of unreality was used in both members of unreal conditional sentences, e.g. *sī hoc dicās, errēs* ‘If you were to say this, you would be wrong’. But it tended in time also to become the mood of subordination generally (hence the name), as in *cum hoc dixisset, exiit* ‘when he had said this, he left’, *sciō quid crēdās* ‘I know what you think’, *adeō clamābat ut exirent* ‘he shouted so much that they left’.

Latin shares with Greek the development of complex sentence structure, most notably the periodic form, which was a major legacy to later European languages. Attention to rhythm, especially at clause-ends, and pragmatic considerations of emphasis, anaphora, etc. led to departures from the normal word order, subject–object–verb (SOV), which was inherited from PIE. In VL, where SVO seems to have become established at an early date, the subsequent collapse of the case system precluded variations of the classical kind. RGC

law and procedure, Athenian

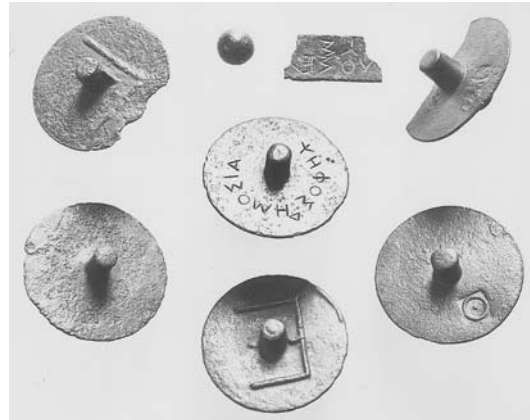
1. Legislation

Greeks used the same word (*nomos*) for both custom and law, and the beginning of law is hard to define. One reasonable view is that an unwritten rule should be regarded as a law if the community or the ruler approves it and imposes or authorizes punishment for infringement of it. In this sense laws forbidding some offences (e.g. murder, theft, bigamy) must have existed since primitive times. An alternative view is that only rules stated in writing are

really laws. The transition from oral to written law began in the 7th cent. BC, but was not completed until the end of the 5th cent. in Athens (and later in other cities). See LITERACY; ORALITY.

The first written laws in any Greek city are said to have been drawn up by Zaleucus for the city of Locri Epizephryii in south Italy. The first written laws in Athens are attributed to Draco in the year when Aristaechmus was archon (probably 621/0). His laws, except that on homicide, were superseded in 594/3 by those of *Solon. These laws were inscribed on wooden blocks (*axones*) for everyone to read. Later these inscriptions were transferred to stone and many additions and alterations were made, but the Athenians continued to refer to their code as the laws of Solon.

After democracy was established, new laws were made by majority vote in the *ekklēsia* (assembly). For most of the 5th cent. there was no sharp distinction between a law (*nomos*) laying down a permanent rule and a decree (*psēphisma*) for a particular occasion. Legislation was not systematic, and some confusions and contradictions arose. From 410 onwards efforts were made to rectify this situation. Existing laws were revised to remove obscurities or inconsistencies, and were all inscribed on stone; henceforth no uninscribed law was to be enforced, and no decree could override a law. New decrees were still made by the *ekklēsia*, but the making of new laws was handed over to groups of citizens known as *nomothetai*.



law and procedure, Athenian Archaeological evidence for legal procedure from the *agora at *Athens (5th–4th cents. BC): bronze wheels used as jurors’ votes; a fragmentary inscribed plaque serving as a juror’s identity card; and a bronze ball from a machine used to allocate jurors randomly to different courts. American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

2. Judicature

Until the early 6th cent. BC all verdicts were given by the nine magistrates called *archontes* (archons) or the Areopagus (the most ancient council at Athens: see ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY), section on *Environs of the Acropolis*) or the *ephetai* (a jury of 51 members). Solon instituted a system of trial by the *ēliaia*, probably for appeals against the archons' verdicts or for imposition of penalties above certain limits. The next stages of development are obscure, but presumably appeals became so usual that the archons practically ceased to give verdicts and the *ēliaia* (if it was a single body) did not have time to hear all the cases referred to it. A system of juries was therefore set up, in which each jury consisted of a number of citizens who tried a case on behalf of all the citizens.

For the period after the middle of the 5th cent. we have fuller information. Volunteers for jury service (who had to be citizens over 30 years old) were called for at the beginning of each year, and a list of 6,000 jurors for the year was drawn up. To encourage volunteers, each juror received a small fee for each day on which he sat to try a case. This payment was introduced by *Pericles, who probably fixed it at two obols; it was raised to three obols, probably on the proposal of Cleon, not later than 425. Since the payment was less than an able-bodied man would earn by an ordinary day's work, one of its effects was that many of the volunteers were men who were too old for work. This state of affairs is satirized in *Aristophanes' *Wasps*.

The number of jurors who formed a jury varied according to the type of case, but was normally several hundred. In one trial it is said to have been 6,000. In the 4th cent. odd numbers (e.g. 501) were used, to avoid a tie in the voting, but there is no evidence for odd numbers in the 5th cent. It is not known what method was used in the 5th cent. for allocating jurors to courts (*dikastēria*, sing. *dikastērion*). By the early 4th cent. a system of lot was used for this purpose, and later in the century a more complicated system of lot (described in detail in *Ath. pol.* 63–6) was introduced. The aim was to prevent *bribery by making it impossible to know beforehand which jurors would try which case.

Each trial was arranged and presided over by a magistrate or group of magistrates. Different magistrates had responsibility for different types of case. The (eponymous) archon had charge of cases concerning family and inheritance rights. The *basileus* had charge of homicide cases and most cases connected with religion. The *polemarchos* had charge of cases concerning non-Athenians. The *thesmothetai* had charge of a wide variety of cases; in general any type of public case which did not clearly fall within the province of another magistrate came to them. The 'Eleven'

had charge of cases of theft and similar offences. The *stratēgoi* (generals) had charge of cases concerning military and naval service, and there were several lesser boards of magistrates with responsibility for particular types of case, such as the *apodektai* and the *nautodikai*. In the 4th cent. most types of private case were handled by four judges selected by lot for each of the ten tribes or *phylai* (subdivisions of the citizen body), sometimes known collectively as the Forty.

In the 5th cent. and the first half of the 4th each magistrate sat regularly in the same court. The *ēliaia* was the court of the *thesmothetai*. Other courts, perhaps not all in use at the same time, were the Odeum, the Painted Stoa (*Stoa Poikilē*), the New Court (*to Kainon*), the Inserted Court (*to Parabyston*), the Court at Lykos (*to epi Lykōi*), the Kallion, and the Triangular, Greater, and Middle Courts (*To Trigōnon, to Meizon, to Meson*). In the later 4th cent. magistrates no longer sat regularly in the same courts, but were allocated to courts by lot each day. Distinct from all these courts were the Areopagus and the other special homicide courts, manned by the *ephetai* (a jury of 51), in which a different procedure was followed. A few cases were tried by the *boulē* (Council of 500: see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN) or the *ekklēsia*.

3. Actions

The law on any particular subject generally specified the action to be raised against a transgressor; for some offences the prosecutor had a choice of actions. The principal distinction was between public actions (*dikai dēmosiai*) and private actions (*dikai idiai* or simply *dikai*). The following were the main differences. (a) A private action concerned a wrong or injury done to an individual. A public action concerned an offence that was regarded as affecting the community as a whole. (b) A private action could be raised only by the person who claimed that he had suffered wrong or injury. A public action might be raised by a magistrate or official acting on behalf of the state. But the scope of public prosecution was widened by Solon to allow prosecution by 'anyone who wishes' (*ho boulomenos*); this meant any free adult male, except that some actions could not be brought by a non-citizen and none could be brought by a disfranchised citizen. (c) In a private action damages or compensation might be awarded to the prosecutor. In a public action any fine or penalty was paid to the state. However, to encourage public-spirited citizens to prosecute offenders on behalf of the state, financial rewards were given to successful prosecutors in certain public actions, notably *phasis* and *apographē*. This had the unintended effect of encouraging the rise of *sycophants (habitual prosecutors).

(d) To deter sycophants penalties were imposed, in most public actions, on a prosecutor who dropped a case after starting it or who failed to obtain at least one-fifth of the jury's votes; he had to pay a fine of 1,000 drachmas and forfeited the right to bring a similar action in future. These penalties did not apply in private actions.

The various public actions were named after their method of initiation. (a) *Graphē* was the most ordinary public action, so named presumably because it had originally been the only one in which the charge had to be put in writing, though by the 4th cent. written charges had become the rule in other actions too. (b) *Apagōgē*. The prosecutor began proceedings by arresting the accused and handing him over to the appropriate magistrates, usually the Eleven. This procedure was used especially against thieves caught in the act and against persons caught exercising rights to which they were not entitled. The speeches of *Antiphon *On the Murder of Herodes* and *Lysias *Against Agoratus* concern cases of *apagōgē*. (c) *Endeixis*. The prosecutor made a denunciation to the magistrates, and might go on to arrest the accused. This procedure too was used against persons accused of exercising rights to which they were not entitled. The case of *Andocides *On the Mysteries* is the best known example. (d) *Ephēgēsis*. The prosecutor led the magistrates to the accused, and they arrested him—a procedure very similar to *apagōgē* and *endeixis*, and used for the same kind of offence. (e) *Phasis*. The prosecutor pointed out goods or property involved in an offence, such as goods smuggled into Athens from abroad without payment of customs duties. If he won the case, he was rewarded with half of the fine exacted or property confiscated. This action is satirized in *Aristophanes' *Acharnians*. In the 4th cent. it was extended to some other kinds of offence which we cannot define exactly. (f) *Apographē*. The prosecutor listed property which he alleged was due to the state and was being withheld. If he won the case, he was rewarded with a share of the property recovered. Several surviving speeches were written for this type of case, e.g. Lysias *On the Property of Aristophanes* and [*Demosthenes] *Against Nicostratus*. (g) *Eisangelia* of the most serious type was initiated by a denunciation to the *boulē* or the *ekklēsia*, which might either decide to try the case itself or refer it to a jury. (h) *Probolē*. The prosecutor made a denunciation to the *ekklēsia*. The *ekklēsia* voted on it, but this hearing did not constitute a trial; if the prosecutor proceeded with the case, it was tried subsequently by a jury. This procedure was used against men accused of sycophancy (see above) or of deceiving the Athenian people, and also for offences concerning festivals. The case of Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* is the best-known example. (i) In addition, a case

arising from an accusation made at a *dokimasia* (examination of candidates for office) or a *euthyna* (examination of accounts) was similar to a public action in some respects.

A special type of private action was *diadikasia*. This was used when a right (e.g. to claim an inheritance) or an obligation (e.g. to perform a *trierarchy) was disputed between two or more persons. Its distinctive feature was that there was no prosecutor or defendant: all the claimants were on equal terms. Another special category of private action was *dikē emmēnos* ('monthly case'), which by the second half of the 4th cent. could be used for most financial cases, including disputes with foreign merchants. It was in some way a faster procedure, probably because it was available every month, but there is doubt about the details.

Homicide cases were treated differently from others. If a person was killed, his relatives were required to prosecute the killer. The prosecution followed a special procedure, including a proclamation to the killer to keep away from sacred and public places, three pre-trials at monthly intervals, and special oaths. The trial, at which the prosecutor and the defendant each made two speeches, was held not in an ordinary court, but at one of several special open-air courts, with the Areopagus or the *ephetai* as the jury.

4. Procedure

When anyone wished to raise either a private or a public action, he gave his charge to the appropriate magistrate. It was the responsibility of the prosecutor to deliver the summons to the defendant. The magistrate held an inquiry (*anakrisis*), at which he heard statements and evidence from both parties. Some minor cases could be decided by the magistrate forthwith, but generally the purpose of the inquiry was simply to satisfy him that the case should be taken to court. At this stage a defendant might object by the procedure of *paragraphē* that the wrong form of action had been raised, and then this question had to be decided before the action could proceed further. A private action coming before the tribe judges (the Forty) was referred by them to a public arbitrator, and did not go on to trial by jury unless one or other of the litigants refused to accept the arbitrator's verdict.

At the trial the magistrate presided, but he did not give directions or advice to the jury, and did not perform the functions of a modern judge. The prosecutor spoke first and the defendant afterwards. If either litigant was a woman or child, the speech was made by the nearest adult male relative; but otherwise each litigant had to speak for himself, unless clearly incapable, though he

might deliver a speech written for him by a speech-writer (*logographos*), and he might call on friends to speak too in his support. In the course of his speech he could request to have laws or other documents read out to the court. He could also call witnesses. Until some date in the first half of the 4th cent., witnesses gave their evidence orally, and might be questioned by the speaker who called them (but not cross-examined by his opponent). Later in the 4th cent. witnesses gave evidence beforehand in writing, and at the trial merely signified assent when their statements were read out. Disfranchised citizens, women, children, and slaves could not speak as witnesses, although they could be present in court without speaking; a written record of a slave's statement could be produced as evidence if the statement had been made under *torture. A certain length of time, varying according to the type of case, was allowed for each litigant to make his speech, the time being measured by a water-clock.

When the speeches were over, the jury heard no impartial summing-up and had no opportunity for discussion, but voted at once. In the 5th cent. each juror voted by placing a pebble or shell in an urn; there was one urn for conviction and one for acquittal. In the 4th cent. each juror was given two bronze votes, one with a hole through the middle signifying conviction and one unpierced signifying acquittal, and he placed one in a 'valid' (bronze) urn and the other in an 'invalid' (wooden) urn; this method helped to ensure that the voting was secret and that each juror cast only one valid vote. When all had voted, the votes were counted, and the majority decided the verdict. A tie was treated as acquittal. There was no appeal from the jury's verdict. However, a losing litigant who proved that a witness for his opponent had given false evidence could claim compensation from the witness, or in some instances got a case reopened; and there were a few exceptional occasions when the *ekklesia* decreed that verdicts should be set aside.

For some offences the penalty was laid down by law, but in other cases the penalty or the amount of damages had to be decided by the jury. In such cases, when the verdict had been given against the defendant, the prosecutor proposed a penalty and the defendant proposed another (naturally more lenient). Each spoke in support of his proposal, and the jury voted again to decide between them. Payment of money was the most usual kind of penalty, but other penalties regularly imposed were partial or total disfranchisement, confiscation of property, confinement in the stocks, exile, or death. See PUNISHMENT (GREEK AND ROMAN PRACTICE). Long terms of imprisonment were not normally imposed. Cf. PRISON.

The chief fault of the Athenian courts was that a jury could too easily be swayed by a skilful speaker. Most jurors were men of no special intelligence; yet, without impartial advice or guidance, they had to distinguish true from false statements and valid from invalid arguments, and they had to interpret the law as well as decide the facts. It says much for the Athenians' alertness and critical sense that the system worked as well as it did. The advantages were that the large juries were hard to bribe (see BRIBERY) or browbeat, and that the courts and the people were as nearly as possible identical, so that an accused man felt that he was being judged by the Athenian people, not merely by some government official or according to an obscure written rule. Thus the institution of popular juries was one of the Athenians' greatest democratic achievements. See also DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN. DMM

law and procedure, Roman (see facing page)

law in Greece Modern work on this subject is conditioned by two important considerations. In the first place, it is Rome and not Greece which dominates European legal history: indeed, because the Greek world produced no jurists, its law is perhaps best studied not as a source of juridical principles but rather as a way of understanding how particular ancient societies perceived and regulated themselves. The second constraint is the distribution of our sources, which are rich but geographically and temporally very patchy.

Classical Athenian law (see LAW AND PROCEDURE, ATHENIAN) is well documented from the Attic Orators (c.420–320 BC): over 100 lawcourt speeches survive, though we rarely hear the result or even the opponent's case, and our manuscripts do not usually preserve the texts of witnesses' statements or legal statutes. Further information, particularly about judicial procedure, can be gleaned from Athenian comedy (especially *Aristophanes' *Wasps*) and from the Aristotelian *Athēnaiōn politeia* (esp. §§ 63–9); anecdotes in the philosophers or historians occasionally presuppose points of law; and the Athenian habit of recording public decisions on stone has left large numbers of texts, though few of these are strictly legislative.

The other significant body of evidence comprises private documents written on papyrus. Papyrus was widely used throughout classical antiquity, but for climatic reasons virtually none survives except in Egypt, where Greek was the dominant language of administration under Ptolemaic and Roman rule (c.320 BC–c.AD 630). The range of these texts is vast (wills, letters, agreements, etc.), and though often fragmentary, they give us an unparalleled picture of law operating at ground level.

[continued on p. 449]

ROMAN LAW AND PROCEDURE

law and procedure, Roman The subject is here dealt with in three sections: civil law; civil procedure; and criminal law and procedure.

1. Civil law

(*ius civile*) in its broadest sense was the law of the city of Rome as opposed to that of some other city. In a narrower sense it refers to the secular law of Rome, private and public, to the exclusion of sacred law (*ius sacrum*). This section deals, so far as the sources of law are concerned, with civil law in the first sense, but as regards substantive law is confined to the second.

From the standpoint of sources the beginning and end of Roman civil law are conveniently marked by the *Twelve Tables and *Justinian's codification. Dating from about 450 BC the law of the Twelve Tables was treated by the Romans as the starting-point of their legal history. Though much of it became obsolete it was never technically superseded until Justinian's legislation of AD 528–34. These two documents, neither of which is systematic enough to be called a code in the modern sense, were of very different bulk, the first consisting of a few score laconic sentences, the second running to well over a million words.

Four periods of legal history are commonly distinguished in the interval between the Twelve Tables and Justinian's codification:

- (a) the early republic, a period of relatively primitive law ending in the 3rd cent. BC;
- (b) the late republic, a formative period in which an independent legal profession took shape, beginning about 200 BC and ending with the victory of *Augustus in 31 BC;
- (c) the classical period, spanning the first three cents. AD and roughly corresponding with the Principate.

Its core was an age of relative stability between 68 and 235, which is often subdivided into three: the early classical period of the Flavian dynasty (68 to 96), the high classical age of the adoptive emperors (96 to 180), and the late classical flowering from Commodus to the fall of the Severan dynasty (180 to 235). *See* ROME (HISTORY). At this time important treatises (*see* LEGAL LITERATURE) were being written by lawyers who, particularly in the middle period, were free to give expression to their sense of justice without the distraction of political pressures. There followed 60 years of disorder, up to 300, which have been termed epiclassical. In these, private law changed very little but legal writing almost dried up. The period ends with a determined effort by *Diocletian (284–305) to revive classical law in its essential features. Finally follows (*d*) the post-classical period of the later empire, in which *Constantine I and his successors introduced important reforms in public and procedural law and in the religious life of the empire but made only limited changes in private law. In the east this period ends with Justinian's 6th-cent. codification, which introduced some important reforms and simplifications, but often reverted to the law of the classical period. In the west the post-classical period ends with the disintegration of the empire in the 5th cent. AD. It has been seen by some as one of legal decline and vulgarization; but it is doubtful whether this assessment is accurate. Some of the terms mentioned embody a mixture of political, legal, and literary value judgements. They need to be used with caution.

A striking mark of the law of the early Roman republic was its formalism. Both in legal transactions and litigation solemn oral forms were necessary and sufficient. The will of the parties was denied effect unless clothed in these forms. In this respect Roman law resembled primitive systems elsewhere; but it differed from them in the simplicity and economy of the forms used (*see* ADOPTION (ROMAN)). A small number of these served a wide variety of purposes; *mancipatio* (a solemn transaction with copper and scales) and *stipulatio* (a formal contract concluded orally) are good examples. As in other early systems Roman private law was confined to citizens. The *ius Quiritium* (right of citizens) was all important and the community excluded foreigners from the use of the formulae it had devised. The Roman *family preserved its traditional, exclusive organization in which its male head occupied a central place as the person in whom legal power was concentrated. The state hardly interfered in relations between him and those subject to him, free or unfree, over whom indeed he had the power of life and death.

In the last two to three cents. BC, however, the expansion of Rome's commerce and empire over the Mediterranean world (*see* IMPERIALISM (ROMAN)) made it impossible to maintain the exclusiveness of the old civil law. New, informal institutions appeared, which depended on the intention of the parties rather than the observance of external forms.

An important example is the class of agreements binding by consent alone (consensual contracts), which provided a way of enforcing the principal commercial transactions, such as sale, lease, and partnership. These new institutions were open to foreigners and citizens alike. The form of *stipulatio*, which could be used to make any lawful agreement legally binding, was also widened so that it was now open to foreigners. Special boards of assessors (*recuperatores*) had early been set up for disputes with non-citizens, and about 242 BC a special magistrate for matters involving foreigners (*praetor peregrinus*; see PROVINCIA) was created with jurisdiction over these cases. In the same period the old rigid procedure for the trial of suits between citizens, called *legis actiones* (actions in law) gave way to the less formal and more flexible 'formulary procedure' (see § 2. 4 below). These developments were made possible by a first flowering of legal thought and writing, stimulated by contact with Greek culture but with an insistence on verbal clarity and precision which is markedly Roman.

Legislation played only a minor part in these changes. Apart from the Twelve Tables, legislation did little to develop private law during the republic. Such statutes as were enacted usually touched only the detail of existing institutions. The *lex Aquilia*, which provided a broad range of remedies for damage to property, is a notable exception. Decrees of the *senate (*senatus consulta*) also played little part in private and criminal law, and their legal force was uncertain.

The chief factor in releasing the old civil law from its early rigidity was the development of magisterial law (*ius honorarium*). In the sense explained above this formed part of civil law but in a narrower sense was contrasted with it. The key magistrate in its development was the urban praetor in Rome (see CONSUL). He like other magistrates published an annual edict setting out how he proposed to exercise his jurisdiction. In the last century of the republic this became an instrument by which, with the help of lawyers whom he consulted, significant innovations were introduced. A concurrent aspect of the development was the gradual introduction of the formulary procedure, by which the issue to be litigated no longer had to be expressed in one of the small number of ritual modes admitted by the old system of *legis actiones*. Instead it was embodied in a formula drawn up before the magistrate and adapted to the alleged facts of the case, though the actual trial was normally conducted by someone else. Thus the magistrate, who controlled the granting of formulae, the most important of which were incorporated in his edict, in effect acquired the power to reform and develop the law. Formally, it is true, he had no such power; his function was to administer the law and not to change it. But with the introduction of the new procedure he was able to grant new remedies by way both of right of action and defence, and thereby, as the lawyer Aemilius Papinianus was to put it two centuries later, to 'support, supplement, and correct the civil law' (*Dig. 1. 1. 7. 1*). He supported it by giving more effective remedies to enforce existing rights. He supplemented the civil law by recognizing claims which the civil law did not recognize, for example the claims of those legitimate blood relations who were technically not members of the family to the possession of a deceased estate. He corrected the law by barring claims which it recognized, for example because it would be dishonest in the circumstances to allow their enforcement. In some areas this power to supplement and correct produced a dualism between the old civil and newer magisterial law. There was succession by magisterial law alongside succession by civil law, and magisterial rights of property, regarded by some as amounting to ownership, existed alongside ownership by civil law. Indeed writers in the Principate treat civil law and magisterial law in separate works or successive parts of the same work. Their integration in Justinian's codification is the outcome of the efforts of the law schools and lawyers of the later empire.

Augustus made a serious attempt to adhere to republican forms of legislation (*lex*, plebiscitum) but they were little used by his successors and disappeared altogether during the course of the 1st cent. AD. As an instrument of legislation *senatus consulta* took their place. Emperors influenced, and even dictated, the content of such of these decrees as were of general importance, and the emperor's speech (*oratio*) proposing the decree came often to be cited in place of the decree itself. Thus the codification of the praetor's edict was effected by a decree of the senate drafted by the lawyer Julianus on *Hadrian's behalf.

The emperor's powers were at first conceived as modelled on those of republican magistrates. Thus the emperor might issue edicts, give instructions to officials, towns, or provincial assemblies, grant charters or citizenship, decide cases as a judge, and reply to petitions from private individuals. By the time of Hadrian these various pronouncements came to be grouped together as constitutions of the emperor (*constitutiones principis*). In the mid-2nd cent. AD the law teacher Gaius treats them as having formally, and not merely in practice, the force of law. Some constitutions, like edicts, could openly innovate, something which with the codification of the praetor's edict in AD 131 other magistrates could no longer do. Thus *Caracalla in 212 employed an edict to grant citizenship to the free inhabitants of the empire (see CITIZENSHIP, ROMAN). But the emperor along with lawyers of authority continued in



law and procedure, Roman Marble portrait of the emperor Theodosius II (c. AD 440), an important figure in the later history of Roman law. Under his authority some 2,500 imperial laws were collected and published in AD 438. The Theodosian Code, as it is known, formed the basis for Justinian's codification of Roman law, which survives today. © RMN-Grand Palais (Louvre Museum)

the Principate to make law indirectly, if interstitially, through rulings made in particular cases. Decisions made by the emperor acting as a judge (*decreta*) and replies or rescripts on his behalf to petitions on points of law (*subscriptiones, rescripta*), though in principle merely interpreting existing law, possessed a force which went beyond the case in point and served to fill gaps in the law and resolve ambiguities. Their force was analogous to but greater than that of the opinions (*responsa*) of lawyers of authority (see *LAWYERS, ROMAN*). By the end of the late classical period this imperial case law, mainly embodied in rescripts, supplanted the case law embodied in practitioners' opinions as an instrument for developing the law without legislating. After the lawyer Herennius Modestinus in the early 3rd cent. AD, and Aquila who may have been his pupil, collections of *responsa* cease, though lawyers naturally continued to give opinions as before. The change was not as dramatic as it may sound, since in practice lawyers, often those who are known to us from their writings, such as Modestinus himself, Arcadius Charisius (fl. 290), and Hermogenianus (fl. 300), went on drafting the rescripts which issued in the emperor's name. But after Diocletian, though replies on points of law continued to issue from the imperial offices (*scrinia*), they too were no longer collected and published.

The opportunity for lawyers to make an independent contribution to the development of the law therefore disappeared by the end of the 3rd cent. It was the lawyers of the Classical period who composed the works which, via Justinian's codification, have proved to be the chief legacy of Roman law to medieval and modern civilization (see *LEGAL LITERATURE*). Indeed that is the main reason for calling the period 'classical'.

A factor which tended to break the pattern of the earlier law was the development of institutions, for example *fidei-commissum* (a provision similar to a trust), which were imperial innovations and so cut across the old lines between civil and magisterial law. To enforce these new institutions 'extraordinary' procedures and jurisdictions were created outside the formulary system. These procedures of extraordinary inquiry (*cognitio extra ordinem* or *cognitio extraordinaria*: see § 2. 13, 14 below) gradually spread to jurisdiction over ordinary civil law cases and by the early 4th cent. entirely supplanted the formulary procedure.

Problems had arisen from the conquest of provinces (see *PROVINCIA*) to which the Romans conceded from the first the right of organizing their legal life according to their own laws. Only those provincials on whom Roman citizenship was conferred, individually or by groups or regions, had to observe Roman private law in their legal relations. Conflicts between Roman and local law were submitted to the emperor, who not infrequently decided in favour of local law. Caracalla's general grant of Roman citizenship in AD 212 in theory abolished these conflicts, but local law continued to a varying extent to be accommodated in the guise of long-standing custom. This was treated as part of Roman law provided that, unlike *incest or polygamy, it did not outrage Roman susceptibilities.

In the reign of Constantine I independent legal writing came to an end (see *LEGAL LITERATURE*) and the imperial government, now firmly bureaucratized, assumed a monopoly of legal development. Some scholars, influenced by the mystique of decline and fall, have treated the ensuing centuries as a period of legal degeneration, in which classical law was replaced by 'vulgar law'. The detailed evidence hardly supports this view. The law schools of Rome and Berytus (mod. Beirut) flourished in the post-Classical period, teaching classical law. Many other towns had their law teachers, and the number of lawyers needed to fill posts such as those of assessor to provincial governors increased. A factor which creates an impression of decline is that the constitutions issuing from the imperial legislature (the consistory) in the later empire were drafted by the emperor's quaestor, who had become his principal spokesman. Quaestors were rhetorically skilled but until about AD 400 were seldom lawyers, though they had access to professional advice in the imperial offices (*scrinia*). The language of legislation was therefore untechnical; indeed there was often a conscious avoidance of technicalities. But though this created some danger of misunderstanding, lawyers were at hand to explain what was meant. Hence classical private law continued in force over a wide area, though with some modifications. In particular, contrary to what has sometimes been asserted, the basic distinctions between ownership and possession, contract and conveyance remained intact. Only when invaders overran the west and captured Rome, disrupting the administration of justice along with the imperial administration as a whole, can one properly speak of vulgarization. The Roman law of the successor states such as those of the Visigoths and Burgundians (*lex Romana Visigothorum, lex Romana Burgundionum*) does indeed often present a simplistic version of Roman law.

In the east the invasions were repelled. By the 6th cent. the law school of Berytus had built up a tradition of teaching and analysis of the classical texts over some 300 years; and in 425 Theodosius II imposed imperial control on law teaching in Constantinople. This enabled Justinian to draw for his codification on teachers from both centres along with officials and practising lawyers who had been taught in them. It was therefore inevitable that the tendency of the codification would be to move back towards classical private law, in so far as it had been modified in the post-Classical period. The same was not of course true of public or religious law. But even in private law Justinian was a reformer to

the extent that with his quaestor Tribonianus' help he eliminated obsolete institutions and over-subtle distinctions and settled points of dispute among the classical lawyers, developing the received tradition in an incremental way. In general Justinian favoured equitable solutions, though sometimes at the cost of certainty. He not infrequently changed his mind. The influence of Christian thinking, hardly noticeable in the codification apart from legislation on religious matters, is more strongly marked in the *Novellae* (new legislation) enacted from 535 onwards. THON

2. Civil procedure

1. The Roman civil trial was governed in the course of history by three systems of procedure: that of the *legis actiones*, the formulary system, and the *cognitio extra ordinem* or *cognitio extraordinaria*. The periods during which these systems were in use overlapped to some extent, but, broadly speaking, the *legis actiones* prevailed until, probably in the second half of the 2nd cent. BC, they were largely replaced by the formulary system; the *cognitio extraordinaria* gradually encroached on the formulary system during the Principate and finally superseded it under the Dominate (i.e. after AD 284).

2. The first two systems shared a central feature: the division into two stages. The first took place before a magistrate, *in iure*, and its purpose was to define and formulate the issue (i.e. the limits of the dispute between the parties). This stage culminated in joinder of issue (*litis contestatio*), an acceptance by the parties, under the magistrate's supervision, of the issue thus formulated and the nomination, in the usual case, of the *iudex* authorized by the magistrate. It was the *iudex* who presided in the second stage (*apud iudicem*) when the case was heard and argued. He was a private person empowered by the magistrate's order to give judgement, but he was more than a mere private arbitrator, because that judgement was recognized by the state and gave rise to execution proceedings, though in the last resort it was the successful plaintiff who had to put these into effect. Only in the stage *in iure* were certain formalities observed; the stage *apud iudicem* was entirely informal. The differences between the *legis actio* system and the formulary system lay in the proceedings *in iure*.

3. The procedure by *legis actio* (which existed in the time of the Twelve Tables: Gai. *Inst.* 4. 17a) required the plaintiff and the defendant ritually to assert their rights in one or other of five sets of exactly prescribed formal words (Gai. *Inst.* 4. 11 ff.). Three of these sets of words served to initiate a claim and the other two to obtain execution. Of the former the most general, applicable to claims of ownership and to claims originating in obligations, was the *legis actio sacramento*. This involved in historical times a formal wager between the parties as to the validity of their claims, each party depositing as his stake a fixed sum of money (*sacramentum*). The other forms for initiating a claim were (a) the *legis actio per iudicis arbitrive postulationem*, available only for cases for which it had been specifically authorized by statute; the cases of which we know were claims based on a solemn promise (*stipulatio*) and disputes about property owned by more than one person, but there were apparently others; (b) the *legis actio per condictionem*, introduced by a *lex Silia* and a *lex Calpurnia*, probably in the 3rd cent. BC, for claims for specific sums of money or specific things asserted to be owing by the defendant to the plaintiff. The two forms of *legis actio* for obtaining execution were *per manus iniunctionem* and *per pignoris capionem*. By the former the creditor proceeded against the person of the condemned debtor and by the latter against his property.

4. The *legis actio* system had the disadvantage that it was inflexible. In particular it seems that the praetor could neither create new forms of action nor extend the existing *legis actiones* to claims not recognized by the law. It had other disadvantages as well: one could not be represented in litigation, and a defendant could not raise affirmative defences. These defects were removed by the formulary system. The characteristics of this system were that for each cause of action there was an appropriate form of action, expressed in a set of words or *formula*; and that the praetor had the power to create new *formulae* to meet new needs. The *formula* constituted the pleadings. Thus, if there had been a contract of sale (*emptio venditio*) and the seller refused to deliver what he had sold, the buyer had an action on the purchase (*actio empti*), and conversely if the buyer refused to pay the price, the seller had an action on the sale (*actio venditi*); and each action had an appropriate *formula* in which the issue was defined. But while the *formula* varied from action to action, its structure was based on some permanent essential parts: the *intentio* (concise formulation of the plaintiff's claim) and the *condemnatio*, by which the judge was directed to condemn the defendant if he found after hearing the evidence and the arguments that the plaintiff's case was good, otherwise to acquit him. To suit the complexities of each case the *formula* might be extended by additional clauses, e.g. by a *demonstratio*, which served to describe more precisely the matter at issue where the *intentio* was indefinite (*incerta*), i.e. where the claim was not for a specific sum or thing; or by an *exceptio*, a clause on behalf of the defendant excluding his condemnation if he should prove a fact recognized by the praetor as making such condemnation unjust (e.g. that the plaintiff had been guilty of bad faith: *exceptio doli*; or that the plaintiff had agreed not to sue the defendant: *exceptio pacti*); and the plaintiff might

reply to the *exceptio* by a *replicatio* expressing a countervailing plea (e.g. that the defendant had subsequently agreed to waive the agreement not to sue: *replicatio pacti*); and so on. The whole *formula* was framed as a succession of conditional clauses governing an order by the magistrate to the judge to condemn or acquit the defendant. Model *formulae* for all recognized actions, defences, etc. were published with the edict. The principle that each cause of action had its appropriate *formula*, coupled with the power of the praetor to create new *formulae* (or new parts of *formulae*) either generally in the edict or on the facts of a particular case, lay at the root of the law deriving from praetors and other magistrates (*ius honorarium*).

5. All actions, except those intended only to settle a preliminary question (*actiones praeiudiciales*), necessarily led to a *condemnatio* for a money sum. There could therefore be no order for specific performance or for the restitution of a thing, though it was open to the defendant to make such restitution before judgment. In some actions the *condemnatio* was made conditional on the defendant's not having made restitution, the plaintiff being allowed to make his own assessment of the value. In the ordinary case it was for the *iudex* to make the assessment of the amount which the defendant must pay (*litis aestimatio*), whether it was the value of a thing or damages.

6. The origins of the formulary system are obscure. The 2nd-cent. law teacher Gaius (*Inst.* 4. 30) says only that the *legis actiones* were replaced by the *formula* by a *lex Aebutia* (probably in the latter part of the 2nd cent. BC) and by two *leges Iuliae* (17/16 BC), but the part played by each of these pieces of legislation is conjectural. It is likely that the *formula* originated well before the *lex Aebutia* in proceedings between peregrini (aliens, to whom the *legis actiones* were not open) under the jurisdiction of the *praetor peregrinus* (first created 242 BC), or in the provinces. In either case the proceedings would depend entirely on the *imperium* of the magistrate authorizing them and would therefore be free of the restrictions imposed on suits between citizens by *legis actio*. It is also likely that the *formula* was admitted before the *lex Aebutia* in suits between citizens arising out of the newer, flexible transactions open to citizens and peregrines alike. If this is so, the *lex Aebutia* would for the first time have allowed the formulary procedure as an alternative to the *legis actio* in cases involving the old *ius civile*, and the *leges Iuliae* would have abolished the *legis actiones* altogether, except for proceedings before the centumviral court.

7. The actions of the formulary system were derived from that part of the functions of the praetor known as *iurisdictio*. There were, however, other remedies which derived from his *imperium*. They are in form orders issued for the purpose of the administration of justice, but since the praetor generally avoided using direct means of enforcing obedience, disputes concerning these orders might lead to an action which would be tried in the ordinary way. From the point of view of the development of the general law the most important of these orders were the interdicts (*interdicta*). Their object was to give immediate protection to threatened or violated interests of the plaintiff. If the defendant ignored the interdict, or disputed the plaintiff's right to it, a procedural wager would, in the usual case, enable the matter to be litigated by an ordinary action. A variety of private interests were protected in this way, but the most important were possession and the praetorian rights of inheritance created by a grant of possession of a deceased estate (*bonorum possessio*). Interdicts also protected rights of a public character, such as public rights of way.

8. In addition to interdicts, praetorian orders included *missiones in possessionem* and *in integrum restitutiones*. A *missio in possessionem* was an authorization to enter into possession either of a particular thing or of the whole of a person's property, with the purpose of putting pressure on that person, e.g. on the owner of a building to give security against the threat of damage caused by the building to a neighbour (*damnum infectum*), or on a losing defendant to an action to comply with the judgment. An *in integrum restitutio* was an order reversing the consequence of a general rule of law which the praetor considered in the particular case to be inequitable. So a minor (i.e. a person under 25 years of age) could seek *in integrum restitutio* if his inexperience had led him to enter into a disadvantageous transaction, even though he could not show that the other party actually took advantage of his youth.

9. An action began with a private summons, *in ius vocatio*, by which the plaintiff personally, and without the aid of the judicial machinery, summoned the defendant to follow him before the magistrate. The Twelve Tables contained detailed provisions governing this summons. The only way of avoiding the immediate force of the summons (which could be secured by force in case of resistance) was for the summoned party to give a representative (*vindex*), who would vouch for the defendant's future appearance. The summons was sometimes preceded or followed by notice (*editio actionis*), so that the defendant would come before the magistrate with knowledge of the claim against him. Summons could not be avoided by giving a promise to appear (*vadimonium*), though the point is disputed.

10. Events after the summons, and up to the conclusion of the first stage, did not necessarily take place wholly *in iure*. The magistrate, if indeed present, might not be able to meet each litigant who came to him, and the litigants themselves might use the engagement to argue, bargain, or settle the matter by oath (*iusiurandum*) or other means. If the

litigants did win an audience with the magistrate, the proceedings might begin with preliminary questions, such as whether the magistrate had jurisdiction in the matter or whether the parties had the capacity to appear in court. A negative result of this inquiry would result in a rejection of the case (*denegatio actionis*) and an end to the proceedings. Normally, however, the proceedings *in iure* were devoted to defining the issue. There might be discussions about the composition of the *formula*, especially when the case was not provided for in the edict and the plaintiff tried to obtain the grant of a new *formula* (or a new part of a *formula*, such as an *exceptio*) adapted to the particularities of the case. If a plaintiff insisted on prosecuting a meritless case, or a defendant insisted on defending a hopeless one, the magistrate could nevertheless allow the suit, but interpose conditional penalties against the stubborn party. The proceedings ended with *litis contestatio*. This required the co-operation of the parties, but neither of them could prevent the achievement of this act by repeated refusal. The plaintiff would run the risk of *denegatio actionis* and the defendant of *missio in possessionem*. After *litis contestatio* there could not be another trial of the same issue; and it was with reference to the moment of *litis contestatio* that the judge had to decide controverted matters. On a given day some cases did not reach *litis contestatio*, and these cases would be postponed. The magistrate postponed pending cases to the day-after-the-next (*intertium dare*), and litigants were compelled by the magistrate to engage in a contractual undertaking (*vadimonium*) to reappear on that day. Some of the details in the procedure are disputed.

11. The trial took place usually before a single *iudex*, but in some cases before several *recuperatores* or before the *centumviri* or the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* ('board of ten for judging lawsuits'). It is likely that *iudices* conducted trials passively, that is, allowed the advocates to present their cases as they wished, without inquisitorial interruption. The *iudex* was bound of course to consider the issues as they were presented in the *formula* and in so doing to apply the law, but otherwise he was uncontrolled and could take what advice he chose. Aulus *Gellius (*NA* 14. 2) records that, when faced, on his first appointment as a *iudex*, with a difficult decision on a matter of fact, he sought the opinion of Favorinus of Arles, a philosopher. At the end of the hearing the *iudex* was bound to announce his verdict to the parties in accordance with the *condemnatio*, unless he was willing (as Aulus Gellius was on that first occasion) to swear an oath that the matter was not clear to him (*rem sibi non liquere*). In that event the case would be remitted to another *iudex* for a retrial.

12. If the unsuccessful defendant did not carry out the terms of the judgment, the plaintiff could not proceed immediately to execution. He must first bring an action on the judgment (*actio iudicati*). In this action the defendant could not dispute the merits of the judgment, but he might plead that it was invalid, e.g. for want of jurisdiction or defect of form, or that he had already satisfied it. In such a case there would be *litis contestatio* and a trial in the usual way. There were, however, two deterrents to frivolous defences: the defendant had to give security; and, if he lost, he would be condemned in double the amount of the original judgment. If the defendant neither satisfied the judgment nor defended the *actio iudicati*, the magistrate would authorize the plaintiff to proceed either to personal or to real execution. In the latter case the magistrate made a decree putting the creditor in possession of all the debtor's property and there followed what was in effect a bankruptcy.

13. The formulary system was the ordinary procedure of the Classical period, but from the time of Augustus there developed beside it various other forms of procedure in particular contexts, which are commonly referred to collectively as *cognitio extraordinaria* or *cognitio extra ordinem* (investigation outside the ordinary procedure of the formulary system). The *princeps* (rarely) or a magistrate or (most commonly) a delegated official conducted the entire trial; there was no division into two stages and no private *iudex*. The process was still, however, a judicial one and the development of a system of appeals served to secure uniformity. The trial had the character more of an investigation than of a hearing of a dispute between adversaries. In this respect it was the forerunner of the procedure which is found on the continent of Europe today.

14. In the republic there was no possibility of appeal, except to the very limited extent that a judgment could be called into question by defending the *actio iudicati*. In the early Principate, however, some appeal to the emperor seems to have been allowed, and in cases dealt with by *cognitio extraordinaria* or *cognitio extra ordinem* where the trial would normally be before a delegated judge, it would be natural to allow an appeal to the person who had made the delegation. Certainly it soon became a regular institution, with the higher court not only quashing the original decision, but substituting its own. The appeal was made orally or in writing (*libelli appellatorii*) to the trial judge, who sent the entire dossier to the higher official, with a written report (*litterae dimissoriae* or *apostoli*). There were penalties for frivolous appeals. Justinian made an extensive reform of the system of appeal and his *Novella* 82 settled the rule that all judgments were appealable, except those of the praetorian prefect (*praefectus praetorio*, the commander of the imperial bodyguard).

15. Evidence for the study of civil procedure has notably expanded in recent decades. In the past, the formulary procedure was known principally from interpolated passages in the *Digest*, the speeches of *Cicero, and book 4 of Gaius' Institutes. That scholarship on procedure has evolved so rapidly is due to the discovery and capable editing of waxed tablets from Herculaneum and Puteoli, and the *lex Irnitana* from south-western Spain. The tablets capture events too ordinary for the jurists to remark, and are for that very reason invaluable; the *lex Irnitana*, though provincial, gives a shadow of how cases were conducted in Rome.

EME

3. Criminal law and procedure

1. Criminal law was not originally distinguished from civil law at Rome, as it is in modern legal systems, both by procedure and by the fact that in successful actions judgment is given in favour of the public authority rather than those who have been wronged. Moreover, when this distinction regarding procedure and judgment did come to be made, we find a different categorization of criminal and civil wrongs from those which are normally found in modern systems. Theft for example was originally treated as a private wrong (delict) pursuable by civil action; only much later did it become usual to bring a criminal prosecution. *Adultery was not originally a matter for a civil suit (in Roman society no ground was needed for a divorce), but later became a crime. It is possible to see a progression from private revenge towards a system where public authority and those acting for the public undertake the pursuit of crimes, but this progression was never complete. We can distinguish phases in this development. In the oldest phase of criminal law we find, side by side with private revenge, the practice of settlements between offended and offender, at first voluntary and sporadic, later obligatory. By the end of this phase the beginnings of a new system can be observed: intervention of the community in punishing some crimes, especially those directed against its own structure or existence. Next, the community takes in its hands the repression of offences, not only those which menace the public order or interest directly, but also those affecting private property or interest. The Twelve Tables represent a combination of the first two phases, while in the advanced republic the intervention of public authority, hitherto exceptional, becomes more and more common. Under the Principate it gains dominance, and under the late empire and Justinian it becomes exclusive, having absorbed nearly the whole field of private criminal law. A survival of the idea of vengeance is found in the *noxae deditio*, the surrender of the wrongdoer (slave or son under *patria potestas*) to the person wronged, though by the late empire this practice was limited, when the surrender of sons was abolished.

2. The Romans did not create an organic body of statutes relating to criminal law. The *Twelve Tables are primarily concerned with civil actions and even in the fragmentary provisions of tables 8 and 9 we find a mosaic of varied penal provisions rather than a code. They were restricted to such criminal matters as interested a primitive peasant community, and therefore were inadequate when the republic became more sophisticated and powerful. The copious legislation of the republic did not solve the problem as these *leges* dealt only with single crimes or groups of crimes. In the late republic it is noticeable that some offences were treated by several *leges* voted within a short period of time, e.g. the *crimen repetundarum* (extortion by Roman provincial officials) or *ambitus* (see BRIBERY, ROMAN). As *Tacitus later noted (*Ann.* 3. 27), when public affairs were at their worst, there were most laws. The emphasis was on crimes by senators and magistrates, people acting in the public sphere, but elaborate laws were also created against homicide and violence by any person. Some attempt was made under *Sulla to revise comprehensively criminal procedures but the result was no more a systematic treatment or a coherent code than the later legislation of *Caesar, Augustus, and subsequent emperors, however creative this was in particular details. Extensive interpretation of earlier statutes to cover new facts (wherein the senate co-operated as long as it remained active), or modification of penalties in the direction of greater or lesser severity, constitutes all the legislative activity of the empire in substantive criminal law. The procedure *cognitio extra ordinem* or *cognitio extraordinaria*, it is true, caused the introduction of new ideas into the general doctrines of penal law; and imperial constitutions applied some novel conceptions; but all these, being sporadic and exceptional, did not give an impulse to systematic elaboration.

3. The jurists of the 2nd cent. AD—the best period of classical jurisprudence—contributed to the development of criminal law far less than to that of civil law. A compilation analogous to the *edictum perpetuum* in civil law would certainly have roused their interest in criminal matters; and it is noticeable how fertile was their contribution to doctrines of private delicts, with which the praetorian edict dealt (cf. the excellent elaboration of *iniuria*, *Dig.* 47. 10), in comparison with their modest part in public criminal law. The effect of the interpretative work of all these more or less authoritative elements (imperial rescripts and edicts, *senatus consulta*, practice of *cognitio extraordinaria* or *cognitio extra ordinem* (see § 2. 13, 14 above), jurisprudence) was that offences quite different from those which were described and made punishable in republican statutes were subjected to the statutory penalties. The exact terms of the original

criminal statute might on occasion become obscure. Thus (a) Sulla's *lex Cornelia testamentaria* (*nummaria*, called also *de falsis*), which originally dealt with falsification of wills and of coins, was extended not only to the forgery of documents and the assumption of false names, titles, or official rank, but even to corruption in litigation, as when a juror, accuser, witness, or advocate was bribed, in which case both giver and receiver were punishable. Even a juror who neglected the constitutions of the emperors was punished according to this statute. (b) The *lex Iulia de ambitu* was applied to cases of pressure exercised on a juror by the accuser or the accused, though the original field of the statute was electoral *corruption. See BRIBERY, ROMAN. Interestingly, there appears in some jurists of the 2nd cent. AD a desire to return to the exact provisions of the original statute, even at the cost of discarding some later case law.

4. Under the late empire criminal legislation is directed more to penalties than to the doctrinal treatment of offences. The punishableness of some delicts varied under the influence of political or religious points of view; the creation of new categories of crimes in this long period is restricted to abduction and offences against the Christian religion after its recognition by the state. The profession of *Christianity had at one time been prosecuted as *crimen maiestatis* (treason). Justinian's legislative compilations show the first endeavour to collect the scattered provisions of public and private criminal law into a systematic whole (see JUSTINIAN'S CODIFICATION). The *Digest*, books 47–9, and *Codex*, book 9, give a well-arranged design of criminal law, procedure, and penalties. The compilers, of course, found some help in works of the latest classical jurists, who in just appreciation of the difficulties created by this fluctuating and uncertain state of criminal legislation dealt with these matters in monographs: *De iudiciis publicis* (Marcianus, Macer, Paulus), *De poenis* (Paulus, Claudius (or Venuleius) Saturninus, Modestinus), *De cognitionibus* (Callistratus). But all these and similar works, though doubtless meritorious and useful, aimed rather at collecting material than at creative criticism or presentation of new ideas. Even the terminology distinguishing different categories of offences does not show that stability and precision which is so excellent a feature of Roman legal language. The terms most used are *crimen*, *delictum*, *maleficium*; but it can hardly be affirmed that these expressions had a particular exclusive sense, though generally *crimen* indicates more serious offences directed against the state or public order, whilst *delictum* is rather used for delicts against private property or personal integrity and of no great harmfulness. The meaning of *maleficium* as a general term is even less technical, especially as it was used for designating sorcery and magic arts. All endeavours to bring order into classical texts by allotting to these terms an exclusive technical sense and removing all inconvenient texts as interpolated break down because of the indiscriminate use of these terms.

5. For the distinction between public and private offences we likewise lack any precise definition or statement of distinguishing marks; and yet it was of fundamental importance for developed Roman criminal law. This distinction rested upon a practical, rather than a doctrinal, differentiation of offended interests, and found its visible consequences in the fields of procedure and penalties, which differed greatly in the two spheres. The Roman jurists dealt more with the distinction between *iudicia publica* and private *actiones poenales* than with that between the interests violated as public or private, and the post-classical and Justinianic classification into *delicta privata*, *crimina extraordinaria*, and *iudicia publica* (*Rubric to Digest* 47. 1, 47. 11, 48. 1) was also made from a procedural point of view.

6. The private delicts form a group apart: the wrongdoer is exposed to an action under the ordinary civil procedure by the person wronged, the effect of which is that he must pay a pecuniary penalty to the plaintiff (to be distinguished from another *actio* by which the restitution of the *res* or compensation is claimed—*rei persecutio*). The state as such did not show any interest in the prosecution of these offences, except where the offender was a magistrate or other official (*repetundae*), but the proceedings had a punitive character. By contrast with other civil proceedings (i.e. for *rei persecutio*) they did not lie against the heir if the wrongdoer died before he had been sued, and each of several wrongdoers was liable for the whole penalty. The principal forms were theft (*furtum*); robbery (*rapina*, theft combined with violence); damage to property (*damnum iniuria datum*); assault, and in general all affronts to the plaintiff's dignity and personality (*iniuria*). The praetor also made other wrongs actionable, such as threats (*metus*), deceit (*dolus*), malicious corruption of other people's slaves, and the like. Praetorian law also introduced a category of actions for misdemeanours which affected public interest, e.g. damage to the *album* (public list) of magistrates, violation of sepulchres, and pouring liquids or throwing things out into the streets. In such cases anyone, *quivis ex populo* (hence the names *actiones populares*), could be plaintiff and claim the penalty. Proceedings for private delicts were in later times greatly restricted in favour of the criminal *cognitio extra ordinem* or *cognitio extraordinaria*.

7. The special domain of criminal law is, however, the second group of crimes prosecuted by public organs in *iudicia publica*. The oldest law knew the intervention of the state, as avenger of offences against its security or against public order, only in exceptional cases such as treason (*perduellio*), desertion to the enemy, or special forms of murder (parricide, *parricidium*). For the evolution of this group the series of criminal *leges* of the last two centuries of the republic

(especially the *Corneliae* and *Iuliae*, i.e. those of Sulla and Caesar) were of the greatest importance. They instituted special criminal courts for particular crimes, extending in large measure the competence of the state to the prosecution and punishment of criminal acts. A survey of the various kinds of crimes allotted to the *quaestiones perpetuae* (standing courts) shows that they comprehended not only offences against the state, its security, and organization, or public order in the widest sense of the word, but also the more serious offences against life, personal integrity, private interests (falsification of wills and documents, serious injuries), and morality (adultery).

8. However, even with the help of the senate, imperial constitutions, and the jurists, this legislation covered only part of the offences needing repression. Furthermore, the *quaestiones* operated only at Rome and tried Roman citizens only (not women or slaves or aliens (*peregrini*)). Under Augustus we find in *Cyrene trials of *peregrini* by panels of jurors, but we cannot assume that this practice was widespread in the provinces and normally criminal jurisdiction would have been a matter for the provincial governor or his legate. A solution was found for these and other problems with the development of the procedure called *cognitio extra ordinem* or *extraordinaria*, as not being subordinated to the *ordo iudiciorum*. The trials in these *iudicia publica extra ordinem* were always conducted by public officials. Jurisdiction was exercised—apart from political offences and senatorial matters reserved for the senate—chiefly by the emperor and the prefects and in particular provinces by *praesides* and procurators as the emperor's delegates (see PROCURATOR). The sphere of *cognitio extra ordinem* became, thanks to imperial policy, more and more extensive and superseded the *quaestiones*, which are not mentioned after *Severus Alexander. On the strength of new legislative provisions new forms of offences arose (called later *crimina extraordinaria*), e.g. fraud (*stellionatus*), participation in illicit corporations, displacing of boundary stones, special types of theft (*fures balnearii, nocturni*). Whilst in *quaestiones* only the penalty laid down by the statute could be pronounced, the imperial judges had discretion in grading the penalty according to their appreciation of all the facts of the case. Moreover, penalties might vary according to the status (free/slave, man/woman) or rank of the convicted person: in particular, by the early 2nd cent. AD poorer citizens and others of low rank (*humiliores*) came to be punished more severely than those of higher rank (*honestiores*). The increase in the discretion of magistrates during the 3rd and 4th cents. AD made the accused more vulnerable to arbitrary severity.

9. From the earliest times the intention of the wrongdoer was taken into consideration; even the legendary law of King Numa on parricide required that the murderer had acted knowingly with malice (*sciens dolo*); the analogous expression in republican laws was *sciens dolo malo*. More adequate differentiation between different states of mind was developed in the practice of the *cognitio extra ordinem* or *extraordinaria*, influenced also by imperial constitutions. In appreciating the atrocity of the act and depravity of its author the judge considered the intensity and persistence of the delinquent's will (*dolus*), the question of whether the act had been committed with premeditation or on sudden impulse, whether it had been provoked by a moral offence (e.g. murder of an adulterous wife when caught in the act) or was due to drunkenness (*per vinum*). A late classical jurist, Claudius Saturninus, known only by a treatise on penalties, distinguished seven points to be taken into consideration in determining the punishment: reason, person, place, time, quality, quantity, and effect (*Dig.* 48. 19. 16). Judicial liberty, however, gave occasion for arbitrariness: the 3rd cent., with the decline of imperial authority, brought anarchy into criminal jurisdiction. Under the late empire fixed penalties—now more severe than formerly—were restored, the discretion of the judge in the infliction of punishment having been abolished.

10. The magistrates invested with *imperium*, acting personally or by delegates, were in general the organs of criminal justice. From early times their power of punishment was restricted by *provocatio ad populum* (appeal to the people), which on one view required a judgment by an assembly, on another view, encouraged but did not compel a reference to an assembly, and on a third only applied when there had been no formal trial, that is, when the magistrate applied coercive measures against disobedient or recalcitrant citizens, e.g. *prison, castigation, and fines (*multae*). Foreigners, slaves (see SLAVERY), and *women were also subjected to this kind of coercion, but had no redress. There were two fundamentally different forms of procedure under the republic, trial before the assembly (the so-called *iudicium populi*) and *quaestio* (tribunal of inquiry). Both were originally based on the inquisitorial principle: before an assembly the magistrate for the most part acted both as prosecutor and president of the assembly simultaneously; in the early *quaestiones* he, aided by a *consilium* of advisers, decided whether an accusation laid before him required investigation, controlled the investigation and production of evidence, and ultimately delivered a verdict and sentence. However, the latter procedure was modified when *quaestiones perpetuae* were set up by statute in the 2nd and 1st cents. BC. In these the investigation of crimes and production of evidence was a matter for the plaintiff or prosecutor; the selection of a jury was regulated by the relevant statute and both plaintiff and defendant had rights of rejection. At the trial itself, although the presiding magistrate might ask questions, procedure was adversarial, the verdict was determined by the

jury, and the sentence was either fixed by the statute or a limited discretion was allowed to the jury, especially with financial penalties (*litis aestimatio*). This accusatory system was, however, abolished in trials *extra ordinem* or *extraordinaria*, where, once information had been laid about a crime, the magistrate had once more full initiative in prosecution and conducted the trial from beginning to end. The statutes establishing the *quaestiones* had specifically ruled out any appeal to another authority against verdict or sentence. An unsuccessful proposal was made by Mark *Antony to introduce appeal to the assembly from certain *quaestiones*, but the situation only changed decisively with the advent of the Principate. Augustus' tribunician power (*see* TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS) was associated with the right to hear appeals and a prerogative of mercy (according to Cass. Dio, this grant was made in 30 BC). Moreover, the *lex Iulia de vi publica* incorporated sanctions against the disregard of appeals by those subject to coercion or criminal sentences throughout the empire.

11. The Roman penal system was peculiar in its distinction between public and private penalties, reflecting the division into public and private offences. The private penalty seems originally a substitute for private vengeance and retaliation (*talio* = inflection on the delinquent of the same injury as that done by him), but pecuniary composition between the parties (*pacisci*) was already an option at the time of the Twelve Tables and later became compulsory. A private penalty consisted in payment of a sum of money to the person wronged, and is to be distinguished from *multa*, a fine inflicted by a magistrate and paid to the state. Public penalties originated, as in other primitive systems, in the idea of public revenge, or religious expiation for crimes against the community, or religious conceptions ('*sacer esto*'), and, for serious offences, entailed the elimination of the guilty person from the community. The death penalty (*poena capitis*) was inflicted in different ways. The Twelve Tables refer to burning, for arson, and suspension (perhaps a form of crucifixion) for using magic on crops. We later hear of decapitation, precipitation from the Tarpeian Rock, and drowning in a sack (for parricide). It should not be thought that the more grotesque penalties were all primitive. In republican times the execution (and even the sentence) could be avoided by voluntary exile of the wrongdoer. Banishment was later applied as an independent penalty in various forms: *aqua et igni interdictio*, *relegatio*, *deportatio*. Under the empire we find condemnation to heavy work in mines (*metalla*) or public works (*opus publicum*) or to the gladiatorial training-schools (*in ludos*; *see* GLADIATORS). These penalties were normally combined with loss of citizenship, while *damnatio in metalla* ('condemnation to the mines', considered as the penalty closest to death) normally also involved loss of liberty and flagellation; an accessory penalty was the total or partial confiscation of property. Execution might take the form of exposure to wild beasts in the arena. It is noticeable that the Romans applied imprisonment only as a coercive or preventive measure, not as a penalty (*see* PRISON); the Roman conception of penalty laid more stress upon its vindictive and deterrent nature than on correction of the delinquent (*see* PUNISHMENT, GREEK AND ROMAN PRACTICE). The advent of Christianity led to some changes in the modalities of punishments but did not mitigate their severity.

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Otherwise we have only scattered data. Even for such an important *polis as *Sparta we rely on chance remarks in *Aristotle and *Plutarch about inheritance, or incidental details in historians about the trials of particular kings. The loss of Theophrastus' *Laws* is keenly felt: surviving fragments suggest that this was a comparative study after the manner of Aristotle's *Politics*, which might have filled many gaps in our knowledge. The study of non-Athenian inscriptions may eventually offer a comparative understanding of judicial procedure throughout the Greek world; but it is an indication of our present ignorance that the Cretan city of Gortyn has the best-known legal system outside Athens and Egypt because of the chance survival of one extensive inscription, the so-called Gortyn code.

Origins

The origins of law in Greece are important but hard to distinguish. There are traces of dispute settlement in the earliest surviving literary works (c.725–700 BC), most notably *Homer's depiction of a homicide trial on the Shield of *Achilles (*Iliad* 18. 497–508), while *Hesiod's *Works and Days* involves an inheritance dispute between the poet and his (possibly fictitious) brother. It has been argued that the Shield represents a process of voluntary arbitration which by Hesiod's time has become compulsory, but this seems unlikely, given that Hesiod's aristocrats-cum-judges appear politically weaker than their Homeric counterparts. Better perhaps is the suggestion that Homer's judges are not arbitrators: rather, what they hear is the killer taking the initiative in claiming the

protection of their community against the threat of summary vengeance from his victim's relatives. But such individual literary portrayals cannot be permitted to sustain theories of legal evolution.

The earliest signs of legislation in the Greek world belong around 600 BC. This is the period in which later Greeks located the activity of semi-mythical legislators in widely spread Greek communities (Zaleucus at Locri Epizephyrii in southern Italy, Charondas at Catana in Sicily, Draco and *Solon at Athens). It also provides the context for the earliest surviving public inscriptions: fragmentary laws (mostly regulating judicial procedure and the holding of public office) from Dreros in *Crete shortly before 600 (ML 2) and from Chios, Eretria on Euboea, and near Naupactus (Gulf of Corinth) over the following century. The joint phenomenon of legislators and inscribed laws invites explanation, but traditional hypotheses appear unsatisfactory: places like Locri and Catana seem remote from near eastern influence, but few of the affected communities were colonies; the needs of traders (*see* TRADE) do not seem to have concerned the early legislators, while the idea that publication of law is a move towards open government rests on anachronistic assumptions about the nature and spread of writing. *See* LITERACY; ORALITY. A recent suggestion, indeed, sees writing as a new technology seeking a function, but this may ignore an apparent time-lag between its introduction in private contexts and the subsequent decision to use it for inscribing laws.

Unity

Whether it is legitimate to speak of Greek law as a single entity is a long-disputed question. Scholars working on the papyri generally look for unity where those studying the orators perceive diversity; and German and Italian scholars tend to emphasize broad juristic principles held throughout the Greek world, at the cost (in the view of their Anglo-American counterparts) of ignoring real and major differences of detail.

There are underlying problems of *ethnicity, *nationalism, and evolution. What does it mean to be Greek? How far is Greekness a racial, cultural, or linguistic identity, and how strong is its political significance? Herodotus' Athenians (8. 144), admittedly, can appeal to the shared customs which distinguish Greeks from barbarians (non-Greeks). Classical *poleis*, however, were independent communities, each with its own political system and the jealously guarded right to make its own laws (*see* POLIS). Even in the Hellenistic period the Greek world was never a nation-state, and it is anachronistic to assume that the *poleis* were aiming towards a goal of political unity.

The dispute is significant because of its consequences. Evolutionary theories misleadingly imply that Gortyn represents a stage through which every Greek community passed on its road from Homeric dispute settlement to the law of the orators; they also encourage gap-filling, such that regulations attested only at Athens are predicated of the papyri and vice versa. Greek law, if it existed, was not a national legal system, but a family of systems like Islamic law today. *See* JUDGES, FOREIGN. SCT

lawyers, Roman or jurists (*iuris prudentes, iuris consulti, iuris periti, iuris studiosi*) were a specialized professional group in Roman society distinct from those humble clerks and notaries who copied documents and recorded proceedings. That society was unusual in that in the later republic and empire there emerged for the first time in history a class of secular legal experts who, whether they made a living from their profession or not, were regarded as the repositories of a special type of learning useful to the state and private citizens. Until the 3rd cent. BC knowledge of the law and its procedure was a monopoly of the patrician priesthood, the college of *pontifices* (*see* PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)), whose advice was sought on the law of the state cult but also on secular forms. From then on some who were not members of the priestly college began to give advice on law; but until the end of the republic the same people were often expert in sacred, public, and private law. Their functions resembled those of modern lawyers. They gave opinions to people who consulted them (*respondere*), helped them to draft documents or take other measures to avoid legal pitfalls (*cavere*), and advised on litigation and its proper forms (*agere*). They were consulted by magistrates such as the urban praetor on the formulation of his edict and by lay judges (*iudices*) on the law they should apply in the cases before them. They taught mainly by allowing others to listen to them as they practised, but sometimes actively undertook to instruct pupils. Some lawyers wrote books (*see* LEGAL LITERATURE), but this was not essential. In principle their services were free, but they were not forbidden to accept gifts from those who consulted or were taught by them, though unlike other professionals such as surveyors and doctors there was even in the empire no procedure by which they could sue for a fee (*honorarium*).

In the republic and early empire the number of lawyers was small. Membership of this élite group of intellectuals depended on being taught by another member and enjoying a sufficient regard from the group as a whole for one's independence of judgement and depth of learning. It continued, even in the empire, to depend on professional opinion and not on official recognition

or employment, valuable as the latter might be for the success of the lawyer's career. Legal expertise often ran in families. The existence of such a small, intimate body of specialists explains why in their writings lawyers so often cite one another's opinions. They aim to convince other lawyers. Advocacy was not in the republic and early empire a normal part of a lawyer's career, rhetoric being a separate discipline, but was not ruled out. In the republic and early empire lawyers often came from senatorial families but legal expertise could also be the avenue by which 'new men' (the first of their family to enter the senate) rose in the world, as with Alfenus Varus, Pegasus, the father of Celsus, and Javolenus Priscus. Lawyers often held public office, but Gaius Aquillius Gallus (a patron of *Martial) and Marcus Antistius Labeo (d. between AD 10 and 22) set the precedent of preferring practice or scholarship to public life.

As a prestigious non-political group the legal profession presented *Augustus with a problem since it comprised, for example, not only his supporter Gaius Trebatius Testa but the latter's republican pupil Labeo. He declined to bring the profession directly under his own control (**Res gestae* 6) but devised a system by which certain lawyers were granted the privilege of giving opinions publicly on his authority (*ius respondendi ex auctoritate principis*). *Tiberius gave the first such grant to a non-senator, Masurius Sabinus. The practical working of this scheme is obscure, since in general neither grants nor refusals of the privilege are recorded. In the middle of the 1st cent. AD another division occurred in the profession, the leading lawyers grouping themselves into two schools. The Cassian school was founded by Gaius Cassius Longinus with the help of his teacher Sabinus; a century later its members came to be called Sabinians. Though the matter is controversial, the Proculian school (named from Sempronius Proculus, mid-1st cent. AD) seems to have differed from its rivals in outlook and method, and these differences, though not the organization into schools, went back to Gaius Ateius Capito (consul AD 5) and Antistius Labeo. The Proculians were less tied to tradition and more insistent on logical rigour than their rivals, the Cassians readier to tolerate anomalies and tackle new problems piecemeal. Sextus Pomponius (2nd cent. AD) records the succession of the heads of the two schools well into the 2nd cent. AD, each school at that stage having two or more heads. Around 160 the law teacher Gaius still speaks of 'Sabinus and Cassius and our other teachers'.

Early in the 2nd cent. *Hadrian made some important changes. He ruled that the opinions of privileged lawyers, when in agreement, bound judges, and is said to have discouraged applications for the privilege by senators who

were not professionally expert. More important, he reorganized the imperial administration in a way which offered a well-paid career structure to Romans of equestrian status (see *EQUITES*), who henceforth were to replace *freedmen as heads of the imperial offices. Of these the office of petitions (*libelli*) was held by a lawyer at the latest from *Antoninus Pius onwards. Marcus *Aurelius made the holder of this office, the secretary *a libellis* (later *magister libellorum*), registrar of the emperor's court. Equestrian lawyers could now aspire even to the highest imperial post, that of praetorian prefect, as in the case of Taruttienus Paternus in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Papinianus, probably Paulus, and Ulpian and Hermogenianus. These opportunities attracted men of talent to the imperial service, and, under an emperor committed to government according to law, created an influential group of lawyers holding public office. This in turn increased the demand for formal law teaching; there now emerge prominent teachers and writers such as Gaius and Sextus Pomponius who did not practice. In the east law teaching in Berytus (mod. Beirut) goes back to the late 2nd or early 3rd cent. and the city remained an important centre of legal study from then onwards.

Around 200 *Septimius Severus, keenly interested in the administration of justice, created more posts for lawyers, and the new Roman citizens enfranchised by Caracalla in 212 (see *CITIZENSHIP, ROMAN*) swelled the demand for legal advice, especially in the provinces. In the later empire the number of lawyers in official posts again increased, as the number of emperors, praetorian prefects, their deputies (vicars), and provincial officials who needed legal advice multiplied. But though *Diocletian (284–305) attracted able lawyers to his service, *Constantine I kept them at a distance, and for two generations none is known to have risen to high public office. Then in the late 4th and early 5th cent. they again began to do so. The career structure now ran from law school through practice as an advocate or a post as assessor to an official, and service to one or more of the offices of state (*scrinia*) to the quaestorship. In some cases such as that of Antiochus Chuzon (quaestor to Theodosius II) it ended with a praetorian prefecture, as with his predecessors two hundred years earlier.

In the west the legal profession along with the administration as a whole was disrupted by the 5th-cent. invasions of the Goths and others, but continued to some extent to be recognized in the successor communities as regards dealings between Romans. In the east it was subjected to extensive state control. In 425 Theodosius II reorganized higher education including law teaching in Constantinople. He divided public from private teaching, allocating public space to only two law professors, who

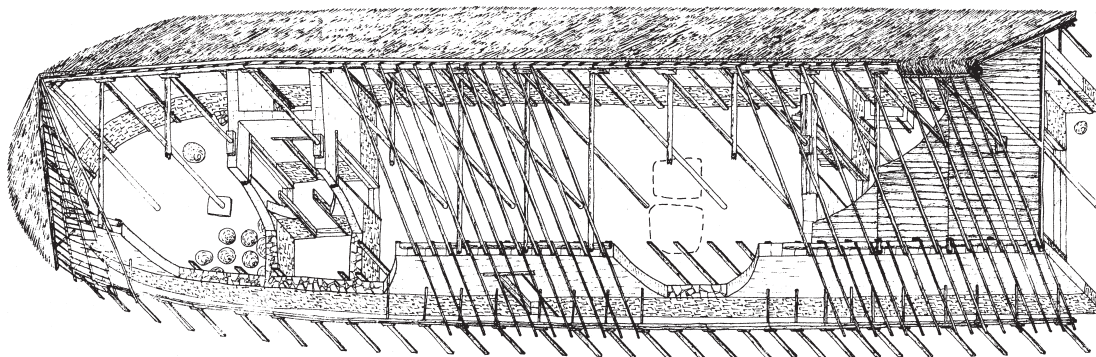
were forbidden to take private pupils. From 460 a candidate wishing to practise before the court of the praetorian prefect of the east needed to produce a certificate from his law teachers. The number of lawyers at the various bars was now fixed, and preference in filling vacancies was given to the sons of existing advocates. Justinian had thus a considerable pool of talent to draw on for his codification (see JUSTINIAN'S CODIFICATION).

That codification was the work of a self-conscious legal élite, inheriting a tradition which, despite the growth of state control, went back in an unbroken line to the republic. Their elitism and casuistry attracted criticism. Its impact on Roman public life naturally varied from time to time according to the sympathies of different emperors and the felt need to give high priority to civil administration and hence to insist on the legal values of clarity, precision, impartiality, and conformity to rule. THON

Lefkandi (see ◀ Map 1, Cc ▶), a coastal site (ancient name unknown) in Euboea between Chalcis and Eretria. Inhabited from the early bronze age until its desertion c.700 BC, perhaps following the Lelantine War (see GREECE, HISTORY (archaic age)), it flourished in the late Helladic IIIC period. During the Dark Ages Lefkandi was an important centre in a region uniting Euboea, *Thessaly, east central Greece, and the Aegean island of Scyros. Cemeteries spanning the 11th to 9th cents. have revealed significant wealth and, from c.950 BC, abundant evidence for contact with *Cyprus and the Levant. A unique, massive apsidal building (almost 50 × 14 m. (164 × 46 ft.); c.1000 BC), with external and internal colonnades supporting a steep raking roof, represents a new form of monumental architecture following the end of the bronze age and prefigures Greek *temple design. Inside the central hall were buried a man and woman, and four horses: woman and horses had apparently been

killed in a chieftain's funeral ceremony. After a short life the building was demolished and covered with a mound. Whether it served as a chieftain's house, destroyed following his burial inside, or as a cult-place erected over a heroic warrior's tomb, is debated. RWVC

legal literature refers to those works of *lawyers which in their treatment of legal matters went beyond mere collections of laws and formulae. Legal literature was the most specifically Roman branch of Latin literature, and until the Byzantine age nearly all works on law were in Latin, which remained the language of legislation in the east until AD 535. But they can only be understood in the light of those Greek genres which were imitated in Rome. They were for the most part written in plain but technically accurate language. They consisted of one or more books (*libri*), generally of 10,000–15,000 words each, divided into titles each with a rubric and often numbered. We depend for their early history mainly on the account given by Sextus Pomponius (2nd cent. AD). About 300 BC Appius Claudius Caecus is said to have written a book *De usurpationibus* ('On Interruption of Title'). A century later Sextus Aelius Paetus besides publishing laws and formulae wrote on the interpretation of the *Twelve Tables. Later in the 2nd cent. BC a number of writers are mentioned, some influenced by Greek philosophy and dialectics. One influential work was Marcus Iunius Brutus' three books (*libri*) in dialogue form *De iure civili* ('On Civil Law'). In the next century Quintus Mucius Scaevola's eighteen books on the same topic became the first standard work on law. Though casuistic, it was incisive enough to remain the subject of commentary 200 years later. At the end of the republic Alfenus Varus' 40 books of *Digesta* ('Ordered Abstracts') remained, despite the title, a bulky collection of opinions (*responsa*) given mainly by himself and his teacher Servius Sulpicius Rufus



Lefkandi Axonometric reconstruction of the cult building at Lefkandi, c.1000 BC. Its wooden colonnade, apsidal end, and great length (c.50 m. or 164 ft.) anticipate the earliest Greek *temples. Dr. J. J. Coulton

in particular cases. A few monographs were written, and some short commentaries on the praetor's edict. But with Marcus Antistius Labeo in the early empire an important new genre appears, that of the large-scale commentary.

Little republican writing has survived. The literature of the empire, of which thanks to Justinian's codification (see JUSTINIAN'S CODIFICATION) we have a great deal, included, apart from these genres, critical editions of and commentaries on earlier works and teaching manuals. Discussion of cases still predominates, since lawyers spent most of their time giving opinions and advice on concrete problems to private clients, magistrates, officials, or the emperor himself. Advanced teaching took the similar form of discussing difficult cases, real or imaginary (*quaestiones*, *disputationes*), and lawyers carried on correspondence with pupils and friends (*epistulae*). Collections of *responsa*, *quaestiones*, and *epistulae* were published, at first by the lawyer's pupils, later by himself. Quintus Cervidius Scaevola and Aemilius Papinianus published little else, and even the *Digesta* of Julianus are mainly casuistic.

Large-scale commentaries began as stated with Labeo, who wrote massive treatises on the urban and peregrine praetors' edicts. This genre returned to prominence in the 2nd cent. AD when the climate of opinion set by *Antoninus Pius and Marcus *Aurelius favoured precision in the administration of justice. Sextus Pomponius' edictal commentary of that period ran to about 150 books, a record never surpassed. He and others also wrote large treatises on the *Ius civile* ('Civil Law') of Mucius Scaevola and Sabinus. Shortly before and after 200 Paulus and Ulpian became the last to practise the extended commentary, at about half Pomponius' length. These works, intended for officials and private practitioners, reproduced as much of the basic text as was necessary to understand the commentary.

Monographs were popular and remained so up to Arcadius Charisius at the end of the 3rd cent. AD. They included works on particular branches of the law, like adultery, and offices, like that of consul. Aspiring lawyers seem often to have written one at the start of their career, to put down a professional marker. Another young man's genre was the edition of an earlier work with *notae* (critical comments). Thus Paulus showed his paces by annotating Labeo's *Pithana* ('Persuasive Propositions'). But some monographs were ambitious and innovative. Both Ulpian and especially Paulus composed many, the first setting guidelines for public officers such as provincial governors, the second exploring and refining many branches of law and procedure.

Teaching manuals were slow in developing. An early example is Neratius Priscus' *Regulae* ('Guidelines'). They

were in demand in the provinces, but when Roman citizenship was extended in AD 212 leading lawyers in Rome took them up and extended their scale. The textbook (*Institutiones*) of Marcianus, written around 220, ran to sixteen books (*libri*). Other types of work intended mainly for students were *regulae* ('guidelines'), *differentiae* ('distinctions'), and *pandectae* ('encyclopaedia'), the last two titles innovations of Herennius Modestinus.

Three monographs of Arcadius Charisius are to be dated to around 290. But the market for large-scale original works was now saturated. We find instead summaries and epitomes in up to six or seven books. Examples are the *Iuris epitomae* ('Summaries of the Law') of Hermogenianus in six books, *Sententiae receptae* ('Received Views'), attributed to Paulus, in five, and works of *Regulae* ('Guidelines') of similar length attributed to Gaius and Ulpian. There were also of course the semi-official collections of imperial constitutions by Gregorius and Hermogenianus, and an unofficial collection of about 320 of uncertain authorship known as *Fragmenta Vaticana*. It consisted of imperial constitutions and excerpts from the private writings of lawyers and ran to the equivalent of about twenty books. There was an enlarged edition towards the end of the 4th cent. These were mere compilations, with no element of originality. The last legal treatise was perhaps the *Opiniones* ('Opinions') in six books, falsely attributed to Ulpian, which seems to belong to the reign of *Constantine I. Two generations later a more slanted compilation appeared which is perhaps to be seen as a Christian reply to pagan propaganda. The late 4th- or early 5th-cent. *Lex Dei quam Deus precepit ad Moysen* ('Law which God Gave to Moses') is generally known as the *Collatio* ('Comparison') *legum Romanarum et Mosaicarum* since it sets out parallels between the law of Moses and Roman law in order to demonstrate the priority of the Mosaic law. This was a familiar Christian theme at the time.

Constantine I was hostile to what he saw as the undue complexity of classical law and was concerned that the law should be simple, unchallenged, and subject to his control. He ruled that the spurious and recent, but elementary, *Pauli Sententiae* was a genuine work of authority and invalidated Paulus' and Ulpian's sometimes critical notes on Papinianus. The canon of writings of authority was now closed, and the political and ideological climate under Constantine and his sons was hostile to any further private legal publication.

THON

Lepidus (Marcus Aemilius Lepidus), (the triumvir), younger son of another Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. As praetor 49 BC, he supported *Caesar, naming him to his first dictatorship, then governed Hither Spain (48–7),

intervening in the dissensions in Further Spain and returning to triumph. He was consul (46) and Caesar's *magister equitum* (see *dictator*) (46–44). On Caesar's death he gave armed support to Mark *Antony, who in return contrived his appointment as *pontifex maximus* (chief of the *pontifices*: see *priests* (GREEK AND ROMAN)) in Caesar's place. He then left to govern the provinces assigned him by Caesar, Gallia Narbonensis, and Hither Spain; the colony Colonia Victrix Iulia Lepida (Celsa) was allowed to preserve the memory of his administration. When, after the war of Mutina, Antony retreated into Gaul, Lepidus assured Cicero of his loyalty to the republic but on 29 May 43 joined forces with Antony and was declared a public enemy by the senate. At Bononia in Etruria in October he planned the Triumvirate with Antony and Octavian (the later *Augustus), accepting Further Spain with his existing provinces as his share of the empire; and demanding (or conceding) the proscription of his brother Lucius Aemilius Paullus. After triumphing again *ex Hispania* ('from Spain') he held a second consulship (42) and took charge of Rome and Italy during the campaign of Philippi. After their victory his colleagues deprived him of his provinces, on the rumour of a collusion between him and Sextus Pompeius (son of *Pompey), but nothing serious was proved; and after helping Octavian ineffectively in the war against Lucius Antonius (Pietas), he was allowed by Octavian to govern Africa, where he had sixteen legions and won an imperial salutation. Kept out of the discussions at Tarentum over the renewal of the Triumvirate (37) and ignored in the arrangements, he asserted himself when summoned by Octavian to aid in the war against Sextus Pompeius. He tried to take over Sicily, but Octavian won over his army, ousted him from the Triumvirate and banished him to Circeii, though he later contemptuously allowed him to enter Rome. He kept his title of *pontifex maximus* until his death in 13 or 12, when Augustus took it over. Superior to his two partners in social rank and inherited connections, he lacked their ability to organize support and their total dedication to the pursuit of power.

GWR/TJC/EB

Lesbos (now Lesvos or Mytilini), the third largest Aegean island (1,630 sq. km.: 629 sq. mi.) after *Crete and Euboea, 10 km. (6 mi.) from NW *Asia Minor. It is divided into three lobes on the south side by the long, narrow-mouthed gulfs of Kalloni and Gera. The volcanic western and northern mountains rise to 968 m. (3,176 ft.); the south-eastern hills are greener and more fertile. Alluvium (partly marshy) occurs around the gulfs and in the east, where Thermi (an important bronze age site) has hot springs.

Lesbos was usually divided between five competing *poleis*: Mytilene (the most powerful), Methymna, Pyrrha, Antissa, and Eresus. A sixth, Arisbe (near Kalloni), was absorbed by Methymna in the Archaic period. Some of the towns had land in Asia Minor. Settlement is relatively dispersed: there are important rural sanctuaries at Klopedi (temple of *Apollo), Mesa, and elsewhere, and the frequent rural towers and enclosures may be further evidence of inter-*polis* rivalry.

Proximity to Anatolia and the Hellespont (Dardanelles) partly explains the distinctive early culture. The earliest Greek settlers (10th cent. BC ?) may have brought to the island its Aeolian dialect; Mytilene and Pyrrha have protogeometric remains. Lesbian culture retained unusual features, such as the characteristic grey *bucchero* pottery which may imply a continuity of pre-Aeolian population or culture. *Cybele was worshipped in several towns.

The importance of seafaring is indicated by the harbour moles at several of the towns. Lesbian transport amphorae are found throughout the Greek world; amphora kilns have been located on the island. As élite wealth increased, a distinctive aristocratic culture grew up: Lesbos was the home of the poets *Sappho, *Alcaeus, Terpander, and Arion, the historian Hellanicus, and the philosopher Theophrastus. Lesbians founded colonies in the Hellespont and challenged Athens for control of Sigeum around 600 BC. The island came under Persian domination during the Persian Wars. The cities joined the Athenian alliance (see *Delian League*), but their rivalries persisted: Methymna did not back Mytilene's revolt in 428, and was alone in not having an Athenian cleruchy (citizen colony) imposed afterwards. Lesbos revolted again in 412. After the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) the island increasingly has a single history. It oscillated between Athenian, Spartan, and Persian rule until *Alexander the Great's expedition. In the Hellenistic period it came under Ptolemaic domination (see *Ptolemy I*; *Ptolemy II*); after the Macedonian wars the towns formed a league. Mytilene and Methymna were the seats of bishops from the 5th cent. See *Greece* (History). DGJS

libraries By the end of the 5th cent. BC, books were in general circulation, even if some regarded them as a fad of intellectuals like *Euripides (*Ar. Ran.* 943, cf. fr. 506 KA); Athens had booksellers (*Eup. fr.* 327, Aristomenes fr. 9, KA), and exports reached the Black (Euxine) Sea (*Xen. An.* 7. 5. 14). Individuals collected the best-known poets and philosophers (*Xen. Mem.* 4. 2. 1); an imagined collection of the later 4th cent. BC includes *Orpheus, *Hesiod, *tragedies, Choerilus (? of Samos), *Homer,

the comedian Epicharmus, and all kinds of prose, including Simus' *Cookery* (Alexis fr. 140 KA). Of famous collectors (Ath. 1. 3a), *Aristotle took first place (Strabo 13. 1. 54); but his library, like that of the other philosophic schools, remained private property (for its chequered history, see Strabo, *ibid.*; Plut. *Sull.* 26. 1–2).

Institutional libraries begin with the Hellenistic monarchies; the 'public' library of *Pisistratus (Gell. *NA* 7. 17) is no doubt myth. The model was apparently the Peripatos (Strabo, as above), rather than the temple and palace libraries of the near east. The first Ptolemies (see *PTOLEMY I*; *PTOLEMY II*) collected ambitiously and systematically; the Alexandrian Library (see *ALEXANDRIA*) became legend, and *Callimachus' *Pinakes* made its content accessible. There were rivals at Pella, *Antioch (where the poet Euphorion of Chalcis was librarian), and especially *Pergamum. Holdings were substantial: if the figures can be trusted, Pergamum held at least 200,000 rolls (Plut. *Ant.* 58. 9), the main library at Alexandria nearly 500,000 (Tzetzes, *Prolegomena de comoedia* 11a. 2. 10–11 Koster)—the equivalent, perhaps, of 100,000 modern books. Smaller towns had their own libraries, some at least attached to the *gymnasium: so in the 2nd cent. at *Rhodes, Cos, and Tauromenium (mod. Taormina) (*SEG* 26. 1123).

The Romans inherited some libraries direct (Lucius Aemilius Paullus brought home the Macedonian royal library, *Sulla obtained Aristotle's books after the sack of *Athens), together with the traditions of private collection and public endowment. *Cicero accumulated several libraries (and visited those of *Varro, Faustus Sulla (Sulla's son), and Marcus Licinius Lucullus (d. 42 BC), son of Lucius Licinius Lucullus); the satirist Persius left 700 rolls of the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus. The private library became fashionable: the fictional Trimalchio boasted both Greek and Latin libraries (Petron. *Sat.* 48); *Seneca and *Lucian satirize those whose books serve only for show (Sen. *Dial.* 9. 9. 4–7; Lucian, *Ind.*). Successful Greeks and Romans continued to found libraries in their native cities: C. Stertinius Xenophon (*Claudius' doctor) on Cos, *Dio of Prusa at Prusa, *Pliny the Younger at Comum (mod. Como). Excavation has uncovered (among others) the libraries of Flavius Pantaeus at Athens, Julius Aquila at *Ephesus ('library of Celsus'), and Marcus Iulius Quintianus Flavius Rogatianus at Timgad (*Africa). On the monarchic scale, *Caesar planned a public library in Rome, under Varro's direction; Asinius Pollio (d. AD 4) actually founded one in the Atrium Libertatis. There followed (among the grandest) *Augustus' library on the Palatine, *Vespasian's near the templum Pacis, *Trajan's in his forum (*forum Traiani*), *Severus Alexander's in the Pantheon; libraries were included in the *baths of Trajan, *Caracalla, and



libraries The inscribed rules from the so-called 'Library of Pantaenus' (c. AD 110), a privately funded establishment in the *agora of *Athens: 'No book is to be taken out because we have sworn an oath. [The library] is to be open from the first hour until the sixth.' An oath is still required of users of certain modern libraries (e.g. the Bodleian in Oxford). American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

*Diocletian (see *BATHS*). The Constantinian description of Rome counts 28 libraries; in the 2nd cent. AD at least a *procurator bibliothecarum* had overseen the whole system (see *PROCURATOR*). The new capital Constantinople was provided at short order with a library, which eventually reached 120,000 books. Origen's library at Caesarea provided the Christian exemplar.

Hellenistic libraries apparently consisted of simple storage-rooms attached to a stoa (colonnade) or the like; such is the only ancient library to survive *in situ*, that of the Villa of the Papyri at *Herculaneum. The great Roman libraries provided reading-rooms, one for Greek and one for Latin (a challenge to parity), with books in niches round the walls. *Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6. 4. 1) advises that libraries should face east, to provide for good light and against damp; green marble floors might reduce eye-strain, gilded ceilings increase it (*Isid. Etym.* 6. 11. 2). Books would generally be stored in cupboards (*armaria*), which might be numbered for reference (*SHA Tac.* 8. 1). A statue of a divine (or imperial) patron occupied a central niche; busts of authors ('those whose immortal spirits there speak', *Pliny the Elder. *HN* 35. 2. 9) adorned the building. Catalogues (*indices*) listed authors under broad subject-headings; attendants fetched the books (borrowing was for a privileged few). The library of Pantaenus at Athens had its rules inscribed on stone: 'No

book shall be taken out, for we have sworn... Open from dawn to midday.' The staff would comprise a librarian; attendants (*prosmenontes* in the library of Celsus at *Ephesus), often slaves (as in the Palatine); copyists and restorers (*glutinatores*, Cic. *Att.* 4. 4a. 1; *antiquarii*, *Cod. Theod.* 14. 9. 2; cf. Suet. *Dom.* 20). New acquisitions might be provided by gift (each ephebe (see GYMNASIUM) at the Ptolemaion of Athens gave 100 rolls on leaving), or by purchase; Pliny's library at Comum had an endowment of 100,000 sesterces (*ILS* 2927), the library of Celsus 23,000 denarii (*Inscriptionen von Ephesos*, 7. 2. 5113).

Libraries came to rank among the grandest civic monuments. In the Bibliotheca Ulpia (forum Traiani), each reading-room covered 460 sq. m. (5,000 sq. ft.). The library of Celsus (see above), founded in honour of Tiberius Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (consul 92) by his son Aquila (consul 110), has a floor area of 180 sq. m. (2,000 sq. ft.), and Celsus' tomb in the basement; the elaborate façade (re-erected) still impresses. Costs were substantial: 1,000,000 sesterces at Comum, 400,000 sesterces at Timgad. Such libraries celebrated the ruling culture, and its representatives. They also preserved its texts. Ancient books were always vulnerable: material fragile, editions small, circulation desultory. The library offered a safe haven: so 1st-cent. AD Heraclitus of Rhodiapolis, 'the Homer of medical poetry', made sure to donate his works to the libraries of Alexandria, *Rhodes, and Athens (*TAM* 2. 3. 910). Acceptance into a great library marked a work as authentic (Dictys Cretensis, p. 3. 11 Eisenhut), or politically acceptable (Hor. *Epist.* 1. 3. 17; Ov. *Tr.* 3. 1. 59 ff.); emperors promoted favourite authors (Suet. *Tib.* 70. 2, *Calig.* 34. 2). But favour could do nothing against fire (the Palatine Library burnt down under *Nero or *Titus, again in AD 191, finally in 363; mould and 'the worst enemy of the Muses' (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 251), worm, put paid to many immortalities. See also ARCHITECTURE. PJP

Libya (see ◀ Map 4, Cd ▶), Greek name for the country of the Libyans, the indigenous peoples of North *Africa. In *Homer it was a pastoral land of great fecundity near Egypt (*Od.* 4. 85 f.); later, most commonly the Greek colonial area of Cyrenaica (see CYRENE; COLONIZATION, GREEK), but sometimes other parts, or the whole, of the North African coastal zone, even the whole continent of Africa. Roman informal usage followed Greek; formally it described the Egyptian administrative district west of *Alexandria as the nome of Libya and two Diocletianic provinces (see DIOCLETIAN; PROVINCIA) as Libya Inferior (or *Sicca*), approximately from Alexandria to Darnis (Derna), and Libya Superior (or *Pentapolis*), approximately from Darnis to Arae Philaenorum (mod. Ras el Aali in the Syrta).

On its peoples in the Classical period information is currently accruing from anthropological and archaeological surveys. Ancient sources tend to stress their nomadism (see NOMADS), but some always had sizeable settlements; under Greek, Carthaginian (see CARTHAGE), and Roman influence many in the coastal zones seem to have become sedentary farmers. Inter-marriage and socio-economic connections with colonists produced racial and cultural mixes here; normally, perhaps, the initiative for raids on the settled areas came from tribes farther off.

In Cyrenaica Libya was personified, introduced into the story of the nymph Cyrene and *Apollo (Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 55. 8), and given a family (variable in detail) which connected her both with Egypt and with Greece, perhaps also with *Babylonia. *Pausanias described a (lost) relief at *Delphi (probably of the 5th cent. BC) which showed her crowning Battus, the founder of Cyrene, who stood in a chariot driven by Cyrene (10. 15. 6). Securely identified representations rarely survive. The clearest is on a Roman-period relief on which she crowns Cyrene who is strangling a lion; she is characterized by corkscrew ringlets, short over the temples and shoulder-length at the sides, a cape, fastened between the breasts and so stiff as to suggest leather, an animal beside her (probably a gazelle), and vine-branches above, with bunches of grapes. Hairstyle and cape seem taken from the real styles of Libyan women, the gazelle evokes the fecundity of pre-desert animals, the vine the fertility of cultivated land. The conceptualization is Greek and embodies the tradition that Libyans helped the founders of Cyrene. Whether it had an origin in Libyan belief is debatable. There is no certain evidence for a native cult of Libya and what there is for a Greek cult is of comparatively late date; the most widespread native cults known are those of Ammon and of Underworld deities. JMR

limes originated as a surveyor's term for the path that simultaneously marked the boundaries of plots of land and gave access between them. It came to be used in a military sense, first of the roads that penetrated into enemy territory (*Tac. Ann.* 1. 50; *Frontin. Str.* 1. 3. 10), and thence, as further conquest ceased, of the land boundaries that divided Roman territory from non-Roman (*SHA Hadr.* 12). At this stage a whole paraphernalia of border control grew up—frontier roads with intermittent watch-towers and forts and fortlets to house the provincial garrisons which moved up to the frontier line. The term *limes* comes to embrace the totality of the border area and its control system (but note the strictures of B. Isaac, *JRS* 1988 125–47 on this point). In Europe, where the frontiers faced onto habitable lands,

and where they did not coincide with a river or other clear natural obstacle, the frontier line came to be marked off (usually no earlier than *Hadrian) by an artificial running barrier. In Britain this took the form of a stone wall (*wall of Hadrian) or one of turf (wall of Antoninus); in Upper Germany (Germania) and in Raetia timber palisades were originally built under Hadrian and *Antoninus Pius; these were strengthened in Upper Germany by a rampart and ditch (*Pfahlgraben*), and replaced in Raetia by a narrow (1.3-m./4¼-ft.-wide) stone wall (*Teufelsmauer*) at an uncertain date in the later 2nd or early 3rd cent. In Europe beyond Raetia (an Alpine province), the frontier ran along the river Danube (Danuvius) except where Dacia (the plateau of Transylvania) projected northwards. Here earthwork barriers were used in discontinuous sectors to the north-west and south-east where there were gaps in the encircling mountain ranges. The Upper German and Raetian frontiers were abandoned under Gallienus (253–68) and the whole of Dacia under Aurelian (270–5), leading to an intensification of military control on the rivers Rhine (Rhenus) and Danube. In the eastern and southern parts of the empire the *limites* took a different form. They lay at the limits of cultivable land capable of supporting a sedentary population and were concerned with the supervision of trade routes and the control of cross-frontier migration by nomadic peoples (see NOMADS) whose traditional transhumance routes took them into provincial territory. In the east, military bases were positioned along the major north–south communication line along the edge of the desert (the *via nova Traiana*), and concentrated on guarding watering-places and points where natural route-ways crossed the frontier line. The threat of raiding Bedouin bands increased in the later Roman period, leading to a considerable build-up of military installations on the desert fringe. The problems were similar in *Africa, where the use of intermittent linear barriers such as the *Fossatum Africae* was designed to channel and control rather than to halt nomadic movements. In Tripolitania troops were based at intervals along the *Limes Tripolitanus*, a route that led right into the major city, Lepcis Magna, running around the Gebel escarpment which ran through the richest agricultural zone of the province. Three major caravan routes which converged with this road were likewise guarded by the military, with legionaries being outposted in the Severan period to oasis forts at the desert edge. The intermediate area was peppered with fortified settlements, largely of a civilian rather than a military character. The frontiers as a whole were greatly strengthened in the Diocletianic period (284–305; see DIOCLETIAN) in response to increasing external pressure.

VAM

literacy The number of people who could read and write in the ancient world is hard to determine. Without statistical evidence, we must rely mostly on chance information and inference: for example, the institution of *ostracism implies that most Athenian citizens could be expected to write a name. Our evidence (written) indicates the literate, not the illiterate, and especially the highly educated élite. The ancient habit of reading aloud meant that written texts could often be shared the more easily by others; the presence of inscriptions does not itself imply that they were read by everyone, since their symbolic value added another dimension to their written contents. There are also many different levels of literacy, which complicate the picture, from the basic ability to figure out a short message, to functional literacy or ‘craft literacy’, to the skill required for reading a literary papyrus (reading and writing skills may also have been separate). However, certain broad generalizations are possible. The ‘mass literacy’ of modern industrial countries was never achieved in the ancient world (cf. W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (1989), who believes a maximum of 20–30 per cent literacy was achieved, and that in Hellenistic cities). Women, slaves, and the lower social levels would usually be less literate. Archaic Greece and particularly Archaic Rome have left fewer instances of writing (graffiti, inscriptions), implying sparse literacy, and Archaic Greek cities sometimes attempt to ensure an official’s power over the written word was not abused. However, there were pockets and periods where a higher rate of basic literacy among the adult citizen-body is probable: for instance, under the Athenian *democracy, when there was a relatively high level of reading-matter and incentives to read (even the sausage seller can read a little, *Ar. Eq.* 188–90); Hellenistic cities which made provision for elementary *education, especially *Rhodes; the Roman empire, which probably had widespread craft literacy in the cities (cf. POMPEII) with increasingly elaborate use of writing; Roman Egypt, where the society was permeated by the need for written documentation (the administrative category of ‘illiterates’ (*agrammatoi*) denoted illiteracy in *Greek*). Literacy levels may to some extent be related to the functions of, or needs for, writing: *Sparta used written records very little until the Roman period; hence Classical Spartans were thought illiterate. The contexts in which writing was or could be used are essential in assessing the role or importance of literacy: both Greeks and Romans gave writing a magical, and non-functional role, as well as its more familiar use for preserving literature, public and private records, and inscriptions. It was often supplemented by oral communication and performance (see ARCHIVES; ORALITY; RECORDS AND RECORD-KEEPING).

Literacy by itself was not a key to social advancement, and social success was impossible without the accoutrements of high culture. Much reading and writing was done by slaves, especially in Rome, ensuring that it was by itself of low status. However, it was not confined at any point in the Graeco-Roman world to scribes: writing is used from very early on in Greece for widely different purposes, informal graffiti and poetry, then inscriptions, suggesting it was not limited to a narrow social group, or to the public sphere. This spread may be partly linked to the comparative ease with which the alphabet can be learned, but the open nature of Archaic Greek society, and the early use of writing for memorials, should also be taken into account. RT

literary criticism in antiquity

1. The arts of formal speech played a great part in ancient life, so that it was natural that vocabularies and conceptual frameworks should be developed for the purposes of evaluation, speculation about the nature and role of poetry, and practical advice for successful composition, especially in oratory. In the resulting body of doctrine, this last element—which is the contribution of *rhetoric—is dominant, and it is this which seems the most striking difference between Graeco-Roman ‘criticism’ and most modern analogues.

2. The first evidences we have of reflection on these subjects are in the early poets. *Homer and *Hesiod speak of their art as a gift of the *Muses, who inspire the poet, know all things, and can tell false tales as well as true (*Il.* 2. 484–92; *Od.* 8. 479 ff.; Hes. *Theog.* 1–104). *Pindar too called himself the ‘prophet’—i.e. ‘spokesman’—of the Muses (fr. 137 Snell–Maehler), and was proud to think of his ‘wisdom’ as the product of natural endowment, not of teachable technique, which was for lesser mortals (*Ol.* 2. 83). The poets did not however escape criticism; they were the transmitters of a mythological tradition which had many offensive features—tales of the gods’ immortality and the viciousness of heroic figures—and the early philosophers found these an easy target. Allegory—for example the interpretation of the Battle of the Gods in Homer, *Iliad* 21, as a battle of the elements—began as a mode of defence against such attacks, and eventually (especially with the Stoics (see STOICISM) in Hellenistic times and the Neoplatonists later) became the most significant and influential critical approach in all antiquity. The idea of inspiration (of which Democritus of Abdera, it seems, made some rational justification) and the demand for a moral and social commitment are not the only achievements of ‘pre-Platonic’ poetics. More sophisticated reflection is suggested by the paradox of *Gorgias, that tragedy ‘offers a deception such that the deceiver is

more just than the non-deceiver, and the deceived wiser than the undeceived’ (Plut. *Mor.* 348c); and delicate connoisseurship is displayed by the comparison of ‘high’ and ‘low’ styles, as represented by *Aeschylus and *Euripides, in the great debate in *Aristophanes’ *Frogs*.

3. *Plato pulled the threads together but in a very radical and paradoxical way, in which there may be a good deal of irony. Inspiration, as claimed by the poets, was for him no road to knowledge, indeed a thing of no great worth; and in so far as poets failed to promote the right moral and social values, they were to be banished from the ideal state altogether. In rationalizing this attitude Plato developed for the first time a concept of ‘imitation’ (*mimēsis*) which, in various guises, was to be a central theme of later theory. He held strongly that the spectacle of degrading emotion nourished the same emotion in the hearer. Parallel to his attack on the poets was his criticism of contemporary rhetoric; here too he saw fraud, pretence, and contempt for truth. As a critic of style, he was superb, as is shown, not by any refined vocabulary, but by his marvellous parodies (*Symposium*, *Phaedrus*, *Menexenus*), rivalled only by Aristophanes himself.

4. *Aristotle’s *Poetics*, the fountain-head of most later criticism, is in part an answer to Plato; this is the context of the improved and very important analysis of *mimēsis* and of the much-debated doctrine that tragedy effects a *katharsis* of pity and fear. This very crabbed and difficult book has many different themes: a general theory of poetry as a ‘mimetic’ art, and a speculative account of its origins; a detailed analysis of tragedy, stressing the primary importance of plot (*mythos*) over character and ideas; an account of poetic diction, including a good deal of what we should call grammatical theory; and finally some discussion of *epic and its inferiority (as Aristotle held) to *tragedy as a poetic *genre. A treatment of comedy is lost, but can to some extent be reconstructed from later writings. The *Poetics* is a truly seminal work, not so much for later antiquity (when it was hardly known, though the dialogue *On Poets*, now lost, was much read) as for the Renaissance and for modern criticism.

5. Whereas Aristotle held poetry and rhetoric to be fundamentally distinct—the one was an ‘imitative’ art, the other a practical skill of persuasion—his successors tended more and more to blur the difference. Theophrastus, Aristotle’s pupil, is credited with the observation (fr. 84 Wimmer=78 Fortenbaugh) that, while philosophers are concerned solely with facts and the validity of deductions, poets and orators alike are concerned with their relation with their audience, and this is why they have to use dignified words, put them together harmoniously, and in general produce pleasure (*hēdonē*) and

astonishment (*ekplēxis*) in order to cajole or bully their hearers into conviction. For criticism, the consequence of this kind of approach is that form may be judged apart from content. It is thus no surprise that the main achievement of post-Aristotelian criticism is in the analysis of style, rather than in literary theory. The basic distinction between 'high' and 'low' writing, the 'high' being associated with strong emotion and the 'low' with everyday life and character, goes back to Aristophanes; in terms of effect on the audience, it corresponds to the distinction between *hēdonē* and *ekplēxis*, which we see in Theophrastus. It was of course refined and modified in various ways. Demetrius (author of 'On Style') for example describes four 'types' of style (*charactēres*), two of which (the 'grand' (*megaloprepēs*) and the 'forceful' (*deinos*)) belong to the higher range, and two (the 'elegant' (*glaphyros*) and the 'plain' (*ischnos*)) to the lower. Particularly influential, however, was a system of three styles, accommodating not only the two extremes but the smooth, flowing style of *Isocrates. This tripartite division was even supposed to be exemplified by Homer's heroes: *Odysseus, whose words come out 'like winter snows', Menelaus, who spoke little but to the point, and Nestor, whose speech was sweet as honey (Quint. *Inst.* 12. 10. 64). All kinds of writing could be pigeon-holed in this way: e.g. the representative historians were *Xenophon, *Thucydides, and *Herodotus. A *locus classicus* for the system is *Cicero, *Orator* 75–90. In the Greek critics and rhetors of the empire (*Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 'Longinus', Hermogenes) there are many refinements of these ideas. 'Longinus' is unique in concentrating not so much on the stylistic means of achieving *ekplēxis*, as on the kinds of subject-matter, thought, and general moral attitude which alone, in his view, could make success in 'the sublime' possible.

6. Though this rhetorical and stylistic doctrine is the main achievement of critics after Aristotle, there were other developments as well. (a) The Stoics (see STOICISM) viewed poetry primarily as an educational instrument, and so in a sense continued Plato's moralizing approach. *Plutarch's essay on *How the Young should Study Poetry* (*Mor.* 14d–37b) is a later example of this tradition: though a Platonist, he tries to overcome Plato's objections to poetry, not (as the Stoics did) by allegory, but by scholarly attention to context and historical circumstances. (b) The Epicurean Philodemus (see EPICURUS) is an important witness to Hellenistic theory: in his *On Poems*, parts of which are preserved in tantalizingly difficult papyrus texts, he discussed and refuted theories of the Stoic Ariston, the scholar Crates of Mallus, the Peripatetic Neoptolemus, and Aristotle himself. He seems also to have had a positive view of his own, namely

that form and content are inseparable, and cannot be judged separately. If this is a right interpretation, Philodemus makes a sharp contrast with the prevailing 'rhetorical tradition.' (c) The Alexandrian scholars who collected and edited classical poets and orators, and discussed the authenticity of the pieces they found, were also 'critics'. They needed historical, aesthetic, and grammatical insights. Much of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' work on orators is in their tradition; but we know it also from its remains scattered about the many extant commentaries and scholia, all the way down to the Byzantine scholar Eustathius, which contain critical judgements and insights of interest.

7. The Roman contribution is not a mere appendage to Greek criticism, though the two literary worlds are closely connected, and writers like Dionysius and 'Longinus' actually addressed their works to Roman patrons. In the Classical period of Latin literature (as in the days of the Attic Old Comedy) criticism appears in topical writing in quite unacademic contexts; in Lucilius and *Horace, and later in Persius and *Petronius Arbiter, it is an ingredient of *satire. Horace not only defended his own literary position and expounded literary history in his *Satires* (1. 4, 1. 10, 2. 1) and *Epistles* (1. 19, 2. 1, 2. 2), but wrote a humorous didactic poem (*Ars poetica*) in which he combined traditional precepts on the drama and views on the poet's place in society with witty and urbane reflections on his own literary experience. The *Ars* set a fashion followed in the Renaissance by Vida, Boileau, and Pope.

8. Cicero's achievement as a judge of oratory is unequalled—naturally, for he was himself a great orator. Political oratory died with him, and the age of the declaimers which followed produced critics of a different cast. Seneca the Elder makes many shrewd points in commenting on his favourite declaimers. The dominant theme in the early empire seems to have been a consciousness of decline. In itself this was nothing new, since Greek critics of music and art as well as of oratory had long been drawing contrasts between admired works of the past and the degenerate efforts of the present. The younger *Seneca (esp. in *Epistle* 114) and *Tacitus (*Dialogus*) reflect interestingly on the causes of 'decline'—moral and political, as well as intellectual. With Quintilian, there is some renewed optimism and a return to Cicero's ideals. The famous chapter (*Inst.* 10. 1) in which he catalogues the authors to be read by the budding orator summarizes traditional teaching on 'imitation' (his account of the Greek authors is based on Dionysius) but shows a capacity for independent judgement.

9. Greek literature, from the time of Dionysius onwards, was increasingly 'classicizing' and archaistic; the

critics almost entirely neglected Hellenistic writers and their own contemporaries. In the Latin world, 'archaism', in the form of a preference for the early poets and pre-Ciceronian orators and historians, was in general a development of the 2nd cent. AD. But the Greek model of concentration on the 'classics' was increasingly followed; and the most significant contribution of the later imperial period to literary criticism is to be found in works like Servius' commentaries on Virgil and Donatus' on *Terence.

10. Late antiquity also saw a development in the philosophical criticism of literature. Stoic allegory and Aristotelian theory gave way to Neoplatonist interpretations, which involved allegory of a new, and more metaphysical, kind, and a serious attempt to 'reconcile Homer to Plato' by new means. Proclus' commentary on the *Republic* of Plato is the main text of this movement. Its importance for the medieval understanding of literature—and especially of biblical texts—can hardly be exaggerated.

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literary theory and classical studies Western literary theory is a long-established series of attempts to make sense of literary practice and experience over three millennia. There are at least four ways in which theory and the classics are significantly interconnected. (i) Theory itself begins in classical antiquity. (ii) Ancient theory continues to be the main source for theory in general until the latter part of the 18th cent., though only an intermittent point of reference after that. (iii) Greco-Roman literature provides most of the specifiable archetypes for Western literature until, again, the latter part of the 18th cent.; the literature of antiquity is therefore the ultimate basis for theoretical generalization until then, while many of the perceived forms and categories of literature (from comic drama to realism to linear plot construction to metaphor) still have widely recognized Greek and Roman origins. (iv) Since the end of antiquity, readings of ancient literature have inevitably and repeatedly been affected by theoretical responses to literature in general, from the Middle Ages up to the present generation.

The first three of these interconnections are themselves significantly interconnected. Collectively, they define a literary/theoretical complex, from antiquity to the present, that constitutes a continuum, and not a mere sequence of works, periods, or cultural groupings. There have been significant phases of disruption to the continuum, notably (as indicated) around the end of the 18th cent., when modern theory begins, and also (but less disruptively) since the 1950s, to which period belong most of the distinctive theoretical movements commonly (but

loosely) identified as 'modern theory' or (with gross misrepresentation) simply equated with 'theory' *tout court*. Yet none of the disruptions (not even the 18th-cent. phase) challenge the reality of the continuum altogether.

The chief works of extant ancient theory assume an overwhelming authority for the centuries following. In the 'Christian millennium' of the Latin West (roughly, 4th to 14th cents.: here and elsewhere, dates are AD), there are endless versions of an accommodation between Christian orthodoxies and the literary traditions of pagan Rome. There are also endless, but rarely transferable, variations played on the theories of genre and style embodied in *Horace's *Ars poetica* and the traditions of ancient rhetoric, as represented, chiefly, by the technical lore of such treatises as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *Cicero's *De inventione*.

Renaissance perspectives remain essentially Roman-based, but are enlarged by fuller access to Quintilian and Cicero (from the 14th cent.) and *Aristotle's *Poetics* (from the 15th), to which the wit and wisdom of the *Ars poetica* is often treated as an adjunct ('but an interpretation of that of Aristotle': the French Jesuit, René Rapin, in 1675). The new classicizing theory differs from the medieval in its emphasis on the less technical and the more 'humane'. It differs from its ancient sources through a new moralism (ultimately out of deference, still, to Christian doctrine) and a new individualism, represented in the development of such concepts (and literary realities) as the 'Renaissance hero'. The Greek text of *On The Sublime*, ascribed to 'Longinus', is recovered in the 15th cent., but has little impact until the late 17th. It then begins to exercise a striking influence, up to and including the momentous aesthetic system formulated, in the second half of the 18th, by the philosopher Kant, for whom 'the sublime' and 'the beautiful' constitute a contrasting pair. In general, the latter part of the century is transitional to the new age ahead: still broadly classicizing, but increasingly open to independent lines of thought and response (Kant's among them). Meanwhile, despite a French-led move to assert the superiority of 'the moderns' over 'the ancients', classicizing theory is at its strictest in France, where classical-derived principles—from genre to poetic diction to the so-called 'dramatic unities' (expanded from Aristotle's 'unity of action')—are widely regarded as normative 'rules' or 'laws' (a concept developed from e.g. the Horatian notion of the *lex operis*, *Sat.* 2.1.2).

The classicizing theories and (indissolubly) practices of these centuries can be summed up by three notable instances associated with the age-old opposition between tragedy ('serious') and comedy ('trivial') enshrined in Aristotle (*Poetics* ii–v). First, Dante's poetic-theological masterpiece, the *Comedy* (c.1318). Why is the poem so

called? For two reasons, set out in the poet's Epistle to Cangrande della Scala (1316): because the poem has, or subsumes, 'an unstudied and low style'; and because it moves from 'adversity' to 'prosperity'. Dante's title, that is, combines the tradition embodied in (e.g.) the *Ars poetica*, and traceable back to Aristotle, whereby tragedy is 'high' and comedy 'low', with the tradition (also traceable back to Aristotle, but embodied more crudely in formulae from late antiquity) that comedy has a 'happy ending'; and these (supposedly) *necessary* conditions for comedy are now converted into a *sufficient* condition, whereby even a majestically innovative affirmation of Christian redemption, like Dante's, with its trajectory from *Hell* to *Heaven*, is assimilated to the 'classical' formula.

Second, the prose statement ('Of That Sort of Dramatic Poem Called Tragedy') attached to Milton's dramatic poem *Samson Agonistes* (1671). The drama itself, in form at least, is austere classicizing, from concentrated action and elevated idiom to chorus, messenger speech, and 'cathartic' end; and Milton justifies the experiment with reference to canonical practice—from the Greek tragedians to the Byzantine *Christus Patiens*—and canonical theory, including, explicitly, Aristotle's *katharsis* (see ARISTOTLE § 28; LITERARY CRITICISM IN ANTIQUITY § 4). And this justification is felt to be necessary on moral grounds: 'to vindicate tragedy' from the 'infamy' attached to modern drama 'through the poet's error of intermixing comic stuff with tragic sadness and gravity, or introducing trivial and vulgar persons'. The obvious, if unstated, target is Milton's supreme predecessor, Shakespeare; and the apparatus of (neo)classical theory and practice is the essential point of reference.

And third, Samuel Johnson's *Preface to Shakespeare* (1765). Here Johnson proclaims the primacy, for literature, of 'just representations of general nature' (a neo-Aristotelian position, combining art as *mimesis* with the principle of poetic 'universality') and acclaims Shakespeare as 'above all modern writers, the poet of nature', whose drama is 'the mirror of life'. But now the problem that exercised Milton: the ancient dramatists, 'according to the laws which custom had prescribed' and in reflection of 'the momentous vicissitudes of life', yet also 'the lighter occurrences', developed 'the two modes of imitation, known by the names of tragedy and comedy, compositions intended to promote different ends by contrary means'. The proposition is again largely Aristotelian, except for a greater tolerance of comedy and the neoclassical talk of 'laws' (neatly, and characteristically, merging theory and practice)—but Shakespeare is no Aristotelian. His plays 'are not in the rigorous and critical sense either tragedies or comedies, but compositions of a distinct kind; exhibiting the real state of sublunary nature,

which partakes of good and evil, joy and sorrow'. Shakespeare 'has united the powers of exciting laughter and sorrow not only in one mind'—unusual enough, thinks Johnson, on ancient precedent—'but in one composition'. But now the crux: 'that this is a practice contrary to the rules of criticism will be readily allowed'. For a strict neoclassicist (like Milton or the French) that would be the end of the matter. For Johnson, however, 'the rules' can be waived in a higher cause: 'there is always an appeal open from criticism to nature.' Talk of 'nature' is not obviously classical talk and seems to strike a new note. Yes and no: 'the end of writing is to instruct; the end of poetry is to instruct by pleasing. That the mingled drama may convey all the instruction of tragedy and comedy cannot be denied, because it includes both... and approaches nearer than either to the appearance of life.' Remarkably, Johnson is using one classical principle to trump another; the Horatian version of the rhetorical doctrine of *officia oratoris*, whereby poetry (even comic poetry) aspires to combine instruction and pleasure (*Ars poetica* 343), is equated with 'nature' and, as such, seen to transcend even generic propriety. The critic is using traditional counters in a new way—but the counters are still, largely, traditional.

Johnson is one of the last significant representatives of the old order: a transitional figure in an age of change. In the last quarter of the 18th cent. and the first quarter of the 19th (a period broadly subsumed under the heading of Romanticism), modern theory takes shape. A whole range of earlier assumptions and realities is now displaced by a set of momentous shifts in literary production and context, understanding and response, most of them still operative today.

Chief among the new developments are the following. (a) The growth of a wide reading public associated with the rise of the novel—in contrast to the earlier association (familiar since later antiquity) between literature and a readership trained in the classical languages and literatures. (b) The growth of 'criticism' for readers (as in Johnson)—in contrast to the traditional stance of the *littérateur* formulating theory in the form of advice for writers or would-be writers, which is the premise of virtually all ancient 'criticism', from Aristotle to Horace to (even) 'Longinus', and which continues to determine the tone of articulated literary response into the neoclassical age. (c) The establishment of the modern notion of 'literature' itself (in parallel to the modern notion of 'art') as a separable group of writings among other writings (the Kantian understanding of 'art' as the sphere of disinterested response is crucial here)—and the specific association of two main categories of writing as the characteristic embodiments of literature, namely *fiction* and *poetry*. This

conjunction is almost, though not formally, anticipated by Aristotle (*Poetics* i); but the traditional association (residually in the 18th cent.; overwhelmingly in earlier centuries, as in most of antiquity itself) was of poetry and 'eloquent' prose (primarily, oratorical prose). (d) An explosion of literature and ideas in Germany, where the often paradoxical outcomes include: the invention of academic specialism, therefore of 'professional' theorizing; an autonomous development of German Hellenism; but, at the same time, a preoccupation with non-classical categories, from native folk-song and 'romance' to innovative systems of philosophy. (e) As corollary, an attenuation of earlier assumptions about the primacy of classical literary archetypes (notwithstanding a new reverence for things Greek). Earlier responses to ancient literature, and ancient theory, had been characteristically deferential (as in Milton), despite the 'ancients versus moderns' debate. The new thinking assumes alternative points of reference and an alternative set of paradigms generalized from modern literary practice: witness (e.g.) Schiller's antithesis of 'naive' and 'sentimental' literature (1795–1796), which virtually opposes Greek antiquity (basically 'naive', like Homer) to self-conscious modernity ('sentimental', like Schiller himself); or Friedrich Schlegel's lapidary assessment (1797) of 'three dominant types of writing: in Greece, tragedy; in Rome, satire; in the modern world, *Roman* [= both 'romance' and 'the novel']': (f) The rise of historicism and a new preoccupation with authenticity and 'origins': 'origins show the nature of a thing' (Herder, 1786). Scholars, in particular, learn to privilege the 'original context' and the 'historical meaning'. (g) Correlatively, a new interest in, and even veneration for, the *author* of a literary work, and, in particular, the identification of the relation between author and work as the definitive axis for critical/theoretical discussion and response. In all previous ages, the significant orientations had been: the work as object (as with rhetorical analyses of tropes and figures or parts of a speech); or the work in relation to its audience (from 'instruct by pleasing' to *katharsis* to oratorical persuasion); or the work in relation to the world outside (as with Platonic-Aristotelian *mimēsis*). Consider Aristotle's definition of tragedy (*Poetics* vi), which looks to objective features ('elevated', 'complete'), effect on the audience (*katharsis*), and the world outside ('*mimēsis* of an action')—and contrast Wordsworth's definition of poetry (1800): 'poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings'. The 'feelings' are the poet's; poetry is equated with its authorial origin ('poetry is...'), at the expense of all other relations. (h) Relatedly, and despite the growing importance of the prose novel, a special esteem for lyric poetry and the 'lyric I', widely treated as a privileged voice and equated

with authorial privilege. Lyric had not enjoyed such a status since archaic Greece; subsequent theory favours serious drama (so Aristotle) or narrative epic, or else oratorical prose. (i) Correlative to the preoccupation with the authorial, a new emphasis on the distinctive vision of the individual artist, and by implication an acknowledgement of alternative versions of 'reality'—as opposed to traditional assumptions of a pre-existing, stable truth, which is ultimately, for most writers, the product of God the creator. A new vocabulary of 'creative' art appropriates that unique creation on behalf of the now venerated artist/author, who is widely seen to reshape reality. The new outlook makes 'truth' relative to the creative vision: 'what the imagination seizes as beauty must be truth—whether it existed before or not' (Keats, 1817). A distinctive critical vocabulary now comes into play (from 'imagination' to 'sincerity'), and long-established terms like 'genius' take on a new significance. (j) Correlatively, again, a rejection of any appeal to 'rules' or 'laws'—as if, under the new individualism, any such talk becomes meaningless. 'Imitation' of classical models (an imperative assumed by classicizing theory, from Horace to Milton) is now seen as problematic (as problematic as 'imitation' of life), and self-evidently 'imitative' writing (like much Roman poetry) is disdained. 'Originality' joins the list of modern virtues: 'rules and models destroy genius and art' (Hazlitt, 1839). (k) And correlatively again, a set of more subtle shifts in responses to the literary work itself. One is a reversal of the time-honoured emphasis on the general and universal ('just representations of *general nature*': Johnson), in favour of the particular ('to particularize is the alone distinction of merit': Blake, c.1802)—in line with the creative vision. Another, on the level of hermeneutics, is a privileging of 'the author's intention' as key to the reading of a work. (l) The identification of important new modes of feeling as constituents of literary works, such as 'humour' (very different from the 'ridicule' traditionally associated with comedy, from Aristotle onwards) and 'irony'—both, again, widely read as reflections of a distinctive vision: 'humour...recognises...a mad world' (J.-P. Richter, 1804).

In the 19th cent., responses to literature build on, and adjust, this complex of developments in diverse ways, but some constants remain, from the sovereignty of the artist/author to the relativity of classical paradigms. These fixed points unite theoretical positions as different as: Nietzsche's account of tragedy (chief points of reference, Greek tragedy and Wagner: 1872); Matthew Arnold's search for 'the best that is known and thought in the world' (1864), where this 'best' may be in *Homer or *Sophocles, but also in Dante or Heine, Shakespeare or

(soon) Tolstoy; the aestheticism of a Walter Pater ('Greek poetry, medieval or modern poetry, projects, above the realities of the time, a world in which the forms of things are transfigured' (1889); and even the anti-visionary realism of a Zola: 'the classic screen is... a magnifying glass... The romantic is... a prism... The realist screen is plain glass, very thin, very clear' (1864).

Twentieth-century theory is considerably more diverse. There are numerous definable 'movements'; there are also many distinguished theorists and critics, many of them strictly unclassifiable in such terms. Overall, theorists (including theoretically significant critics) might be said to fall into two large groups: *constructive* and *subversive*. Most of the more rewarding theorists/critics of the first 60 years or so of the century are constructive, in the sense that they defend and explicate the value of literature, especially value for and amidst the intellectual quicksands of the age; a cultural commitment is usually apparent. Here belong T. S. Eliot and F. R. Leavis, Heidegger, Sartre, Bakhtin, and (with reservations to the label 'constructive') the independent, and very different, Marxist theorizers, Brecht and Adorno. Among these diverse figures, a distinctive interest in antiquity may be apparent (as with Eliot's central placing of *Virgil, or Heidegger's engagement with the Presocratics), but no equivalent interest in ancient theory: Brecht's preoccupation with 'Aristotelian theatre' (a composite of the theory and practice of 'traditional' serious drama, as opposed to his own 'epic theatre') is only a partial and eccentric exception. The same goes for the two best-known, and most influential, theoretical movements of this period, Russian Formalism (1910s and 20s) and the largely American New Criticism (1930s–50s: these and other dates for movements are *floruit* dates). Both movements focused on the literary work and its 'objective' relationships, with little reference, above all, to the author or the world outside. The Formalists in particular helped to raise the understanding of literary language to new levels (Shklovsky's 'defamiliarization'; Jakobson's replacement of the ancient tropes with the two fundamental types, metaphor and metonymy); they also offered pioneering theories of genre and its historical development (Tynyanov), and of narratology (Propp). But though part of a reaction against Romanticism (precisely by this focus on the 'objective' relationships of the literary work), theorists in these two traditions seldom look back beyond the Romantic era to the theory of antiquity. This is one of many corroborative indications that Romanticism is indeed the decisive turning-point between 'ancient' and 'modern'. Another is the way that more recent, 'subversive' movements continue, likewise, to mount explicit

challenges to Romantic thinking (while sometimes showing a renewed interest in ancient theory: below).

In the second half of the 20th cent., the traditions of independent thought and (broadly) cultural commitment are maintained by such theorists as Hans-Georg Gadamer, René Girard, Giorgio Agamben, Terry Eagleton, and Paul Ricoeur—all of whom, however, in one or other aspect, reflect the 'subversive' tendencies of the age. Twentieth-century subversive theories look back in spirit (and often in fact) to one or other of three great intellectual influences of modern times: Marx, Nietzsche, Freud. All those thinkers set out to expose a hidden reality behind appearances (class struggle behind ruling ideologies; sub- or un-conscious forces or instincts behind conscious volition or intellectual systems). Twentieth-century subversive theory works on this 'what looks like *a* is really *b*' model (Plato, though seldom invoked in this connection, would have understood). The dynamic becomes increasingly obvious within the most high-profile movements of recent times, structuralism and post-structuralism (late 1950s to early 1980s)—though, in the first phase of structuralism, a more or less scientific aspiration is often apparent (as also in the related semiotic movement, represented by Eco in Italy). The earlier structuralist theorists (largely French or writing in French) show considerable influence from Formalism (Greimas, Todorov, Kristeva, Genette), but also from the synchronic linguistics of Saussure, who, half a century before, pioneered the notion of a language as quasi-autonomous system, within which meaning is determined primarily by relationships between elements of the system. By analogy, literature too is seen as a self-authenticating structure of relationships, within which readers (in practice, readers of a modern Western literature) read a text as they might decipher an encoded message to which they have the key. While objective-sounding words like 'text' become characteristic of structuralist usage, a focus on the relation between text and reader is implicit. For the first time in centuries, the notion of 'laws' resurfaces, but now as laws of reading, so that generic labels, for instance, like the word 'novel' on a dust-jacket, point the reader in a particular direction: 'this word... by convention... produces, programmes, or "originates" our reading' (Pleynet, 1968).

To the emphasis on readerly 'text', structuralist theorists add important concepts like 'paratext' (subsuming book-covers and the like: Genette) and 'intertext' (Kristeva). In many ways, though, the crucial work of structuralism, and then its transition to post-structuralism, is the development of its subversive potential. Here, the representative figure is Roland Barthes, who early on perceived the (negative) importance of the Saussurian

principle for traditional notions of external ('mimetic') meaning. For Barthes, in a famous comparison, literature is like *fashion*: both are 'homoeostatic systems... whose function is not to communicate an objective, external meaning that exists prior to the system... If you like, they signify "nothing"; their essence is in the process of signification, not in what they signify' (1964). The insouciant lack of interest here in what literature may still 'signify' (however 'inessentially') itself signifies a widely criticized 'playfulness'. For all that, Barthes's subversive trajectory is important. It is taken further by thinkers operating on a deeper level, and above all by the philosopher Jacques Derrida. Along with other radical innovators, more or less closely associated with the (post-)structuralist movement of ideas—Lacan (in post-Freudian psycho-analytics), Foucault (theorist of discourse and/as power), and the more politically positioned thinkers, Lyotard and Macherey—Derrida is a central figure in the formation of the subversive outlook that has come to be known as *postmodernism*, as part of a more general 'postmodern condition' (Lyotard) in which the contemporary West is taken to be implicated.

What is it that postmodernism subverts, or attempts to subvert? Above all, claims to authority and sites of authority, from 'the author' to anything suggestive of a metaphysical resource (Derrida, on neo-Nietzschean grounds), any master-principle or unchallengeable point of reference, any 'metanarrative' (postmodernity can only register 'incredulity towards metanarratives': Lyotard, 1979). The very notion of 'literature' is at risk—already challenged by Jakobson's Formalist refocusing onto 'literariness', and now challenged more sharply by Macherey's 'materialist' proposition that 'a text is literary because it is recognised as such at a certain moment, under certain conditions' (1982). In the wake of Derrida's post-Saussurian argument that signification is perpetually 'deferred' between the signifiers within a language system, all meaning is taken to be unstable and indeterminate ('there is no literature without a suspended relation to meaning and reference', 1967). Hierarchies and canons are now problematic, therefore value itself too; the logical problems this entails, not only for any ethical or political commitment, but for the propriety of recommending (say) Derrida ahead of Aristotle, are unmistakable, but arguably not the point, which is to insist that there is no resting-place and no closure (hallmark of the neo-Derridean critical practice of 'deconstruction' in the USA).

Compare and contrast, then, Leavis's notion of the 'third realm' (1962) in which response to literature takes place: the realm of dialogue and debate, distinct from either the subjective individual or objective, scientifically observable reality (there are analogies here with Gadamer's hermen-

eutics); the *recreative* space where judgements about literary meanings and values are essayed and challenged and adjusted in an on-going sequence—on-going, because such judgements are always provisional—but all this, on the implicit premise that the participants in the dialogue aspire to be informed and disinterested readers committed to a 'common pursuit' (1952). The characteristic postmodern (and/or Marxian) objection is that this premise privileges a particular kind of stance appropriate to a particular kind of privileged socio-cultural situation. The objection has force, as when articulated from the (neo-Foucauldian) perspectives of would-be-empowered interest groups (notably feminist and post-colonial perspectives: the post-colonial anti-'Orientalist' theorizing of the Palestinian American, Edward Said, is representative). What the objection ignores is that the premise implies, precisely, an ideal of open-minded aspiration, to be constructed *not* assumed; more drastically, it ignores the perception that important literature itself challenges and changes pre-existing assumptions, such that readers can not only learn *about* literature, but learn *from* literature: that case has in fact been argued, from within Marxian theory, by Althusser and more pointedly by Eagleton.

The Marxian/Nietzschean/Freudian influences on recent theorists all carry with them a belief in the critical importance of origins. Unexpectedly, this serves to link most such theory to the developments associated with Romanticism. In many instances, the rationale of 20th-cent. theorizing—constructive, as well as subversive—is in large part to oppose Romantic preoccupations and assumptions. Formalism and New Criticism both sought a return to the object-centred analysis rejected by Romanticism in favour of its preoccupation with the author. Author-centred readings were directly challenged by Eliot (with a theory of 'impersonality', 1920), by New Critics (with a critique of 'the intentional fallacy': Wimsatt, 1954), and most recently, within (post)structuralism, by Barthes (*The Death of the Author*, 1966) and Foucault (*What is an Author?*, 1969). Yet in other respects, later 20th-cent. theorizing has taken Romantic arguments further: the continuing fixation with origins is not an isolated phenomenon. In particular, emphasis on the variability of readings and the indeterminacy of meanings, along with resistance to any sense of an authoritative centre, has pushed theory further and further away from the (neo)classical stabilities of pre-existing reference, as if by way of vindicating the Romantic imperative of individual 'vision'. Even without reference to postmodernism, there is an unmistakable trajectory from Johnson's robust neoclassicizing ('just representations of general nature') and then Keats's visionary individualism ('what the imagination seizes as beauty must be truth') to

Bakhtin's claim that carnival humour celebrates 'a special condition of the entire world' (*Rabelais and His World*, 1965) or this, from the American modernist poet Wallace Stevens: 'reality is a cliché from which we escape by metaphor' (*Opus Posthumous*, 1959). As with Barthes's evasiveness on 'signification', such thoughts leave it open whether 'the world' and 'reality' are, still, what they are mundanely taken to be.

In a long perspective, then, it is clear that recent theory is—still—fixated on the Romantic turn, and clear why it is Romanticism (and not the theory of the last 50 years) that marks the watershed in the continuum, between ancient and modern. This, though, is still not the whole story. For the first time since the 18th cent., there has been a revival of interest in ancient categories, among both 'constructive' theorists (witness Ricoeur's engagement with Aristotle and Girard's with a less specific *mimēsis*) and (post)structuralist thinkers (among whom Genette has engaged with ancient rhetoric, Lyotard with the sublime, Derrida with Plato). Yet there remains one irreducible divide between much recent theory and the classics of Greece and Rome. For the Western world, the classics represent a first and, for long, definitive answer to the need for 'the best that is known and thought': a preselected group of influential texts, containing more than their fair share of acknowledged masterpieces. And the academic discipline that takes its name from these texts is inextricably implicated in that value-centred premise. It follows that, in a climate of resistance to canons and hierarchies, of postcolonialist (etc.) shifts of emphasis from centre to periphery, of postmodern suspicion of authorities and values, principled attachment to the classics (*any* 'classics') can only seem anomalous.

The anti-classicism of much recent theory is summed up by two movements committed—in principle—to the elucidation of the literary past. New Historicism, a broadly neo-Foucauldian American movement initiated by the Renaissance scholar Stephen Greenblatt, promotes the study of literature strictly within historically specific contexts, whereby texts are seen to 'mediate' between literary institutions and social forces, hegemonic or the opposite. The practical outcome is a rejection of trans-contextual response and literary history, and an emphasis on documentary, alongside literary 'evidence': Renaissance graffiti, alongside the plays of Shakespeare. Reception theory, founded by the German Romance scholar Hans Robert Jauss, sought originally to recuperate literary history and indeed literary value in terms of readers' receptions of texts. Successive generations of readers are seen to read a text against a 'horizon of expectation' (1977); and where lesser works merely satisfy ex-

pectations, a significant work breaks through the existing horizon and a truly classic work contributes to the establishment of a new one. In practice, this and other versions of 'reader response criticism' tend towards a postmodern egalitarianism, with significance and classic status out of focus or out of view altogether. And, no less significantly, neither reception theory nor New Historicism has done anything to challenge the increasing modern tendency to centre theoretical generalization on modern literary paradigms. Since the end of the 19th cent., in fact, there has been no instance of classical-centred theory which is both theoretically significant and widely perceived as such. The last straightforward instance was Nietzsche's theory of tragedy (*The Birth of Tragedy*, 1872).

Classical scholarship and literary theory

Until the 20th cent., classical scholars tended to respond to classical literature in terms of the dominant theoretical fashions of their age: Italian humanists convert the leading figures of Greek tragedy into the Renaissance hero; Bentley, at the end of the 17th cent., emends Horace into neoclassical taste; Wolf's *Prolegomena* (1795) assumes that the first thing to establish about the Homeric epics is their origins and claims to authenticity; the late-Victorian commentaries on *Lucretius by Munro and Sophocles by Jebb broadly uphold the 'humane' standards more completely represented in the work of Matthew Arnold. Nineteenth-century scholarship, however, remains deeply affected by Romantic emphases—not only focusing on authors and their presumed intentions, but in a historicist spirit also reinstating Greco-Roman categories as guides to the interpretation of ancient texts. This composite stance remains dominant (usually without comment) in much scholarship to the present day. Meanwhile, amidst the plethora of competing theories from the last 100 years, a sizeable number of individual scholars have, in whole or part, espoused one or other theoretical position.

The theoretical positions that have most commended themselves to classical scholars since (say) 1950 thus fall into several distinct groups. (1) Ancient theory, usually, still, on the historicist supposition that the theory of a given age is best suited to make sense of the literature of that age—notwithstanding the fact that historicism is itself post-antique (the later ancients, for instance, use the same rhetorical categories to discuss Homer and prose writings from a millennium later), and notwithstanding the evident deficiencies of ancient theory (especially in poetics). (2) Romantic or neo-Romantic positions, including historicizing itself, intentionalist hermeneutics and, in general, author-centred criticism. Some Romantic positions, however, have become unfashionable,

e.g. concern for authorial ‘sincerity’ (contrast recent and earlier discussions of *Catullus or *Juvenal) and especially the low esteem for ‘imitative’ writing (contrast the current enthusiasm for Hellenistic Greek and Silver Latin poetry with the attitude a century ago). (Combinations of (1) and (2) are sometimes treated by classical scholars as self-evident or ‘neutral’ positions beyond theoretical debate or critique; there are no such positions, and the idea of theoretical neutrality is illusory.) (3) A diversity of objective or reader-centred theories (favoured partly because of the perceived continuity with ancient rhetoric), from New Criticism (especially in American scholarship) to structuralism (though the most obviously ‘structuralist’ classical scholarship—French work on Greek myth and mythic literature—reflects, not so much literary theory, as the structural anthropology of Lévi-Strauss); from reception theory to some of the more technical offshoots of Formalism, notably narratology.

It is easy to overstate the penetration of current theory into classical studies. Today’s literary scholarship often has a postmodern tinge—perhaps a neo-Foucauldian interest in power structures, or a neo-Saussurian self-distancing from ‘reference’ (cf. again the scholarship on much Roman poetry) or, in general, a relativizing of value—without any significant engagement with theory. In the domain of receptions, conversely, much of the practical discussion is essentially historical scholarship on post-classical relationships—but with no specific theorizing, again. Of those scholars with an explicit interest in theory, furthermore, few are critically interested in the theory (in the sense that all classical scholars assume they should be critically interested in any classical texts they study). Even the theoretically minded tend to ‘apply’ theory, rather than testing or contesting it—witness, above all, the fact that the challenge with which postmodernism confronts a subject based on value (but also the challenge with which the classical tradition, in principle, confronts postmodernism) has hardly been faced. Like literature itself, theoretical propositions are at their most valuable when critically confronted. Faced with (say) Barthes’s generalized proposition that the essence of literature is not in *what* it signifies, a critical-minded response might run: if and insofar as this is true, is it equally true of all literature? as true of any ancient as of any modern literature? as true of *Thucydides as of Virgil? as true of Virgil’s *Aeneid* as of Virgil’s *Eclogues*? as true of *Eclogue IV* as of *Eclogue II*? And from any such spectrum—or hierarchy—*what follows*? Classics can only profit from an intelligent interest in theory; but an intelligent interest—ideally, a critical interest in the whole continuum—will be more than merely deferential.

MSI

Livia (Livia Drusilla), b. 58 BC, in 43 or 42 married Tiberius Claudius Nero, whom she accompanied on his flight after the Perusine War. She bore him *Tiberius, the future emperor, and Drusus (the later Drusus Iulius Caesar). In 39, in order to marry Octavian (the later *Augustus), she was divorced though pregnant with her second son. Although she had no further children, she retained Augustus’ respect and confidence throughout his life. As consort of the *princeps*, she became an effective model of old-fashioned propriety, her beauty, dignity, intelligence, and tact fitting her for her high position. She played a role in the Augustan system which was unusually formal and conspicuous for a woman, and on Augustus’ death became a principal figure in his cult and (by his will) a member of his family, as Julia Augusta. She was believed to have interceded successfully on behalf of conspirators, but some took her influence on Augustus to be malign, and saw her as a ruthless intriguer (her grandson *Gaius called her ‘Ulixes stolatus’, ‘Odysseus in a matron’s gown’), while the tradition grew up that she had manipulated the affairs of Augustus’ household on behalf of her sons, especially Tiberius, to the extent of involvement in the deaths of Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar, Agrippa Postumus, and *Germanicus, and even of Augustus himself. But after AD 14 her continuing influence caused discord between her and Tiberius, who was even supposed to have retired from Rome in 26 chiefly to avoid her. She died in 29, but Tiberius’ hostility ensured that her will was not executed until Gaius’ reign, and that she was not deified until that of *Claudius.

NP

Livy (see facing page)

Londinium (mod. London) (see ◀ Map 5, Bb ▶) The Roman settlement had no iron age predecessor and was not established until c. AD 47/8, earlier routes crossing the Thames up river. The settlement stood on Cornhill and Ludgate Hill north of the river, with a suburb across the bridge in Southwark. The original settlement was laid out around the northern bridgehead, beside modern London Bridge; it grew to c. 25 ha. (62 acres) by the time of its destruction in the Boudiccan revolt of 60/1, when *Tacitus states that it was an important trading centre (*Ann.* 14. 33). There is no evidence for any early military presence and the settlement’s early status is uncertain. It was most likely a community of traders from other provinces.

Following AD 61 there was a major public building programme including the construction of two successive fora (Flavian and early 2nd cent.), the latter of enormous size, covering c. 3.6 ha. (9 acres). There is strong evidence for vibrant economic activity. Substantial timber quays,

[continued on p. 469]

LIVY

Livy (Titus Livius), the Roman historian, lived 59 BC–AD 17 (although Syme has argued for 64 BC–AD 12). He was born and died at Patavium (mod. Padua), the most prosperous city of northern Italy, famed for its stern morality. Gaius Asinius Pollio criticized Livy's *Patavinitas* (Paduanism), but the import of this remark is unclear. An epitaph from Padua recording a Titus Livius with two sons and a wife Cassia Prima may be his (*ILS* 2919). In a letter he urged his son to imitate *Demosthenes and *Cicero, and this or another son wrote a geographical work. A daughter married Lucius Magius, a rhetorician. We do not know when Livy came to Rome or how much time he spent there; but he was on good personal terms with *Augustus (see below) and encouraged the young *Claudius, future emperor, to write history. Apart from, perhaps before beginning, his major work he also wrote philosophical dialogues.

Livy entitled his work *Ab urbe condita libri* ('Books from the Foundation of the City'): it covered Roman history from the origins of Rome to 9 BC in 142 books. Of these only 1–10 and 21–45 survive (and 41 and 43–5 have lacunae caused by the loss of leaves in the 5th-cent. manuscript which alone preserves 41–5). We also have two fragments of manuscripts of late antiquity: one, some 80 lines of print, has been known since the 18th cent.; the other, much damaged and containing parts of a few sentences of book 11, was discovered in 1986. In addition there are passages cited or referred to by later writers, and two kinds of summary of the history. First, there is the so-called Oxyrhynchus Epitome, fragments of a papyrus, written in the first half of the 3rd cent., containing parts of summaries of books 37–40 and 48–55. Second, there are the *Periochae* (summaries) of all books except 136 and 137. The *Periochae* were perhaps composed in the 4th cent. and are preserved in a normal manuscript tradition (the summary of the first book survives in two different versions). It is uncertain whether the authors were working directly from the text of Livy or from an earlier summary (or summaries). Conflicts between the summaries and the text of Livy himself can be attributed to errors by the epitomator or to the use of sources other than Livy. Comparison of the summaries with the extant books indicates that we cannot always assume that the summaries of the lost books provide a reliable indication of their contents. The summaries of the final books are very brief, reporting only some foreign wars and events concerning Augustus' family. Livy was also the major source for, among others, Florus, Eutropius, and Obsequens (the so-called 'Livian tradition'). The whole work seems to have survived into the 6th cent.

From late antiquity, Livy's history was referred to by 'decades.' This is because ten books were the most that could be fitted into a parchment codex (thus the story of the transmission of the surviving parts varies from decade to decade). But it is disputed whether Livy himself conceived his work as consisting of significant units of five (pentads), ten, or even fifteen books. Book 5 ends with the recovery of Rome after the Gallic sack and book 6 begins with a 'second preface.' The First Punic War began in book 16, while the Second War occupies the whole of the third decade, with the war against Philip V of *Macedonia—the start of Rome's domination of the Hellenistic world—beginning in book 31; the war against *Antiochus III begins in book 36, and books 41–5 contain the whole of the reign of the last Macedonian king, Perseus. But there is no obvious break before books 11 and 26, and it is difficult to discern any pattern in the lost books. Livy was probably attracted by the possibility of beginning and/or concluding a pentad or decade with a significant historical event, but was not prepared to achieve that end by damaging the economy of his work—making books excessively long or short, skimming or padding his material.

Internal indications show that books 1–5 were completed between 27 and 25 BC. It may be, however, that some of the passages which date from that time were additions to an early draft. A note in the best manuscripts of the *Periochae* states that book 121 was said to have been published after the death of Augustus; if that is true (and it may come from Livy's preface to that book) it is likely that this applies to the following books.

Apart from a few references to topography and monuments, indicating autopsy, Livy relied on literary sources; he did not regard it as his duty to consult documents. In books 31–45 it is clear that for events in the east Livy followed *Polybius closely, adapting his narrative for his Roman audience and making additions—sometimes tacitly—and noting variants from the 1st-cent. writers Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias. The common view is that his procedure elsewhere was similar; he followed one main source—Antias, Gaius Licinius Macer, and (for books 6–10) Quadrigarius in the first decade, Lucius Coelius Antipater, Antias, or Quadrigarius in books 31–45—for longer or shorter sections, supplementing it from other sources. It is also thought that, apart from Antipater in the third

decade, he did not use 2nd-cent. Roman writers directly: references to Quintus Fabius Pictor and Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi were derived from the 1st-cent. writers. Neither conclusion is certain: no Roman writer was so obviously superior on western events as was Polybius on eastern ones, and it could be that Livy sometimes produces an amalgam of the various works he had read (which in many cases had virtually the same story). A passage of the fourth decade (32. 6. 8) is hard to reconcile with the view that Livy read only Polybius, Antias, and Quadrigarius for events in Greece. There is a strong case for holding that he used *Cato the Elder directly for the latter's campaign in Spain in 195, and he could well have read other 2nd-cent. writers. Nor can it be excluded that he consulted Polybius directly throughout the third decade (most scholars agree that he did so for parts of books 24–30). If Livy did read 2nd-cent. historians, he did not necessarily conclude that discrepancies between them and later sources were to be resolved in favour of the former, though he was aware that Antias, and to a lesser extent Quadrigarius, were fond of inflating enemy casualty figures.

Livy has been criticized for his failure to inspect the linen corselet which, according to Augustus, proved that Aulus Cornelius Cossus was not a military tribune when he dedicated the *spolia opima* after killing the king of Veii in single combat (4. 20). But Livy was writing tongue in cheek; it would have been out of the question to refute Augustus, who had political reasons for wanting Cossus not to have been a military tribune. Livy is also criticized for not inspecting the *libri lintei* ('linen books' cited as containing lists of magistrates) when his sources gave differing reports of their evidence (4. 23); it is quite possible that the books were no longer accessible. Nor are Livy's errors—anachronisms, geographical mistakes, misunderstandings of Polybius, and chronological confusions (sometimes caused by fitting Polybius' Olympiad years into a system based on Roman consular years)—all that numerous or striking in relation to the size of his work or in comparison with other writers.

It has often been said that it was Livy who fulfilled Cicero's desire that history should be written by an orator. Cicero wanted a style that 'flowed with a certain even gentleness', and Quintilian was to write of Livy's *lactea ubertas* ('milky richness'). Livy, reacting against the contorted Thucydidean style of *Sallust (see THUCYDIDES), first introduced fully developed periodic structure into Latin historiography. He had the ability to use language to embellish his material (comparison of Livy with Polybius in individual passages often shows the extent of Livy's originality) to convey an atmosphere and portray emotions. He gives special attention to major episodes, which are particularly numerous in the first decade—e.g. the rape of Lucretia, the attempted rape of Verginia, the stories of *Coriolanus, Spurius Maelius, and Marcus Manlius Capitolinus. The mixture of direct and indirect speech is one of the features of his technique. Elsewhere the speed of action in a battle—his battle scenes are often stereotyped—can be conveyed by short vivid sentences, while the dry style normally adopted for lists of prodigies, elections, and assignments of provinces and armies is perhaps a deliberate imitation of early writers, criticized by Cicero for just this, or of the *annales maximi* (the chronicle kept by the *pontifex maximus*, the head of the Roman college of priests).

Part of Livy's style is achieved by the use of poetical or archaic words avoided by Cicero and *Caesar. In this respect he is following in a tradition of historiography to which Sallust also belonged. These usages are most common in books 1–10, least so in 31–45. This phenomenon, however, is not to be explained on the hypothesis that Livy began under the influence of Sallust, but later moved back to a more Ciceronian vocabulary. Rather, Livy makes particular use of vocabulary of this sort in those episodes which specially attracted him, and these became progressively less common as his work proceeded—the diplomatic and military details of the early 2nd cent. did not compare in excitement with the great (and largely fictional) stories of the first decade. But some such episodes do occur in the later books, and it is precisely there that we find the greatest concentration of non-Ciceronian usages, as for example in the story of the *Bacchanalia in book 39 or the account of the death of Cicero preserved by Seneca the Elder.

Livy was a patriotic writer, though in narrative he never refers to Roman troops as *nostri* or *exercitus noster* ('our men', 'our army'), and often, writing from their opponents' point of view, talks of the Romans as *hostes* ('enemy'). His aim was to chronicle the rise of Rome to mastery first of Italy, then of the rest of the Mediterranean world, and to highlight the virtues which produced this result and enabled Rome to defeat *Hannibal. Livy intended his work to be morally improving (pref. 10), but though there are many passages where he writes with this aim in mind, a moral purpose is not all-pervasive. He believed that a serious moral decline had taken place by his own time, and appears to have lacked confidence that Augustus could reverse it.

Livy doubtless shared Augustus' ideals, but he was by no means a spokesman for the regime. Tacitus (*Ann.* 4. 34) makes the historian Aulus Cremutius Cordus, defending himself on a *maiestas* (treason) charge, claim that Livy felt free to praise *Brutus and Cassius; Cordus also claims that Livy was so lavish in his praise of *Pompey that Augustus called him a Pompeian, and adds that this did not harm their friendship. There are signs that Livy regarded the rule of Augustus as necessary, but only as a short-term measure.

stretching up to 300 m. (330 yds.) along the river, were constructed from the Flavian period. Epigraphic evidence shows the procurator was based here after 61 (*RIB* 12 and 2443. 2). Other evidence suggests that it became the provincial capital by the Flavian period. The governor's guard and a staff seconded from other units were based here, probably in the Cripplegate fort, built c.90. Adjacent to this was a Flavian timber amphitheatre, rebuilt in stone c.120. The settlement suffered an economic decline during the later 2nd cent., and although there is good evidence for later Roman occupation there was no resurgence of the productive economy. The later Roman city was instead dominated by town houses.

In the late 2nd cent. London was surrounded by a landward wall enclosing 133.5 ha. (330 acres), making it the largest town in Britain. The wall was extended along the riverside in the middle of the 3rd cent., whilst external towers were added in the mid-4th. Excavations show the city to have been more cosmopolitan than the others of the province. A mid-3rd-cent. Mithraeum has been excavated and high-quality sculpture has also been found, including material from a monumental arch reused in the riverside wall.

There is little direct evidence for London's status; it is conjectured to have been successively a *municipium* while an inscription may suggest that it was promoted to *colonia* in the 2nd cent. (*RIB* 3006). It became the capital of Upper *Britain in the early 3rd cent. and Maxima Caesariensis under *Diocletian (284–305). The visit of Constantius I in 306 may have occasioned the grant of its later name, Augusta. MJM

Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus) (AD 39–65), was born at Corduba (mod. Córdoba), 3 November AD 39. His father, Marcus Annaeus Mela, was a Roman knight and brother of the younger *Seneca. Mela came to Rome when his son was about eight months old. There Lucan received the typical élite education, ending with the school of rhetoric, where he was a great success (see EDUCATION, ROMAN); he probably also studied Stoic philosophy under Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, a connection of Seneca. He continued his studies at Athens, but was recalled by *Nero, who admitted him to his inner circle and honoured him with the offices of quaestor and augur. In AD 60, at the first celebration of the games called Neronia, he won a prize for a poem in praise of Nero. In AD 62 or 63 he published three books of his epic on the Civil War. Growing hostility between him and Nero, for which various reasons are given, finally led the emperor to ban him from public recitation of his poetry and from speaking in the lawcourts. Early in AD 65 Lucan joined the conspiracy of Gaius Calpurnius Piso, and on its

discovery was forced to open his veins in April 65; as he died he recited some of his own lines on the similar death of a soldier.

Works

Lucan was a prolific writer. Of the many titles fragments exist of the *Catachthonia* ('Journey to the Underworld'), *Iliaca*, *Orpheus*, and epigrams. The surviving epic *De bello civili* (the alternative title *Pharsalia* is probably based on a misunderstanding of 9. 985) contains ten books covering events in the years 49–48 BC beginning with *Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon; the poem breaks off, almost certainly unfinished, with Caesar in *Alexandria. The historical sources include *Livy's (lost) books on the period and Caesar's own *On the Civil War*, but Lucan freely manipulates historical truth where it suits his purpose, e.g. in introducing Cicero in *Pompey's camp on the eve of the battle of Pharsalus in book 7. The epic has no single hero; the three main characters are Caesar, an amoral embodiment of Achillean (see ACHILLES) and elemental energy; Pompey, figure of the moribund republic and shadow of his own former greatness; and *Cato the Younger, an impossibly virtuous specimen of the Stoic saint (see STOICISM).

The Civil War is narrated as a tale of unspeakable horror and criminality leading to the destruction of the Roman republic and the loss of liberty; this message sits uneasily with the fulsome panegyric of Nero in the proem, unless that is to be read satirically or as the product of an early stage of composition before Lucan fell out with the emperor. From the moment when Caesar is confronted at the Rubicon by a vision of the distraught goddess Roma, in a scene that reworks Aeneas' vision of the ghost of Hector on the night of the sack of Troy, Lucan engages in continuous and detailed allusion to *Virgil's *Aeneid*, the epic of the birth and growth of Rome, in order to construct the *De bello civili* as an 'anti-*Aeneid*', a lament for the death of the Roman body politic as Roman military might is turned in against itself. Lucan's rhetorical virtuosity is exploited to the full to involve the audience (defined in the proem as Roman citizens, i.e. those most nearly concerned by the subject of civil war) in his grim tale. In an extension of tendencies present already in Virgil, an extreme of pathos is achieved through the use of lengthy speeches, apostrophe of characters in the narrative, and indignant epigrammatic utterances (*sententiae*); in contravention of the objectivity associated with Homeric *epic, Lucan as narrator repeatedly intrudes his own reactions, as in the shocked meditation on the death of Pompey in book 8. Related to the goal of *pathos* are the features of hyperbole and paradox. Hyperbole is expressive both of the vast forces involved

in the conflict, presented as a 'world war', and of the greatness of the crimes perpetrated. Lucan's use of paradox is rooted in the conceptual and thematic anti-structures of civil war, in which legality is conferred on crime, and the greatest exemplars of Roman military virtue, such as the centurion Scaeva in book 6, are at the same time the greatest criminals; but in this topsy-turvy world paradox also extends to the physical, as in the sea-battle at the end of book 3 which turns into a 'land-battle' because the ships are so tightly packed. Realism is not a goal; Lucan's notorious abolition of the traditional epic divine machinery is not determined by the desire for a historiographical plausibility; rather, Lucan replaces the intelligibility of the anthropomorphic gods of Homer and Virgil with a darker sense of the supernatural, in a world governed by a negative version of Stoic Providence or Fate. *Dreams, portents, and prophecies abound, as in the list of omens at Rome at the end of book 1, or in Appius Claudius Pulcher's consultation of the long-silent Delphic oracle in book 5; the Gothick atmosphere reaches a climax with the consultation in book 6 by Sextus Pompeius of the witch Erichtho and her necromantic resurrection of a corpse. Death fascinates Lucan, in both its destructive and its heroic aspects; a recurrent image is *suicide, viewed both as the symbol of Rome's self-destruction and as the Stoic's praiseworthy exit from an intolerable life (the paradoxes are explored in the *Vulteius* episode in book 4). The Roman spectacle of ritualized killing in the amphitheatre is reflected in the frequent gladiatorial imagery (see *GLADIATORS*) of the epic. In all of these features Lucan shows a close affinity with the writings, above all the tragedies, of his uncle the younger Seneca.

Lucan displays his learning in mythological episodes, such as the story of Hercules and Antaeus in book 4, in the geography and ethnography of the catalogues of books 1 and 3 and the description of Thessaly in book 6, and in the 'scientific' passages on the snakes of Libya in book 9 and on the sources of the Nile in book 10; but these 'digressions' usually have a further thematic and symbolic purpose. It is true that Lucan's style lacks the richness and colour of Virgil's, but his limited and repetitive range of vocabulary, often prosaic in tone, is deliberately geared to the bleak, remorseless, and unromantic nature of the subject-matter; a similar response may be made to the criticism of the monotony of Lucan's metre. Stylistic and metrical narrowness as a purposeful inversion of Virgilian norms finds an analogy in the device of 'negative enumeration', the listing of things that do not happen, but which might in normal circumstances be expected to happen, as in the description of the funereal marriage of Cato and Marcia in book 2.

Lucan's epic was avidly read and imitated for centuries after his death; his admirers include *Statius (whose mythological epic on civil war, the *Thebaid*, is permeated with echoes of Lucan), Dante, Goethe, and Shelley. After a period of critical condemnation and neglect, the sombre baroque brilliance of the work is once more coming to be appreciated. WBA/PRH

Lucian (Gk. Loukianos), of Samosata in SE *Asia Minor (b. c. AD 120), accomplished and fluent composer of essays and dialogues, the majority satirical and witty, in relaxed and undemanding, moderately Atticizing Greek prose: his choice of Ionic for the quasi-Herodotean 'On the Syrian Goddess', and of iambic trimeters for the parodic tragedy 'Gout', are exceptions. Almost 80 works survive, thanks to a Byzantine readership that appreciated his style despite his much-lambasted attack on Christianity in 'Peregrinus' (cf. Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 128). Much that Lucian presents as autobiographical has the ring of *topoi* (see *TOPOS*), but he probably came from Commagene's capital Samosata, possibly learned Aramaic before Greek, and was early attracted by a sophistic career ('Twice Accused'), though hardly (as 'Dream') choosing between that of a sophist and a sculptor. References to a forensic career ('Twice Accused' 32)—in Antioch, and a failure, writes the *Suda*—may attest not real pleading but simply court-focused declamations.

A sophistic career (see *SECOND SOPHISTIC*) may indeed have taken him to Ionia (so 'Twice Accused' 27), and even to Italy, Gaul, and high financial rewards (cf. 'Apology' 15). But it is obscure what sort of 'sophist' he then was: he may have been peddling conventional *meletai* ('exercises') such as 'Tyrannicide' or the ecphrastic 'On the Hall', or may already be presenting the sort of humorous oral performances which presumably lie behind our transmitted written texts. His earliest dateable works are 'On Pantomime', a sympathetic essay on one of imperial culture's top art-forms, 'Pictures', ecphrastic flattery of Lucius Verus' mistress Pantheia, then shortly thereafter 'In Defence of "Pictures"'—all probably composed in Antioch in AD 163 or 164. AD 165 or 166 produced 'How to Write History' (*Pōs dei historian syngraphein*), purportedly catalysed by a rash of histories of the Parthian War that had brought Verus to Antioch: it takes a Thucydidean/Polybian stance on the historian's duty to find and tell the truth, citing often humorous breaches by named historians whose reality has (probably wrongly) been doubted.

That at 40 Lucian had a '*conversion' to philosophy (so 'Twice Accused' 32–33; cf. 'Hermotimus') may simply be a dramatization of his decision to compose a series of works evocative of Menippus in which either Menippus

or Lucian (under the name Lycinus) are anchor-men for Cynic criticism of human admiration for power, wealth, and social eminence, and in which some Menippean features, such as alternation of prose and verse, are found. So too, as 'Twice Accused' 32 advertises, are many features of Attic Old Comedy (see COMEDY (GREEK), OLD). Some of these works should also belong in or soon after AD 165, as should the vitriolic satirical biography of the cynic Peregrinus, presumably soon after his self-combustion at the 165 Olympic Games. We find a similar authorial persona in the biography of the oracle-monger guru (and in Lucian's view charlatan) Alexander of Abonouteichos, with whom Lucian himself tangled in the mid-160s, though the written version of 'Alexander' we have post-dates Marcus *Aurelius' death in 180.

Sophists prominent in Athens of the 170s (perhaps Hadrian of Tyre?) have been seen behind the hyper-Atticists mocked in 'Lexiphanes' and 'The Mistaken Critic', and 'A Slip of the Tongue in greeting' also involves Lucian in Atticistic wrangling. That he was in Greece, especially Athens, is likely for some of these years, and perhaps supported by side-swipes at Herodes Atticus (e.g. 'Demonax' 34, 33) and by his satire in 'Eunuch' on candidates manoeuvring for the peripatetic chair at Athens (established AD 176); but it is not proved by his (largely mimetic) choice of Athens as the setting of many works, e.g. 'Demonax', a laudatory biography of a philosopher who may be entirely fictional, as may the eponym of the very Platonic dialogue 'Nigrinus', contrasting Roman luxury with Athenian simplicity. For such deceptions we can compare his forgery of a work of Heraclitus to tease a philosopher, known from a work of Galen surviving only in Arabic. Some of his *prolaliai* ('preambles') locate him further north, in Macedonia ('Scythian' 9, 'Herodotus' 7) or even Thrace (Philippopolis: 'Runaway Slaves' 25) and attest activity into old age ('Hercules', 'Bacchus'), when he also obtained a post (perhaps honorary) in the Roman bureaucracy in Egypt.

But for many works whose inspiration is primarily literary date and place of first performance or publication can only be guessed, e.g. the 'Dialogues of the Sea-Gods' (*Enalioi dialogoi*), reworking in witty prose scenes and characters familiar from canonical poets from *Homer to *Theocritus, or the *hetairikoi dialogoi*, restaging the world of classical courtesans familiar to educated readers from 4th-cent. BC oratory, *New Comedy and Machon; or 'Lovers of Lies' (*Philopseudeis*), which successfully frames satire of magic and superstition in racy and self-conscious narrative. His cynic streak is least obtrusive, and his interest in experimenting with meta-fiction strongest, in the narratives of the 'Toxaris' (competing tales of friendship told by the Greek Mnesippus and the

Scythian Toxaris) and in his perhaps most influential work, 'True Histories' (*Alēthē diēgēmata*), a masterly Munchausenesque parody of tall travel stories old (Homer, Ctesias, Herodotus, Iambulus) and new (Antonius Diogenes, according to Photius, plausibly). It is possible that he also wrote the *Metamorphoses* taken by Photius *Bibl.* 129 to be by its narrating persona, Lucius of Patrae, the source both of the seeming epitome 'Lucius or the ass' transmitted (probably wrongly) as by Lucian and of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. WME/RB/GA/ELB

Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus), Epicurean poet (see EPICURUS), author of the *De rerum natura* (*DRN*), 'On the Nature of Things' (c.94–55 or 51 BC?). We know less about the life of Lucretius than about almost any other Latin poet. His full name is given only in the manuscripts of his work (pun on *Carus*, l. 730?), and nothing is known of his place of birth or social status, though both have been the subject of much speculation. Jerome's version of the *Chronicle* of *Eusebius puts his birth in 94 BC, and says that he was 44 when he died, but the Donatus *Life of Virgil* puts his death in 55, on the same day that Virgil assumed the **toga virilis* (6, though there are textual problems), and a note in a 10th-cent. manuscript (H. Usener *Kl. Schr.* (1913), 156, 196–9) says that he was born 27 years before Virgil, i.e. 97 BC. The only secure date is a reference in a letter of *Cicero to his brother (*QFr.* 2. 10(9). 3) written in February 54, where he praises Lucretius' *poemata* as possessing both flashes of genius (*ingenium*) and great artistry (*ars*), that is, as combining the qualities of an inspired and a craftsman-like poet. This is certainly a reference to *DRN* (an *Empedoclea* by one Sallustius is mentioned more critically in the same context), and although *poemata* could refer to just selections, the easiest hypothesis is that Lucretius' poem was published by this time. The poem has often been thought to be unfinished (there are problems especially in the prologue to book 4): if so, Lucretius may well have been dead by the time of the letter. But textual corruption rather than incompleteness may be responsible for the problems in the text.

Jerome (whose source was *Suetonius) also reports the story (made famous by Tennyson and others) of Lucretius writing *DRN* in brief intervals of sanity after having been driven mad by a love-potion given him by his wife, and eventually committing suicide. If this story is true, it is surprising that it was not used by *Ovid in his defence of the *Ars Amatoria* in *Tristitia* 2 or by the Fathers of the Church attacking paganism and Epicureanism: it may be the result of a biographical reading of parts of books 3 and 4, or of confusion with Lucullus (cf. *Plut. Luc.* 43. 2). Nor is there any reason to believe Jerome's

statement that Cicero edited *DRN* after its author's death. More biographical details are provided by the so-called 'Borgia Life' found in a British Museum printed book, but this is a Renaissance compilation (L. Canfora *Vita di Lucrezio* (1993), 35–6).

The addressee of the *De rerum natura* (1. 25–43, 136–48; cf. 1. 411, 1052, 2. 143, 182, 5. 8, 93, 164, 867, 1282) is a Memmius, who must be Gaius Memmius, a prominent politician associated also with *Catullus (28. 9). Memmius was praetor in 58, and a candidate for the consulship of 53: but after a complicated electoral pact that went wrong, he was found guilty of corruption in 52 and went into exile in Athens (E. S. Gruen in *Hommages à Marcel Renard* (1969), 2. 311–21; G. V. Sumner, *Harv. Stud.* 1982, 133–9). In the summer of 51, Cicero wrote to him on behalf of the Epicurean group in Athens, asking him not to demolish what was left of Epicurus' house (*Fam.* 13. 1. 3–4), and suggesting that Memmius was not on good terms with the Epicureans. It is not impossible that he had been annoyed by the dedication of *DRN*: despite its warm praise of him in the prologue, the poem is orthodox in its Epicurean condemnation of political life (3. 59–84, 995–1002, 5. 117–35). But in any case, *DRN* does not imply that Memmius was a convinced Epicurean (cf. 1. 102–3). There can be no clear distinction between Memmius as the didactic addressee and a more generalized second-person, but Memmius' public persona was relevant: *DRN* is not unpolitical (D. Minyard, *Lucretius and the Late Republic* (1985); D. P. Fowler, in M. Griffin and J. Barnes (eds.), *Philosophia Togata* (1989), 120–50).

The poem is in six books of hexameter verse (c. 7,400 lines, about three-quarters the size of the *Aeneid*) and whether or not it failed to receive the final corrections of its author is substantially complete: it opens with an elaborate prologue, and the prologue to book 6 states explicitly that this is the final book (6. 92–5). The ending is abrupt, and textually corrupt: it is likely that 1247–51 are the actual concluding lines, and should be transposed after 1286, but if this is done, the ending contains a number of closural features, most notably a recall of the end of the funeral of Hector at the end of the *Iliad* (cf. P. G. Fowler, in F. Dunn, D. P. Fowler, and D. Roberts, *Classical Closure* (1997)). The ending on the *plague at Athens and the many deaths it caused is in stark contrast to the opening description of the first day of spring and the appeal for help to *Venus, but the polarity can be made to have point. The recurrent pattern of the cycle of coming-to-be and passing-away makes a final appearance, while the fixed temporal and spatial location in Athens, which represents the peak of civilization according to the opening of book 6, indicates the inevitable failure of the

city-state to provide for the ultimate happiness of human beings.

As well as the great initial prologue to book 1, each of the other books also has a prologue, and the concluding section of each book in some way stands apart from the rest of the book (see especially the attack on love in book 4, and the final plague). Each book is a unity in terms both of structure and subject-matter. Book 1 deals with the basic metaphysical and physical premisses of Epicureanism, beginning with the proposition that nothing comes to be out of nothing, and concluding with a description of the collapse of our world, which is presented as a counterfactual consequence of the belief that all elements tend towards the centre of the earth but which anticipates the Epicurean accounts of the death of our world at the end of book 2 and in book 5. Book 2 deals with the motion and shape of the atoms, and how these are relevant to the relationship between primary and secondary qualities: it concludes with the important Epicurean doctrine of the infinite number of worlds in the universe, and the connected proposition that our world has both a birth and a death (recalling the end of book 1). Book 3 gives an account of the nature of the human soul, and argues both that it is mortal and that, because of this, death is not to be feared. Book 4 discusses a variety of psychological phenomena, especially perception, and argues against scepticism: as remarked above, it concludes with an attack on love, seen as a mental delusion. Book 5 argues for the mortality of our world, and then gives a rationalist and anti-providentialist account of its creation and early history, concluding with the section on the development of human civilization, which is perhaps the most famous part of the poem. Book 6 then proceeds to account for those phenomena of our world which are most likely to lead to false belief in the gods—thunder and lightning, *earthquakes, volcanoes, etc.—and ends with the aetiology of *disease and the plague at Athens.

This clearly defined book-structure is more typical of prose philosophical treatises than of hexameter poetry, and it is replicated at levels both above and below that of the individual book. The books form three pairs, in which books 1 and 2 deal with atomic phenomena up to the level of the compound (see *ATOMISM*), books 3 and 4 deal with human beings, and books 5 and 6 deal with the world: there is thus a clear sense of expanding horizons, as we move from the atomic to the macroscopic level. The twin targets of the work as a whole are fear of the gods and of death (1. 62–135; cf. Epicurus, *RS* 1–2, *Ep. Men.* 133): the first and last pairs deal more with the former fear, by explaining phenomena that would otherwise be felt to require divine intervention in the world, while the central books, and especially book 3, tackle the fear of death head

on. But the two motives are intermingled throughout the work. The six books may also be organized into two halves, with books 1–3 dealing with basic premisses, books 4–6 with what follows from those basic premisses: the problematic prologue to book 4 (repeated almost verbatim from 1. 921–50), with its stress on Lucretius' role as a poet and philosopher and its Callimachean imagery (see CALLIMACHUS), thus functions as a 'proem in the middle' for the second half (cf. G. B. Conte *YCLS* 1992, 147–59). The existence of more than one possible structural analysis in this way is typical of *DRN* as a whole (contrast 3. 31–40 with 5. 55–63).

Below the level of the book, the subject-matter is carefully delineated and individual propositions within sections signposted with markers like *Principio*, 'First', *Deinde*, 'Next', and *Postremo*, 'Finally': the verse, in contrast to both the epic verse-paragraph and the neoteric focus on the single line, tends to group itself into blocks of two or more verses, with careful arrangement of words within the block. This division of the text corresponds to the Epicurean stress on the intelligibility of phenomena: everything has a *ratio* or systematic explanation, the world can be analysed and understood. If we are to believe Cicero, however, this is in marked contrast to the formlessness of earlier Epicurean writing in Latin (Amfinius and Rabirius: cf. Cic. *Acad. post.* 5 with Reid's comm., and esp. *Fin.* 1. 22, 29, 2. 30, 3. 40).

Every major proposition in *DRN* can be paralleled in other Epicurean sources, and it is likely that the majority at least of the arguments for these propositions also existed in the Epicurean tradition. We do not know, however, to what extent the poem had a single main source, and if so, what that source was. The title (cf. 1. 25) recalls that of Epicurus' major treatise, the *Peri physeōs* or 'On Nature', but the structure of that work as we know it from papyrus fragments is not very similar to that of *DRN*, and that presumably also goes for any (lost) epitome. There is a much closer correspondence, however, with the extant *Letter to Herodotus* of Epicurus, passages of which are closely translated (e.g. 1. 159–60 = *Ep. Hdt.* 38), although *DRN* is longer and the order of topics is sometimes changed (e.g. in *Ep. Hdt.* 42–3 Epicurus treats atomic shape before atomic motion (see ATOMISM), while *DRN* reverses the order, 2. 62–729). One plausible hypothesis is that the *Letter to Herodotus* provided the basic core of the poem, but this was expanded from a variety of other sources (cf. also D. Clay, *Lucretius and Epicurus* (1983)). Other prose philosophical and scientific sources are also drawn on (e.g. Plato's *Timaeus*, P. De Lacy in *Syzetesis: Studi Gigante* (1983), 291–307, and the Hippocratic corpus (see MEDICINE §4), C. Segal, *CPhil.* 1970, 180–2) though we can never be certain that some of this had not already

been assimilated into the atomist tradition (cf. F. Solmsen, *AJPhil.* 1953, 34–51). The final part of book 3 in particular (cf. also the prologues to 2 and 3 and the end of 4) contains material from the so-called 'diatribe' tradition of practical philosophical rhetoric (cf. B. P. Wallach, *Lucretius and the Diatribe against the Fear of Death: De Rerum Natura III 830–1094* (1970); T. Stork, *Nil igitur est ad nos* (1970); G. B. Conte, *Genres and Readers* (1994)).

But *DRN* also draws on a wide range of literary texts in both Greek (e.g. *Sappho fr. 31 LP in *DRN* 3. 152–8, *Aeschylus fr. 44 Nauck in *DRN* 1. 250–61, *Euripides fr. 839 Nauck in *DRN* 2. 991–1003, Callimachus fr. 260. 41 Pf. in *DRN* 6. 753, Antipater of Sidon, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 713 in *DRN* 4. 181–2, and especially *Thucydides' account of the plague at Athens in 2. 47–53 at the end of *DRN* bk. 6) and Latin (e.g. *Ennius, cf. 1. 117–26, O. Gigon, in *Lucrèce, Entretiens Hardt* 24 (1978), 167–96, Pacuvius, e.g. *Chryses* fr. 86–92 Ribbeck with 5. 318–23). The main model is the lost philosophical didactic poem of Empedocles, the *Peri physeōs* or 'On Nature' (cf. M. Gale, *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius* (1994), 59–75; D. Sedley, *Lucretius and the Transformation of Greek Wisdom* (1998), 1–34): Empedocles' doctrine is criticized (1. 705–829), but he is praised as a poet especially for his stance as a 'master of truth' offering an important secret to his audience, in contrast to the stress on form in Hellenistic didactic poetry (Aratus, Nicander, etc.). Lucretius too writes to save humanity (cf. 6. 24–34 on Epicurus): although the work concentrates on *physics and natural philosophy, this ethical purpose is clear throughout (cf. e.g. 2. 1–61, 3. 59–93, 5. 43–54). Epicurus was opposed to poetry as a serious medium of enlightenment, and the Epicurean stress on clarity and simplicity of language and 'sober reasoning' in thought creates problems for an Epicurean didactic poem: by returning to the archaic models of Empedocles and Parmenides, Lucretius was able to place himself in a tradition which made the alliance of philosophy and poetry more natural (though Empedocles' status as a poet had itself been called into question by *Aristotle, *Poet.* 1447^b 17 ff.). Many of the resources of poetry, particularly the recall to the phenomenal world implicit in the use of metaphor and simile, can easily be made consonant with the needs of Epicureanism: poet and philosopher alike must make the reader *see* (cf. 2. 112–41, A. Schiesaro, *Simulacrum et Imago* (1990)). The effect is a recontextualization of both the traditional devices of poetry and the basic elements of Epicurean epistemology, particularly the 'first image' (*Ep. Hdt.* 38) or prolepsis associated with each word, the basis for live metaphor (cf. D. Sedley, *Cron.ERC.* 1973, 5–83). The complexity and precision of Lucretius' imagery, always a central part of his claim to poetic excellence (D. West, *The Imagery and Poetry of Lucretius*

(1969)), is thus also an aspect of his role as philosopher and scientist.

Nevertheless, the old conception of a conflict between Lucretius the poet and Lucretius the philosopher was not perhaps wholly wrong. The *De rerum natura* became an immensely important text in the Renaissance and modern periods because of its rationalism: when Abraham Cowley celebrated Bacon's victory over 'Authority' and superstition in his ode *To the Royal Society*, it was to Lucretius' image of Epicurus triumphing over *religio* to which he naturally turned (1. 62–79). Similarly, through Pufendorf, Hobbes, and Rousseau (cf. C. Kahn, in G. B. Kerferd (ed.), *The Sophists and their Legacy* (1981), 92–108), the account of the development of civilization in book 5 of *DRN*, and in particular the notion of the 'social contract', enabled historians and philosophers to free themselves from theist models of the foundations of human society. But that very stress on scientific rationalism as providing a single sure and certain (cf. *DRN* 6. 24–34, 4. 507–21) answer to the troubles of life has come under suspicion in the post-modern age. Lucretius the poet offers perhaps more ways of looking at the world than can be accommodated with comfort within the plain and simple truth of Epicureanism. Of necessity, his rationalism has its own sustaining myths, from the clear light of reason which pierces and disperses the clouds of ignorance (2. 55–61, 3. 14–17) to the secure citadel of the wise (2. 7–13), from the nurturing female powers of Venus, Mother Earth, and Nature (cf. 2. 589–660) to the hellish shadows of 'normal' life (3. 59–86). Nevertheless, those myths in themselves continue to offer a powerful vision of a world by no means providentially ordered for humanity, but in which all humans can find happiness.

PGF/DPF

Luwian or Luvian is a branch of the Anatolian family of Indo-European languages. The Hittite archives include clay tablets with rituals written in the so called cuneiform Luwian; the texts date from the 16th to the 13th cents. BC. It is also clear that the Hittite language was strongly influenced by Luwian. A different script, the so called Hieroglyphic Luwian, which is in fact a syllabic script rich in logograms, was devised in the second millennium BC for a closely related language or dialect. We have a few difficult inscriptions in the 14th and 13th cents., but most of the texts (rock inscriptions, stelae, lead letters, etc.) belong to the 10th–7th cents. BC and were written by the small states which survived the fall of the Hittite Empire in Central and South Anatolia. Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian are very close but not identical. It is often assumed that Lycian belongs to the same group but this is not certain. It is also likely that

at some stage Luwian was spoken on the south and west coast of Anatolia.

AMDA

Lycophron The name of Lycophron is associated with two writers of the Hellenistic age, the identity of whom is the subject of much debate. They are here distinguished as (a) Lycophron and (b) ps.-Lycophron.

(a) Lycophron, a native of Chalcis, of the early 3rd cent. BC, active in *Alexandria, a member of the tragic Pleiad (canonical grouping of the city's eight or more tragic poets), author of a number of tragedies and satyr-plays, and also a grammarian and glossographer of the comic poets, of whom a few glosses survive. The titles of some of the plays are conventional, of others topical (including one on his friend Menedemus of Eretria and one called the *Cassandreis*, the theme of which is unknown). Only a few fragments survive.

(b) Ps.-Lycophron, author of the 'monodrama' *Alexandra*, written in the immediate aftermath of the victory of *Flamininus at Cynoscephalae over Philip V of Macedon in 197/6 BC. The author, whose true name and place of origin are probably concealed beneath the impenetrably enigmatic biographical tradition concerning Lycophron, probably used the name, and some of the literary substance, of Lycophron (a), not in emulation, but as an ironic reminiscence of the earlier writer, who had combined the practice of tragedy and the elucidation of comedy. Only on this assumption of a deliberate pseud-epigraphon can the full irony of his work be appreciated. His poem, cast in the form of a prophetic recitation by Cassandra in iambic trimeters, called in the title of the poem *Alexandra*, has acquired notoriety on account of its obscure and laboured style and vocabulary, in which individual episodes and persons are alike concealed in memorable metaphorical terms, which defy indisputable rationalization. The poem is nevertheless a powerful, indeed brilliant performance, in which tragic intensity, grim irony, and recondit learning combine to create a memorable *tour de force*.

The framework of the poem (ll. 1–30 and 461–74) is provided by a report to Priam by a guard set to watch over Cassandra. The rest is Cassandra's prophecy, which falls into the following main divisions: ll. 31–364, the fall of *Troy and consequent disasters; 365–1089, the sufferings of the Greeks who do not succeed in returning home; 1090–1225, the sufferings of the Greeks who do return home; 1226–80, the wanderings of *Aeneas and the Trojans; 1283–1450, the struggles between Europe and Asia, culminating in the victory of Rome; 1451–60, Cassandra's lamentation on the uselessness of her prophecy.

Three major questions relate to (1) the sources, (2) the purpose, and (3) the occasion of the poem.

1. Sources: (a) stylistic, thematic, and linguistic sources. The use of the iambic trimeter is natural to its tragic theme, and the tragic type of 'monodrama' recitatif (whether iambic or lyric) was current in the Hellenistic age; these features therefore call for no comment here, though they could be illustrated in many ways. (b) For the role of Cassandra as prophetess of post-Homeric catastrophes the author could call on numerous Archaic and Classical sources, and it is inevitable that precise debts, probably incurred by direct loan and not through an intermediary compendium of post-Homeric legends, should be largely unassignable. We may also be certain that, the prophecy apart, many other sources also contributed to the substance of the poem, both in general, and in specific passages. For instance, *Herodotus' opening passage on the conflict of east and west probably provided the poet with that theme, essential to his version of Cassandra's prophecy, and *Timaeus may have been the channel through which many of the abstruse Western legends, based on *Nostoi* ('Returns' from Troy), which form so significant a part of the poem, reached him. The possibilities extend far beyond the range of our limited knowledge. (c) The poet's language, monstrosly obscure and metaphorical, was no doubt his own: a deliberate and successful attempt to wrap the prophetic, Sibylline theme in language that readers might deem appropriate to the occasion, in which echoes of Homeric, lyric, and especially tragic language are evident. The ancients reckoned the poet as 'dark' (*skoteinos, ater*), and he would no doubt have agreed.

2. Intent. The poet's purpose in choosing the theme is not explicitly stated, but the emphasis on Italian legends, especially those connected with *Odysseus, and other Greek heroes (irrespective of whether such legends came to him, for example, from a direct reading of an early poet or poets, from a careful study of Timaeus, in some ways a kindred spirit, from an intermediate handbook, or even perhaps by local traditions regarding the heroic past) and the prominence given to the decisive role played by *Macedonia in subduing *Persia, and of Rome in subduing Macedonia, seem to indicate that the ultimate purpose of the prophecy is to commemorate the recent and apparently decisive change in the world order which he associates with the victory of Roman arms.

3. Date. The date of composition has to be determined in the light of this presumed purpose. It has caused much debate and there is no reason, unless more evidence is forthcoming, why the controversy should cease. The problem is well known. Lycophron, as identified under (a), lived in the early 3rd cent. BC, yet the poet clearly refers to a widely recognized Roman supremacy. The two propositions are hardly reconcilable, and the

Byzantine commentator Tzetzes suggested that the relevant lines had been written by another Lycophron. Since the debate opened in modern times it has been continually discussed whether the lines referring to Rome are acceptable in the context of a date c.275 BC, whether the whole passage relating to Rome should be regarded as an interpolation added after the Roman conquest of Greece had become a reality, or whether the whole poem should be dated to a period when that had happened. The suggestion made here as to authorship is based on the hard-won belief that the reference in the Rome passage to a 'unique Wrestler' refers to (Titus Quinctius) Flaminius, and was made in the immediate aftermath of his victory at Cynoscephalae in 197/6 BC, when his praises were being sung, statues being erected to him, and religious festivals in his honour, Titeia, being inaugurated all over Greece. The impact made by the politic and philhellene Titus, representative of a new ruling power linked by ties of mythological *kinship to the Greek and Trojan past, provides the appropriate background for this speedily produced pro-Roman eulogy from the mouth of the Trojan Cassandra. Independent evidence derived from the use made of 3rd-cent. authors, seems to confirm this date.

PMF

Lycurgus, traditional founder of Classical *Sparta's *eunomia* ('good order'). Ancient accounts of his work evolved according to political circumstance. The earliest, in *Herodotus (1. 65–6), reflects official Spartan views: guardian of the early Agiad-dynasty king Leobotes, he was responsible for all Sparta's laws, and military and political institutions, which he brought from *Crete. Most later writers attached him to the Eurypontid-dynasty king Charillus, perhaps reflecting that royal house's subsequent prominence. A 5th-cent. BC, non-Spartan version that his measures came from *Apollo at *Delphi was later incorporated by making Apollo sanction laws he brought from Crete. The view that the ephorate (a Spartan magistracy) was post-Lycurgan, probably originated by King Pausanias in exile post-395, was invoked by Cleomenes III when abolishing the office in 227 BC. Later accounts became increasingly wide-ranging and detailed as Lycurgus' achievements were expanded to embrace 4th-cent. and Hellenistic philosophical and political programmes. *Plutarch's 'biography' reflects the culmination of this trend.

Although scholars generally accept that Sparta's *eunomia* was the product of coherent design, perhaps through a so-called '6th-century revolution', few now view it as the work of a single legislator. Many elements probably emerged through a longer-term process of adaptation and change. Whether purely legendary or a

historical person subsequently invoked as a charter for the regime, Lycurgus' absence from the poet Tyrtaeus' 7th-cent. account of the 'Great Rhetra' (see SPARTA, § 2) undermines later belief in his all-encompassing founding role. SJHO

lyric poetry

Greek

The term 'lyric' (*lyrikos*) is derived from *lyra*, 'lyre'. As a designation of a category of poetry it is not found before the Hellenistic period (earlier writers term such a poem *melos*, 'song', and the poet *melopoios*, 'composer of song'; hence we find 'melic' used as a synonym for 'lyric'). Its use in the ancient world was more precise than the terms 'lyric' and 'lyrical' as now used with reference either to modern or to ancient poetry. Though the term was extended to poetry sung to other stringed instruments or to the flute, it is always used of sung poetry as distinct from stichic, distichic (elegy included), or epodic poems which were recited or spoken.

The 'lyric' age begins in the 7th cent. BC, though the finished metres of the earliest exponents indicate that they are the heirs to a long tradition of popular song. So does the evidence of *Homer, whose narrative mentions sung paeans (*Il.* 1. 472–3, 22. 391–2; cf. *Hymn. Hom.* 517–18), dirges (*Il.* 24. 720 ff.; *Od.* 24. 58 ff.), wedding songs (*Il.* 18. 491 ff.), the Linus-song (*Il.* 18. 567 ff.), and more generally choral song and dance (*Il.* 18. 590 ff.). However, the fact that no composer's name survives from this period suggests a context of anonymous folk-song. In the 7th cent. a change occurs, as named poets of distinction emerge. The reasons for this change are not clear.

Modern scholars divide lyric into choral and monodic (solo). There is no evidence of any such division in ancient scholarship, and its validity has been disputed, but it does correspond to broad differences in form and content. Choral poetry was performed by a choir which sang and danced. The element of spectacle was enhanced further by the impressive dress of the chorus (Alcm. 1. 64 ff.; Dem. 21. 16). The collective voice was ideally suited to represent the voice of the community, and consequently choral song in general has a pronounced 'public' quality to it. In origin choral performance was sacral, and even in the Classical period 'dance' may be synonymous with 'worship' (*Sophocles *OT* 896). Accordingly, most of the attested types of choral song are religious or ritual in character: paeon, usually addressed to *Apollo but also attested for other gods, *dithyramb, addressed to *Dionysus, processional song (*prosodion*), maiden-song (*partheneion*), dirge (*thrēnos*), wedding song (*hymenaios*). However, the sacral use was not exclusive, for already in

Homer we find choral song and dance as festive entertainment. During the late Archaic period there is a further secularization of choral music, as choral songs are composed in praise of rulers and aristocrats, as in the erotic and laudatory songs of Ibycus and the *encomia* (originally 'party/revel songs', then 'songs of praise') and *epinicia* (victory odes) of *Simonides, *Pindar, and *Bacchylides. Choral lyric is especially associated with 'Dorian' states (*Alcman, *Stesichorus, Arion, Ibycus, Pindar), though not exclusively (since Simonides and Bacchylides were from Ceos (mod. Kea)). The dialect is an artificial amalgam of West Greek, Aeolic, and Homeric, though within this framework there are differences between authors. Choral compositions are either strophic (composed of stanzas which correspond metrically, strophe and antistrophe, which later writers associate with the movements of the chorus, 'turn' and 'counterturn') or triadic (each triad being composed of matching strophe and antistrophe, with a third stanza, epode, with a different metrical pattern). The metres are usually elaborate, and the metrical schema of each poem is with rare exceptions unique. The songs are almost invariably tied to a particular occasion. But celebration of the human or divine addressee is usually accompanied by succinct generalizations (*gnōmai*) which place the present celebration or its occasion in the broader context of human experience, and regularly a myth is narrated, usually occupying the centre of the ode; though not invariably, this persistent pattern is already established for Alcman in 7th-cent. Sparta. The most striking exception is Stesichorus, whose choral lyric narratives are epic in scale and in their lack of explicit attachment to a specific occasion. The choral lyric tradition reached its peak in the late Archaic and early Classical period in the work of Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar, the first 'freelance' professional Panhellenic poets. The same period saw the beginning of the decline of choral lyric as a major literary genre. *Aristophanes (*Nub.* 1355 ff.) and Eupolis (frs. 148, 398 KA) testify to a change in musical tastes at this period. In the age of the *sophists the old practice of learning to sing lyric compositions fell into decline, and so did interest in and knowledge of the choral poets. At the same time, the nature of choral lyric changed, with choral and monody mixed, the abandonment of strophic response in the interests of emotional realism, and an increasing dominance of music over words. Choral poems continued to be composed, and major poets emerged who challenged comparison with the old masters (*Xenophon places Melanippides the dithyrambist in the same category as *Homer and Sophocles, *Mem.* 1. 4. 3). But the number of choral genres still being composed was much reduced.

Monodic lyric is particularly associated with eastern Greece. *Sappho and *Alcaeus were natives of Lesbos and *Anacreon of Teos. The metrical structures of monody are more simple, and unlike choral lyric are repeated from song to song. The dialect tends to be based on the vernacular of the poet. The subject-matter usually derives from the life and circumstances of the poet. The range of solo lyric is very wide. Love, politics, war, wine, abuse of enemies all figure, though to different degrees and with different emphases and approaches from poet to poet. To the modern reader, this personal poetry often seems remarkably impersonal, since there is a marked tendency to generalize personal experience through the medium of myth. As with choral lyric, there is a visible decline in the 5th cent. The latest monodists to be named by Aristophanes are Timocreon and Anacreon, both active in the late 6th and early 5th cent. There must have been many contemporary and subsequent monodists, but none achieved Panhellenic importance.

The age of scholarly research on the lyric poets begins with the generation after Aristotle. Dicaearchus wrote a book about Alcaeus. Clearchus of Soli's book *On Love Poetry* included Sappho and Anacreon. Chamaeleon wrote on Stesichorus, Anacreon, Simonides, and Lasus; his studies embraced Alcman and probably Ibycus. The major lyric poets were edited by the scholars of the *Library at *Alexandria. It is to Alexandrian scholarship that we owe the list of Nine Lyric Poets, Alcman, Alcaeus, Anacreon, Bacchylides, Ibycus, Pindar, Sappho, Simonides, Stesichorus (first attested c.100 BC, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 184), identical with those who are studied (*hoi prattomenoi* schol. on Dion. Thrax, p. 21. 18 ff.), i.e. subjected to scholarly exegesis; Corinna of Tanagra in Boeotia is sometimes appended as a tenth, though we do not find a reference to the Ten Lyric Poets as an established grouping before the Byzantine scholar Johannes Tzetzes. The list of nine covers the period 650–450 BC. It includes all those who were studied by the Peripatetics (the school of Aristotle), with the exception of Lasus and the inclusion of Bacchylides. It is probably a selection, rather than a collection of all surviving lyric, though the surprising exclusion of Lasus suggests that not all Archaic lyric reached Alexandria. CC

Latin

The modern definition of lyric (verse neither epic nor dramatic but characterized by brevity, use of stanzas, and the enthusiastic expression of personal experience and emotion) would have meant little in Roman antiquity. Greek lyric could be defined by the social settings of its performance, the accompaniment of the lyre, and the use of certain metrical patterns. Already, however, the classification

of the corpus of lyric poetry posed special problems for the scholars of *Alexandria, and in the Roman context the only one of these criteria which may be usefully employed is that of metre. The Roman poets knew the Alexandrian canon of Nine Greek Lyricists, and *Horace, who considers himself to be the first Latin lyric poet, memorably asks to be added to the list (*Carm.* 1. 1. 35). The generic status of *Catullus, who combines lyric and iambic metres in his polymetrics (poems 1–60), is disputed by *Martial, Quintilian, and *Suetonius. For modern scholars the number of lyric poems to be ascribed to him varies between two and 63. Catullan polymetry (and the use of varied metres in a collection can be considered one of the defining features of ancient lyric) may be compared with polymetric experiments involving lyric metres by Laevius in his *Erotopaegnia*, *Varro in his *Menippean satires*, and Horace in his *Epodes*. It is Horace who first combines Hellenistic technical refinement with the spirit of the lyric of *Alcaeus and *Pindar, and his *Odes* represent the crowning achievement of Latin lyric poetry. Before them the *cantica* of *Plautus provide genuine examples of lyric verse, as do the unfortunately fragmentary choral odes of early Roman tragedy (see TRAGEDY, LATIN). After Horace, *Seneca's tragedies include choral lyric and *Stattius' *Silvae* contain two lyric poems (4. 5 and 7). Persius (6. 1 f.) and Quintilian (10. 1. 96) mention the lyric verse of Caesius Bassus, while *Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 9. 22. 2) praises Passennus Paulus as the equal of Horace and provides evidence (e.g. *Ep.* 3. 1. 7, 7. 4. 9) for a considerable amount of amateur lyric versification. The fragments of a number of 2nd-cent. AD poets, conveniently but misleadingly characterized as the *poetae novelli*, also preserve lyric verse of a metrically innovative but alas now very fragmentary nature. Perhaps the greatest, and certainly the most influential, successors of Horace in the tradition of Latin lyric are the Christian poets Ambrose in his *Hymns* and Prudentius in his *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon*. See further under individual authors. DPN

Lysander (d. 395 BC), prominent Spartan. His family, though of Heraclid origin (see HERACLES), was poor and when young he was reputedly of *mothax* status, requiring sponsorship through the *agōgē* (state training). He subsequently became the *erastēs* ('lover') of Agesilaus, younger son of King Archidamus II. Appointed admiral in 408 or 407, he gained the friendship and support of Cyrus the Younger, commenced the creation of a personal following, and won a victory at Notion which led to the dismissal of *Alcibiades. Resuming command in 405, he transferred his fleet to the Hellespont (Dardanelles) and destroyed the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami. His

personal success was celebrated through monuments, dedications, and coinage; at *Samos he was worshipped as a god, perhaps the first living Greek to receive divine worship. See RULER-CULT (GREEK). Cf. also *Suppl. Hell.* nos. 51, 325, 565.

Lysander established 'decarchies' (ten-man juntas) of his oligarchical partisans in many cities. Obtaining Athens' surrender through blockade (spring 404), he secured the installation of the Thirty Tyrants, but his policy was overturned by King Pausanias' restoration of democracy in 403. At some (disputed) date before 396 the ephors withdrew support from the faltering decarchies. His continuing authority, however, influenced Sparta to support Cyrus' attempt on the Persian throne (401) and to make his protégé Agesilaus king. Hoping to restore the decarchies, he helped to obtain for Agesilaus the command against Persia in 396. Resentful of Lysander's personal following, Agesilaus frustrated his plans, but gave him an important Hellenistic command where he persuaded the Persian Spithridates to defect. Back in Sparta in 395, he was instrumental in starting war with Thebes. Invading Boeotia from Phocis, he was surprised and killed at Haliartus before the planned rendezvous with King Pausanias' forces.

An abortive scheme to increase his power by making the kingships elective was 'discovered' after his death by Agesilaus. The sources differ as to whether it was planned in 403 or 395; it may be an invention to discredit his posthumous reputation and supporters. Accurate interpretation of Lysander's career generally is impeded by the hostility of most sources to the imperial system he created. SJOH

Lysias, Attic orator. The ancient biographical tradition, that he was born in 459/8 and died c.380 BC ([Plut.] *Vit. Lys.* 835c, 836a; Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 1, 12), is clear but problematic. The latter date is plausible; the former less so, and many scholars suggest that a man some fifteen years younger would have been more likely to engage in his range of activities after 403 (the speeches, and cf. also [Dem.] 59. 21–2). He appears as a character in *Plato's *Phaedrus*; in the *Republic*, his father Cephalus is an elderly Syracusan, resident as a *metic in Athens, and friend of assorted Athenian aristocrats: the search for dramatic dates, however, is probably vain.

Lysias and his brother Polemarchus left Athens after Cephalus' death to join the Panhellenic colony of Thurii in southern Italy, where he is said to have studied *rhetoric. They were expelled as Athenian sympathizers after the Sicilian expedition, and returned to Athens as metics in 412/11. In 403 the Thirty Tyrants arrested both brothers, alleging disaffection but really (according to

Lys. 12. 6) in order to confiscate their substantial property. Polemarchus was executed; Lysias escaped, and gave financial and physical support to the democratic counter-revolutionaries. He was rewarded by Thrasybulus' decree granting citizenship to all those who assisted in the restoration, but this grant was promptly annulled as unconstitutional.

Works

Modern editions contain 34 numbered speeches, although the titles of about 145 others are known, and for several we possess sufficient fragments (either as citations or on papyrus) to determine the nature of the case. Lysias' activity as a speech-writer after 403 was largely confined to that of forensic logographer (see first sentence), like his fellow metics *Isaeus and Dinarchus, composing speeches for litigants to deliver in court; but his versatility was very great. Like *Demosthenes and *Hyperides, he wrote for both public and private cases. The two categories, however, are not formally distinguished in the corpus, where few private speeches remain: most striking is 1, in which a cuckolded husband pleads justifiable homicide after killing his wife's lover, and the attack in 32 on an allegedly dishonest guardian. Private cases are better represented among the fragments, including for instance the *Hippotherses*, which deals with Lysias' attempts to recover his confiscated property from those who had purchased it under the Thirty Tyrants. Underlying the public speeches are a variety of legal procedures, most notably the *dokimasia* or scrutiny of prospective officials, many of them compromised by their record under the *oligarchies of the Four Hundred or the Thirty Tyrants (16, 25, 26, 31, and the fragmentary *Eryximachus*); other cases concern official malpractice (most notably 12, in which Lysias personally charged Eratosthenes, ex-member of the Thirty, with having killed Polemarchus). The shadow of the Thirty, indeed, hangs over much of Lysias' work, but attempts to discern a consistent political standpoint throughout the corpus have largely foundered.

Lysias' reputation attracted speeches. We are told ([Plut.] *Vit. Lys.* 836a) that no fewer than 425 were circulating in antiquity, but that only 233 of these were agreed to be genuine. Critics since *Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 11–12) have attempted to determine authorship on chronological, stylistic, or, more recently, stylometric grounds, but the search has proved largely inconclusive. K. J. Dover (*Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum* (1968)) has indeed argued that authorship itself may not be a simple concept, and that Lysias and his clients may have collaborated to varying degrees, but this view remains contentious. More important for most purposes

(including for instance the use of the speeches as historical sources) is the authenticity not of authorship but of the texts themselves: with the exception of 11, perhaps of 15, and possibly of 6, all the forensic works seem to be genuine speeches, written to be delivered on the occasion they purport to be (though we should allow for the probability of unquantifiable revision).

Characteristics

Lysias was noted in antiquity as a master of the language of everyday life: this 'purity' of style led to his being regarded by later rhetoricians as the pre-eminent representative of 'Atticism', as opposed to the florid 'Asiatic' school. Dionysius (*Lys.* 18) criticized him for lacking emotional power in his arguments, but this may be to miss the significance of his admitted mastery in narrative: by the time Lysias has finished telling a story, the audience has been beguiled by his apparent artlessness into accepting as true the most tendentious assertions. Dionysius noted his mastery of *ēthopoia* (§ 8), by which he evidently meant the ability to portray character attractively, though there are signs in several speeches (notably 1 and 16) of an attempt also to capture the individuality of the speaker in the language given to him. SCT

Lysimachus (c.355–281 BC), Macedonian from Pella (late sources wrongly allege Thessalian origins), was prominent in the entourage of *Alexander the Great, achieving the rank of Bodyguard by 328. At Babylon (323) he received Thrace as his province, establishing

himself with some difficulty against the Thracian dynast Seuthes (322). He consolidated his power in the eastern coastal districts, suppressing a revolt among the Black Sea cities (313) and founding Lysimacheia in the Chersonese as a bulwark against the Odrysian monarchy (309). Though he assumed royal titulature (306/5), he made no mark in the wars of the Successors (Diadochi) until in 302 he invaded Asia Minor and fought the delaying campaign against *Antigonos the One-eyed which enabled *Seleucus I to bring up his army for the decisive battle of Ipsus (301). His reward was the lands of Asia Minor north of the Taurus range, the source of immense wealth, which he husbanded with legendary tight-fistedness and a degree of fiscal rapacity. These new reserves (*Pergamum alone held 9,000 talents) supported his impressive coinage and allowed him to consolidate in Europe, where he extended his boundaries north until he was captured by the Getic king Dromichaetes, and forced to surrender his Transdanubian acquisitions (292). In 287 he joined *Pyrrhus in expelling Demetrius (son of Antigonos) from Macedon and two years later occupied the entire kingdom. His writ now ran from the Epirote borders to the Taurus, but dynastic intrigue proved his nemesis, when he killed his heir, Agathocles, at the instigation of his second wife, Arsinoë II, and alienated his nobility (283). Seleucus was invited to intervene and again invaded Asia Minor. The decisive battle at Corupedium (c. January 281) cost Lysimachus his life. Asia passed to the Seleucids while Macedonia dissolved into anarchy. ABB



M

Maccabees The name 'Maccabee', probably meaning 'the hammer', was the appellation of Judas son of Mattathias, leader of the Judaeen Revolt of 168/7 BC against Antiochus IV Epiphanes. *See* JEWS; SELEUCIDS. The name was given also to Judas' fellow rebels, his father and his four brothers. They were the leaders of the traditionalists, reacting against a process of Hellenization in Jerusalem masterminded by a section of the Jewish aristocracy (*see* HELLENISM). The high priesthood was usurped by Jason, a member of the Oniad clan, from his brother Menelaus. But the ultimate provocation to the Maccabees was the king's installation of a garrison in the city and a pagan cult in the Temple, and his consequent attempt to suppress Judaism on a wide front. After Mattathias' public killing of an apostate Jew in the act of sacrifice, the Maccabees took to the hills to conduct a guerrilla war, eventually winning concessions from the regent Lysias on behalf of the young Antiochus V. Judas rededicated the Temple on 25 Kislev (December) 164 BC, a date already marked within a few years of the events as the festival of Hanukkah. But Judas continued to resist the Hellenizers in Jerusalem and successive *Seleucid armies. A memorable victory against Nicanor, the Seleucid general, in 161 was followed by the defeat and death of Judas in 160, in battle against Bacchides, after which his brother Jonathan continued the struggle.

The term Maccabees is also applied to the two Greek books in which the revolt and its sequel are narrated and to two associated books. Finally, the name is sometimes given to the aged scribe, the mother and her seven sons, whose legendary martyrdom in the persecution of Epiphanes, described in 2 Maccabees 7 and embellished in 4 Maccabees, was remembered in rabbinic literature and gave rise to a cult at *Antioch and to a long-lasting Christian tradition (as well as to the word 'macabre').

TR

Macedonia (see ◀Map 1, Ba▶) By its geographical position Macedonia forms the connecting link between the Balkans and the Greek peninsula. Four important

routes converge on the Macedonian plain: from the Danube via the Morava and Axios valleys, from the Adriatic via Lake Ochrid, from Thrace via Mygdonia, and from the Greek peninsula via Tempe. In climate Macedonia is intermediate between Europe and the Mediterranean. The original Macedonia was Pieria and Mt. Olympus, and from there the Macedonians acquired the coastal plain of the Thermaic Gulf, which has been formed by the rivers Haliacmon, Lydias, and Axios. These rivers, draining the wide plateaux of Upper Macedonia cut the mountain-ring of the Macedonian plain at Beroea, Edessa, and the defile of Demir Kapu. Of the cantons of Upper Macedonia Elimiotis occupied the middle and Orestis the upper Haliacmon valley, Lynceus and Pelagonia the upper valleys of the Erigon (a tributary of the Axios), Paeonia the upper valley of the Axios, and Eor-daea the basin of Lake Arnissa west of Edessa. The Macedonian plain comprised Pieria south of the lower Haliacmon, Bottiaea between the Haliacmon and the Axios, Almopia in the upper Lydias valley, Mygdonia in the Lake Bolbe basin leading towards the Strymon valley, Crestonia and Anthemus north and south respectively of Mygdonia. Upper Macedonia is girt by high mountain-ranges traversed mainly by three important routes mentioned above; when united, it had strong natural defences. The Macedonian plain is vulnerable from the sea and from Mygdonia, but the defiles leading into Upper Macedonia are easily defensible. The natural products were horses, cattle, sheep, crops, *wine, fruit, iron, gold, silver, and *timber, the last two being exported in antiquity.

Prehistoric Macedonia, occupied continuously from early neolithic times, possessed a uniform culture in the bronze age, little influenced by *Mycenaean civilization, and was invaded c.1150 BC by a northern people, of whom a western offshoot may have provoked the semi-legendary Dorian invasion of the *Peloponnese. *Hesiod first mentioned 'Makedon', the eponym of the people and the country, as a son of *Zeus, a grandson of Deucalion, and so a first cousin of Aeolus, Dorus, and Xuthus; in other



Macedonia A richly decorated bronze krater (bowl for mixing wine and water) from a cemetery at Derveni, Macedonia, 4th cent. BC. Heavy drinking was a well-known feature of life at the court of the Macedonian kings, and costly vessels for the service of wine are a feature of elite-burials in the region. See ALCOHOLISM. Thessalonike Museum / Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Tourism Archaeological Receipts Fund (Law 3028/2002)

words he considered the ‘Macedones’ to be an outlying branch of the Greek-speaking tribes, with a distinctive dialect of their own, ‘Macedonian’ (see MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE). He gave their habitat as ‘Pieria and Olympus’. In northern Pieria an early iron age cemetery of 300 tumuli, partly excavated, has revealed the rulers there as probably Phrygians and then Illyrii until c.650 BC, when it went out of use. At that time a new dynasty, the Temenidae, ruling the Macedonians, founded their early capital at *Aegae (mod. Vergina), situated above the cemetery, and thereafter gained control of the coastal plain as far as the Axios. The Persian occupation of Macedonia 512–479 BC was beneficial. *Xerxes gave to Alexander I the rule over western Upper Macedonia, which was peopled by Epirotic tribes with their own dialect of Greek; and after Xerxes’ flight Alexander gained territory west of the Strymon. His claim to be a Temenid, descended from *Heracles and related to the royal house of Argos in the Peloponnese, was recognized at *Olympia; he issued a fine royal coinage and profited from the export of ship-timber.

The potentiality of the Macedonian kingdom was realized by *Philip II. By defeating the northern barbarians and incorporating the Greek-speaking Upper Macedonians he created a superb army (see ARMIES, GREEK), which was supported economically by other peoples who were brought by conquest into the enlarged kingdom: Illyrii, Paeonians, and Thracians—with their own non-Greek languages—and Chalcidians and Bottiaeans, both predominantly Greek-speaking. ‘He created a united kingdom from many tribes and nations’ (Just. *Epit.* 8. 6. 2) by a policy of tolerance and assimilation. His son Alexander the Great, inheriting the strongest state in eastern Europe, carried his conquests to the borders of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Later the conquered territories split up into kingdoms ruled mainly by Macedonian royal families, which fought against one another and contended for the original Macedonian kingdom (see ANTIGONUS THE ONE-EYED; ANTIGONUS GONATAS; PTOLEMY I; PTOLEMY II; SELEUCUS I). In 167 BC Rome defeated Macedonia and split it into four republics; and in 146 BC it was constituted a Roman province. Thereafter its history merged with that of the Roman empire.

From Philip II onwards the Macedonian court was a leading centre of Greek culture, and the policies of Alexander and his Successors (Diadochi) spread the Greek-based ‘Hellenistic’ culture in the east, which continued to flourish for centuries after the collapse of Macedonian power. See COLONIZATION, HELLENISTIC; HELLENISM.

NGLH

Macedonian language The problem of the nature and origin of the Macedonian language is still disputed

by modern scholars, but does not seem to have been raised among the ancients. We have a rare adverb *makedonisti* (important passages in *Plutarch, *Alex.* 51 and *Eum.* 14), but the meaning of this form is ambiguous. The adverb cannot tell us whether Plutarch had in mind a language different from Greek (cf. *phoinikisti*, ‘in Phoenician’), or a dialect (cf. *megaristi*, ‘in Megarian’), or a way of speaking (cf. *attikisti*). We have some ‘Macedonian’ glosses, particularly in Hesychius’ lexicon, but they are mostly disputed and some were corrupted in the transmission. Thus *ἀβροῦτες* (*abroutes*), ‘eyebrows’ probably must be read as *ἀβροῦτες* (with τ which renders a digamma). If so, it is a Greek dialect form; yet others (e.g. A. Meillet) see the dental as authentic and think that the word belongs to an Indo-European language different from Greek.

After more than a century we recognize among linguists two schools of thought. Those who reject the Greek affiliation of Macedonian prefer to treat it as an Indo-European language of the Balkans, located geographically and linguistically between Illyrian in the west and Thracian in the east. Some, like G. Bonfante (*Rend. Linc.* 1987, 83-5), look towards Illyrian; others, like I. I. Russu (*Macedonica = Ephemeris Dacoromana* 1938, 105-232), towards ‘Thracio-Phrygian’ (at the cost, sometimes, of unwarranted segmentations such as that of *Ἀλέξανδρος* (*Alexandros*) into †ἀλε- and †ξανδ-). Those who favour a purely Greek nature of Macedonian as a northern Greek dialect are numerous and include early scholars like A. Fick (‘Zum makedonischen Dialecte’, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1874, 193-235) and O. Hoffmann (*Die Makedonen* 1906; repr. 1974). The Greek scholars, like G. Hatzidakis (1897, etc.) and above all J. Kallérís (*Les Anciens Macédoniens* 1 (1954), 2/1 (1976) [no more published; repr. 1988]), have turned this assumption into a real dogma, with at times nationalistic overtones. This should not prevent us, however, from inclining towards this view.

For a long while Macedonian onomastics, which we know relatively well thanks to history, literary authors, and epigraphy, has played a considerable role in the discussion. In our view the Greek character of most names is obvious and it is difficult to think of a Hellenization (see HELLENISM) due to wholesale borrowing. *Πτολεμαῖος* (*Ptolemaios*) is attested as early as *Homer, *Ἀλέξανδρος* (*Alexandros*) occurs next to the Mycenaean feminine *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* (*Alexandrā*), *Λάαγος* (*Laa-gos*), then *Λάγος* (*Lagos*), matches the Cyprian *Lawa-gos*, etc. The small minority of names which do not look Greek, like *Ἀρριδαῖος* (*Arrhidaios*) or *Σαβαττάρης* (*Sabattaras*), may be due to substratum or adstratum influence (as elsewhere in Greece). Macedonian may then

be seen as a Greek dialect, characterized by its marginal position and by local pronunciations. The main problem is posed by names like *Βερενίκα* (*Berenika*) for *Φερενίκα* (*Pherenika*) with a first element which is clearly Indo-European but which shows an apparent [b] treatment of Indo-European †*bh* in contrast with Greek [ph] (†*bher-* ‘to carry’ becomes Greek [pher-]). If the phenomenon is prehistoric, we may think in terms of a non-Greek Indo-European language which influenced Macedonian (Brixhe and Panayotou; Brixhe refers to the so-called Briges/Brukes), but it is also possible to argue, with Hatzopoulos, that we witness a later change from [ph] to [f] to [v] or [β] written β, since late forms like *βεφαίως* (*bephaiōs*) for *βεβαίως* (*bebaiōs*) or *Βιλίστα* (*Bilista*) for *Φιλίστα* (*Philista*), which are clearly Greek, point to an exchange between [v] written φ and [f] written θ in the local dialect (and in some parts of Thessaly). The discovery at Pella of a curse tablet (4th cent. BC) which may well be the first ‘Macedonian’ text attested reveals a number of features which link Macedonian to North-West Greek (Locrian, Aetolian, Phocian, Epirote), including the adverb *όπόκα* (*hopoka*) which cannot be Thessalian (*SEG* 43.434). Nevertheless there may be Thessalian features in our texts, such as the patronymic adjectives in *-ειος/ -εια* (*-eios/ -eia*). We must wait for new discoveries, but we may tentatively conclude that Macedonian is a dialect related to North-West Greek with some Thessalian features. See GREEK LANGUAGE.

OMA/AEDA

madness (*see following page*)

Maecenas, Gaius Maecenas is his *nomen* (hereditary family-name): ‘Cilnius’ (Tac. *Ann.* 6. 11) may be his mother’s name, perhaps descended from an ancient *Etruscan family, the Cilnii of Arretium (Livy 10. 3. 2). The poets call Maecenas scion of Etruscan kings (Hor. *Carm.* 1. 1. 1). Among Octavian’s earliest supporters—he he fought at Philippi—he was his intimate and trusted friend and agent. (*See* AUGUSTUS.) His great position rested entirely on this: he never held a magistracy or entered the senate, remaining an *eques* (*see* EQUITES). He arranged Octavian’s marriage with Scribonia, and represented him at the negotiations of the pact of Brundisium (40 BC) and that of Tarentum (37 BC), when he took along his poets (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 5). He went as envoy to Mark *Antony in 38, and in 36–33 and 31–29 he was in control of Rome and Italy in Octavian’s absence, an unprecedented position: ‘no title, only armed power’ (Syme, *AA* 272). In 30, claiming to uncover a conspiracy, he executed the son of the triumvir *Lepidus. His enormous wealth must derive partly from the confiscations: by

chance we hear that he acquired part of the possessions of the proscribed Marcus Favonius (schol. on *Juv.* 5. 3; *see* PROSCRIPTION). He bequeathed the emperor everything, including his magnificent house and grounds on Rome’s Esquiline hill, the famous *turris Maecenatiana*. Many inscriptions survive of his slaves and *freedmen. Maecenas was famous, or notorious, for his luxury: wines, gourmet dishes (baby donkey, Plin. *HN* 8. 170), gems, fabrics, and love affairs (that with the dancer Bathyllus became scandalous: Tac. *Ann.* 1. 54). Astute and vigorous as need, he cultivated an image of softness (Sen. *Ep.* 114). His name became proverbial as the greatest patron of poets (Mart. 8. 55. 5). Absent from the *Eclogues*, he is the dedicatee of *Virgil’s *Georgics*; unnamed in *Propertius, he is a rewarding and apparently exigent patron in 2. 1. Virgil introduced *Horace (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. 54), who dedicated to Maecenas *Satires* 1, *Epodes*, *Odes* 1–3, and *Epistles* 1. Maecenas gave Horace his Sabine estate. Horace gives the fullest picture of Maecenas and his circle, which included Lucius Varius Rufus, Plotius Tucca, Domitius Marsus, and his freedman C. Maecenas Melissus. Maecenas wrote poems which recall the metres and to some extent the manner of *Catullus: extant fragments of two are addressed to Horace, intimate in tone. He wrote in prose: *Prometheus* (? a Menippean *satire); *Symposium*, Virgil and Horace being speakers; *De cultu suo*. His style was criticized for affectation: ‘the preciosity and neuroticism of the author come through strongly in the fragments’ (Courtney, *FLP* 276–81). They contain no trace of politics, but Maecenas must have been influential in inducing Virgil, Horace, and even Propertius to express support for the regime and the values it fostered. His influence is controversial in detail. He was an important intermediary between *princeps* and poets. His wife Terentia, eventually divorced, was Aulus Terentius Varro Murena’s sister; apparently Maecenas, departing from his usual discretion, warned her of the detection of her brother’s conspiracy (23 BC). Thereafter his relations with Augustus, never openly impaired, may have been less close; Horace dedicates an affectionate ode to his birthday (60th?) in *Odes* 4.11 (published c.13 BC). He died in 8 BC. Two undistinguished *Elegies* on his death survive. JGR

maenads, women inspired to ritual frenzy by *Dionysus. Maenadic rituals took place in the rough mountains of Greece in the heart of winter every second year. Having ceremonially left the city, maenads (probably upper-class women) would walk into the mountains shouting the cry ‘to the mountains’. Here they removed their shoes, left their hair down, and pulled up their fawn-skins. After a sacrifice of *cakes, they started their nightly

[continued on p. 486]

MADNESS

madness The idea that definitions of madness are culturally dependent has taken firm hold since M. Foucault's *Madness and Civilisation* (1988), and is even recognized by the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th edn. (DSM-IV). In our own time, 'madness' describes imprecisely a multitude of apparent mental disorders; it may be used technically to indicate a physiological disorder, and/or, more colloquially, to describe an action that seems rash, unexpected or self-defeating. When we turn to madness in Greece and Rome, we find a similar range of meanings, with all the additional problems involved in interpreting the concepts of another, and ancient, culture. Although attempts have been made to relate ancient descriptions of mental disorder to modern diagnoses, this has largely been abandoned, except in cases of epilepsy, or, as it was known in ancient Greece, 'the sacred disease'. In her analysis of the modern notion of 'hysteria', Helen King (*Hippocrates' Women* (1998) and *The Disease of Virgins* (2004)) has powerfully demonstrated how ancient 'evidence' might be misread, distorted, even created in order to endow modern diagnoses with authority. There is growing recognition that different cultures (including our own) have particular models and understanding of disease, and this is prompting other approaches to the study of mental disorder in antiquity: e.g. D. Hershkowitz *The Madness of Epic* (1998) attempts neither a historicist nor modernist approach to ancient madness, but focuses on the poetics of madness, and the meaning it creates in certain texts.

In Greece, the most common terms to indicate a mental disorder were (forms of) *mania* or *lussa* (raging madness); in Rome, *insania* or *furor* (see Cic., *Tusc.* 3.5.11 for discussion of the differences between Latin and Greek terms). In ancient society, as now, there was no single definition of madness: instead, symptoms were used to diagnose specific disorders. The behaviour of certain characters in some Greek dramas vividly reveals some typical symptoms: the silence of *Aeschylus' Cassandra (*Ag.* 1050–71), and the eye-rolling and foaming at the mouth of *Euripides' *Heracles (as H. von Staden, in *Maladie et Maladies* (1992), 131–50, has observed). But, as now, 'madness' was also used to explain or describe behaviours that were judged out of the ordinary or extreme (e.g. Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.14 and 2.3.19 and Cic. *Tusc.*), and so we find it used rhetorically as well as technically across ancient sources to highlight the aberrant nature of an individual's behaviour (see, e.g., madness attributed to Antigone by Creon, Soph., *Ant.*, 561–2; and Cicero of his opponent, *Pis.* 21, and 47–50).

Explanations of madness, and their treatment, could be supernatural as well as physiological. Moreover, not all forms of madness were deemed to need treatment: some were culturally acceptable and even encouraged. *Plato provides some examples in his useful categorization of types of madness. He distinguishes first between those caused by human diseases and those from divine intervention (*Pl. Phdr.* 265a–b). Then, of the latter, he observes that there are four kinds of madness, related to, respectively, prophecy, poetry, Dionysiac rites, and love. *Dionysus was perhaps the most famous god whose worshippers experienced madness (in his case, a Bacchic frenzy or *Bakcheia*; see MAENADS), but he was not the only one: the chorus gives a list of such 'possessing' gods in Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 141–4. It is clear that in a society that believed that divine possession could bring gifts from the gods, some types of madness were considered, as Plato explains, to be a good thing (*Pl. Phdr.* 244a).

In the course of this explanation, Plato gives us one of the many reasons put forward by the Greeks as to why madness might afflict someone, that is, they are afflicted by an inherited curse (244d–e). This is just one of the many supernatural explanations that appear throughout ancient literature. In other accounts, madness is a punishment of the gods. This might be inflicted because of an action by the sufferer him- or herself (e.g., Cambyses in Hdt. 3.33), in particular, a specific offence against a god (Lycurgus refuses to accept Dionysus; see Soph. *Ant.*, 957–9 and Apollod. 3.5.1; Ajax (see AIAS) overestimates mortal strength and offends Athena, Soph. *Aj.*, 51–73, 172–86, 756–61); or for the crime of murder (e.g., Aesch. *Cho.* 1047–62, *Pl. Leg.* 863d–e). But it might also be rooted in an inherited curse, or a spell (Eur. *Hipp.* 316 and 318, respectively). Possibly related is the Roman belief that stepping on a hallowed spot (one struck by lightning) might cause madness or impotence (this may have been Greek in origin), see Hor. *Ars P.* 471. Supernaturally-caused madness might also be described as a delusion sent by the gods, (e.g., the visions of Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae*) or as a literal pursuit or possession by various supernatural figures, such as the *Kēres*, *Erinyes* or *Atē* (e.g., Hom., *Il.* 16.805), or, more loosely, using terms that indicate the attack of a *daimōn* (Xen.

Mem. 1.1.9). As Temkin has shown, the idea of possession, whether divine or demoniac, persists in the later medical writers. Modern readers should resist the temptation to see all these supernatural explanations simply as a projection or rationalization of an inner mental state. However, they do suggest that certain actions, behaviours or states were regarded as endangering an individual, making them particularly vulnerable to supernatural attack. The specific cause was in the eye of the beholder, so different explanations might co-exist, as *Herodotus' description of the multiple explanations of the madness of Cleomenes demonstrates (Hdt. 6.84)—providing an index of culturally dangerous behaviours.

In contrast, the Hippocratic texts offer physiological explanations. Their authors are anxious to distance themselves from such supernatural accounts (e.g., *Morb. sacr.*, 4. 16–61), and these texts suggest a competitive diagnostic environment. In the earlier medical writers there are a few specifically labelled mental disorders—the Sacred Disease and the disease of Heracles—but, in general, mental disorders are described in terms of their symptoms. These descriptions seem to imply three basic types of mental disorder: melancholy, delirium with fever (sometimes referred to as *phrenitis*), and general *mania* or hallucinations (e.g., see *Epidemics passim*, e.g., III. 3, case 2, *Aphorisms* 6.21, 23 and 3.30, *Hipp. Prog.* 4; *Aer.* 10.103). Later medical writers are more explicit (see Caelius Aurelianus 1.5.146 and Celsus 3.18). Different combinations of symptoms, models of disease and the body led to different explanations and treatments. Bile, either its excess or its displacement in the body, was a popular explanation (see *MEDICINE* § 4(b)): melancholy, for example, was thought to be prompted by an excess of black bile (*Hippoc. Morb.* I.30 (202), *Aphorisms* 6.23; see also *Ar. Pax* 65–7, *Nub.* 833, *Av.* 13–14) and the idea that bile is a cause is also found in Latin texts: Plautus refers to both spirits and bile in *Amphitryon*, 727, 777. The reasons why bile might cause madness were various: *On the Sacred Disease*, which discusses what seems to be epilepsy (a disease then thought to be closely related to madness), explains how different afflictions of the brain (caused by an excess of phlegm or bile, which results in heating or cooling) will activate various types of mad behaviours; in *Regimen in Acute Diseases* (*App. part.* 5) fits of madness result from black bile or bitter humours reaching particular parts of the heart, liver or great vein. Ancient explanations of disease in women tended to refer to their reproductive systems—and the same is the case with mental disorders: so, in *On Diseases of Women* (1.7), movement of the womb towards the liver results in symptoms similar to those of the 'disease of Heracles' for older women; while unmarried girls tend to hallucinate when they are menstruating (*On the Diseases of Girls*, 30–6 and 41–3: the writer suggests marriage as a cure, as well as describing his competitors' therapies). (Further and different, reproductive explanations in Caelius Aurelianus = *Sor. Gyn.* 3.13.47 and 4.26–29.) Other texts suggest that individuals may have been more vulnerable at certain times of year or in certain environments (see *Hippoc. Morb. sacr.* 16, *Airs, Waters and Places*, or the careful notes on weather in *Epidemics* I).

In contrast again, philosophers tended to associate madness with uncontrolled passions, describing it as a disease of the soul: thus, Plato (*Res.* 571c–572b; *Ti.* 86b) describes madness as one of two 'disorders of the soul' (the other is *amathia*, or ignorance); while Cicero (*Tusc.*) and Seneca offer insights into the Stoic theory that different types of madness developed as a result of disturbances (*perturbationes*) of the soul, caused by the passions (see *EMOTIONS*).

These different diagnoses led to a range of approaches to treatment. Those who believed that madness was a result of supernatural causes, would try purification and sacrifice, or participating in particular ritual activities, e.g. those of the *Corybantes*, or visiting a healing shrine (*Ar. Vesp.* 118–24). In turn, theoretically at least, philosophers might prescribe treatment of the soul, and mind (Caelius Aurelianus *Chronic Diseases* 1.5.154; see also *Cic. Tusc.* 3.6). Medical practitioners set out to cure the body, and the theory of humours, as developed by Galen, was to form the basis of treatment for many centuries to come. On a day-to-day level, it seems likely that these approaches overlapped—indeed, the Hippocratics might compete with those offering supernatural therapies, but they did not condemn all kinds and might even advocate them themselves.

Evidence for the day-to-day treatment of those deemed mad is hard to find. The sources suggest that they were feared (for their violence) and ridiculed. That they may have been thought contagious is suggested by the actions of Theophrastus' superstitious man (in his treatise on *Characters*). Aristophanes' *Wasps* offers a description of how a son might deal on a daily basis with his father's suspected lunacy. He suggests treating him with hellebore, which was something of an all-purpose drug, and persistently popular (*Ar. Vesp.*, 489, *Dem.* 18.121; the drug was found at Anticyra, see *Paus.* 10.36.7, *Strabo* 9.3.3, hence *Hor. Sat.* II. 3, 82–3, and 166, and *Ars P.* 300). He also tries to keep the old man locked up (*Vesp.* 125–32)—and sources from across antiquity suggest that it was common practice to confine the mad (in prison, having been legally proved insane, *Xen. Mem.* 1.2.49–50) or tied up (see *Cic., Pis.*), perhaps even as part of their treatment (Celsus 3.18.4–6, 10 and 21). The physician Soranus appears to have bucked the trend when he recommended a more gentle regime (Caelius Aurelianus, *Chron.* 1.5.171–9).

Legally, the mad of the ancient world appear to have had little if any social protection, beyond that of immediate family and friends. However, in both Greece and Rome there was legal recourse for those who might suffer at the hands of the mad—in business or property transactions, or inheritance matters. In Greece a charge of *dikē paranoias* accused an individual of insanity, and sought to transfer his legal rights to a sane relative or guardian (Ar. *Nub.* 844–46, Pl. *Leg. Laws* XI 929d–e); he could then be imprisoned. It seems likely that neither culture allowed a mad person to marry (Pl. *Leg.* 926a–b; dissolution of marriage *Dig.* 24.3.22.7, but a different approach to concubines 25.7.2). In Rome, concern to protect property from the insane is found as early as the *Twelve Tables (Tab. 5.7, see Cic. *Tusc.* 3.5.11), where the property of someone found mad is put in the charge of a *curator* or guardian—who can also go to court to recover goods stolen from his charge (47.2.57); there is also protection of the property of the insane from exploitation by the sane (*Dig.* 24.3.22.8). In the *Digest*, there is plentiful discussion of the legal position of the insane, including questions of property and inheritance, consent and status (e.g., in guardianship or marriage), limiting their legal role and liability.

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dances accompanied by *tympanon* and *aulos* (in sound more similar to the oboe than the flute) (see *MUSIC*, § 3. 2 and 3). Stimulated by the high-pitched music, the flicker effects of the torches, the whirling nature of the dances, the shouting of *euhoi*, the headshaking, jumping, and running, the maenads eventually fell to the ground—the euphoric climax of their *ecstasy.

Maenadic ritual strongly stimulated the mythical imagination: the *Bacchae* of *Euripides shows us women who tear animals apart, handle snakes, eat raw meat, and

are invulnerable to iron and fire. Most likely, in Euripides' time maenads did not handle snakes or eat raw meat; however, their ecstasy may well have made them insensible to pain. Myth often exaggerates ritual, but the absence of contemporary non-literary sources makes it difficult to separate these two categories in the *Bacchae*, where they are so tightly interwoven.

Maenadism was integrated into the city and should not be seen as a rebellion. It enabled women to leave their houses, to mingle with their 'sisters', and to have a good



maenads An Athenian vase-painter (c.480 BC) shows maenads inspired to ritual *ecstasy by *Dionysus. Although wine vessels are present, maenadic 'madness' was the result of possession, not alcohol. Digital image © 2013 BPK, Berlin / Scala, Florence

time. This social aspect, though, could only be expressed through the worship of Dionysus. To separate the social and religious aspect is modern not Greek.

Most likely, maenadism already occurs in *Homer (*Il.* 22. 461 f.). In Athenian art it became popular on pots towards the end of the 6th cent. and again in the 4th cent. BC, with a selective interest expressed in the intervening period by painters of larger pots. Among the tragedians *Aeschylus pictured maenads in various of his lost plays, e.g. the *Bassarids*, as did Euripides, especially in the *Bacchae*. Given these changing periods of interest in maenadism in literature and art, we should be wary of privileging the *Bacchae* by ascribing to it a special influence on later maenadic ritual or by tying it too closely to contemporary new cults. The demise of maenadism started in the Hellenistic period and was complete by the 2nd cent. AD. See MADNESS. JNB

magic

1. The concept

Antiquity does not provide clear-cut definitions of what was understood by magic and there is a variety of terms referring to its different aspects. The Greek terms that lie at the roots of the modern term 'magic', *magos*, *mageia*, were ambivalent. Originally they referred to the strange but powerful rites of the Persian magi and their overtones were not necessarily negative (*Pl. Alc.* 1. 122: 'the magian lore of Zoroaster'). Soon, however, *magos* was associated with the doubtful practices of the Greek *goēs* ('sorcerer') and hence attracted the negative connotations of quack, fraud, and mercenary (e.g. *Soph. OT* 386 f.). Through *Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Hellenistic authors this negative sense also affected the Latin terms *magus*, *magia*, *magicus*. However, in late antiquity, especially in the *Greek Magical Papyri*, the term *magos* regained an authoritative meaning, somewhat like wizard, and was also embraced by philosophers and theurgists. Since in these late texts prayer, magical formulae, and magical ritual freely intermingle, they challenge modern distinctions between magic and religion (and science). However, definitions being indispensable, we here employ a broad description of the 'family resemblance' of magic: a manipulative strategy to influence the course of nature by supernatural ('occult') means. 'Supernatural means' involves an overlap with religion, 'manipulative (coercive or performative) strategy', as combined with the pursuit of concrete goals, refers rather to a difference from religion.

2. Sources

Greek and Roman literature provides abundant examples of magical practice in both narrative and discursive texts.

Myth affords many instances. Besides gods connected with magic (*Hermes and Hecate), we hear of Telchines, skilful but malignant smiths well versed in magic. The Idaean Dactyls were masters of medical charms and music. Thracian *Orpheus was a famous magician, and so were Musaeus, Melampus, and others. But, as elsewhere, the female sex predominates. The most notorious witch was *Medea. *Thessaly boasted an old tradition of witchcraft, the Thessalian witches being notorious for their specialism of 'drawing down the moon'.

The earliest literary examples come from *Homer. The witch Circe (*Od.* 10. 274 ff.) uses potions, salves, and a magic wand to perform magical tricks and teaches *Odysseus how to summon the ghosts from the nether world. Folk magic glimmers through in a scene where an incantation stops the flow of blood from a wound (*Od.* 19. 457). *Hesiod (*Theog.* 411–52) offers an aretalogy (see MIRACLES) of the goddess Hecate. Tragedy contributes magical scenes (e.g. the calling up of the ghost of *Darius I: *Aesch. Pers.* 619–842) as well as whole plays (*Eur. Med.*), while comedy ridicules magicians (e.g. *Ar. Plut.* 649–747; Menander's (lost) *Deisidaimon* and *Theophoroumenos*). *Theocritus' *Pharmakeutria* ('Drug- or Poisonmonger', hence 'Sorceress') became a model for many later witch scenes (e.g. *Verg. Ecl.* 8, and *Hor. Epod.* 5, describing the gruesome preparation of a love potion). Similarly, magical motifs in Greek epic tradition (e.g. *Ap. Rhod. Argon. passim*) were continued by Roman epic (e.g. *Luc. Civil War* 6. 413–830). Exceptionally informative is Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (see NOVEL, LATIN), which contains many a picturesque magical scene.

Another illuminating work by Apuleius belongs to the sphere of critical reflection. His *Apologia (De magia)* is a defence against the charge of magic and provides a full discussion of various aspects of ancient magic. Other discussions can be found in the satirical works of e.g. Theophrastus (for instance the 16th Character (*Deisidaimon*)), and *Lucian, *passim*. Although early philosophers like Heraclitus, *Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Democritus were often associated with magical experiments, Greek philosophy generally rejected magic. *Plato wants the abuse of magic (*pharmakeia*) to be punished, and Sceptics, Epicureans (see EPICURUS), and *Cynics never tired of contesting magic. The shift towards a more positive appreciation in late antiquity, in, for example, Hermetic writings, Iamblichus, and Proclus (cf. § 1 above), was effected by a new cosmology, also apparent in new demonologies, in prophecies, and *astrology.

3. Objectives

As to the intended effects, a rough distinction can be made between harmful 'black' magic and innocent or

beneficial 'white' magic, although the boundaries cannot be sharply drawn. For the category of black magic curse-tablets are the most conspicuous evidence (see CURSES). Numerous other forms of black magic were widely applied and feared: incantations; the use of drugs and poison (significantly *pharmakon* may refer to magic, poison, and medicine); the practice of 'sympathetic magic' (*similia similibus*), for instance the use of 'voodoo dolls' melted in fire or pierced with needles (Pl. *Leg.* 933b; Theoc. 2; Verg. *Ecl.* 8; Ov. *Her.* 6. 91); and 'contagious magic', the destruction of the victim's hair, nails, part of his cloak, or other possessions as 'part for all', with the aim of harming the victim himself (Theoc. 2. 53 ff.; Verg. *Aen.* 4. 494 ff.).

Some of these practices can function in 'white' magic as well. Its main objectives are protection against any kind of mishap, the attraction of material or non-material benefits, and the healing of illness. The first two are above all pursued by the use of amulets or phylacteries, the last by the application of all sorts of materia medica, often activated by charms and ritual (see § 4 below); also by means of purifications, exorcism, or divine healing.

Mixtures occur: love magic is generally pursued for the benefit of the lover, not for that of the beloved, who is sometimes bewitched in a very aggressive manner and by gruesome means. Other types of magic (e.g. prophecy) are more or less neutral, although uncanny aspects may render them suspect (e.g. nekyomancy or the consultation of spirits of the dead).

4. Techniques

Magic is essentially based on secret knowledge of sources of power. The most important are (a) utterances, (b) material objects, and (c) performance.

(a) Utterances may consist of inarticulate sounds, cries, various types of noise (e.g. the use of bells), hissing, or whistling. More common are powerful words and formulae. One important category consists of strange, uncanny words not belonging to the Greek or Latin idiom: the 'Ephesian letters' (so called from their alleged origin in *Ephesus), also referred to by terms such as *onomata asēma* ('meaningless names'), or *voces magicae* ('magical names/words'), whose (alleged) foreign origin and lack of normal communicable meaning were believed to enhance their magical power. Another category of effective words consists of Greek or Latin expressions in which the illness or the cure is compared with a model taken from myth or legend (esp. Homer, Virgil, the Bible) or nature. Stylistic and prosodic devices, such as metre, anaphora, repetition, and rhyme, add emphasis and efficacy to the formulae, as do other magical devices such as writing normal words from right

to left or with foreign letters. A copious stock of magical formulae is provided by the so-called *Greek Magical Papyri*, a corpus of papyrus texts from Egypt that contain extended formulae with magical words and names of great gods and demons, including lists of vowels understood as names of archangels, who are invoked or even forced to assist the practitioner.

(b) There is practically no limit to the selection of magical ingredients: any object or material may have a magical force—iron, (precious) stones, pieces of wood, parts of animals, nails, hair, the blood of criminals. Most important are herbs and plants, where magic and folk medicine often coalesce in the wisdom of the root-cutter and herbalist. Drawings of foreign gods and demons may be added and, especially in black magic, 'voodoo dolls', sometimes transfixed with needles, could have a role.

(c) In the application of these objects and as independent magical acts, various performative actions play a part. The magical objects must be manipulated in a special way, various gestures are prescribed, etc.

These three technical aspects are often combined, exemplarily so in the famous cure of a fracture in *Cato the Elder, *Agr.* 160: a knife is brandished and two pieces of reed are brought together over the fracture while a charm is sung: *motas vaeta daries dardares astataries dissunapiter* (untranslatable).

5. Social setting

The social and legal standing of magic is basically ambivalent. (Secret) wisdom and expertise in the application of supernatural means was indispensable and widely resorted to, hence highly valued. Many official 'religious' rites, especially in Rome, contained 'magical' elements, which were accepted because and as long as they were publicly executed on behalf of the state. In the private sphere, however, magic's very secretiveness and association with asocial or even antisocial goals fostered suspicion and condemnation. Already in the 5th cent. BC, the author of *The Sacred Disease* (Hippoc. *Morb. sacr.* 2. 12 f., 4. 36 ff.) made a clear distinction between religious and magical strategies and censured the latter. Plato (see § 2 above) wanted the abuse of magic to be penalized in his ideal state; the Romans, as early as 450 BC, actually did so in the *Twelve Tables. Under the first emperors many laws were issued to repress the growth of magical practices, and the 4th cent. AD saw a renaissance of anti-magical legislation. In this period, however, magic was practically identified with *prava religio* ('bad religion') and *superstitio* ('superstition'), which, together, served as conveniently comprehensive (and vague) classificatory terms to discredit social, political, and/or religious opponents.

magistracy, Greek Magistracies (*archai*) in Greek states were the successors of the *kingships, which rarely survived into the Classical period. By a process which cannot now be followed in detail, and which the sources tend to reconstruct in too systematic a fashion, the powers of a hereditary king came to be divided between a plurality of magistrates, normally appointed for one year and often not eligible for reappointment. In addition to general offices of state, more specialized offices were sometimes created, for example to control a treasury or to supervise public works or the market (the office of *agoranomos*). A small state could manage with a small number of magistrates, but in a large one there might be many, and many duties might be given to boards rather than single individuals: Athens in the 5th cent. BC developed a particularly extensive range of offices—700 internal and 700 external, according to the text of Arist. [*Ath. pol.*] 24. 3, though the second 700 is probably corrupt.

Magistrates tended to be more powerful, and to be appointed from a more restricted circle, in *oligarchies than in democracies. Appointment by lot rather than by *election, to civilian posts which were not thought to require special ability, was particularly associated with democracy, but both that and a ban on reappointment to the same office can be found in oligarchies too. Athens and some other democratic states provided small salaries for magistrates (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN, § 2). One office might be regarded as the principal office in a state, but in general there was no hierarchy of offices and no *cursus honorum* (see CAREERS (GREEK)). The citizens might control their magistrates through such procedures as *dokimasia* (vetting their qualifications before they entered office) and *euthynai* (examining their conduct after they left office), as well as by making them liable to prosecution for misconduct.

The magistrates of the Hellenistic kings were of a very different kind. They were professionals, paid by their king in money, natural produce, or gifts of land. The higher positions were occupied by Macedonians and Greeks, the lower mostly by natives, who did not rise to higher positions before the 2nd cent. The members of the central administration worked in the chief city, but there were numerous higher and lower officials in every part of the kingdom. The most important provincial officials were usually called *stratēgoi* ('generals'). The administration was strictly centralized in Egypt, but decentralized in the *Seleucid empire. Especially in *Egypt, there was a firm hierarchy, bureaucratically organized. Lower officials were often personally dependent on the higher, as the higher were on the king.

VE/PJR

magistracy, Roman Magistrates at Rome may be divided in various ways according to various criteria. The most general recognizes a distinction between (a) the *ordinarii* (regularly elected), namely *consuls, praetors, censors, curule aediles (these four offices were distinguished by privileges as 'curule', so called because they were entitled to use the official curule chair or *sella curulis*), quaestors, the vigintisexvirate (vigintivirate under the empire), and (not formally magistrates of the whole *populus Romanus* but only of the *plebs) the *tribuni plebis* (see TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS) and aediles of the *plebs*, and (b) the *extraordinarii* (*extra ordinem creati*, occasionally appointed or elected), namely *interrex*, *praefectus urbi* or city prefect (altered by *Augustus), *dictator, *magister equitum*, and a number of unique commissions (*decemviri legibus scribundis*, *tribuni militum consulari potestate*, *tresviri rei publicae constituendae*, etc.). More important is the distinction between those who possessed *imperium (consuls, praetors, dictators, *magistri equitum*, the *decemviri legibus scribundis*, military tribunes with consular power, and the *tresviri r. p.c.*) and those who did not (the rest). The competences and histories of the individual magistracies varied greatly and are treated separately. Most of them did, however, share certain features. They were elected (apart from the *interrex*, dictator, *magister equitum*, and *praefectus urbi*). They were temporary: all the regular magistracies were annual, apart from the censorship. They were organized in colleges (generally of two, three, or ten members), and thereby subject to the *intercessio* (veto) of their colleagues; the dictatorship is the most significant exception, for which reason tenure of it was restricted to six months, until *Sulla and, especially, *Caesar, whose dictatorship for life effectively re-created the *imperium* of the kings. They were unpaid: magistracy was regarded as an honour (*honos* can be a synonym for *magistratus*). The powers of magistrates with *imperium* were restricted over time, by the creation of the tribunate of the *plebs* and by the development of *provocatio* (appeal to the Roman people against the action of a magistrate). But Roman magistrates, unlike Athenian, were never formally accountable to the people who elected them. Around the middle of the 2nd cent. BC it came to be felt that they ought to be, to the point that *Polybius could say, erroneously, that the consuls had, upon laying down their office, to account for their actions to the people (*euthunas hupechein*, 6. 15. 10). Magistrates and promagistrates could be called to account, but this required special prosecutions which could be (and were) initiated by tribunes. Attempts formally to regulate the conduct, to enforce public scrutiny, and to facilitate public accountability of magistrates and promagistrates were made (chiefly by Gaius *Gracchus and Lucius Appuleius

Saturninus), but this initiative foundered as the holders of high office dominant in (and, collectively, as) the senate defended their power and privilege, and as political principle gave way to internecine politics in the late republic.

PSD

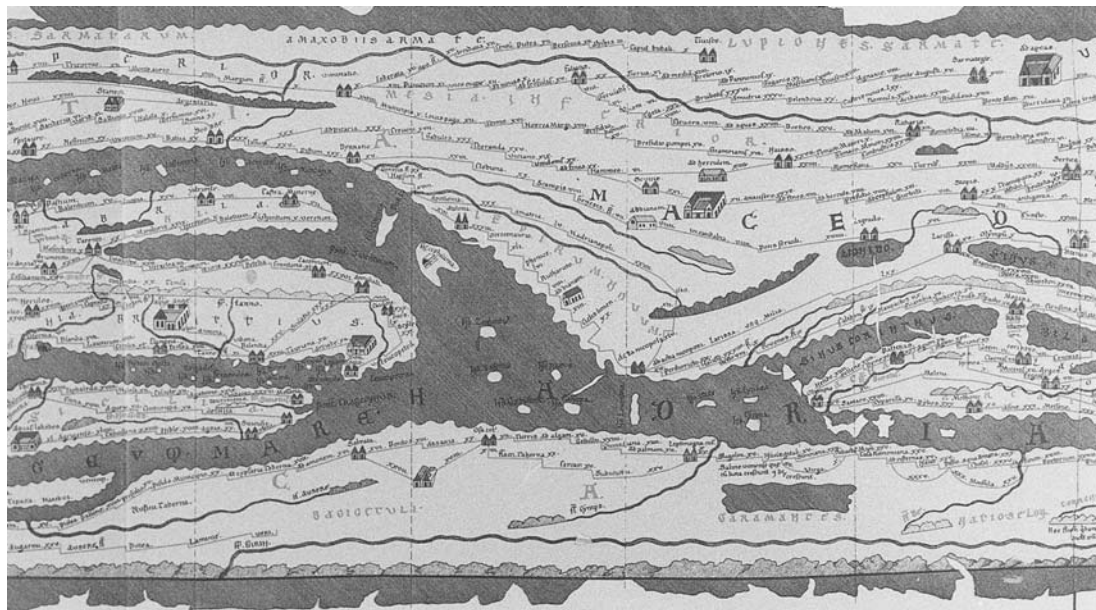
manuscripts See BOOKS, GREEK AND ROMAN; SCHOLARSHIP, HISTORY OF CLASSICAL.

maps Many cultures, including those of *Egypt and Mesopotamia, use visual representations of aspects of space that cannot be directly perceived. The Ionian Greeks (perhaps taking the idea from other traditions) produced the first maps in the classical tradition (*Eratosthenes, *Strabo l. 1. 11 (7), attributed the first map to Anaximander); the famous one shown to King Cleomenes I of Sparta by Aristagoras of Miletus (Hdt. 5. 49) is an example of such maps: these fit into the context of new world-views that are also found in Hecataeus and *Herodotus. World maps are mentioned at Athens in the late 5th cent. BC, but do not seem to have been widespread.

These early maps were attempts to depict the wider order of the world rather than to survey smaller areas in detail; such local maps, if known, were not related conceptually to the geographers' task. Only the calculation of linear distances on some land routes (such as the Royal

Road (see ROADS)) and on *periploi* (lit. 'voyages around': descriptions of coastal itineraries) offered a bridge between the two: but there is no evidence that such linear conceptions of space were represented graphically before the Roman period. The place of maps in the geographical knowledge of *Alexander the Great and his commanders is therefore controversial.

The governmental purposes of the Ptolemies (see PTOLEMY I; PTOLEMY II), under whom the ancient agrimensorial techniques of the Nile valley's agriculture were developed, gave a new status to mapping in Alexandrian geography (see ALEXANDRIA). Influence from one of the Hellenistic kingdoms may perhaps be postulated for the development in Rome from the 3rd cent. BC of visual representations, in a context of land-divisions on a large scale, long-distance road-building, and widespread city-foundation; and the greatest development of mapping in antiquity was indeed associated with Roman imperial policy. Cadastral plans, especially of land-allotments, were developed to a high degree of sophistication and accuracy: the best-known examples are fragments of the Flavian marble cadasters of the territory of Arausio (Orange) in the Rhône valley, displayed on the walls of a room near the local forum. The most complex known example of ancient surveying is related in technique and perhaps in purpose, but much larger in



maps Section of the Peutinger Table, a copy made c.1200 of a late-Roman world-map, showing parts of southern Italy with Sicily, North Africa, Macedonia, and southern Greece. In elongated form, the map shows the whole inhabited world from Britain to India. It had a practical value, marking roads, posting stations and inter-city distances. Postmuseum, Berlin / akg-images

scale (about 1:300) and more detailed: the *Forma urbis Romae, a plan of Rome on marble slabs which decorated a hall in the templum Pacis complex at Rome and dates from the Severan period (the numerous fragments are a source of great value for the nature of the ancient city). A recently discovered fragment of perhaps Flavian date (the 'Via Anicia Fragment') proves that there was an earlier version of neater draftsmanship and greater detail, with records of title to property as well as the names of public buildings.

The scale of Roman land-division (*see* CENTURIATION) and its connection with world-spanning road-building projects suggested that the wide world of geographic/cosmological description like Eratosthenes' might be represented in this sort of detail, and it is likely that the ambitious plan of world surveying attributed to *Caesar was an attempt, and perhaps the first, to realize this grandiose vision and use it as a sign of knowledge and power. *Agrippa's world map, succeeding to Caesar's vision, in the Porticus Vipsania in Rome was a potent symbol of the control of space by the Augustan regime. It is certain that this calibrated distances as well as representing the whole *oikoumenē* ('inhabited world'), but there is dispute over the shape and layout: was it an Eratosthenic world map, a pictorial version of the world-order of the sort that is represented in Roman and late antique art, the progenitor of the *mappae mundi* of the Middle Ages; or an early version of the road-map of the world known as the Peutinger Table? The practical, as opposed to the symbolic, use of detailed maps in Roman military and governmental planning remains controversial. NP

Marius, Gaius, born c.157 BC near Arpinum, of a family probably of recent equestrian standing (*see* EQUITES), but with good Roman connections, including *Scipio Aemilianus. He served with distinction under Scipio at Numantia and, with his commendation, won a military tribunate by election, perhaps serving under Manius Aquillius in Asia. Quaestor c.123, he was helped to a tribunate by the Metelli (119), but fiercely attacked the consul Lucius Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus when he opposed Marius' law ensuring secrecy of individual votes in the *comitia* (assembly). Because of this breach of *fides* (trust) he failed to gain an aedileship, but became (urban) praetor 115, barely securing acquittal on a charge of *ambitus* (*see* BRIBERY, ROMAN). Sent to Further Spain as proconsul, he showed aptitude at guerrilla warfare and added to his fortune. On his return he married a patrician Julia, a distinguished match. In 109 Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, sent to fight a guerrilla war against Jugurtha, chose Marius as his senior legate. But

when Marius requested leave to seek a consulship, Metellus haughtily rebuffed him. Marius now intrigued against Metellus among his equestrian and Italian friends in Africa and Rome and won election for 107 by playing on suspicions of the aristocracy. He superseded Metellus in Numidia by special legislation. He ended the manpower shortage by the radical step of abolishing the property qualification for service and enrolled a volunteer army. After fighting for two years without decisive success, he captured Jugurtha through the diplomatic skill of his quaestor *Sulla, was elected consul for the second time for 104 by special dispensation, to deal with a threatened German invasion, and triumphed on 1 January.

He found an army reorganized and trained by Publius Rutilius Rufus, his fellow legate under Metellus and his enemy, as consul 105; and, re-elected consul year after year, with friendly colleagues, he improved the army's equipment and organization (*see* ARMIES, ROMAN) and defeated the Teutones and Ambrones at Aquae Sextiae (mod. Aix-en-Provence) and, with Quintus Lutatius Catulus, the Cimbri at Vercellae (near Rovigo in northern Italy), in 102 and 101 respectively, consenting to celebrate a joint triumph with Catulus. His immense prestige attracted nobles like Catulus into his following and confirmed the loyalty of *equites* and *plebs. He was elected to a sixth consulship (100), defeating Metellus' quixotic candidacy.

The tribune Lucius Appuleius Saturninus had provided land for his African veterans in 103, and in 100 undertook to do so for the veterans of the German war. Marius gladly accepted his co-operation and was pleased when Metellus' intransigence in opposition led to his exile. But when Saturninus, with the help of Gaius Servilius Glaucia, threatened to establish independent power, Marius turned against them, rejected Glaucia's consular candidacy, and, when they tried to force through a law overruling him, 'saved the republic' by forcibly suppressing them. But his stubborn opposition to Metellus' return, delaying it while his friend Marcus Antonius was consul, alienated his optimate supporters. When the vote for Metellus' recall passed, he left for the east, 'to fulfil a vow', abandoning hope for a censorship. His firm words to *Mithradates VI earned him election to an augurate in absence and, with his *dignitas* restored, he returned. But he had frittered away his overwhelming stature. Some of his friends and clients were now attacked (the younger Manius Aquillius, Gaius Norbanus; the prosecution of Titus Matrinius (Cic. *Balb.* 48 f.)), and although he successfully defended them, his noble friends deserted him. In 92, reaffirming his links with the *equites*, he assisted in the

prosecution of Publius Rutilius Rufus, and in 91 he seems to have opposed Marcus Livius Drusus with his equestrian friends, mobilizing his Italian followers against Drusus. When the senate openly expressed support for Sulla by allowing the Numidian ruler Bocchus I to dedicate on the Capitol a group showing Jugurtha's surrender, Marius was prevented from violent opposition only by the outbreak of the Social War of 91–89 (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.5). In the war he was successful on the northern front, but when not offered supreme command, chose to retire.

With war against Mithradates imminent, Marius hoped to have the command and opposed the attempt of his relative by marriage Gaius Iulius Caesar Strabo Vopiscus to win the consulship for 88. He found an ally in Drusus' friend Publius Sulpicius Rufus, tribune 88, in return for supporting his policies. When the *optimates* chose Sulla for the consulship and command (he married Caecilia Metella, widow of the *princeps senatus* (designated senior senator) Marcus Aemilius Scaurus), Sulpicius had the *plebs* transfer the command to Marius. Sulla responded by seizing Rome with his army. Marius, unprepared for this, had to flee (the flight was later embroidered with dramatic detail), finding safety at Cercina, a colony of his veterans off Africa. After the expulsion of Lucius Cornelius Cinna from Rome, Marius returned and joined him with an army collected among his veterans. He sacked Ostia and organized Cinna's capture of Rome. Both were proclaimed consuls for 86 and Marius was to supersede Sulla in the east. He now took terrible vengeance on his enemies, especially on faithless former friends; but his health gave out and he died before taking up his command.

A typical *novus homo* (first of his family to reach the senate and/or consulship), like *Cato the Elder before him and Cicero after him, Marius wanted to beat the nobles at their own game and win acceptance as a leader of their *res publica*. Unlike some aristocrats, from Gaius *Gracchus to *Caesar, he had no plans for reform. Although favouring rewards for soldiers without distinction between citizens and Italians, he opposed Drusus' attempt to enfranchise the Italians and left it to Saturninus to look after his veterans' interests. His reform of enlistment, due to momentary considerations, accidentally created the client army: it was Sulla who taught him the consequences. However, his early career first demonstrated the power inhering in an alliance of a successful commander with a demagogue and a noble following; and his opponents, in their attitude to him and to Sulla, revealed the lack of cohesion and of political principle besetting the *nobilitas* (the senatorial élite descended from consuls).

EB

markets and fairs

Greece

The arrival of the market as an institution in the 8th cent. BC (see TRADE, GREEK), gradually replacing archaic mechanisms for exchange, along with the concomitant beginnings of urbanization, prompted the *polis to develop marketing arrangements. The installation of permanent retail-markets in urban centres, signalled in the shift in the meaning of *agora from 'assembly (place of)' to 'market', is best followed at *Athens, where built shops are attested by c.500 and the first public edifice for commercial purposes by 391 BC (Ar. *Eccl.* 686), although temporary 'booths' (*skēnai*) and 'tables' (*trapezai*) still typified the bazaar-area in the 4th cent.; generally, peristylar (colonnaded) markets (*makella*) are a 3rd-cent. development. Elsewhere, as in the 'new town' at Olynthus (northern Greece), private houses could act as retail outlets. The polis controlled the urban market through *agoranomoi* and drew revenues from taxing retailers; but it had no larger interest in intervention beyond seeking to assure (for essentially political reasons) an adequate *food supply.

Although urban markets chiefly served an urban populace, additional periodic market-days, attested monthly at Classical Athens (Ar. *Eq.* 43–4; *Vesp.* 169–71), point to their use by peasant farmers; in the 3rd cent. BC one Attic village (Sunium, perhaps exceptional) had its own built market (J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (1988), 426–9). Although *Demosthenes (23. 39) speaks of the 'border market' (*agora ephoria*) as a thing of the past, periodic rural markets and fairs are attested in remote parts of Roman *Greece (e.g. Paus. 10. 32. 14–16). Periodic markets as a part of religious festivals (*panēgyreis*), well known from the Hellenistic period, are probably older (as at *Olympia, allegedly existing by c.500 BC: Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 3. 9); while all served pilgrims, some were genuine regional fairs too, encouraged by the lifting of import and export duties, as on *Delos (Strabo 10. 5. 4). Negotiation of temporary markets outside city walls for exchanges with campaigning armies was a feature of Greek military logistics.

Rome

The Forum was originally (*i.a.*) a market-site, the word surviving in this sense in the specialized markets of Rome (e.g. forum Boarium), although by the 1st cent. BC *macellum* was the usual term for an alimentary market. A daily retail market existed in Rome by 210 BC (Livy 26. 27. 1–4) and later was joined by others; wholesaling took place at the riverine Emporium, built in 193 BC (Livy 35. 10. 12). The state supervised Rome's markets through aediles.



markets and fairs Marble relief from *Ostia (mid-2nd cent. AD) showing a woman selling live produce over a 'counter' of chicken and rabbit cages. Much selling in classical cities was conducted in this casual fashion, rather than in built shops. The relief suggests the important role of working *women in the retail trade. DAI Rome, neg. no. D-DAI-ROM-80.3236

State-authorized periodic markets and fairs (*nundinae*, *mercatus*) have recently been shown to be commoner than usually thought in the Roman world. In cities they included both weekly ('peasant') markets, as for instance in some 25 towns in central Italy of the first cent. AD (attested by inscribed market-calendars), and also regional fairs, as with those following annual games at Rome itself (*Inscr. Ital.* 13. 2. 10) in the same period. In rural areas a distinctly Roman development is the estate market instituted by a landowner, of the type which brought a Roman senator into conflict with an Italian town in 105 (Plin., *Ep.* 5. 4 and 13) and found too in Roman *Africa and *Asia. Supra-regional fairs (as at Ammianus Marcellinus 14. 3. 3) seem to have been rare, probably because the long-distance seaborne transport of the Mediterranean was ill-adapted for punctuality. AJSS

marriage law

Greek

Marriage in Greece was a process of transfer, by which the *kyrios* ('lord' or 'controller') of a woman (normally her father; if he had died, her nearest adult male relative) gave her away to another man for the procreation of children. Originally this was merely a private arrangement between the two men; but, because the procreation of children affected inheritance of property and membership of the community, cities made laws regulating marriage in order to define legitimacy for those purposes.

In Athens a marriage was legal only if it began with *engyē*, a formal statement by the *kyrios* granting the woman to a husband. (A woman with no father or brother living could be awarded to a husband by the archon, the civilian head of state.) The woman's own consent was not legally required. She could not be married to a direct ascendant or descendant, nor to her brother or half-brother by the same mother, but marriage to a half-brother by the same father or to an uncle or cousin was permitted. From 451/0 BC marriage between an Athenian and a foreigner was forbidden (see CITIZENSHIP, GREEK). Bigamy was not allowed; a man could have a concubine as well as a wife, but the concubine's children were not legitimate. A man could divorce his wife by sending her back to her father, who could then give her in marriage to a second husband.

Marriage was often accompanied by gifts of property or money: in Homeric times usually by gifts from the husband to the father, in Classical Athens by a dowry given by the father to support the wife and her future children. But these were customary, not legal requirements.

See also INCEST.

DMM

Roman

Traditional expressions enshrine the view that a man took a wife for the procreation of children. According to the celebrated definition of Herennius Modestinus adopted in the *Digest*, Roman marriage was 'a joining together of a man and a woman, and a partnership (for life) in all areas of life, a sharing in divine and human law'

(Dig. 23. 2. 1), an ideal rather than a legal definition. No formalities were legally necessary for the inception of a marriage: the usual ceremonies had social and sometimes religious significance. All that was legally necessary was for a man and woman to live together with the intention of forming a lasting union (*affectio maritalis*, the reciprocal attitude of regarding each other as husband or wife). The initial consent was also given by both partners; if one or both was in paternal power (*patria potestas*) that of the respective fathers was needed. The social consequences of marriage (*honor matrimonii*) followed. Wedding ceremonies, especially the transfer of the bride to the husband's house (for the upper classes a procession) normally attested this intention. Moreover, the intention was necessary not merely at the beginning of a marriage, but throughout: hence if the intention ceased, the marriage was in principle at an end (see below). Roman marriage was essentially monogamous, for a man could have only one wife at a time for the purpose of breeding legitimate children, and intended to be lasting (provided that *affectio maritalis* persisted). But although the virtue and good fortune of a woman who in her lifetime had only one husband was valued (*univira*), remarriage was acceptable and necessary.

Marriage in the ancient world was a matter of personal law, and therefore a full Roman marriage (*iustae nuptiae*, *iustum matrimonium*) could exist only if both parties were Roman citizens or had *conubium* (right to contract marriage), either by grant to a group (e.g. Latins) or individually. Only such a marriage could place the children in the father's power and create rights of succession. Further, parties might have this general *conubium* but still lack *conubium* with each other. Impediments varied: (1) Age. Although consent, not consummation, made a marriage, the partners had to be physically capable. The minimum age became fixed at 12 for women and (apparently) 14, puberty, or both for men. (2) Relationship, by blood, adoption, or marriage, within certain degrees. (3) Disparate rank. A probably innovative prohibition of the *Twelve Tables on intermarriage between *patrician and plebeian (see PLEBS) was abolished in 445 BC; the Augustan marriage laws of 18 BC and AD 9 prohibited marriage between senators and their immediate descendants and freed slaves. (4) Considerations of morals or public policy. *Augustus similarly prohibited marriage between free-born citizens and members of disreputable professions, or with a convicted adulteress. Serving soldiers (below a certain rank) were forbidden to marry (a ban perhaps introduced by Augustus, maintained until *Septimius Severus); later, to avoid undue influence, provincial officials were forbidden to marry women of the province during their term, and guardians to marry their

wards. Marriage was usually preceded by a formal betrothal (*sponsalia*), in early law by solemn exchange of verbal promises (*sponsio*). Later, it became informal (though marked by celebration) and could be broken without legal penalty. But betrothal created relationships and moral obligations similar to those of marriage. In the 4th cent. AD, in imitation of eastern custom, earnest money (*arrha sponsalicia*) guaranteed the promise to marry.

Except when accompanied by *manus* (when all the wife's property became the husband's and she was under his control), marriage made no difference to the status or property rights of the wife. She remained either in the paternal power of her father or independent (*sui iuris*), with ownership of her property. Ideally, the separation of property of husband and wife was maintained. Dowry (*dos*), on the other hand, was property transferred to the husband for the duration of the marriage, for the maintenance of the wife. *Dos* was not legally necessary, but it was a moral duty to endow a woman so that she might make an eligible marriage. In early law, whoever gave the dowry could stipulate for its return at the end of the marriage; later, there developed a suit for return of dowry after divorce (*actio rei uxoriae*). The husband could retain fractions of the dowry to cover expenses and compensate him for misconduct or (if there were children) unjustified initiation of divorce by the wife. Later, the husband's ownership diminished; by Justinian's time it amounted to usufruct.

Marriage was ended by the withdrawal of *affectio maritalis* by one or both partners. There was no public authority which had to give permission; even receipt of formal notice was not legally necessary, although in practice a husband or wife would usually inform the partner orally or in writing or by messenger and one would leave the marital home and recover personal property, and arrangements would be made about return of dowry. Augustus introduced documented notification, probably only when the husband needed evidence that he had divorced an adulteress. The husband normally kept any children. If the wife was in *manus*, formalities were necessary to free her. Divorce was by the husband or his *paterfamilias* (male head of the family) in early times, but by the last century BC could also be decided by the wife (or her *paterfamilias*: the father's powers were gradually curbed). The upper class of the late republic and early Principate exploited the possibility with relative freedom (despite inconvenient economic consequences, possible emotional suffering, e.g. because young children would stay under the father's control, and some public disapproval unless the motives were acceptable, e.g. for *adultery). The Christian emperors penalized unilateral

divorce, except on specific grounds; Justinian briefly succeeded in prohibiting consensual divorce (see JUSTINIAN'S CODIFICATION). AB/BN/SMT

Mars, next to *Jupiter the chief Italian god. Months were named after him at Rome (*Martius*, mod. Eng. March), Alba Longa, Falerii, Aricia, Tusculum, Lavinium, and among the Hernici, Aequiculi, Paelignians, and Sabines (Ov. *Fast.* 3. 89–95, presumably from Verrius Flaccus). At Rome his festivals came in March and October, with the exception of the first Equirria (27 February). They were the *feriae Marti* on 1 March (old New Year's Day), second Equirria (14 March), *agonium Martiale* (17 March), Quinquatrus (19 March; afterwards extended to five days and supposed to be a festival of *Minerva), and Tubilustrium (23 March). All these may be reasonably explained, so far as their ritual is known, as preparations for the campaigning season, with performance of rites to benefit the horses (Equirria), trumpets (Tubilustrium), and other necessities for the conduct of war. On 1, 9, and 23 March also, the Salii, an ancient priesthood belonging to Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus (Serv. on *Aen.* 8. 663), danced a sort of war-dance in armour of the fashion of the bronze age and sang their traditional hymn, addressed apparently to all the gods, not to these three only. This is intelligible as further preparation for war. In October the Equus October came on the Ides (15th). A horse-race took place in the Campus Martius; the off horse of the winning team was sacrificed and his head contended for by the inhabitants of the via Sacra and the Suburra. On the 19th was the Armilustrium, presumably the purification of the soldiers' arms before putting them away for the winter. In this month again the Salii performed their dances ('arma ancilia movent', the *ancilia* being archaic shields shaped like the figure 8). Before commencing a war the general shook the sacred spears of Mars in the Regia, saying 'Mars vigila'; it is most probable that these were the original embodiments of the god. His priest is the *flamen Martialis* (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)) and his sacred animals the wolf and woodpecker (Wissowa, *RK.* 141 ff., 555 ff.). It is therefore not remarkable that he is usually considered a war-god and was equated with *Ares. Scholars have hesitated over the function of Mars (H. S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion* 2 (1992), 290 ff.). Often interpreted as a god of vegetation, Mars is now considered a war- and warrior-god, who exercised his wild function in various contexts, e.g. by his presence on the border of a city, a territory, a field, or a group of citizens. This border-line was materialized, before an action or a period of time, by a lustration, i.e. a circumambulation of three victims—a boar, a ram, a bull (*suovetaurilia*)—which were then sacrificed.

His mythology is almost entirely borrowed from Ares, the only exception being the comic tale of how he was deceived into marrying Anna Perenna (Ov. *Fast.* 3. 675 ff.). Under *Augustus he obtained an important new title, Uitor, 'Avenger', in recognition of the victory over *Caesar's assassins (*LTUR* III.223–31 for his other places of worship in Rome). HJR/JSch

Martial (Marcus Valerius Martialis), Latin poet, was born at Bilbilis in Spain on 1 March in a year between AD 38 and 41 (in 10. 24, written between 95 and 98, he celebrates his fifty-seventh birthday). He died in Spain, probably at Bilbilis, between 101 and 104 (book 12 is later than 101, but Plin. *Ep.* 3. 21 on Martial's death is not later than 104). Brought up in Spain, he came to Rome around AD 64 (10. 103 and 104, datable to AD 98, report that he had lived in Rome for 34 years). In Rome he was supported by the younger *Seneca, then the most celebrated Spaniard in the city, and probably by other important patrons (4. 40, 12. 36): Gaius Calpurnius Piso, Memmius Regulus (consul in 63), and Vibius Crispus (consul in 61). Already in 65, however, the suppression of the Pisonian conspiracy brought ruin to the families of Seneca and Piso. Martial continued to be on friendly terms with the widow of *Lucan (Seneca's nephew and another victim) and with Quintus Ovidius, formerly connected with the circle of Seneca (7. 44, 45): it is possible that Martial's property at Nomentum and the neighbouring estate of Quintus Ovidius were both gifts from Seneca, who had considerable holdings in the area. These links do not, however, mean that Martial was connected with the intellectual opposition to *Domitian, whose favour he assiduously courted. The references to martyrs to republican freedom (*Pompey, *Cicero, *Cato the Younger, *Brutus, Porcia, Thræsea Paetus) that occur from time to time in Martial are common in literature and by this date innocuous, or indeed had been taken over by Flavian propaganda against Nero. We do not know if Martial attempted a legal career: he expresses strong dislike of the idea, even when endorsed by another important Spaniard, the rhetorician Quintilian (2. 90), but it was normally considered the most suitable career for an intellectual on the make. In the fifteen years and more that he spent in Rome before his first publications, he was probably already gaining renown and reward through occasional verse and panegyrics of the rich and powerful. He must already have been well known to have been able in 80 to celebrate with a book of epigrams an important public event, the opening games for the new Flavian amphitheatre (see COLOSSEUM). It was probably on this occasion that *Titus gave him the *ius trium liberorum* (privileges rewarding parents of three children and

granted fictitiously as a favour), an honour later confirmed by Domitian. After another two collections with particular purposes (*Xenia* and *Apophoreta*), in 86 he began publishing the series of twelve books of varied epigrams which are his principal claim to fame. They show already in existence a network of patronage and friendship involving a large cross-section of Roman upper-class society. He was also in contact with many of the most significant writers of the period: *Quintilian, *Pliny the Younger, *Silius Italicus, Frontinus, *Juvenal. There is no mention of *Statius, nor does Statius ever mention Martial, and this silence is usually taken to be a sign of personal enmity between two poets competing for the attentions of the same patrons. Martial's success, already apparently noteworthy before his poems were published in book form (2. 6), grew progressively, and he became extremely popular, being read even in the provinces by a wide public. His relationship with Domitian and the powerful *freedmen of the court also grew, as his popular success gave him a central role in the literary scene and made it more and more natural that his epigrams should be used to celebrate official events connected with imperial propaganda. Martial complains that this success did not bring him financial reward: without any copyright in his works, he was dependent on patrons whose lack of generosity towards their clients and refusal to respect the role and dignity of an intellectual and a poet he constantly laments. He represents himself, doubtless with considerable exaggeration, as just another *cliens* (client) forced to roam the streets of Rome in search of tiny recompense for the humiliating attentions that had to be paid to his patrons. For a long time he rented a house like other persons of moderate means, but he had his property at Nomentum, and from 94 at least he also had a house in Rome: he had a number of slaves, and an honorary tribunate (3. 95. 9) conferred on him the social prestige of equestrian rank. After the death of Domitian he showed no hesitation in repudiating his earlier adulation and turning to Nerva (in book 11; an anthology of books 10 and 11 was also dedicated to Nerva, but this has not survived, though its opening epigrams were placed in book 12) and later Trajan (in a second edition of book 10 from which Domitian's name was expunged, the only version to survive, and in book 12). Both his personal position and his poetry were, however, too closely involved with the court of Domitian, and in the new regime Martial must have felt less at home. Tired of city life and, as ever, nostalgic for the idealized 'natural' life in Spain that he had always set against the falsity and conventionality of Rome, he decided to return there in 98. One of his patrons, Pliny the Younger, helped him with the expenses of the journey, and even in Spain he needed to depend on

the generosity of friends, especially a widow, Marcella, who gave him a house and farm which finally enabled him to realize his dream of a free and natural existence. The contradictory and unnatural life of the capital was, however, the source of his poetry, and in book 12, composed in Spain, he expresses with a new bitterness his sense of delusion and emptiness at the loss of the cultural and social stimuli that had made him a poet in the first place.

Works

Epigrammaton liber (modern title, *Liber de spectaculis*), published AD 80. This described the games for the opening of the Flavian amphitheatre, the '*Colosseum': we possess an incomplete selection of about 30 poems from the highly original volume.

Xenia and *Apophoreta* (now books 13 and 14), published in December of two different years (or less likely a single year) between 83 and 85. They claim to be collections of poetic tickets, each of a single couplet in elegiacs (except for two of the 127 *Xenia* and nine of the 223 *Apophoreta*), and designed to accompany gifts at the Saturnalia festival. They present themselves as collections from which readers can select examples for their own use, and thus form part of the production of works designed to be of practical help to readers during the Saturnalian festivities (cf. *Ov. Tri.* 2. 471 ff.) but they merit literary appreciation for the ingenious brevity with which they characterize everyday objects (in the case of the *Xenia* usually foodstuffs, in the more varied and lively *Apophoreta* every type of gift).

Epigrammaton libri XII (around 1,175 poems in all), published probably as follows. Book 1 at the beginning of 86; 2 in 86–7; 3 in autumn 87, during a long stay at Imola; 4 in December 88; 5 in December 89; 6 in 90–1; 7 in December 92; 8 in January 94; 9 in autumn 94; 10 (lost first edition) in 95; 11 in December 96; 10 (second edition), April–October 98; 12, end of 101/102. Books 1, 2, 8, 9, 12 have prose prefaces.

Martial's production does sometimes include epigrams of the usual Greek type: epitaphs for friends and patrons, dedications celebrating both private and public events, and epideictic poems on contemporary or historical events, unusual happenings, or recoveries from illness. In these cases the traditional conventions are easily recognized, though the treatment may be original. In general, however, Martial's epigrams are very different from those of his Greek predecessors. His main model was *Catullus, not as a love-poet but as a writer who had brought full literary dignity to the minor poetry of autobiography and comic realism. He takes from Catullus many formal elements, above all his

metres: as well as the elegiac couplets characteristic of Greek epigram and also predominant in Martial, he includes poems in hendecasyllables and scazons, both common metres in Catullus. Other metres are rare. Catullus had created a genre of minor poetry which joined the influence of the Greek epigram, iambic, and lyric traditions to the Roman tradition (itself influenced by Greek iambic poetry) of satirical verse full of personal and political polemic. Of the other models to whom Martial refers, we know little (Domitius Marsus) or scarcely anything (Albinovanus Pedo, Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus), but they presumably continued the Catullan tradition. Certainly this type of minor poetry on sentimental/autobiographical, satirical, polemical, or complimentary themes was widely practised at Rome both by dilettante amateurs and by 'professional' poets as occasional verse for their patrons. Martial also had important models in late Hellenistic Greek epigram (*see* EPIGRAM, GREEK), which had already developed the tendency towards a clever final 'point' which marks much of his work: the Neronian poet Lucilius and his imitator Nicarchus had cultivated a new type of epigram mocking physical defects and typical characters from social and professional life. Their epigrams are perhaps a little cold and cerebral, but they conclude with striking final effects of surprise.

At first Martial's poems circulated privately, especially through oral delivery (2. 6), or were published in connection with particular events (*Liber de spectaculis*) or for particular 'practical' purposes (*Xenia, Apophoreta*). When he decided to publish them in collections of varied nature divorced from their (real or supposed) occasions, they ceased to be 'practical' verse and became 'literature', although the new form of presentation in its turn fulfilled roles as entertainment, polemic, or celebration on a higher and more lasting level. Martial's growing success with his readers encouraged the conviction that this type of minor poetry (which he always termed 'epigram', in contrast to the more varied terminology of other writers of the period) corresponded to a real need which the grander and more official genres could not satisfy. It was not a question of formal elegance or emotional intensity—the characteristics that had led *Callimachus and Catullus to affirm the greater dignity of the shorter forms—but of a need for realism, for a closer link between the pages of the text and everyday life (8. 3). The short epigram, able to treat incisively any and every aspect of life, could satisfy this need in a way that the more distant and conventional genres, which continued to produce variations on the same old mythological themes (4. 49, 9. 50, 10. 4), could not. The most typical form of the

epigram in Martial, and the reason for his success, is the humorous realistic epigram on contemporary characters and behaviour which moves from witty entertainment to offer a lively and merciless picture of Roman society, revealing its multiple absurdities and contradictions through the mirror of the gestures and behaviour of the various social classes. Martial's attitude, unlike most social description in antiquity, is not moralizing, but he takes pleasure simply in recording with all his verbal art the complexities and contradictions of the spectacle of life. Both as a Spaniard born in a province which still retained a sense of the natural life of the country, and as an intellectual in a world where poets were valued less than he thought their due, Martial observes Rome from the outside. His ambitious view that his chosen poetic form, considered the lowest of all genres (12. 94. 9), might have greater validity than the great works promoted by official culture, and the merciless picture he offers of Roman society together give Martial's work a strongly anti-establishment tone, which, though frequently criticized by opponents, was well received by the general public, and eventually even by the higher classes and the court, albeit with a certain nervousness. A considerable part of his work in fact represents him as well integrated into the life of the upper classes, who were happy to see themselves described and celebrated in his verse even if at the same time it exposed many sordid aspects of the society of which these same classes were the highest representatives. The epigrams which Martial as a 'professional' poet offered to his patrons as a noble and cultured ornament of their lives give to us a particularly concrete and direct representation of Roman high society, with its houses, parks, possessions, and rituals. The many epigrams devoted to Titus and especially to Domitian are a fundamental document for the history of the imperial cult under the Flavians (*see* RULER-CULT). The first-person of the comic or satirical poems is mostly simply a device to give vividness to the many social observations so that they appear to have been born from one man's experience, but there is also a more autobiographical 'I', not always easy to separate from the more general figure, the personality of a restless and unsatisfied poet who is proud of his merits but disappointed in society and convinced that he could have achieved much more in different circumstances. We are offered the picture of a simple and candid individual, qualities appropriate to a poet who constantly denounces the falsity and paradoxes of a counterfeit life, a man of delicate affections and a strong sense of friendship, both often depicted in Horatian terms (*see* HORACE). Love (as opposed to sex) plays little part in the poems, but

there are some epigrams of a subtle and sophisticated eroticism, mainly directed towards boys.

Martial's production is extremely varied, and offers both realism and fantasy, subtlety and extravagance. It is rarely that one has a sense of a poem having been written solely for piquant entertainment. His poetic language is influenced not only by Catullus but also by Horace, and above all by *Ovid; it has a cool mastery of expression which knows how to preserve the appearance of nature even when artifice is at its most obvious. His celebratory and adulatory poetry is clearly related to the precious mannerism of Flavian epideictic as we find it in some of Statius' *Silvae*, albeit with a greater lightness of touch. His realistic epigrams, while maintaining a high literary quality, open themselves to a lower and cruder language, including obscenity: in this area Martial is one of the boldest Latin poets, and, in general, many everyday objects and acts, and the words that describe them, enter Latin poetry for the first time with Martial. His most celebrated virtue is the technique with which he realizes his comic effects, either giving his epigrams a novel or surprising conclusion which throws an unexpected light on the situation being described, or else concentrating the entire sense of the poem at the end, in a pointed, antithetical, or paradoxical formulation of extraordinary density and richness of expression. See CLOSURE. This technique derives in part from later Greek epigram (see above), and also shows the same taste for point seen in contemporary rhetoric; Martial's brilliantly inventive use of it made him a model for the modern epigram, and indeed more widely for modern short poetry. The comic mechanisms that he employs, however, are not simply intellectual games, but also the means by which, on each occasion, the reality he is representing can be made the bearer of an intimate contradiction and incongruity, of a violent asymmetry with respect to reason and nature. They are thereby an original and efficacious means to give meaning to the myriad fragments of reality which had attracted his interest and which his large corpus offers in abundance. Within this vast canvas, the generic affinity with real life that epigram derives from its occasional nature is everywhere employed to the full, but realism is in productive tension with fantasy, play, and the grotesque, as the patterns of behaviour of everyday life are turned about in the brilliant paradoxes of Martial's wit.

MCI

Marxism and classical antiquity Having written his doctoral dissertation on the atomic theories of Democritus and *Epicurus (1841, published 1928), Karl Marx retained a lifelong interest in classical antiquity, spicing his writings with a wealth of allusions to ancient texts.

The central concern of Marx's intellectual and practical activity was class conflict, but he never provided a definitive account of what he understood by class, and he applied the term to the ancient world in different ways. In the *Communist Manifesto* (with Engels, 1848), Marx spoke of the conflict between 'freeman and slave', but in the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852) he stressed the struggle between wealthy and poor citizens in antiquity, with slaves forming 'the purely passive pedestal for these combatants'. Later, in the first volume of *Capital* (1867), Marx stated that the class struggle in antiquity 'took the form chiefly of a contest between debtors and creditors'; but in the posthumously published third volume (1894) slave and feudal relations of production were amalgamated to form a contrast with capitalism. See CLASS STRUGGLE.

Marx gave primacy in historical explanation to material economic factors, and in his summation of his theory (preface to *Critique of Political Economy* (1859)) he outlined a schema whereby increasing productive capacities led necessarily to strains in the prevailing social relations and the emergence of a new mode of production or social formation. But in the *Grundrisse* notebooks of 1857–8 and elsewhere, he characterized pre-capitalist societies as essentially static in comparison to the revolutionary nature of capitalist production.

In the exploratory *Grundrisse* drafts (published partially in 1939, in full in 1953), Marx identified the classical city as one of four different social formations by which class society emerged from primitive communalism. Whether a relatively stable slave society may be described as the locus of class struggle has been much debated among Marxists. Since Marx defined exploitation as the extraction by one class of a portion of the value (called *Mehrwert* or 'surplus value') created by the labour of another class, class relations are assumed to be antagonistic. But the antagonism between slaves and slave-owners rarely took the form of overt collective conflict. See SLAVERY.

The authority of Stalin's unscholarly *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* (1938), relying largely on Engels's *Origins of Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884) and other writings, imposed a rigid progressivist schema on orthodox Marxist historiography. According to this 'theory of stages', each historical epoch is defined by the prevailing form of labour relation and yields inexorably to the next 'higher' stage as a result of class struggles. Thus, slave society is supposed universally to have given way to feudalism, itself in turn replaced by capitalism and then communism. Since the pluralist sixties, various models of ancient society have found supporters among Marxist historians.

In Marxist historiography, Classical Greece and Rome are commonly understood to have been slave societies, characterized by a mode of production in which slave labour yields the greatest quantity of surplus value. Slavery need not, on this conception, be the predominant form of labour in respect of numbers of labourers or total quantity of production. While peasant farmers may have been responsible for the larger part of the value produced, slavery will have been the chief form in which the value produced by direct labour was expropriated by the class of large landowners, and thus the basis for the leisure and power of the dominant social class.

Considerable disagreement remains over just when and how slavery took hold in earnest as the primary mode of production in classical antiquity, and when and how it was superseded by feudal labour relations. In regard to the Athenian *democracy, for example, some Marxists have stressed the role of slavery in large-scale agriculture, but others have contended that slave labour was marginal to agricultural production and concentrated rather in household services and, importantly, the *mines. On either conception, overt class struggle consisted basically in a conflict between large landowners, who were in a position to exploit slave and other forms of dependent *labour, and smallholders who ran the risk of being degraded into the ranks of dependent labour.

Slavery did not disappear in late antiquity, but it yielded in importance to the colonate and other forms of free or semi-free dependent labour. The reasons for this change are again controversial among Marxists, of whom some have attributed the decline of slavery to the higher cost of slaves (and hence the lower profitability of slavery) under the *pax Romana*, whereas others have pointed to the availability of alternative sources of dependent labour as a consequence of the earlier expropriation of the small Roman peasantry (itself a function, in part, of the widespread exploitation of slave labour due to Roman imperial expansion).

Marxist theories of culture have generally emphasized that ideas and institutions depend on a society's underlying relations of production (Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology* (1845–6); Marx's 1859 preface). Marx's own nuanced observations concerning culture were, however, obscured by the mechanical, Stalinist division between base and superstructure, whereby economic relations and interests were held to determine all aspects of culture from morality and the arts to education and law. Neo-Marxist theories, originating especially in Italy and France, have stressed instead the relative autonomy of cultural forms and transcended the purely instrumental view of ideology as a weapon wielded by the ruling class to preserve its hegemony. Marxists have also become

increasingly sensitive to analyses of forms of oppression other than the narrowly economic, above all the oppression of *women and other 'outsiders'.

While Marxist historians have been particularly concerned to recover the culture of slaves and other oppressed groups in antiquity directly from the meagre evidence, Marxist critics have also attempted to uncover evidence of class conflict in canonical works of literature, understood to have been shaped by tensions and evasions having their roots in the contradictions of exploitative social relations. Studies of ideology and class relations in the great works of classical antiquity are still rare, but they have contributed substantially to a new interest in the material conditions of the production of classical art. *See also* LITERARY THEORY AND CLASSICAL STUDIES. PAC/DK

Masada (see ◀ Map 4, Ed ▶) is a small isolated plateau 457 m. (1,500 ft.) high, on the western shore of the Dead Sea, and accessible from there only by the tortuous 'snake path'. KING Herod the Great of Judaea, having secured his family in its Hasmonean fortress during the Parthian invasion of 40 BC, later made it the most spectacular of his own fortress residences, with two ornate palaces, one built onto the northern rock terraces. Archaeology supplements *Josephus' detailed description of the architecture, revealing also a garrison-block, baths, storage rooms for quantities of food and weapons, cisterns, a surrounding casemate wall, and (probably) a synagogue and ritual immersion pool. After the murder in Jerusalem of their leader, Menahem, early in the Jewish Revolt, *sicarii* (Jewish rebels) occupied Masada; and it was the last fortress to hold out after the fall of Jerusalem, succumbing in AD 73 or 74 to a six-month siege by Flavius Silva. *See* JEWS. The eight Roman *camps and circumvallation are visible, as well as the earth ramp which supported a platform for artillery. Josephus' graphic account of the mass suicide of the 960 defenders, with their leader, Eleazar ben Yair, after the breaching of the wall, supposedly based on the testimony of two women survivors, has aroused some scepticism. But the remains of the revolutionaries' years of occupation of the site are extensive. These include domestic and personal objects, as well as Greek papyri and biblical texts of the Qumran type (*see* DEAD SEA SCROLLS). EMS/TR

masculinity Achilles' father hoped he would become 'a speaker of words and a doer of deeds' (Hom. *Il.* 9.443-4) and this amalgam—realized better by Odysseus—remained the ideal of masculinity throughout antiquity. But it was not open to all: boys, slaves, the poor (like Homer's Thersites), and foreigners could not be real



Masada Air view of Masada from the north-west. Silva's camp is clearly visible (lower right), as is the Roman ramp in the middle of the west slope. © www.BibleLandPictures.com / Alamy

men. (The Persians, who wore pantaloons rather than a virile cloak or tunic, were especially suspect.) Even the citizen élite found masculinity difficult to reach and maintain; it is perhaps indicative that the most common terms—Greek *andreia*, Roman *virtus*—are feminine in gender. Sexual performance made a difference: men took the active, penetrating role; passively permitting penetration rendered them effeminate. But, since self-control too was pre-eminent among masculine virtues, too much sexual activity or pleasure in penetration also likened them to women. (So did a fondness for soft living—fine clothes, warm baths—or undisciplined speech.) Only in times of social turmoil did unreckoning rashness earn the label of manliness (*andreia*) and moderation become a mask for its lack (Thuc. 3.82). Other attributes of masculinity varied over time. Weeping, once manly enough for Homer's heroes, became unmanly in Classical Athens (where the friends of Socrates restrain their tears at his death-bed); litigation there became an acceptable substitute for physical force. Roman *virtus*, originally linked to physical endurance and prowess in war, took on connotations of moral excellence and beards later covered the clean-shaven chins of the late republic and early empire.

But while élite intellectuals of the time tried to present rhetorical skill as more manly than athletics, it is unlikely that they reached (let alone persuaded) most of their contemporaries, and gladiators reflected rather than replaced the soldier as a type of manly courage. Greek festivals featured contests in manliness (*euandria*) until at least the 1st cent. BC. Perhaps oddly, fathering children does not seem to have been used as an index of virility in Athenian courtrooms. But then it would have been hard to compete with the gods, whose every sexual act was productive. The focus on masculinity in ancient historical scholarship is relatively recent. See GENDER. MG

materiality The belief in matter as a constituent of experience and reality was strongly rooted in Greek and Roman thought, but it was also highly contested. Matter was first named by the *Presocratic philosophers. Prior to then, materiality existed, but intuitively. *Homer's world is densely material, crowded with things, and his art is marked by a pleasure in materials. Bodies, objects, things, and their properties furnish a sense of materiality (of what is hard, resistant, or malleable; subject to agency, alteration, and destruction). Notably lacking is any sense of

the immaterial and the incorporeal (gods are fleshly; souls are bits of breath). Homer is therefore arguably the first materialist in the West, albeit an intuitive one.

Over the next centuries, a new sense of materiality gradually emerged, in tandem with a growing sense of the immaterial (the rare [*araios*]; the incorporeal [*asōmatos*]; the empty [*kenos*]), and eventually of form as an immutable substance or essence (*eukuklos sphaira*: Parmenides; *eidos*: *Plato, *Aristotle). The earliest philosophers sought to explain the natural, sensible world in terms of its physical constituents or principles (*archai*), often reductively so (water, the unlimited, air, fire, infinitely divisible stuff, indivisible atoms, and other *archai*). Just as their theories clashed, so did their vocabularies: no consensus term for matter emerged until after Aristotle (*hulē*; Latin: *materia*). Stoics and Epicureans perpetuated the earlier Presocratic materialist traditions, while Peripatetics and Neoplatonics refined Aristotle's and Plato's essentialism.

Materialist tendencies continued to flourish elsewhere, especially in art and aesthetics, given the powerful roles allotted to experience and the senses in the arts, and possibly given the native sensualism of Greek and Roman aesthetics since Homer. Conditioned by Winckelmann's idealization of ancient art, which is founded on a disavowal of matter *à la* Plato and Aristotle, modern scholarship is often ill-equipped to confront ancient art and its vocabulary. As R. Gordon has pointed out, *Pliny the Elder's famous chapters on art history (*HN* 34–6), the source of so much of our own, are part of a taxonomy of stones and metals—very unlike our own. Works of art are for Pliny in fact composed of natural elements, virtually in Presocratic fashion. How might inherited views of matter have influenced ancient experiences of material objects (ruins, topographies, collections, artefacts, cult objects)? Xenophanes may have paved the way with his inquiries into fossils and geology (*DK* 21A33), though Homer puzzles over physical ruins to poetic effect too (*Il.* 2.811–14; *Il.* 23.331–2). The question remains an open one, and with it a whole area of study. Contemporary approaches ('thing theory', phenomenologies of materiality), some of it derived from antiquity and much of it flourishing outside of classics (in anthropology, archaeology, and cultural studies), could lead the way to a better grasp of the classical past today. JIP

mathematics Like all other people the Greeks counted, measured, and taught such skills to their young. Such practices in the classical Mediterranean were mostly continuous with those of the ancient near east. The Babylonian base 60 found its way into Greek coin values, the near eastern *Abacus*—probably a Semitic word—was widely used, and mathematical education in Hellenistic

Egypt (as seen in papyri) was closely related to that of Ancient Mesopotamia. At the same time, *mathēmatikē*, at the latest from *Plato's time onwards, came to refer to something different. Midway between the modern terms 'mathematics' and 'exact sciences', this was primarily a new genre. It was never pursued by more than a handful of experts (even educated Greeks would know very little about the contents of this genre, though many could know about its existence). This genre formed a radical departure, both externally (from the Ancient near east) and internally (from other Greek genres). It survived throughout antiquity and essentially remained unchanged in Arabic and Latin forms in the Middle Ages, forming the basis for modern science. Its major achievement was the deductive method: reading a Greek mathematical proof, one finds its validity irresistibly compelling. It may be for this reason that Greek culture, with its emphasis on persuasion, was the one to invent the mathematical genre (G. E. R. Lloyd, *Demystifying Mentalities* (1990)).

A relatively large body of Greek works in the exact sciences is extant in the original. The more important extant authors are (a) mostly geometry: Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, Hypsicles, Pappus, Eutocius; (b) mostly arithmetic: Nicomachus, Diophantus; (c) mostly astronomy: Autolycus, Aristarchus, Hipparchus, Ptolemy, Theon of Alexandria (d) mostly mechanics: Philon of Byzantium, Heron. A significant body of work is extant in Arabic translation only: e.g. by the mostly geometrical Diocles, or by the mostly astronomical Menelaus. The work of many other authors is attested, sometimes at length, so that we know of specific achievements by such figures as Hippocrates of Chios, Archytas, Eudoxus, Theaetetus, and so on, through Hellenistic authors such as Hippias, Eratosthenes, *Nicomedes, and Dionysodoros. Overall, it may be that mathematics has one of the best ratios, among ancient genres, of extant-to-lost works (it was a minor genre in antiquity itself, but was taken very seriously by the Byzantine and Arabic reception).

The list of extant authors above has one author from the 4th cent. BC, five from the 3rd cent. BC, two from the 2nd cent. BC, one from the 1st cent. AD, two from the 2nd cent. AD, three from the 4th cent. AD, one from the 6th cent. AD. This is typical and the two major periods of activity in ancient mathematics were the Hellenistic period (the great bulk of extant Hellenistic prose is mathematical), and late antiquity.

Mathematics is mostly only indirectly attested from the pre-Hellenistic period. Although the Greeks themselves believed their mathematics emerged with such authors as Thales in Ionia (W. Turkey) and *Pythagoras in Magna Graecia (S. Italy), it is clear that no mathematical

writings preceded the 5th cent. BC and it appears that the genre emerged as a recognizable entity only towards the end of that century. Its first practitioners were either Ionians active for at least a part of their career in Athens (so, most important, Hippocrates of Chios), or Western Greeks whose work was in some sense 'Pythagorean' (so, most important, Archytas). Overall, then, Greek mathematics emerges in exactly the same context as that of Presocratic philosophy. In the 4th cent. we are often told by late sources that mathematicians were connected with Plato and, by the time we come to Euclid's work (the earliest to survive in substantial quantity—if we trust the traditional dating to c.300 BC), we find a deep concern with logical order. This at the very least suggests acquaintance with the sophisticated epistemology and logic of 4th-cent. philosophers such as Aristotle. But it is clear that by that time mathematics has already formed an identity distinct from that of philosophy.

This identity is most powerfully seen in the extant Hellenistic works, noticeable as a set of generic constraints. There is very little discursive text, the work instead proceeding through a discrete series of proofs. Each such proof is organized around a diagram, and written in a highly specialized technical, formulaic language. The treatise consisting of those proofs was only rarely an axiomatically structured survey of its field, in the manner of Euclid's *Elements*. Instead, typically, one would dedicate a treatise to the solution of a given problem, either through a series of many different proofs dedicated to individual cases of a problem (so, especially, many of Apollonius' lost works), or through a gradual development of a set of theorems giving rise to a remarkable set of results as their culmination (so, especially, the works of Archimedes). A Hellenistic mathematical treatise was thus an irresistible piece of persuasion, fully mastering a well-defined problem.

The largely non-discursive character of Hellenistic mathematical writing prevented much philosophical discussion but it is telling that even in their few discursive passages, Hellenistic mathematicians addressed not philosophical, but mathematical issues, typically situating the new treatise vis-à-vis past mathematical works. At the same time, it is noticeable that Hellenistic philosophers—unlike their counterparts in the 4th cent. BC—did not significantly address mathematics in their work (or did so negatively, as Epicureans (see EPICURUS) and later on Sceptics did). The implication is that mathematics and philosophy, closely tied together in the pre-Hellenistic period, drifted apart in the Hellenistic world. It might be significant that the mathematical network of communication was based in Alexandria (authors writing from Alexandria, or addressing their works to Alexan-

drian readers), even as philosophy was more and more concentrated in Athens.

In the Roman era mathematics regains its connection with philosophy. Authors such as Heron and Ptolemy stress their philosophical credentials, and many extant mathematical works from the period are motivated by philosophical interests (Geminus, Nicomachus, Cleomedes, Theon of Smyrna). Mathematics as a whole is less hermetic. Style becomes more discursive, and the subject matter becomes more focused on natural phenomena such as mechanics and, above all, astronomy.

The urge to bring together mathematics and philosophy puts an emphasis on synthesis. This becomes the major theme of Late Ancient culture where, through the vehicle of the commentary, works systematize and homogenize past knowledge. Pappus' *Collection* as well as the various mathematical commentaries share in this project. It appears that in this period Euclid, in particular, became enshrined as an embodiment of mathematical system. In this systematized, homogenized form, the Greek exact sciences were conserved and transmitted through the Middle Ages.

The two main themes of the Greek exact sciences were plane figures, and proportions. (*Plane* figures: the many results concerning solids are almost invariably obtained by considering some planar slice of the solid.) The first four books of Euclid's *Elements* build a pool of results concerning plane figures, and book 5 builds a pool of results concerning proportion theory. Book 6 builds results for the proportions holding inside plane figures. Books 1 to 6 constitute the bulk of the background necessary for the Greek exact sciences.

The significance of conic sections is that they give rise to proportions that allow a transfer of results across dimensions, obtained by proportions such as (line A:line B)::(area C:area D). Conic sections are for this reason the pre-eminent tool of advanced pure mathematics and form the basis of many of the objects studied there. The two major extant authors in advanced pure mathematics, Apollonius and Archimedes, are famous either for developing the theory of conic sections as such (Apollonius) or for finding proportions between geometrical figures based primarily on the theory of conic sections (Archimedes).

The duality of figures-and-proportions is ultimately related to the inherent duality of Greek mathematical style: *formulaic statements* concerning a **diagram*. The diagram depicts a plane configuration; the formulaic statements are useful tools for the manipulation of complex relations such as proportions. (The Greeks did not use symbolism, writing instead in full complex, formulaic expressions such as 'A has to B the same ratio as C to D'). In general,

the Greek exact sciences combine a concrete object (e.g. a figure in a diagram) and an abstract statement. (Platonist philosophy embraces mathematics for this reason, as a paradigm of the abstract approach to a concrete reality.) This is reflected in the many forms of ‘mixed sciences’, where an abstract mathematical argument is applied to some material object: musical (and then the main mathematical tool is that of numerical ratios), optical, mechanical, and astronomical (whose study is typically close to that of pure geometry). In this, more geometrical manner, optics is essentially a study of the straight lines of vision, mechanics—of the laws of the balance conceived as a geometrical proportion. And the many mathematical passages of Ptolemy’s *Almagest* are almost invariably studies in the geometry of circular arcs (out of which astronomical trajectories are composed), often paired with a study of proportions (as a tool for obtaining bounds on calculations which are effectively trigonometric).

Greek mathematics is about finding finite ratios. Its most lasting achievement is in the treatment of the breakdown of finite ratios: incommensurability and infinity. Very early on, Greeks were able to show that certain ratios (e.g. side and diagonal of a square) are ‘incommensurable’: cannot be the same as $m:n$ with m, n integers. The phenomenon of incommensurability will remain as a key theme of mathematics, eventually leading to a revision of the very notion of ‘number’. The Greek specialized study of incommensurability, however—extant only in Book 10 of the *Elements*—was an intellectual dead end (Euclid attempts to classify kinds of irrationals, but this classification did not prove to be mathematically fruitful.)

Even more significant was the study of curvilinear figures based on a converging series of rectilinear figures. First used by Eudoxus as a tool for showing that the cone is one third the cylinder enclosing it (a treatment extant in *Elements* 12), this became Archimedes’ standard technique (referred to as ‘Method of Exhaustion’). It anticipates in some ways the modern calculus with its use of potentially infinite series; it certainly formed the inspiration for the rise of modern mathematics.

Scholarship of the ancient exact sciences tended to be technical and internalist, focusing on the philological recovery of texts (from the middle of the 20th cent. onwards, much of the scholarly interest in this regard went into identifying the traces of Greek sources in Medieval translations and adaptations), or on the mathematical elucidation of results and procedures. Two geniuses stand out: J. L. Heiberg (1854–1928) still dominates the philology of the Greek exact sciences; O. Neugebauer (1899–1990) still dominates the mathematical elucidation, especially of ancient astronomy. A major field of his-

torical interpretation has been the interplay of science and philosophy, especially in the Pre-Hellenistic period, and its relation with the rise of the body of knowledge we know as Euclid’s *Elements*. This line of research culminated with W. R. Knorr (*The Evolution of Euclid’s Elements* (1975)) and largely speaking stopped there. Over the last 40 years, research in the ancient exact sciences moves more and more to the historical interpretation of the extant documents in their (mostly) Hellenistic or Late Ancient context. RN

matriarchy has since J. J. Bachofen (*Das Mutterrecht* (1861)) been used to denote a quite hypothetical and now long discredited phase in the history of mankind when property was transmitted and descent traced through females, not males. (There has from the outset been a persistent tendency to confuse the specific phenomenon of matrilineal descent on the one hand—a system widely attested among contemporary peoples worldwide—with female supremacy in a more general and altogether less clearly defined sense on the other). The system of descent is stated by Herodotus (1. 173) to have been operative as a going concern among the non-Greek people of Lycia (SW *Asia Minor) in his own time, but this assertion is flatly contradicted by the conventional family structure reflected in their funeral inscriptions, including well over 150 in the Lycian language itself, many of which go back to the 4th cent. BC.

The statement of *Aristotle (fr. 547 Rose; cited by Polyb. 12. 5–6) that the people of Locri Epizephyrii in southern Italy derived all their ancestral honours from women, not from men, has long been viewed as indicating a similar descent system, but in fact refers to the first generation only. It reflects the ancient tradition that the city was founded by runaway slaves who (unlike the accompanying womenfolk) necessarily and by definition lacked full civic status, from which alone honours of any kind could be derived. Crucial to the correct interpretation of Aristotle’s statement (even as summarized: the verb is lacking) is the distinction between the first and second preposition, which on a casual reading it is only too easy, but mistaken, to assimilate: ‘among them all ancestral distinction (is derived) from the women, not from the men...’ (πάντα τὰ διὰ προγόνων ἔνδοξα παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν...).

The Greek term ‘gynaecocracy’ (‘women in control’), used much more widely, denotes not a specific set of institutions, or descent system, but a disturbing threat to, and reversal of, the state of masculine supremacy on all fronts, the normality (and desirability) of which is effectively taken for granted by ancient sources, which are throughout antiquity hardly notable for even an incipient

feminism. Mythical all-female societies such as the *Amazons or the women of Aegean Lemnos appear to reflect projected male anxiety on this score rather than any sort of recollection (itself a highly questionable notion) of prehistoric data. Equally, ancient speculations as to what preceded the institution of marriage (the invention of the Athenian king Cecrops: Varro in August. *De civ. D.* 18. 9, cf. Just. *Epit.* 2. 6. 7 and the *Suda* entry for Prometheus) are simply imaginative reconstructions for which no real historical foundation was necessary. They were, however, enthusiastically taken up and even generalized in the second half of the 19th cent., which saw a plethora of universal evolutionary schemas along 'matriarchal' lines and speculative reconstruction on a breathtaking scale. (A conspicuous feature of these theories is the constant resort to such dubious (because uncontrollable) hypothetical props as the doctrine of 'survivals'.) These were, or should have been, definitively scotched by anthropological fieldwork at the beginning of the present century (e.g. B. Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* (1913)); regrettably, the theories themselves, though not impossible to disprove, have continued to exercise such an attraction in some quarters as to guarantee them a kind of extended though strictly unhistorical half-life. SGP

Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, the One of the *Seven Wonders of the ancient world, it was the tomb of the satrap Mausolus of Caria (reigned 377–353 BC). Begun shortly after 367, when Mausolus refounded Halicarnassus (mod. Bodrum, W. Turkey), it was finished after his wife Artemisia died in 351, and is perhaps best interpreted as his hero-shrine as city-founder. Its architect was Pythius of Priene; *Vitruvius (*De arch.* 7 pref. 12) records that he and Mausolus' court sculptor Satyrus wrote a book on the building, and he and *Pliny the Elder (*HN* 36. 31) note that four other sculptors joined them: Scopas, Bryaxis, Leochares, and either Praxiteles or Timotheus. Pliny also outlines the building's form, reports that Scopas and his colleagues each took one side of it, and adds that Pythius made the chariot-group that crowned it. It stood until the 15th cent., when the Knights of Rhodes quarried it for their castle.

Excavation has supplemented and corrected the ancient accounts. The building consisted of a high podium measuring 30×36 m. (100×120 ft.), a colonnade of 36 Ionic columns, and a pyramid of 24 steps. With the crowning chariot-group, it reached a total height of 42.7 m. (140 ft.). The tomb-chamber was encased in the podium, and sacrificial remains suggest the existence of a hero-cult. The podium's steps carried quantities of free-standing sculpture (hunts, battles, audience scenes, sacri-

fices, and portraits), and was crowned by an *Amazon frieze; portraits stood between the columns; coffer-reliefs embellished the peristyle's ceiling; lions ringed the cornice; and the base for the chariot carried a *Centaur frieze. The chariot frieze may have ringed the interior of the tomb-chamber. See SCULPTURE, GREEK. AFS

meals Among the Greeks the times and names of meals varied at different periods. In early times (*ariston*) was taken shortly after sunrise, followed by a main meal (*deipnon*) at midday and supper (*dorpon*) in the evening. In Classical Athens two meals—a light lunch (*ariston*) and dinner (*deipnon*) in the evening—appear to have been usual. From the 4th cent. BC onwards an earlier breakfast (*akratisma*) was again added, or substituted for lunch.

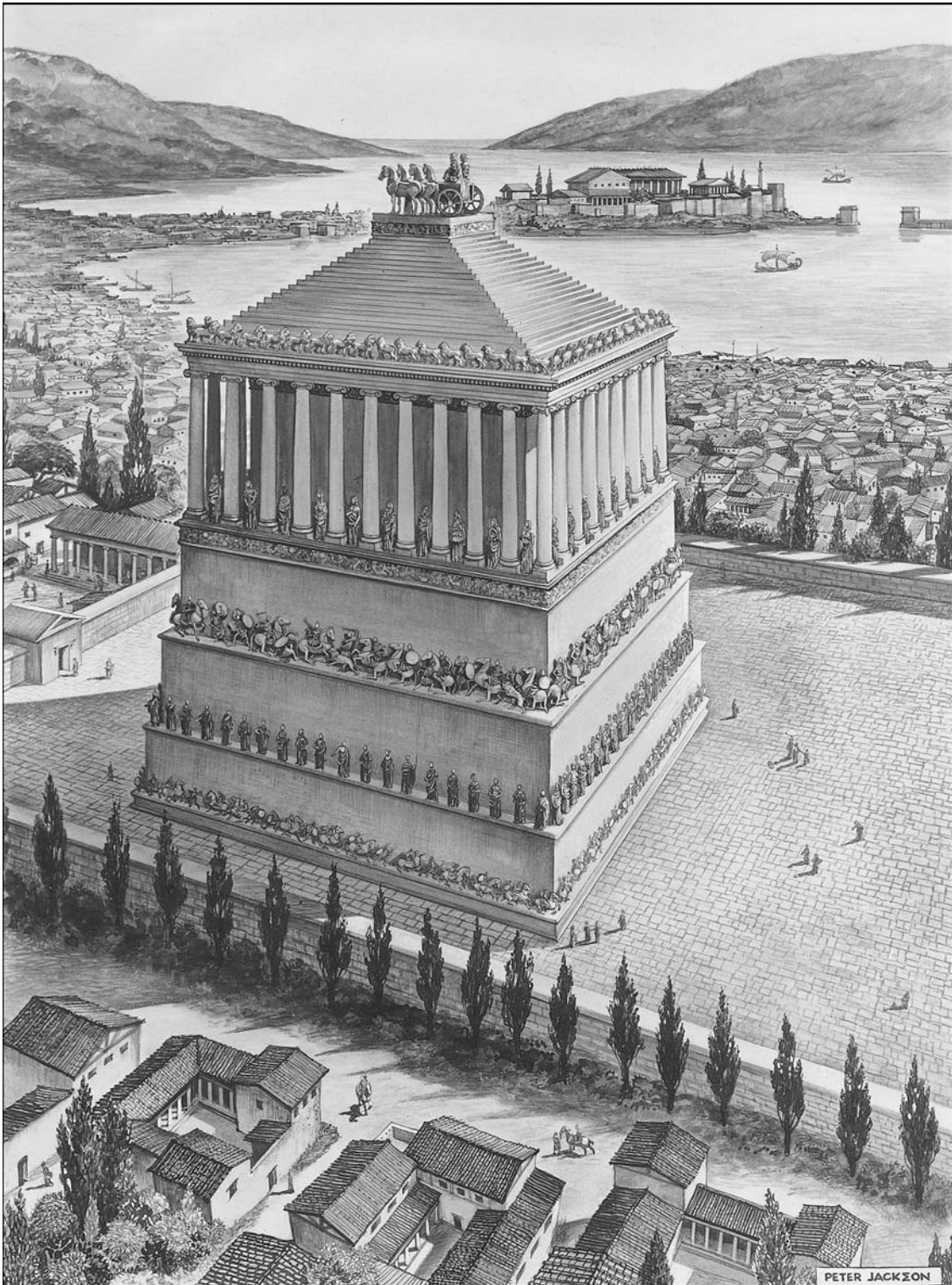
Among the Romans dinner (*cena*) was eaten in the middle of the day in early times, with a light supper (*vesperna*) in the evening. Eventually an evening *cena*, often commencing in the late afternoon, became usual. Lunch (*prandium*), consisting of fish or eggs and vegetables together with wine, was eaten towards midday and replaced supper. In the morning there was a very light breakfast (*ientaculum*), which might consist of only bread and salt. Cheese and fruit were sometimes added.

The *cena*, the biggest meal of the day, was eaten after the day's work was finished. It consisted of three parts. The hors d'œuvre (*gustatio*), of eggs, shellfish, dormice, and *olives, with honeyed wine (*mulsum*), was followed by the *cena* proper, comprising up to seven courses (*fercula*), with one chief item (*caput cenae*). This might be a whole roasted pig, accompanied by smaller, but substantial courses (e.g. lampreys, turbot, roast veal). The meal ended with dessert (*mensae secundae*), consisting of snails, nuts, shellfish, and fruit. Apicius, *On the Art of Cookery* (Eng. trans. J. Edwards, 1984) describes the meals of the rich, to whom most of our information relates. The appearance of ostriches, peacocks, cranes, etc. on the tables of the rich was largely due to the search for novelty. The pseudo-*Virgilian poem *Moretum* (Eng. trans. E. J. Kenney, 1984) describes a peasant's lunch.

See COOKERY; FOOD AND DRINK.

JRS

Medea, in mythology, granddaughter of *Helios, and daughter of Aeëtes, king of Colchian Aia, and his wife Eidyia; ancient writers frequently associate her name (perhaps rightly) with *mēdesthai*, 'to devise', and she became the archetypal example of the scheming, *barbarian woman. Already in our earliest testimony, Hesiod's *Theogony*, she is associated with the completion of Jason's challenges in Aia in his quest for the golden fleece, and leaves Aia with him to live in Iolcus (vv. 992–1002), but her mastery of drugs and potions, a skill she shares with



Mausoleum Reconstruction of the Mausoleum, one of the *Seven Wonders of the ancient world. Although thoroughly Greek in execution, in spirit this lavish tomb owed more to the burials of other non-Greek rulers in W. Asia Minor, notably the Nereid Monument at *Xanthus. © Look and Learn / Peter Jackson Collection / The Bridgeman Art Library

her aunt Circe, is not mentioned. This passage appears in a catalogue of goddesses who slept with mortal men, and Medea was clearly always conceived as a divine being (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 11; West on Hes. *Theog.* 992). In one Archaic legend she married *Achilles in the Elysian Fields (the paradise inhabited by the distinguished dead) after the hero's death (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4. 814–15 with schol.). In the best known account, that of *Pindar, *Pythian* 4 and *Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, Jason succeeds in gaining the golden fleece because Medea is made to fall in love with him and supplies him with a potion to protect him in the tasks Aeëtes sets him; she then charms the dragon which guarded the fleece so that Jason could steal it. In a story first attested for Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3 F 32) and *Sophocles (fr. 343 Radt), Medea protected the Argonauts from the pursuit of the Colchians by killing her baby brother, Apsyrtus, and scattering his limbs either in the palace itself or at the later Tomis ('the cutting') on the Black Sea coast. Apollonius, however, makes Apsyrtus a young man, and Medea plots his murder by Jason on an Adriatic island (4. 395–481). On their return to Iolcus, Medea rejuvenated Jason's aged father, Aeson (first in the cyclic *Nostoi*, fr. 6 Davies, *EGF*), and in some versions also Jason himself (Page, *PMG* 548; Pherec. *FGrH* 3 F 113); as the instrument of Hera's revenge, she then punished Pelias by persuading his daughters to cut him up and boil him so that he too could be rejuvenated (cf. Braswell on Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 250 (c)). After this, Jason and Medea fled to Corinth, the setting of *Euripides' famous *Medea*, which, more than any other text, influenced later traditions about and iconographic representations of Medea. If Euripides did not actually invent Medea's deliberate killing of Jason's new bride and her own children to punish Jason for abandoning her, he certainly gave it fixed form; in earlier tradition Medea had sought to make her children immortal, and in the historical period they were the object of cult in Corinth (cf. Eur. *Med.* 1378–83). Her association with that city, attested in a complex variety of stories, goes back at least to the early Archaic period; in his epic *Corinthiaca*, Eumelus (c.700) made Aeëtes king first of Corinth and then of Colchis, and the Corinthians subsequently summoned Jason and Medea from Iolcus (frs. 2–3 Davies, *EGF*).

Medea fled from Corinth to Athens in a chariot of the Sun (Helios) drawn, according to a tradition at least as old as the 4th cent. BC, by dragons; there she took shelter with King Aegeus (cf. Eur. *Med.* 663–758). When Aegeus' son, *Theseus, came to Athens from Troezen, Medea recognized him and sought to remove a threat to her position by attempting to poison him or having him sent to fight the bull of Marathon, or both; fragments of *Callimachus's *Hecale* refer to these stories.

RLHU

Medea in art

Medea first appears on an *Etruscan olpe (jug) of c.630 BC showing the cauldron of rejuvenation, with which she tricks the Peliads (i.e. daughters of Pelias) on Attic vases from a century later, and on a Roman copy of a Classical relief, probably from the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora (see ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY)). The slaughter of the children appears mainly on south Italian vases, also a painting by Timomachus, mid-1st cent. BC (Plin. *HN* 35. 136). From the later 5th cent., Medea usually wears eastern garb and carries potions. She appears in the capture of the animated bronze man Talos. Her snake-chariot is shown. She appears with Theseus. In Roman art, she appears particularly on sarcophagi, contemplating the murder of her children.

KWA

medicine (see page 508)

Mediterranean The Mediterranean Sea, very deep and, over substantial areas, out of sight of land, little affected by tides, and less rich in marine life than many of the world's enclosed seas (but see FISHING), provided the coherence which united the Classical world. It was regarded as a unity (and distinct from the encircling Ocean) from the Archaic period; both Greeks and Romans named it as being distinctively theirs (the name Mediterranean is not found before Iulius Solinus).

This sea represents (and has done, in the shape of its predecessor the Tethys, for some 200 million years) the complex and shifting abutment of the tectonic plates, fragmented at their edges, which make up the adjoining continents. This structural instability produces the characteristic tangled chains of high mountains interspersed with deep down-faulted basins, valleys, and plains, and an intricate coastal topography with numerous indentations, and very many islands of every size (as well as volcanoes and frequent *earthquakes).

With its inner branch the Black (Euxine) Sea, the Mediterranean is a major climatic feature (see CLIMATE): the distinctive pattern of summer drought and very variable winter rainfall promotes some uniformity in agricultural production. The sea is very prone to bad weather and notoriously changeable, but its numerous beaches and anchorages make it readily adaptable to the needs of communication and exchange. Contacts by sea have therefore shaped the orientation of most of the cultures of its seaboard at all periods, whether they have identified it with home like Xenophon's Greeks with their famous cry of '*thalatta, thalatta!*' ('the sea, the sea!': *An.* 4. 8); built their power on what was known in systematic historiography as a thalassocracy (sea power); or rejected it like some Romans and some of the Islamic states as an inimical and alien element.

NP



Medea A vase-painter from Lucania (S. Italy) shows Medea in her dragon-drawn chariot, surrounded by rays (a reference to her grandfather *Helios). She wears a Phrygian helmet—eastern dress stressing her non-Greek, *barbarian, character. Lucanian Calyx-Krater, c. 400 BC. Attributed to Policoro Painter (Italian). Red-figure earthenware with added white, red, yellow, and brown wash; height: 50.5 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund 1991.1. Image © The Cleveland Museum of Art

MEDICINE

1. Introductory survey

1. Western literature begins with a *disease; in the first book of *Homer's *Iliad* the god *Apollo (associated with the medical arts directly or through his Asclepiad progeny; see ASCLEPIUS) sends a plague on the Greeks camped before Troy to avenge Chryses' treatment at the hands of *Agamemnon. No attempt is made to treat the plague; the activity of doctors in the Homeric epics is generally limited to the treatment of wounds and injuries sustained in combat. Many later authorities (e.g. Cornelius Celsus, early 1st cent. AD) argued that this was a sign of the high moral standards which then prevailed. If disease had its own moral force in literature—note, for example, *Hesiod's account of diseases escaping from Pandora's jar (*Op.* 69–105), the role of illness and deformity in the *Oedipus legends, in *Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, in Attic comedy, and down to the Roman Stoic (see STOICISM) disapproval of over-reliance on medical help—the status and social function of those who treated diseases was similarly a matter for moral ambivalence. Mad doctors in Greek Middle and New Comedy (see COMEDY (GREEK), MIDDLE; COMEDY (GREEK), NEW) speak with strange, Doric accents—see Crates, fr. 41 Kock; Epicrates, fr. 11 Kock; Menander, *Aspis* 439 f. (Sicily was the home of an influential group of medical theorists who claimed an ultimate connection with Empedocles of Acragas, and Doric was also spoken on the eastern Aegean island of Cos and Cnidus on *Asia Minor's SW tip.) The first Greek doctor traditionally to arrive in Rome, Archagathus, was nicknamed '*carنيفex*' or 'butcher'. On the other hand, Homer had allowed that 'a doctor is worth many other men' (*Il.* 11. 514), and even in post-heroic times the number of inscriptions commemorating doctors suggests to some scholars a possible problem of undersupply. Medicine was never a profession in any strict modern sense; the vast amount of medical literature which survives from the pens of educated, philosophically literate men does not necessarily present a balanced view of the range and diversity of medical traditions, which seem to have competed on more or less equal terms. The pluralism of ancient medicine is very striking. An increasing amount of archaeological evidence which has come to light this century especially from Roman sites—medical instruments, votive objects from temples, prescription stamps, wall-paintings, and so on—goes some way towards providing a fuller picture, but the gulf between the archaeological and literary study of ancient medicine remains wide.

2. Most of the literary evidence for early medical practice and theory is preserved either in the Hippocratic writings (see below) or by Galen of Pergamum (2nd cent. AD), but there is much besides in early literary texts, especially the Homeric epics. From earliest times, therapies might involve incantation (for example, to staunch the flow of blood from a wound sustained fighting a wild boar, at *Od.* 19. 452–8), or the use of analgesic drugs (e.g. by Patroclus at *Il.* 11. 837–48), or the magical herb *moly* to defend *Odysseus against Circe's witchcraft (*Od.* 10. 203–347), down to the use of amulets and charms by the so-called 'purifiers' (*kathartai*) and 'magés' (*magoi*). Medical treatment and advice was also supplied by drug-sellers (*pharmakopōlai*), 'root-cutters' (*rhizotomoi*), midwives (*maiai*), gymnastic trainers, and surgeons. In the absence of formal qualifications, anyone could offer medical services, and the early literary evidence for medical practice shows doctors working hard to distinguish their own ideas and treatments from those of their competitors. Some Hippocratic treatises, like *On the Sacred Disease*, indicate by their hostility the importance of medical services offered by these root-cutters, drug-sellers, and purveyors of amulets, incantations, and charms. If the traditional picture of rational Hippocratic medicine dominating ancient medical practice still attracts many modern scholars, the reality seems to have been a good deal more complicated. See MAGIC.

3. Various authorities, both ancient and modern (starting with *Herodotus) have sought links with Egypt to explain the origins of certain medical practices, especially surgery, in the Greek world. Others have found links with the near east, and with Babylonian medicine in particular, although these are very difficult to prove. Some argue that the Hellenistic doctors working in *Alexandria continued to be influenced by Egyptian traditional medicine in the 4th and 3rd cents. BC. In the 5th cent. BC, when Herodotus told (3. 129–37) the story of *Darius I's Greek physician Democedes of Croton, the really surprising feature of his career—apart from its conspicuous success—was Democedes' technical superiority over the Egyptian doctors.

4. Medical practitioners often took their skills from town to town, visiting communities in the same way, ironically enough, as the diseases they sought to treat. (The word 'epidemic' (from *epidēmeō*) means 'visitation'.) Little is known of the careers of such doctors. *Thucydides' account of the great *plague at Athens (2. 47) provides one of our few

non-medical accounts of reaction to a great public crisis; he has little to say, however, about the doctors who treated the plague beyond the important observation that they were often the first to succumb. Herodotus is aware of the practice followed by various Greek states of hiring public physicians—he notes that Democedes held such a position at Aegina—but very little is known of the exact role of these doctors. The question of just how public these public physicians were is a difficult one; there is little evidence, for instance, to indicate that they were hired to provide free care for the citizenry, and some scholars simply see some kind of semi-official recognition of medical status lying behind these positions.

5. Nor is it clear how common were contracts and agreements like those contained in the Hippocratic Oath. The Oath is probably aimed at a specific, and perhaps rather small, group of doctors—in it, the doctor swears by Apollo, by Health (Hygieia), and Panacea amongst other things to revere his teacher and his teacher's family, and never to administer poison, use the knife, abuse his patients, or breach their confidences. The Oath could be as much a symptom of general medical anarchy, as of a coherent acceptance of general standards. Anyone could choose to practise; some were ex-slaves but many were free-born. In Rome, where traditional Italian medicine competed with foreign imports to an unknown extent, many doctors were Greek. Sometimes training might take the form of an apprenticeship to another doctor, attendance at medical lectures, or even at public anatomical demonstrations.

6. In the 1st cent. AD, Aulus Cornelius Celsus reiterated the traditional division of medical therapy into dietetics, pharmacology, and surgery. The use of exercise and the regulation of one's way of life was traditionally associated with the training of athletes and gymnasts. Some dietetic lore is preserved outside medical writings in cookery books like that of the Roman Apicius and the Greek epicure Athenaeus of Naucratis. Surgery too, was employed from earliest times although dangers in its use meant that the more invasive procedures were generally used as a last resort. The drug lore contained in book 9 of Theophrastus' *Historia plantarum* (written probably in the 4th cent. BC) gives a good idea of the persistence of certain beliefs about the magical powers of drugs and herbs, but Theophrastus also preserves a good deal of information new and old about the very real powers of medicinal plants. This is equally the case with the much later *Materia medica* of Dioscorides (fl. c.AD 60). See BOTANY.

2. Temple medicine

Shrines and temples to the god *Asclepius formed one important focus for religious medicine. Most of the detailed evidence we have for temple medicine comes from later writers and inscriptions; and it is not altogether clear when Asclepius, rather than his father Apollo, began to become the object of veneration. That the practice of temple medicine was widespread in the 5th and 4th cents. BC, however, seems clear from the extended parody in *Aristophanes' *Plutus* (653–744). The most important temple was at Epidaurus (eastern *Peloponnese). Many inscriptions from here detail the practical help and advice that the faithful received from the god as they slept in the temple precincts (it was called *egkoimēsis*, Lat. *incubatio*, 'incubation': see Diod. Sic. 1. 53). All manner of problems were solved here, not all of them strictly medical—monuments erected by grateful patients record cures for lameness, baldness, infestations with worms, blindness, aphasia, and snakebite. See RO 102. One case involves the god repairing a broken wine-cup brought to the temple by a worried slave. It is widely believed that the development of the cult of Asclepius at Epidaurus received a new impetus after the great plague at Athens.

Relations between temple medicine and the medicine of the Hippocratic corpus are difficult to determine. One later tradition has it that disciples of Hippocrates established a rival temple to Asclepius on Cos but there is considerable disagreement over the antiquity of the cult here; there was another at Tricca in *Thessaly, and throughout antiquity the medical, magical, and religious seem to have coexisted in this context. In Greek and Roman temple sites, many stone and terracotta votive objects survive—models of affected parts of the body which the god was able to cure. Important later accounts of experiences of temple medicine are preserved in the *Sacred Orations* of Aelius Aristides (2nd cent. AD), and the importance of *dreams is shown by the *Oniro-critica* of Artemidorus of Daldis (2nd cent. AD). In many cases, it seems, diagnoses of physicians could be rejected in favour of those acquired through dreams.

3. Early medical theory

Little is known about the activities of early—pre-Hippocratic—theorists who offered physiological and pathological accounts of the human body. Certain Presocratic philosophers had well-attested interests in medical theory; most important perhaps was Empedocles of Acragas, a version of whose four-element theory was applied to the basic fluid constituents in the body. It is mirrored in a dominant strain of Hippocratic humoral pathology, as well as in the physiological theories of *Plato (in the *Timaeus*) and, in all probability, those of Philistion of Locri. Speculative theories

about the origins of man, human reproduction, the internal structure of the body, and the nature of various biological processes are a feature of the cosmologies of Anaxagoras and Diogenes of Apollonia amongst others. An early statement of the idea that health can be ascribed to some kind of balanced state of affairs in the body (the political undertone is significant) is attributed to Alcmaeon of Croton, who is also credited (controversially) with some of the first anatomical work based on dissection. Nearly all ancient doctors ascribed disease to an imbalance of some kind or other, and Plato's pathological theory in the *Timaeus* (e.g. at 82a) similarly ascribes certain conditions to 'surfeit' or 'lack'.

4. Hippocratic medicine

1. The large and heterogeneous corpus of writings which bears the name of Hippocrates forms the core of our literary evidence for early Greek medicine. It was always agreed, even in antiquity, that the writings were not all by one person, even though some favoured Hippocratic authorship of, or inspiration behind, certain treatises. Galen, for instance, argued that the treatise *On the Nature of Man*, which is partly the work of Polybus, largely represented the views of Hippocrates himself and that other works similar in character could be attributed to Hippocrates' own medical school on Cos. Galen in fact, may well have encouraged the idea that there are two distinct intellectual strains in the corpus, one 'Hippocratic', 'Coan', philosophically refined, the other more primitive, less theoretically sophisticated, and originating from a rival medical school at Cnidus. This model of medical thought has come under attack in recent years, partly due to more detailed work on the ways in which Galen reacted to his predecessors, and partly through closer analysis of these supposedly 'Cnidian' works. Moreover, although certain places seem to have been a focus for medical activity—various places in Magna Graecia (the Greek settlements of southern Italy) and around *Cyrene especially, as well as Cos and Cnidus—it is not at all clear that they were sites of schools in any formal sense. Intellectually and culturally, the Hippocratic corpus shows signs of influence from all areas of Greek life, not just medical life.

2. The contents of the Hippocratic corpus had apparently stabilized by the time of the Roman emperor *Hadrian, when Artemidorus Capito put together a canon of Hippocratic works. Galen still felt the need to write a treatise (now lost) entitled *The Genuine Hippocratic Treatises*. It seems that the corpus in its present form dates from this time. In common with several other ancient (and modern) authorities, the Hippocratic lexicographer Erotian divided the writings into five categories. These form a useful framework for a brief survey.

- (a) 'Semiotic' works
- (b) Aetiological and physiological works
- (c) Therapeutic works: Surgery; Regimen; Pharmacology
- (d) 'Mixed' works (treatises which are summaries of others, or compilations)
- (e) Works on the art of medicine (dealing with medical method, knowledge, deontology)

(a) Semiotic works

'Expertise at making prognoses seems to me one of the best things for a doctor' (*Prognostic* 1). The ability to interpret the signs presented by the patient and the patient's circumstances is regarded as a skill of the first importance throughout the corpus. The patient, understandably enough, was interested solely in the outcome of the disease, or the preservation of his health. Hippocratic diagnosis had to be based on careful study of a wide range of different phenomena, from the general—age, climate, sex, way of life—to the very specific. The author of *Prognostic* (ch. 2) offers the following advice about observing an acute, potentially fatal, case, which came later to be known as the *Hippocratic facies*: 'In acute diseases, the doctor needs to pursue his investigation thus: first, examine the face of the patient to see if it resembles the face of healthy people, and in particular if it is as it is normally. Such a resemblance is a very good sign; the opposite a very grave one. The opposite signs might appear as a sharp nose, hollow eyes, sunken temples, cold ears drawn in with their lobes turned outwards, and skin hard around the face, tight, and desiccated. The colour of the whole face is pale or dark. If the face is like this at the beginning of the disease, and if one cannot yet build up a complete picture on the basis of the other signs, the doctor needs to ask if the man is having trouble sleeping, if his bowels are disturbed, or if he is hungry. If he answers "yes" to any of these, then the danger can be considered less serious. The crisis occurs after a day and a night, if it is through these causes that the face appears thus. But if the patient does not answer "yes", and if recovery does not take place within the above-mentioned period, one should realize that it is a sign of death.' Apart from *Prognostic*, *Prorrhetic* is an important work in this class, and there is much relevant material, especially on charting the likely course of incurable diseases, in the case histories of the *Epidemics*. Health faddists are catered for in works like *Regimen in Health*, which stand at the head of a long tradition of similar handbooks outlining precepts for healthy living.

(b) Physiology

Hippocratic doctors, by and large, were committed to the idea that the phenomena of health and disease are explicable in the same way as other natural phenomena. Many treatises, notably *On the Nature of Man*, *Regimen*, *On Fleashes*, *On the Sacred Disease*, and *On Breaths* offer answers to the basic questions that most divided ancient doctors—how is the body constructed? how is it generated? what makes it prey to disease? what is disease? and so on. Whilst concepts of balance and morbid imbalance underlie many pathological theories, the nature of the balance and the elements implicated in it could be explained in many ways. For the author of *On the Nature of Man*, the balance was one of fluids or ‘juices’ in the body (‘humours’). In this treatise, the humours are blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm, and they are linked to the four elements earth, air, fire, and water, the four qualities associated with the elements, and the four seasons. Predominance of yellow bile and phlegm is particularly associated with disease. This is not the only humoral pathological system in the Hippocratic corpus—but its adoption and adaptation by Galen much later ensured its subsequent association with ‘true’ Hippocratic doctrine. *On the Nature of Man* opens with a blistering attack on those who explain disease by reference to one causal agent. The treatise *On Breaths*, for example, attributes all disease to ‘breaths’. This debate about the extent to which the search for causes can be narrowed down continued throughout antiquity. Theoretical disagreements apart, the names and symptoms of the major diseases were broadly accepted by Hippocratic doctors. Diseases tended to be named after the affected part, or the seat of the most significant symptoms; so pneumonia (*pneumōn* ‘lung’), pleurisy (*pleura* ‘sides’), hepatitis (*hēpar* ‘liver’), arthritis (*arthron* ‘joint’), and so on; this was even the case for those doctors (like the later Methodists (see § 5.3 below)), who either took a whole-body view of all disease, or denied altogether that diseases exist as specific entities. Difficulties could arise over fundamental terminological disagreements: phrenitis, for example, was named after the *phrēn*, which stood at various times for the diaphragm, the cerebral membranes, and even the lungs.

(c) Therapeutic works

Hippocratic therapy took many forms: treatises like *On Ancient Medicine* and *Airs, Waters, Places* stress the historical and practical debt of medicine to dietetics, which focused attention on the whole of the patient’s way of life, diet, and environment. The applications of dietetics were not confined to the sick; ‘precepts of health’ showed the way to the prevention of disease. Yet the drug-based treatment of disease is also an important strand in Hippocratic therapy. Pharmaceutical therapies and tests (for example, for pregnancy or fertility) are especially characteristic of the gynaecological treatises (see *Diseases of Women* 1–2, *On the Nature of Woman*). Much ingenuity was expended in devising drugs to promote and test for conception—*On Barren Women* provides many examples. Explanations of why these treatments work tell us much about ancient speculative views on the internal structure of the female body (see GYNAECOLOGY). Surgery and invasive physical manipulation were also widely used, although the status of surgery was problematic because of the dangers involved. Several treatises deal with methods of reducing dislocations (*Joints, Instruments of Reduction, Fractures*), bandaging (*In the Surgery*), excision of haemorrhoids (*Haemorrhoids*), treatment of cranial trauma (*Wounds in the Head*), surgical removal of the dead foetus (*Excision of the Foetus*), and so on.

(d) ‘Mixed’ works

Erotian’s category of ‘mixed’ works includes practical compendia of material dealt with under the other headings. The seven books of *Epidemics* fell into this category, as did the highly influential and pithy summaries of Hippocratic practice contained in the *Aphorisms*.

(e) The art of medicine

Authors of many of the theoretical works in the corpus take care to describe their own epistemological as well as practical methods. They often distinguish their enterprises from those of philosophers on one side, and alternative healers on the other. The author of the treatise *On Ancient Medicine* insists that medicine cannot be approached in the same way as those subjects which ‘stand in need of an empty postulate’, an attack which seems to be directed at cosmologists and meteorologists, but may also be directed at doctors tempted to import fledgling deductive methods from geometry and mathematics into medicine. The constant concern with establishing the status of medicine as a *technē*, an art, gives us some idea how tenuous this status could be. The difficulty of the task faced by the author of *On Ancient Medicine* can be seen in the use of postulates that he himself seems to make later in the treatise, when he privileges the physiological position of certain qualities such as bitter and sweet in the body. In addition to these studies, a number of works deal with the problem of how the doctor should behave with his patients and in his dealings with society generally (e.g. *In the Surgery*).

5. From the Hippocratics to Galen

1. The dominating figure of Galen eclipsed many of his predecessors, and very little Hellenistic medical writing survives intact. None the less, recent work on Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman medicine has brought to light a great deal of new material and goes some way towards rediscovering the 500-odd years of lost medical research. After the conquests of *Alexander the Great, medicine like so much else spread east to the great new centres of learning and research in the Aegean, Egypt, and Asia Minor while remaining in its traditional homes in the west. Medical theorists and doctors like Diocles of Carystus, Plistonius, Phylotimus, Praxagoras of Cos, Mnesitheus, and Dieuches of Athens were still important enough in the 2nd cent. AD to be cited by Galen. Diocles' anatomy and Praxagoras' study of the diagnostic value of the pulse and the nature of its origins in the blood-vascular system were of great importance. Aristotle's pioneering work on scientific method, psychology, and zoology proved central to much post-Hippocratic medical research, even if figures like Galen insisted that Aristotle was heavily dependent on Hippocrates for his medical and on Plato for the philosophical details. (The physiology of Plato's *Timaeus* proved a rich source of theory throughout the rest of antiquity.) Aristotle's famous exhortations to anatomical research found particular resonances in Ptolemaic Alexandria, where Herophilus and Erasistratus made extraordinary progress in *anatomy and physiology. It seems likely that they even employed highly controversial techniques such as human *vivisection, using condemned criminals as subjects. Herophilus found the Greek language insufficient to the task of describing his discoveries, and he is credited with a series of anatomical coinages, several of which remain in use today. He undertook pioneering work on the anatomy of the eyes, on neural anatomy, and the male and female reproductive systems, and his work on the diagnostic use of the pulse, following on from Praxagoras, is highly elaborate.

2. If most of the doctors mentioned immediately above subscribed to various types of humoral system (though there is some doubt about Herophilus), Erasistratus developed or adopted a strikingly different theory which shows an awareness of post-Aristotelian physical theory. Erasistratus argued that the body is composed of a 'threefold web' of elemental nerve, vein, and artery 'perceptible to the intellect'. The activities of macroscopic nerves, veins, and arteries also figure prominently in his pathological system, which accounted for disease in terms of the morbid seepage of blood into the arteries through anastomoses (a term especially associated with his theory) in their walls. Veins, for him, distributed blood through the body, and arteries the vital *pneuma* which had its origins in inspired air. Erasistratus' anatomical work, in harness with his physical theory, supported him in his conviction that the arteries did not naturally carry blood—a view quite conceivably supported by inspection of corpses. The blood we see in the arteries on dissection rushes in to prevent the formation of an unnatural vacuum, as *pneuma* leaves through the point at which the incision is made. This view was fiercely attacked by Galen in his treatise *On Whether Blood is Naturally Contained in the Arteries*.

3. The literary evidence for later Hellenistic medicine also documents the rise of sectarian groups (*haireseis*) of doctors who espoused different methodological approaches to medicine. If in practice the pool of treatments on which they drew remained more or less constant, the debate over how medicine should be studied, which can be discerned in much Hippocratic writing, became far more vigorous. Much of what is known about their activities is known through Galen; he insisted that he was himself a slave to no sect, often affecting what appears a rather disingenuous respect for 'common sense'. The so-called 'Empiricists', who espoused a medicine in which theory and speculation about diseases had no place, determined treatments on the basis of earlier experience of similar conditions, research into other doctors' experience, and, in special cases, a kind of analogical inference which justified thinking that what works for a complaint afflicting one part of the body may well work on a similar affection in another part. The complex details of their medical method are preserved mainly by Galen in a series of treatises on Empiricism, *On Medical Experience*, *Outline of Empiricism*, and *On Sects for Beginners*. These doctors, including figures like Serapion and Heraclides of Tarentum, saw themselves as quite apart from so-called rationalist or dogmatic physicians who were committed to the value of theory in various ways. This latter group was never strictly a sect—adherents of medical theories hardly make up a coherent group—and frequently the term 'dogmatic' is used in a critical sense.

One sect which went so far as to name itself after its method became particularly successful in Rome. 'Methodism' was grounded on the idea that the whole of the diseased body (and not just the affected part) presents one of two morbid, phenomenally evident states or 'communities', one called 'stricture', the other 'flux'. (Some Methodists allowed a third state, a mixture of the other two.) Theoretical reflection on the origins of these states was unnecessary for many Methodists, and the appropriate treatment followed directly on the correct identification of the general state of the whole body. The most famous Methodist physician was Soranus of Ephesus (early 2nd cent AD); his work on

gynaecology survives in the original Greek, and there is a paraphrastic version of his treatises *On Acute and Chronic Diseases* by Caelius Aurelianus, a 6th-cent. Methodist.

4. However much the medical sects may appear to us as a series of monolithic entities, it should be stressed that sectarian orthodoxy was rare, and a great deal of theoretical and practical variation can be found in all the groupings, including the less well known like the Pneumatists and other more eclectic groups. (It might reasonably be thought that Soranus' Methodism, for instance, would explicitly discourage the anatomical investigation of the human body on the ground that this is an unnecessary luxury in view of the fact that indications for treatment simply follow on from correct visual recognition of the prevailing morbid state. Yet Soranus' highly detailed gynaecological research shows that his methodological faith did not stifle his curiosity.) It should equally be stressed that not all doctors were sectarian; evidence from inscriptions points to the existence of large numbers of independent medical practitioners who were very likely to have been largely innocent of the theoretical debates going on in other quarters. Mention should also be made at this point of the important anatomical work of Rufus of Ephesus.

6. Galen

of Pergamum (probably AD 129–199) dominates later Greek medicine, and indeed the whole subsequent western medical tradition. He is our most important source for post-Hippocratic medicine, and the modern appreciation of Hippocratic medicine owes much to his own version of Hippocratic doctrine. A daunting amount of his work survives—nearly three million words in Greek alone—and much remains to be edited and translated to modern standards. He wrote several guides to his own works, one of which, *On the Order of his Own Books*, provides a convenient starting-point for this briefest of surveys. Here, surprisingly perhaps, he stresses before anything else the importance of what he calls 'demonstrative knowledge' (*epistēmē apodeiktikē*) in all medical work. He advises those embarking on medical studies to examine the methodological weakness of the medical sectarians, who lack, he claims, the logical equipment necessary to tell truth from fiction. (Galen's bluff and bluster and his claim to possess the means to real knowledge need to be treated with caution, but his logical skill is indeed considerable.) He then recommends an introductory study of anatomy and basic physiology. Of his own works which survive, he recommends that anatomy should begin with *On Pulses for Beginners*, and *On Bones for Beginners*, culminating in the great teleological analysis of the human body, *On the Usefulness of the Parts*. Important evidence for the nature of Galen's debt to the Hippocratics, Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics is presented in *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, in which Galen investigates in very general terms the 'physical and psychical faculties of the body'. *On the Natural Faculties* presents Galen's reaction to the physiology of his Hellenistic medical predecessors.

Galen's physiological theory is based on a four-humour system which closely resembles the theory of the Hippocratic treatise *On the Nature of Man*, although many details of Galen's version draw on Stoic mixture theory—see *On the Elements according to Hippocrates* and *On Mixtures*. The application of the theory to the behaviour of drugs is dealt with in a series of extensive pharmacological treatises which draw together drug lore and theory from a variety of earlier sources. Galen is able to draw on all kinds of pharmacological writers, from the Greek Empiricist Heraclides of Tarentum to Dioscorides, Asclepiades the Pharmacist, and the Roman Scribonius Largus.

7. After Galen

important medical compendiums were compiled by Oribasius, Aetius of Amida, Paul of Aegina, Marcellus of Bordeaux and Alexander of Tralles, to name only a few. Modern scholarship is only now beginning to re-examine these figures in any detail.

See also: ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY; DISEASE; GYNAECOLOGY; VIVISECTION.

JTV

mercenaries

Greek and Hellenistic

For there to be mercenaries, three conditions are necessary—*warfare, people willing to pay, and others to serve. Warfare existed almost throughout Greek history, and there were probably also always those whom love of

adventure, trouble at home, or poverty made willing to serve. Alcaeus' brother, Antimenidas, and *Xenophon himself are, perhaps, examples of the first; the latter's comrades, the Spartans Clearchus and Dracontius, of the second. But in the heyday of the city-state, when military service was the duty of all citizens, mercenaries usually only found employment with tyrants or with near eastern

potentates. Psammetichus I of Egypt, for example, used Carians and Ionians from western *Asia Minor to seize power around 660 BC, and Pabis of Colophon and Elesibius of Teos were among those who carved their names on the statue of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, while serving Psammetichus II.

There was probably always also a market for specialist troops like Cretan archers and Rhodian slingers, particularly when warfare became more complex. Cleon, for example, took Thracian peltasts (light-armed infantrymen) to Pylos (Thuc. 4. 28. 4), and Cretan archers and Rhodian slingers joined the Sicilian Expedition in 415 (Thuc. 6. 43. 2). By the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 there were enough Greeks eager for mercenary service for the Persian prince Cyrus to raise more than 10,000 for his attempt on his brother's throne, including Athenians, Spartans, Arcadians, Achaeans, Boeotians, and Thessalians, as well as the usual Cretan and Rhodian specialists.

Poverty had probably always been the main factor in driving Greeks to become mercenaries—it is significant how many were Arcadians—and the increasing number in the 4th cent. BC was probably partly due to the worsening economic situation (cf. Isoc. 4. 167 ff.). Greek mercenaries were now in great demand in Persia, and it is said that the Persian king promoted the Common Peace of 375 in order to be able to hire Greeks for the reconquest of Egypt. But Greek states also increasingly employed mercenaries. The Thessalian ruler Jason of Pherae is said to have had up to 6,000 (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 1. 5), and the 4th cent. saw many other 'tyrants' who relied on mercenaries to keep them in power, the most conspicuous being *Dionysius I of Syracuse. In the 'Sacred War' of 356–346 (see GREECE (HISTORY)), the Phocians showed how even a small state could rival larger ones provided it had the financial resources—in this case the treasures of *Delphi—to hire troops.

*Philip II and *Alexander the Great of Macedonia certainly employed mercenaries, particularly as specialists and for detached duties such as garrisons, and Alexander's Successors (Diadochi) increasingly employed mercenaries in their phalanxes (massed infantry formations) as the supply of real Macedonians declined. However, as the Hellenistic world settled down after the battle of Ipsus (301), the great powers developed supplies of phalanx-troops from their own national resources—often the descendants of Greek mercenary settlers—and most mercenaries of the 3rd and 2nd cent. BC appear to have been, once again, light-armed and specialist troops.

JFLA

Roman

Contact with foreign powers such as *Carthage and Macedonia exposed Rome's weakness in cavalry and light-

armed troops. This deficiency she remedied principally by obtaining contingents outside Italy. Some came from independent allies like Masinissa of Numidia; others were raised by forced levies or paid as mercenaries. Gauls served in the First Punic War, 600 Cretan archers fought at Lake Trasimene (217 BC), Numidian cavalry tipped the scales at the battle of Zama (202). During the next two centuries the number and variety of contingents increased. Spain was a favourite recruiting-ground for cavalry and light infantry, while *Caesar obtained his cavalry from Numidia, Gaul, and Germany, and his archers and slingers from Numidia, Crete, and the Balearic Islands.

Under the Principate such troops became formalized within the *auxilia* (auxiliary units), but supplementary irregular troops were always employed on campaign (Germans, Cantabrians, Dacians, Palmyrenes, Sarmatians, Arabs, Armenians, Moors, etc.).

JCNC

Mercury (Lat. Mercurius), patron god of circulation, known as well in Campania (at Capua and in the *Falernus ager*) and Etruria (the *Etruscan deity Turms). According to ancient tradition, in 495 BC Mercury received an official temple on the SW slope of the Aventine, its anniversary falling on 15 May (Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 267). He was foreign in origin in the view of some scholars (Latte, *RR* 162), but others see him as an Italic and Roman deity (Dumézil, *ARR* 439 f.; Radke, *Götter*, 214 ff.). On any view his cult was old, and it had close links with shopkeepers and transporters of goods, notably grain; also, at the *lectisternium* (ritual banquet of the gods) of 399 BC he was associated with *Neptune, and, at that of 217 BC, with Ceres. But his function was not simply the protection of businessmen or 'the divine power inherent in *merx* [merchandise]' (B. Combet-Farnoux, *Mercurie romain* (1980)). If all the evidence for his cult, notably Ovid, *Fasti.* 5. 681–90, and *ILS* 3200, is taken together, he emerges, like the Greek *Hermes, as the patron god of circulation, the movement of goods, people, and words and their roles. Mediator between gods and mortals, between the dead and the living, and always in motion, Mercury is also a deceiver, since he moves on the boundaries and in the intervening space; he is patron of the shopkeeper as much as the trader, the traveller as well as the brigand (see BRIGANDAGE). Hence it is not astonishing that *Horace, with a certain malice, assigns to *Augustus the traits of this ambiguous mediator (*Carm.* 1. 2. 41 ff.).

JSch

Messal(l)ina (Valeria Messal(l)ina), great-granddaughter of *Augustus' sister Octavia on her father's and mother's sides, was born before AD 20. In AD 39 or 40 she married her second cousin *Claudius, then c.50 years old, and bore him two children, Claudia

Octavia and Britannicus. Claudius alone was blind to her sexual profligacy (which *Juvenal travestied in *Satires* 6 and 10), even to her eventual participation in the formalities of a marriage service with the consul-designate Gaius Silius in AD 48. The *freedman Narcissus turned against her and, while Claudius was in a state of stunned incredulity, ensured that an executioner was sent. Encouraged by her mother Domitia Lepida, she committed suicide. JPB/MTG

metics As the Greek *polis evolved it sought to differentiate, amongst its inhabitants, between insiders and outsiders. Insiders *par excellence* were its own members, the citizens; palpable outsiders were its slaves, indigenous or imported (see SLAVERY); but this simple dichotomy would have sufficed only for communities like *Sparta which discouraged immigration. Elsewhere it was necessary to recognize free persons who lived, temporarily or permanently, in the polis without becoming its citizens. Several *oikos* words are attested of such persons, with *metoikos* ('changing one's abode', i.e. foreign settler, 'metic') most common. The precise nature and complexity of metic-status doubtless varied from place to place; evidence approaches adequacy only for Athens, atypical in its allure and, consequently, the numbers of those who succumbed thereto (half the size of the (reduced) citizen body of c.313 BC (Ath. 272c); perhaps proportionately larger in the 5th cent. BC (R. Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* 1980, 101 ff.)). With *Solon having created only indirect incentives to immigration, Athenian metic-status probably owes its formal origins to *Cleisthenes, after whom the presence of metics was recognized in law and could develop in its details at both city and local level. The dividing line between visitors and residents seems to have been drawn on a common-sense basis in the 5th cent. BC but became more mechanical in the 4th (thus P. Gauthier, *Symbola* (1972), ch. 3, and D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (1977); contra, E. Lévy in R. Lonis (ed.), *L'Étranger dans le monde grec* (1987), 47 ff.). Definition as a metic brought some privileges but many burdens, largely fiscal (including the *metoikion*, 'poll-tax') and military; various exemptions came with higher-status niches such as *isotelēs*. Socio-economically, Athens' metics were highly diverse, and contemporary attitudes to their presence deeply ambivalent. DW

migration is currently a highly problematic topic, where argument focuses on the correct degree of necessary reaction to past overuse of an extremely simple migration model. The problem has its roots in the development of archaeology as an academic discipline.

As the available data grew exponentially and its study became more scientific in later 19th-cent. Europe, it became apparent that remains of the same time period—sometimes—displayed clearly bound regional distribution patterns. This emerged at exactly the same time that rampant nationalism was at its height, and, in this cultural context, it seemed natural to suppose that these regional distribution patterns—'cultures'—reflected the territories of ancient 'peoples': closed, endogamous population groupings, each of whom had their own specific material and non-material cultural peculiarities. And if you supposed that each ancient 'people' had its own material culture, then it was only logical to argue that any significant disjuncture in the observable development of one of these cultures was caused by the arrival of a new 'people', with a limited number of cases described by ancient sources (such as *Caesar on the Helvetii or *Ammianus Marcellinus on the Goths) being taken to provide broader support for the idea that ancient peoples tended to move en masse. Up to the early 1960s, consequently, the ancient history of Europe down to the end of the first millennium AD was seen as moving through a series of epochs marked off from one another by incidences of mass migration, where a new population group largely replaced its predecessor. Within Classics, this migration model was applied particularly to its fringes: to the upheavals of the late bronze age, on the one hand, and the so-called *Völkerwanderungen* of the late Roman period on the other.

In an important sense, however, it did not actually explain that much, since it was never explored in any detail how and why such mass population movements occurred, and they had few parallels in more modern contexts. Equally important, from the 1960s onwards, archaeologists demonstrated that patterns of material culture can change—even dramatically—for a variety of reasons, whether material (as human populations evolve new technologies to cope with their environments), or non-material (since new ideas and mental structures can profoundly affect patterns of material culture). At the same time, social science was unpicking the nationalist assumption that ancient peoples would have had an unchanging group identity, expressed in material form, which further undermined any straightforward link between changing patterns of remains and the arrival of new 'peoples'. The cumulative effect of these intellectual revisions has been massively to downgrade the perceived importance of migration as a cause of major change in the ancient past. For many Anglophone archaeologists in particular, thinking about migration is associated with a more primitive era in the discipline's history, and this has rubbed off upon historians. Some

would now even argue that those ancient sources which seem to describe migratory phenomena uncomfortably close to the old mass migration model must have been infected with a ‘migration topos’—the preconceived notion among the Mediterranean intelligentsia that ‘barbarians’ always moved en masse with their families—and should therefore be discounted.

But this final twist of revisionist argument has been advocated by just a few, and is itself problematic. Ammianus, for instance, was demonstrably capable of describing a whole range of barbarian groups on the move on Roman soil, and refers to massed groups, mixed in age and gender, in only a few specific instances. In the case of the Goths, Ammianus actually describes a complex process, where even originally large groups on the move were subject to political reformation as they moved, a pattern much repeated in the so-called *Völkerwanderungen*, where Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Vandals were all new confederations formed on the march. There is also no sign of any large-scale replacement of indigenous populations in the areas affected by these groups. Looked at more generally, good quality historical sources for the first millennium throw up not only occasional moments of large-group migration, but other types of cumulatively significant migratory phenomena, such as the flows of expansion in the Viking period, which increased in scale through the 9th cent. until they encompassed groups of up to 10,000 warriors in the ‘Great Army’ period. It remains the case that other factors entirely caused many of the transformations observable in both archaeological remains and historical sources. Nonetheless, part of the necessary response to previous overuse of a very simple model must take the form of developing more complex and varied ones, based on a comparative study of the best evidence, aiming to generate a more profound understanding of the forms and causes of ancient migration. Simply to reject large-scale migration altogether as a cause of significant change, fails to do full justice either to the evidence, or to modern experience.

PJH

mineralogy The modern term for the systematic study of the character and diversity of chemical elements and compounds which occur naturally within the earth. How far the Greeks could be said to have engaged in this kind of study is highly questionable, yet there is evidence that the diversity of mineral substances was recognized, and names given to a few minerals. There is no doubt that the ancients had experience of the use of ores, precious and semi-precious stones, and building materials. Archaeological evidence for ancient mining and metallurgy, however, suggests degrees of technical sophistication and

understanding which are not equally evident in the surviving literary sources.

Epistemologically based hierarchies of nature like those of *Plato and, to a lesser extent, *Aristotle seem effectively to have discouraged the systematic investigation of anything but the most unusual, valuable, or beautiful of mineral substances. Yet speculation about the origins of earth-materials in general is a feature of certain Presocratic cosmologies (notably those of Anaximenes, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, and Empedocles). There is little sign of any generally accepted distinction between rocks and minerals, but Plato (*Ti.* 59b–60c) distinguishes between the modes of formation of rocks (*petrai*) and metals. He argues that metals (of which the most perfect is gold) are formed when a fusible type of water melts and then congeals in the earth. Varying degrees of admixture with earth explain the variety of the products of the process. Stones are formed when earth is compressed by the air above it. At the end of book 3 of the *Meteorology*, Aristotle divides substances found in the earth into metals (*metalleuta*), characterized by their fusibility and ductility and which result from the action of his ‘vaporous exhalation’, and ‘things dug up’ (*orukta*), including what he calls the ‘infusible stones’—ochre, sulphur, etc.—which result from the burning action of the so-called dry and fiery exhalation on the earth.

Aristotle’s successor Theophrastus preserves the distinction between substances which originate in water and in earth. His short treatise *On Stones*, companion to a lost treatise on metals to which he refers in passing, covers stones and earth-materials with a particular interest in the rare and unusual. He discusses the properties of mineral substances and stones—particularly those endowed with special qualities—without attempting any systematic classification. By modern standards, the number of ‘stones’ he mentions is remarkably small.

Much of Theophrastus’ research was used later by *Pliny the Elder, in books 33–7 of the *Natural History*. Book 33 deals with precious metals, their origins, modes of extraction and uses. Book 34 covers less valuable metals and alloys, like copper, lead, iron, and bronze, and Book 35 begins the coverage of earths, focusing first on their utility as artists’ pigments. Book 36 treats stone, especially architecturally useful varieties like marble, limestone, granite, before moving on to more unusual, in some cases marvellous, substances like the lodestone, and the ‘eagle stone’. The introduction of Hellenistic material on the magical and extraordinary properties of certain stones, especially *gems, is a striking feature of book 37, which also contains (37. 42) the first surviving account of the true origin of amber. This tradition is preserved and developed in the later, often mystical, Lapidaries.

Pedanius Dioscorides (1st cent. AD) treats minerals with medicinal importance in the fifth book of his *Materia medica*, as does Galen of Pergamum (2nd cent. AD) in his great pharmacological treatises. JTV

Minerva (archaic Menerva), an Italian goddess of handicrafts, widely worshipped and regularly identified with *Athena. Altheim (*RE* 'Minerva'; cf. *Hist. Rom. Rel.* 235 and n. 34; *Griechische Götter* (1930), 142 n. 4) believes her actually to be Athena, borrowed early through Etruria (see *ETRUSCANS*); but most scholars think her indigenous, and connect her name with the root of *meminisse* ('to remember') etc. At all events there is no trace of her cult in Rome before the introduction of the Capitoline Triad, where she appears with *Jupiter and *Juno in an Etruscan grouping. Apart from this she was worshipped in a (possibly) very ancient shrine on mons Caelius (the Caelian hill), which was called Minerva Capta by *Ovid, from the taking of Falerii in 241 BC (*Ov. Fast.* 3. 835 ff.). But it seems that this name was derived from a statue captured in Falerii and offered to the Caelian Minerva (see Ziolkowski, *Temples* 112 ff.). A much more important cult lay *extra pomerium* ('outside the pomerium', or religious boundary) on the Aventine hill; it was supposedly vowed in 263 or 262 BC (see Ziolkowski, *Temples* 109 ff.). The Aventine Minerva was of Greek origin and was the headquarters of a guild of writers and actors during the Second Punic War (*Festus Gloss. Lat.* 423) and seems to have been generally the centre of organizations of skilled craftsmen. Minerva's worship spread at the expense of *Mars himself, the Quinquatrus coming to be considered her festival, apparently because it was the *natalis* ('anniversary') of her temple (*Ov. Fast.* 3. 812); it was also extended to five days, from a misunderstanding of the meaning ('fifth day after' a given date; see Frazer on *Ov. Fast.* 3. 812). 13 June was called the *Quinquatrus minusculae* ('Lesser Quinquatrus') and was the special feast-day of the professional flute-players (*tibicines*; cf. *Ov. Fast.* 6. 651 ff., and G. Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée* 3 (1973)). HJR/JSch

mines and mining

Greek

Greeks obtained gold and silver and 'utility' metals, copper, tin (for bronze), iron and lead by mining and by trade; *colonization extended their scope for both. Literary evidence for mining is mainly historical not technical; later references to Egyptian and Roman methods are only partly applicable. Epigraphical, archaeological, and scientific evidence has extended knowledge of industrial organization and techniques, and proved the early

exploitation of certain ore-fields. Climate, geography, and geology dictated methods: panning for gold (as in Asia Minor and Black Sea regions) and hushing (applying jets of water to) of placer (alluvial) deposits were rarely practicable in Greece and its islands, while low rainfall reduced mine-drainage problems and accounted for the elaborate catchment channels, cisterns and ore-washeries designed to recycle water in the Laurium area SE of Athens. There the Athenian lead-silver mines were extremely extensive (copper and iron ores were also exploited). The rural settlement of Thoricos has revealed sherd evidence for mining in the early bronze age (third millennium BC), late Mycenaean (see *MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION*), and late Roman times, with marks of prehistoric hammer-stones and later metal chisels and picks. Sporadic mining continued in Laurium till the boom period of the 5th and 4th cents. BC, with small-scale working and re-exploitation of minehead and furnace spoil-heaps thereafter. Opencast pits, oblique and vertical shafts (with cuttings for ladders, stagings, and windlasses), and underground galleries (some only 1 m. (39 in.) high) and chambers mark hillsides and valleys, along with extensive surface-works (cisterns, washeries), some in seemingly haphazard juxtaposition, others segregated in compounds. Cycladic Siphnos, prosperous and famed for its gold- and silver-mines in Archaic times, has also produced evidence for silver-lead mining in the early bronze age, with opencast pits, trenches, shafts, ovoid galleries, and chambers, repacked ritually on abandonment. In northern Greece also, in Macedonia and Thrace (Mt. Pangaeus) and on Thasos, gold and silver were mined. Control of the mainland mines yielded *Philip II of Macedon an income of 1,000 talents annually. See *SLAVERY*. JEJ

Roman

Imperial expansion gave Rome control over a wide variety of mineral resources. The Iberian peninsula (see *SPAIN*), *Gaul (Transalpine), *Britain, the Danubian provinces (Dalmatia, Noricum, and Dacia), and *Asia Minor came to be the major mining regions of the Roman empire, and gold, silver, copper, lead, and tin the main metals extracted. Iron was found in many parts of the empire and despite the presence of large-scale iron-mining districts in Noricum and the Kentish Weald was usually exploited in smaller local units of production. It is difficult to trace precisely the history of Roman mining, since mining areas and individual mines came into and went out of production, and because archaeological research has been more thorough in some areas than others; but the main lines can be drawn. Italy contained few precious metals, and so Rome initially had to rely on imports from

mines controlled by Hellenistic kings in the east and the Carthaginians in the west. After the defeat of *Hannibal in 201 BC, Romans and Italians were soon exploiting the silver-mines in SE Spain around New Carthage (Carthago Nova). After the conquest of the Macedonian kingdom in 167 BC, Rome regulated the operation of the Macedonian gold-mines to suit its needs. The apogee of production at the major mines of Iberia, Gaul, Britain, and the Danubian provinces took place in the first two centuries AD. After the disruption of the 3rd cent., some mines were operating again in the 4th cent., but, as far as we can tell, on a reduced scale and under a different organizational regime.

The Romans rarely opened up new areas of mining, but often expanded the scale of production and the variety of metals mined in regions already known for their mineral potential. Techniques of prospection relied heavily on observation of visible veins of mineralization in rock deposits and changes in soil colour. Of the precious metals only gold (and to a lesser degree copper) existed in a natural state. Silver, copper, lead, and tin occurred in compound metal deposits (ores) and required metallurgical processing to convert them into usable metals. Three main types of mining were practised: the exploitation of alluvial deposits; opencast mining of rock-deposits found near the surface; and underground mining of deeper-lying rock-deposits. The Romans exploited alluvial deposits (placers) of gold and tin by panning or, if they were larger in scale, by flushing the alluvium with large quantities of water released at high speed in sluices to separate the metal-bearing sands from the dross. In NW Spain especially deep alluvial deposits were undermined before being flushed with water to separate out the gold-nuggets (Plin. *HN* 33. 70–8). In underground mines vertical shafts were sunk often in pairs occasionally to an impressive depth: 340 m. (1,115 ft.) at one mine near New Carthage. Horizontal galleries, often strengthened with wooden props, connected the shafts, increased ventilation, and allowed ore once mined to be removed from the ore-face. Terracotta oil-lamps were placed in niches to provide lighting. Drainage was a problem in deeper mines. Manual bailing was practised (Plin. *HN* 33. 97), but if possible, drainage adits were cut through sterile rock. In some mines chain-pumps, Archimedean screw-pumps, or a series of water-lifting wheels were used. Mining tools, including picks, hammers, and gads, were mainly of iron, while ore was collected in buckets made of esparto grass before being hauled, in some cases by pulleys, to the surface.

Many mines (especially gold- and silver-mines) over time became the property of the Roman state, but cities and private individuals continued to own and operate

mines. In state-owned mines the state either organized production directly, as probably occurred in the gold-mining region of NW Spain, or it leased out contracts to work the mines to individuals, small associations or the larger *societates publicanorum* (see PUBLICANI). Mine-workers were often slaves, but prisoners of war, convicts, and free-born wage labourers also formed part of the workforce. Tombstones from mining settlements show that people often migrated long distances to work at mines. Soldiers were stationed at the larger mines, not just to supervise the labour force, but also to provide technological expertise. Any mining site needed a large number of ancillary workers to keep the labour force fed, clothed, and equipped, and to assist in processing ore into usable metals. JCE

Minoan civilization (see facing page)

miracles Stories of the power of the gods were common throughout antiquity, many of them rooted in personal devotion, as appears, for instance, from votive inscriptions expressing gratitude for a miraculous recovery. A large group is linked with particular cults and cult places allegedly founded following miraculous deeds by the deity involved, who thus showed his/her divine power. Early instances can be found in the *Homeric Hymns*, for example those to *Dionysus, *Demeter, and *Apollo. From the 4th cent. BC onwards there is a rapid increase in miracle-stories, and the connection with epiphany (divine appearance) receives ever more emphasis. Under the title *Epiphaneiai* collections of miracles abounded, the term *epiphaneia* signifying both the appearance and the miraculous deeds of the god. Among the epigraphic evidence the miracles performed by *Asclepius in Epidaurus (4th cent. BC) are particularly significant. Slightly earlier, literature reveals a new impetus in the *Bacchae* of *Euripides. Miracles (healing, punitive, and other) are now explicitly pictured as divine instruments to exact worship, obedience, and submission. In the same period the term *aretē*—literally the ‘virtue’ of a god—develops the meaning ‘miracle’, which entails the rise of so-called *aretalogiai*, aretalogies: quasi-liturgical enumerations of the qualities, achievements, and power (all could be referred to by the term *dynamis*) of a specific god. All these features abound in and after the Hellenistic period in the cults of great foreign gods, for instance Sarapis and Isis (see EGYPTIAN DEITIES), and no less in Christian texts. The fierce competition between, and radical demand for devout submission to, these new gods fostered a propagandistic tendency to publicize the gods’ miraculous deeds. ‘Miracle proved deity’ (A. D. Nock, *Conversion* (1933)) and as such it was often welcomed

[continued on p. 522]

MINOAN CIVILIZATION

Minoan civilization, the bronze age civilization of *Crete (c.3500–1100 BC). The term 'Minoan' (after the legendary Cretan King Minos) was coined by Sir Arthur Evans to distinguish the prehistoric culture of Crete revealed in his excavations beginning in 1900 at the site of Cnossus (*Knōssos*) from the *Mycenaean civilization revealed by Schliemann on the Greek mainland. Evans, using the pottery styles found at Cnossus divided the civilization into three phases, early, middle, and late Minoan (EM, MM, LM), a scheme subsequently refined to produce complex subdivisions (e.g. EM IIA, LM IIIA₁), although a simpler tripartite division into pre-Palatial, Palatial (subdivided into proto- and neo-Palatial), and post-Palatial better reflects cultural developments. The absolute chronology of prehistoric Crete, established through connections with the 'historical' chronology of Egypt, has been refined using radiocarbon dating techniques together with tree-ring calibration. Chief among the refinements are the dates for the earliest permanent settlers on the island (c.7000 BC), for the beginning of the bronze age (EM I) (c.3500 BC), and for the beginning of the late bronze age (LM I) (c.1700 BC, based on a likely date for the destruction of the Akrotiri site on Thera of 1628 BC). The beginning of the iron age is conventionally placed at the end of the sub-Minoan phase (c.1000 BC), although functional iron objects are known from LM IIIC onwards.

Pre-Palatial

(neolithic to MM IA: c.7000–2000 BC). Although humans may have visited Crete earlier, it was first colonized before c.7000 BC possibly from SW Anatolia. The only attested site of that date is Cnossus, some 5 km. (3 mi.) from the sea on the west side of the Kairatos valley—in its earliest phase perhaps only 0.25 ha. (0.6 acre) in size with a population of about 70 (cf. *Antiquity* 1991, 233 ff.). The first colonists there brought with them a fully developed farming lifestyle and the ancestor of one of the island's later languages. For the next 2,500 years very few sites are known until numbers increase dramatically in the late and final neolithic periods (c.4500–3500 BC), by which time Cnossus has reached a size of 5 ha. (12.4 acres), its population perhaps as high as 1,500. The rise in site numbers seems too large to be explained solely by indigenous population increase, suggesting some new settlers in a period when many of the smaller Aegean islands were being colonized for the first time. The appearance of new ceramic traditions in the earliest bronze age ('Agios Onouphrios' and 'Pyrgos' wares) and material culture links with the Cyclades have been cited as further evidence for immigration.

Although the EM I phase conventionally marks the beginning of the bronze age, this term is misleading: copper metallurgy was already known in the final neolithic at Cnossus, but true bronze metallurgy does not become widespread until EM II (c.2500 BC). Our understanding of society in EM I–MM IA Crete (c.3500–2000 BC) depends to a large extent on burials (particularly those in circular tombs in the Mesara region) and on a handful of small excavated sites, such as Debla, Myrtos Phournou Koriphi (0.09 ha.: 0.25 acre), and Vasiliki (which lends its name to a characteristic ceramic of the EM II period). The evidence of these sites (with populations perhaps in the order of 30–50 individuals) suggests a relatively egalitarian society, in contrast to the larger settlements that certainly existed in this phase (Cnossus, Phaestus, Malia, Mochlus) with populations perhaps ranging from 450 (Phaestus) to 1,500 (Cnossus) (cf. T. Whitelaw, *Minoan Society*, ed. O. Kryszkowska and L. Nixon (1983), 337 ff.). Their sizes, together with poorly understood monumental structures at Cnossus and elite burials at Mochlus, imply the emergence of a social hierarchy already by EM II. In the latest pre-Palatial phase (MM IA in central Crete, EM III in the east), elite burials become more widespread (Archanes, Malia, Gournia, Mochlus), as do indicators of connections with the eastern Mediterranean, suggesting the importance of social stratification and external contacts as factors associated with the emergence of the palaces (cf. *PCPS* 1984, 18 ff.).

Palatial

(MM IB to LM IB: c.2000–1470 BC). The first structures referred to as 'palaces' are built at the central Cretan sites of Cnossus, Malia, and Phaestus in the MM IB phase. Architecturally they are distinguished by monumentality (floor areas range from 1.3 ha. (3.2 acres) at Cnossus to 0.75 ha. (1.85 acres) at Malia), by their arrangement around a paved central court, with a paved western court, and by sophisticated masonry techniques such as ashlar orthostate blocks. The uniformity of plans of the first palaces is somewhat illusory and Malia in particular seems to have had a more dispersed layout, while it is possible that architecturally distinct palaces did not appear all over the island in MM IB,



Minoan civilization The west court of the Minoan palace at Phaestus, southern *Crete. Monumental, and usually paved, courts were a feature of Minoan palaces and suggest their function as (among other things) ceremonial centres. American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Alison Frantz Collection

notably in east Crete, where an extensive network of roads, way-stations, and watch-towers established in MM II, linked the sites of Palaikastro and Kato Zakros with the SE section of the island.

Innovations in economic and social organization of the late pre-Palatial period are more clearly articulated in the architectural environment of the early palaces. The palaces mobilized agricultural surplus within their territories, necessitating the construction of large-scale storage facilities for food to support the élite and their workforce, to provide relief in times of stress, and, probably, to support ritual feasting. To record such storage two scripts were used—so-called Cretan Hieroglyphic (chiefly at Knossos and Malia) and Linear A (at Phaestus—while clay sealings were used at Phaestus as a direct means of controlling storage rooms and containers. Élite craft production was centred on the palaces and it seems likely that the palaces also monopolized the acquisition of raw materials, such as copper (from Attica and other sources), tin, and ivory (through Syria). Finds of the polychrome ‘Kamarens’ ware characteristic of the proto-Palatial period are widespread if not numerous at various sites in the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt, suggesting exchange links with the major circum-Mediterranean powers. Overseas contacts with the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands (especially the Cyclades) are intense during the proto-Palatial period and become more so in the neo-Palatial period.

Iconographic and artefactual evidence suggest that the palaces also functioned as centres for ritual, while cult sites, including cave (e.g. the Idaean, Dictaeon, and Arkalochori caves), spring (e.g. Kato Symi), and peak-top sanctuaries—particularly characteristic of Minoan culture (e.g. Iouktas, Petsophas: *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 1992, 59 ff.)—were widely distributed in the rural landscape. The alignments of Knossos on Mount Iouktas and Phaestus on the Kamarens cave suggest a close connection between the palace centres and these rural cult places, which may have functioned to unify territories around a prominent visual marker.

The palaces became focal points for settlement, as the growth of the settlement at Knossos by the neo-Palatial period to an estimated 75 ha. (185 acres), its population to perhaps 12,000, demonstrates. (By comparison, late Helladic Mycenae was 30 ha. (74 acres) in area, including the walled citadel.) The territories controlled from Knossos, Phaestus, and Malia may each have been over 1,000 sq. km. (386 sq. mi.) in extent.

The transition from the old or first palaces (the proto-Palatial) to the new or second palaces (the neo-Palatial period) is defined by reconstruction of the palaces, after destructions—perhaps by earthquake—at all three major sites in MM II and IIIA. It is the new palaces that are best understood and which show the greatest architectural

similarities. They retain many of the functions of their predecessors: storage, ritual, elite craft production (including the dark-on-light 'Plant'- and 'Marine'-style fine-ware ceramics), also the acquisition of raw materials through contacts with the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands and with the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt. Striking among these links are examples of frescos in Minoan style at Tel Kabri in Israel and Tell el-Daba'a (ancient Avaris) in the Egyptian Delta.

However, there are changes in the neo-Palatial period. The palaces are extensively decorated with frescos containing figured scenes drawn from the natural world and from ritual, public display, and possibly narrative; the best preserved examples are not from Crete, but the Minoanized settlement of Akrotiri on Thera. It seems that the extent of storage space and access to the central structures was more restricted in this phase, suggesting a devolution of agricultural storage and some administrative control to subordinate settlements, including a new class that appears in the neo-Palatial period, conventionally called 'villas': small, rural settlements with storage and processing facilities for agricultural produce (e.g. Vathypetro) and links to the palaces in architectural details and the use of Linear A script and clay sealings (e.g. Myrtos Pyrgos, Tylissos, Sklavokampos). These 'villas' may have been subordinate to towns, each perhaps controlling specific sectors of the palatial territories and in some cases producing Linear A finds (Archanes, Agia Triada, Gournia, Palaikastro). Ports are also important, notably at Kommos on the western coast of the Mesara plain, 6 km. (3.7 mi.) from Phaestus and Agia Triada, and the small (only 0.31 ha. (0.8 acre) in area) palace constructed at Kato Zakros on the east coast of the island, perhaps over a proto-Palatial predecessor, which may have functioned to control exchange.

The Linear A script is now in almost exclusive use for administrative recording and is also found on items of jewelry (gold and silver pins) and stone offerings-tables found at rural sanctuaries (Iouchtas, Kato Symi), implying close links between the palaces and rural cult sites. The architectural uniformity of the new palaces, together with the widespread use of Linear A and the discovery of near identical seal impressions at a number of sites has suggested to some a unification of the island under a single authority, probably the palace at Cnossus (e.g. *Kadmos* 1967, 15 ff.), but this need not necessarily have been the case (J. F. Cherry, *Peer Polity Interaction* (1986), 35 ff.).

Post-Palatial

(LM II to SM: c.1470–1000 BC). The end of the neo-Palatial period is marked by a series of burnt destructions in the pottery phase known as LM IB; sites affected include the palaces of Kato Zakros, Malia, and Phaestus and many smaller sites as far west as Chania. The following period is conventionally referred to as the post-Palatial, although some scholars prefer to extend the term neo-Palatial to include the final destruction of the palace at Cnossus, which continued in use. The date of the final destruction at Cnossus hinges on the material Evans published as belonging to the final palace and has been controversial since the 1960s, when rival dates were proposed of c.1375 and c.1200 BC. The discovery at the western site of Chania (Linear B *ku-do-ni-ja*) in a LM IIIB context of Linear B tablets, one of them at least probably written by a Cnossian scribe (*Kadmos* 1992, 61 ff.; *BCH* 1993, 19 ff.), not only supports a late date for the Cnossus destruction, but also confirms the existence of close administrative ties between the two sites.

The Linear B documents record the final year of the economic administration centred on Cnossus in an early form of the Greek language, a fact that implies—along with archaeological evidence for features of mainland material culture—that Mycenaean Greeks had taken over control there and had perhaps been responsible for the destructions at the end of the LM IB phase. From the documents it is possible to demonstrate that Cnossus managed the economy of much of central and western Crete, a territory of perhaps 3,000–4,000 sq. km. (1,200–1,500 sq. mi.), incorporating the territories of former palatial centres, which continued to be occupied but were now subordinate to Cnossus.

As in other parts of the Aegean, many sites on Crete are abandoned or destroyed in the latter half of the LM IIIB pottery phase (c.1250–1200 BC). The final destruction of Cnossus may be part of this pattern. A number of settlements are founded in inaccessible or easily defensible locations in the LM IIIC–SM periods, notably at Karphi (altitude 1,100 m.: 3,600 ft.), at Vrokastro, and Kavousi, and at Kastri near Palaikastro. Some Minoan settlements continue in use or are reoccupied after the bronze age (Cnossus, Phaestus, Kydonia), while some attract later cult (Kommos, Palaikastro). Relatively few cult sites (notably the Idaean and Dictaeon caves) are reused in the iron age, but the spring sanctuary at Kato Symi, dedicated to *Hermes and *Aphrodite in the historical period, is in continuous use.

with the exclamation *heis ho theos* ('one/unique is the god'), thus contributing to the shaping of 'henotheistic' religiosity. Belief in miracles and their employment as testimonies of the superiority of the Christian god and hence as incentives to conversion blossomed in early Christianity. Healing miracles in particular abound in the New Testament and patristic literature. According to the official creed the Christian god and his preachers do not need physical means or natural resources to work miracles. However, reality tells a different story. Christian saints frequently adopted Asclepius' medical and oneirical techniques, most noticeably in the miracles of Thecla and Kosmas and Damianos. Thus Christ could become the great rival of Asclepius in later antiquity. HSV

Mithradates VI (Eupator Dionysus) (120–63BC), elder son of Mithradates V Euergetes (152/1–120 BC), was the greatest, most famous king of Pontus in NE *Asia Minor, and Rome's most dangerous enemy in the 1st cent. BC. After murdering his mother and brother, his first major enterprise was the conquest of the Crimea and northern Euxine. Ultimate control of most of the circuit of the Black Sea gave him almost inexhaustible supplies of men and materials for his military campaigns. In Cappadocia he continued to try to exert indirect control through agents: his creature Gordius, a Cappadocian noble; his sister Laodice; her son Ariarathes VII; and eventually his own son, whom he installed as king Ariarathes IX. For the more aggressive annexation of Paphlagonia he took as ally his most powerful neighbour, Nicomedes III of Bithynia, but subsequently fell out with him. A famous meeting with *Marius in 99/8, and the armed intervention of *Sulla in Cappadocia a little later, made it clear that war with Rome was inevitable, and he prepared carefully. While Italy was preoccupied by the Social War of 91–89 (see *ROME (HISTORY)* §1.5), he annexed Bithynia and Cappadocia. Skilful diplomacy, masterful propaganda and Roman overreaction enabled him to cast Rome in the role of aggressor and cause of the First Mithradatic War which followed (89–85). His armies swept all before them in Asia, where he ordered a massacre of resident Romans and Italians (the 'Asian Vespers'). He failed to capture Rhodes, but was welcomed in *Athens and won over most of Greece. The Roman response came in 87, when Sulla arrived in Greece with five legions. He defeated the Pontic armies, besieged and captured Athens, and took the war to Asia. Mithradates surrendered at the Peace of Dardanus, and was allowed to retire to Pontus. The Second Mithradatic War (c.83–81) was no more than a series of skirmishes with Sulla's lieutenant Lucius Licinius Murena, but when Nicomedes IV of Bithynia died in 76 or 75 and bequeathed his kingdom

to Rome, Mithradates again prepared for war. Having allied himself with Quintus *Sertorius, the Roman rebel in Spain, he invaded Bithynia in the spring of 73 (possibly 74), thus precipitating the Third Mithradatic War. The advance faltered immediately with a disastrous failure to capture Cyzicus, and the Roman forces, ably commanded by Lucius Licinius Lucullus, pushed Mithradates out of Pontus into Armenia, where he took refuge with King Tigranes II, his son-in-law. He failed to win Parthian support, but was able to return to Pontus in 68. The great *Pompey, newly appointed to the Mithradatic command, easily defeated him, and forced him to retreat to his Crimean kingdom. He was said to be planning an ambitious invasion of Italy by land, when his son Pharnaces led a revolt against him. Inured to poison by years of practice, he had to ask an obliging Gallic bodyguard to run him through with a sword. Mithradates presented himself both as a civilized philhellene—he consciously copied the portraiture and actions of *Alexander the Great—and as an oriental monarch, and although in many ways he achieved a remarkably successful fusion of east and west, he failed either to understand or to match the power of Rome. BCMCG

Mithras, an ancient Indo-Iranian god adopted in the Roman empire as the principal deity of a mystery cult which flourished in the 2nd and 3rd cents. AD. Iranian Mithra was a god of compact (the literal meaning of his name), cattle-herding, and the dawn light, aspects of which survive (or were re-created) in his western manifestation, since Roman Mithras was a sun-god ('deus sol invictus Mithras', 'invincible sun god Mithras'), a 'bull-killer', and 'cattle-thief', and the saviour of the sworn brothers of his cult.

The cult is known primarily from its archaeological remains. Over 400 find-spots are recorded, many of them excavated meeting-places. These and the c. 1,000 dedicatory inscriptions give a good idea of cult life and membership. Some 1,150 pieces of sculpture (and a few frescos) carry an extraordinarily rich sacred art, although the iconography remains frustratingly elusive in default of the explicatory sacred texts. Literary references to Mithras and Mithraism are as scarce as the material remains are abundant.

Mithraism was an organization of cells. Small autonomous groups of initiates, exclusively male, met for fellowship and worship in chambers of modest size and distinctive design which they called 'caves' ('Mithraea', like 'Mithraism' and 'Mithraist', are neologisms). A cave is an 'image of the universe', and according to Porphyry (*De antr. nymph.* 6) the archetypal Mithraeum was designed and furnished as a kind of microcosmic model.



Mithras This marble relief from a Mithraic temple at Heddenheim (Germany) depicts the principal icon in the myth of Mithras, his killing of a bull. Although not fully understood, the scene may have been seen by worshippers as an astrological allegory. See *ASTROLOGY*. Wiesbaden Museum

Mithraea were sometimes sited in real caves or set against rock-faces (e.g. at Jajce in Bosnia) or were made to imitate caves by vaulting or decoration or by sequestering them in dim interior or underground rooms (see the Barberini, San Clemente, and Santa Prisca Mithraea in Rome, those at Capua and Marino, and the many Mithraea of *Ostia, among which the 'Seven Spheres' Mithraeum with its mosaic composition of zodiac and

planets arguably exemplifies Porphyry's cosmic model). The Mithraeum is the antithesis of the classic temple, totally lacking in exterior decoration and space for solemn public ritual. The Mithraeum's most distinctive (and unvarying) feature is the pair of platforms flanking a central aisle. It was on these that the initiates reclined for a communal meal. Visual representations (see esp. the Santa Prisca frescos and the relief from Konjic in Bosnia)

show that this meal was the human counterpart of a divine banquet shared by Mithras and the sun-god (the latter appearing on the monuments as a separate being) on the hide of the bull killed by the former in his greatest exploit.

As is now known from the Santa Prisca frescos and the pavement of the Felicissimus Mithraeum in Ostia, initiates were ranked in a hierarchy of seven grades, each under the protection of one of the planets: Raven (Mercury), 'Nymphus' (Venus), Soldier (Mars), Lion (Jupiter), Persian (Moon), 'Heliodromus' (Sun), Father (Saturn). It is generally accepted that this was a lay hierarchy, not a professional priesthood. Mithraists, as their monuments attest, remained in and of the secular world. It is unlikely that the full hierarchy was represented in each Mithraeum, although probable that most were presided over by one or more Father. The disparate connotations of the various ranks, the two idiosyncratic coinages ('Heliodromus' and 'Nymphus'—the latter would mean, if anything, 'male bride'), and the unique planetary order all bespeak an unusually inventive and evocative construct.

Actual Mithraea or traces of the cult have been found in virtually every quarter of the Roman empire, though with two notable areas of concentration. The first was Rome itself and its port of Ostia. In Ostia, some 15 Mithraea have been discovered in the excavated area that comprises about half of the town's total. Extrapolation to Rome, where some 35 locations are known, would yield a total of perhaps as many as 700 Mithraea. The number is impressive (if speculative), but individual Mithraea were small, and even if all were in service contemporaneously they would accommodate no more than 2 per cent of the population—scarcely the great rival to *Christianity that inflated views of the cult have sometimes made it. The other area of concentration was the empire's European frontier from Britain to the mouth of the Danube. As inscriptions confirm, Mithraism's typical recruits were soldiers and minor functionaries, e.g. employees of the Danubian customs service headquartered at Poetovio (mod. Ptuj in Slovenia). Many were *freedmen or slaves. Mithraism did not generally attract the upper classes (except as occasional patrons) until its final days as the rather artificial creature of the pagan aristocracy of 4th-cent. Rome. It was always better represented in the Latin west than the Greek east.

By the middle of the 2nd cent. AD the cult was well established. The routes of its diffusion and its earlier development are much debated, problems complicated by the question of transmission from Iran. Did the cult develop from and perpetuate a stream of Zoroastrianism, or was it essentially a western creation with 'Persian' trimmings? There is no agreement, because there is so little evidence.

Almost the only firm datum is *Plutarch's remark that the Cilician pirates suppressed by *Pompey (*Pomp.* 24) had secret initiatory rites (*teletai*) of Mithras which had endured to his own day. These may have been a prototype of the developed *mysteria.

The cult's theology and its sacred myth must be recovered, if at all, from the monuments. Principal among these is the icon of Mithras killing a bull, which was invariably set as a focal point at one end of the Mithraeum. Mithras is shown astride the bull, plunging a dagger into its flank. The victim's tail is metamorphosed into an ear of wheat. Mithras is accompanied by dog, snake, scorpion, and raven; also by two minor deities, dressed like him in 'Persian' attire and each carrying a torch (one raised, the other inverted), whose names, *Cautes* and *Cautopates*, are known from dedications. Above the scene, which is enacted in front of a cave, are images of *Sol* and *Luna*. This strange assemblage challenges interpretation. Clearly, the killing is an act of sacrifice, but to what end? It has been seen variously as an action which creates or ends the world (support for both can be adduced from Zoroastrian sources) or which in some sense 'saves' the world or at least the initiates within it. The line from Santa Prisca 'et nos servasti [...] sanguine fuso' ('and you saved us with the shed blood') probably refers to the bull-killing Mithras *qua* saviour, though one must beware of reading into this 'salvation' inappropriate Christian connotations.

The bull-killing has also been interpreted as an astrological allegory, the initial warrant for this being the remarkable correspondence, certainly not an unintended coincidence, between elements in the composition and a group of constellations. But there is no consensus on the extent to which learned astrological doctrines should be imputed to the cult, let alone on their theological or soteriological function. This contributor holds that *astrology was central and that its function was to provide the specifics of a doctrine of the soul's celestial journey (descent to earth and ascent to heaven), initiation into which, Porphyry says (*De antr. nymph.* 6), was the ritual enacted in Mithraea.

The bull-killing is but one episode, albeit the most important, in a cycle of Mithraic myth represented (frustratingly, in no set order) on the monuments. Other episodes are Mithras' birth from a rock, the hunt and capture of the bull, and the feast celebrated with *Sol*. The banquet scene is sometimes shown on the reverse of bull-killing reliefs, as salvific effect from salvific cause. There are fine examples in the Louvre (from Fiano Romano), Wiesbaden (from Hedderheim), and—still, one hopes—Sarajevo (from Konjic). See MYSTERIES.

monopolies, in the sense of exclusive control of the supply of a product or service, were known in antiquity, but restricted in scope. In no case was the declared aim an increase in productivity through efficient planning or economies of scale. Instead, monopolistic control aimed above all at increasing revenues and was the prerogative of the state: 'cornering the market' by individuals was an almost mythical occurrence (Arist. *Pol.* 1259^a5 ff.). State control and leasing of silver deposits in Attica (the Laurium mines) marks a long-term revenue-raising monopoly. Other Greek states invented and sold monopolies in time of fiscal emergency ([Arist.] *Orationes Philippicae* 2). In Ptolemaic *Egypt, monopoly control of goods and services, usually by sale and lease of rights, was a way of life (from oil and textiles to beer and goose-breeding). In the Roman empire, sale of monopolies by cities was a regular revenue-raising device. See ECONOMY, GREEK; ECONOMY, HELLENISTIC; ECONOMY, ROMAN. PCM

mosaic Floors paved with natural pebbles arranged in simple geometric designs were used in the near east in the 8th cent. BC. In the Greek world, unpatterned pebble floors were known in the Minoan and Mycenaean periods (see MINOAN CIVILIZATION; MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION); decorated pebble mosaics are first attested at the end of the 5th cent., at Corinth and Olynthus. The earliest examples had simple two-dimensional designs, both geometric and figured, usually light on a dark ground. Their use, mainly in private houses, spread throughout Greece during the 4th cent.; by its end a wider range of colours and shades was used, and attempts were made to achieve more three-dimensional effects. Outstanding examples of this phase come from the palatial houses at Pella in Macedonia, dated to the late 4th cent.; some artificial materials such as strips of lead or terracotta for outlines were used here to reinforce the natural pebbles. See HOUSES, GREEK.

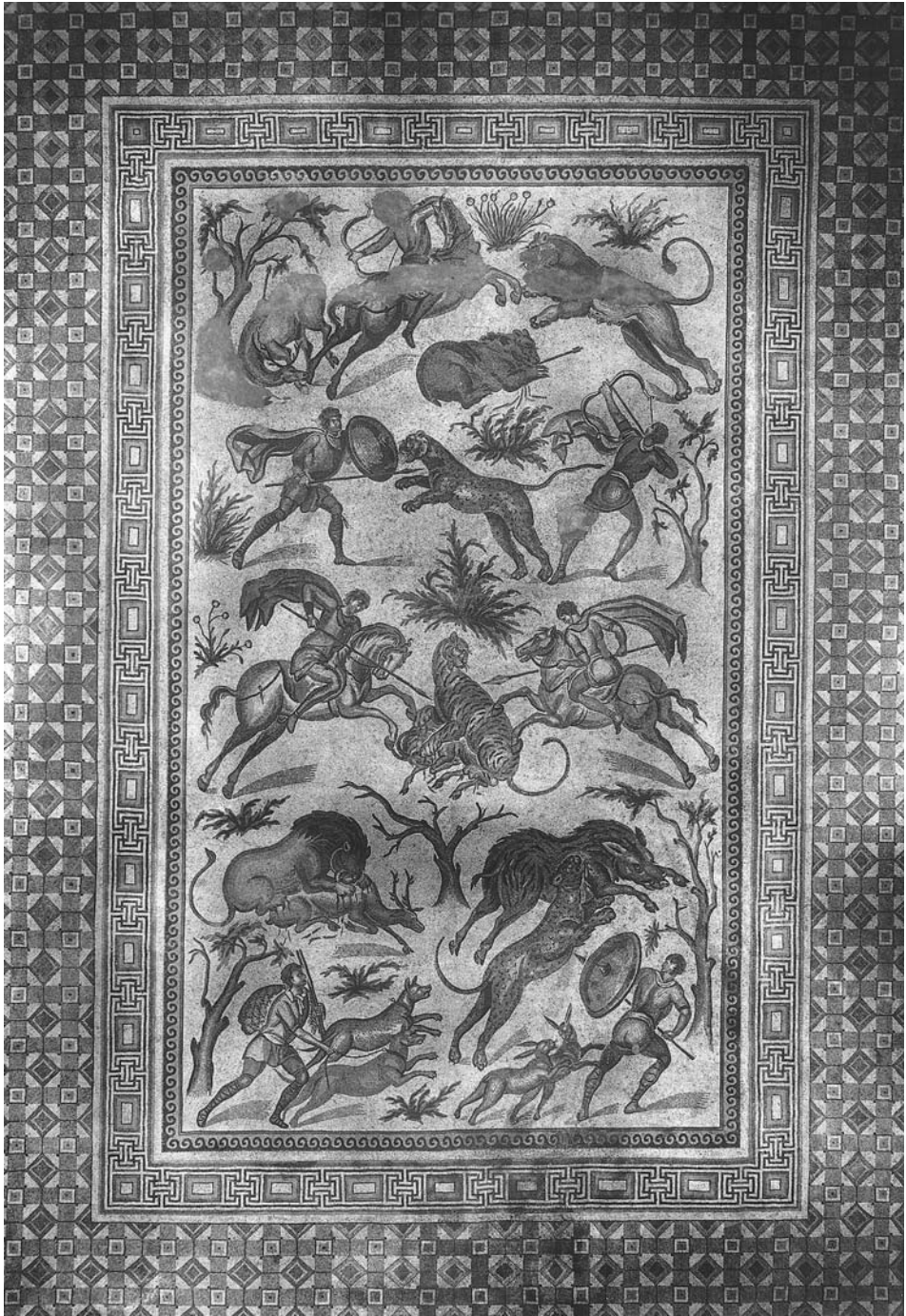
The technique of tessellated mosaic (*opus tessellatum*), in which pieces of stone or marble were cut to approximately cubic shape and fitted closely together in a bed of mortar, was invented in the course of the 3rd cent. BC; the exact date is controversial. There were probably experiments in various places; mosaics at Morgantina in Sicily are often cited as early examples. Tesserae were cut irregularly at first, then with greater precision; by the 2nd cent. the technique sometimes known as *opus vermiculatum* had appeared, in which tiny pieces, some less than 1 mm. square, in a wide range of colours, were fitted so closely together as to imitate the effects of painting. Mosaics in this last technique often took the form of *emblemata*: panels produced in the artists' studio, and then inserted into the floor at the centre of a coarser

surround of tessellated mosaic. Outstanding examples have been found in the royal palaces at *Alexandria and *Pergamum; *Pliny the Elder (*HN* 36. 184) records the mosaicist Sosus of Pergamum, famous for his representation of an 'unswept floor' (*asarōtos oikos*) littered with the debris of a meal, and for a scene of Drinking Doves, reflected in several Roman copies. The largest number of mosaics of the Hellenistic period is found in *Delos, dating from the late 2nd and beginning of the 1st cent. BC, and mostly in private houses; they range from pavements of unshaped chips to very fine *emblemata*.

In Italy mosaics of Hellenistic style are found in Rome, *Pompeii, and elsewhere from the late 2nd cent. BC onwards; outstanding examples are the Alexander mosaic (see ALEXANDER THE GREAT) from the House of the Faun in Pompeii and the Nile mosaic from Praeneste (mod. Palustrina). Tessellated mosaics with geometric patterns, coloured or black and white, became increasingly common in the 1st cent. BC. Alongside them appeared more utilitarian types of floor, especially those of *signinum*, coloured (usually red) mortar-and-aggregate, their surface often decorated with tesserae or other pieces of stone strewn at random or arranged in simple patterns. The antecedents for these may have come from Punic Carthage, where pavements of related type are dated as early as the 4th and 3rd cents. Another technique developed in Italy in the late republic is that of *opus sectile* ('cut work'), where larger pieces of stone or marble were cut to the shape of specific parts of a design; this was later used on walls as well as floors, for both ornamental and figured designs.

Under the empire mosaics became mass-produced; they were widespread in private houses and better-quality apartments, and in large public buildings such as *baths. Geometric designs were much more common than figured work, and fine *emblemata*, always objects of luxury, became rare. In Italy throughout the first three centuries AD, the great majority of mosaics were black and white, with all-over geometric or floral designs, or with figures in black silhouette. The figures might be set in panels, or as abstract all-over designs covering the greater part of the floor; examples are found above all in *Ostia.

Much of the western empire adopted the use of mosaic under Italian influence during the 1st and 2nd cents. AD; a taste for polychromy generally prevailed over the black-and-white style. Each province tended to develop its own regional character, with a repertory of favourite designs and methods of composition. Among the most distinctive are those of North Africa; elaborate polychrome geometric and floral designs were favoured, and figure scenes often formed all-over compositions covering large areas of floor with minimal indication of depth or recession. Subject-matter here was often directly related to the



mosaic A hunt mosaic from Apamea, restored in AD 539. It illustrates the rich tradition of pictorial mosaic in the eastern empire and particularly (as here) the province of *Syria. Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium. © KIK-IRPA, Brussels, www.kikirpa.be

interests and activities of the patrons, with scenes from the amphitheatre, the hunting-field, or the country estate. Closely related are the pavements of the great 4th-cent. villa at Piazza Armerina in Sicily, very probably laid by a workshop from Carthage. In Spain the most striking mosaics come from villas of the late empire: they have much in common with the African floors, but include a higher proportion of mythological or literary subjects. In Britain a number of individual workshops have been distinguished, especially from the 4th cent.

In the eastern Empire the Hellenistic tradition of the pictorial figure scene persisted much longer, especially in Roman Syria. Many have been found at *Antioch, where a continuous series of mosaics runs from c.AD 100 to the 6th cent., and very fine pictorial mosaics, mostly with mythological subject matter, were discovered in the excavations at Zeugma on the Euphrates, all dating before the town's destruction c.253 AD. The tradition continued into the 4th cent., with examples from Shahba-Philippopolis and Apamea in *Syria. At the end of the 4th cent. these gave way to all-over two-dimensional carpet-like designs, both geometric or floral and figured, best exemplified by the 5th-cent. 'hunting carpets' of Antioch. These should be seen as a local development, not primarily the product of outside influences; the style was widely adopted in Christian churches and Jewish synagogues in the near east.

The use of mosaic on walls and vaults (*opus musivum*) was a Roman invention. In the late republic grottoes and fountains were decorated with shells, pumice-stone, and pieces of glass, later with regular glass tesserae. Numerous small fountains in Pompeii were decorated in this way, and more extensive mosaic decoration on walls is found there and in Rome in the 1st cent. AD; patterns and designs were more closely related to wall-painting than to floor mosaic. The technique was used on a large scale for vaults and walls in buildings such as baths and tombs in the 2nd and 3rd cents. The use of wall and vault mosaic in Christian churches from the 4th cent. onwards is an extension of this development. KMDD

Muses, goddesses upon whom poets—and later other artists, philosophers, and intellectuals generally—depended for the ability to create their works. They were goddesses, not lesser immortals, not only because of their pedigree(s) and their home on Mt. Olympus. They are called goddesses from the earliest sources on, and their attitude to mankind is identical to that of gods: they do not hesitate to destroy a mortal who dares to usurp their place (so Thamyris, whom they maimed and deprived of his skill: Hom. *Il.* 2. 594–600), and they are divinely contemptuous of humankind (it does not matter to them whether the poetry they inspire is true or false: Hes.

Theog. 26–8). Muses appear both singly and in groups of varying sizes (West, on *Theog.* 60). Homer, for example, addresses a single goddess or Muse but knows there are more (the Thamyris story). The canonical nine and their names probably originated with *Hesiod (West on *Theogony* 76). They were: Calliope (epic poetry), Clio (history), Euterpe (flute-playing), Terpsichore (lyric poetry and dancing, esp. choral), Erato (lyric poetry), Melpomene (tragedy), Thalia (comedy), Polyhymnia (hymns and pantomime), Urania (astronomy). But their names, functions, and number fluctuated.

The earliest sources locate the Muses at Pieria, just north of Olympus, and on Olympus itself; they are associated with so-called 'Thracian' bards, *Orpheus, Thamyris, and Musaeus. That region appears to have been their first home. A southern group, the Muses of Helicon, is identified by Hesiod with the Muses of Olympia and Pieria, perhaps because of an underlying connection between the two regions (compare Mt. Leibethrion and its nymphs in the Helicon massif with Leibethra in Pieria in *Macedonia), but possibly because the young poet himself saw fit to make the association as a means to enhance his own reputation (on the introduction to the *Theogony*, see W. G. Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry* (1984), 134–52).

Hesiod's influence led eventually—but possibly not before the 4th cent. BC—to the establishment of a formal cult and sanctuary below Mt. Helicon in the Vale of the Muses. This may have been the first 'Mouseion' (i.e. Museum: it housed, in the open air, statues of both legendary and historical notables, and possibly contained an archive of poetic works), and it is not surprising that a Ptolemy (probably Ptolemy IV Philopator, whose queen Arsinoë III was worshipped as the Tenth Muse) was among the benefactors when part of the musical *agôn* (see GAMES), the Mouseia, was reorganized towards the end of the 3rd cent. BC (for the Heliconian cult, see A. Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia* 2 (1986), 147–79).

Philosophers, traditionally beginning with *Pythagoras, adopted the Muses as their special goddesses, in some cases organizing their schools as *thiasoi* (groups of worshippers) under their patronage (P. Boyancé, *Le Culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs* (1937), esp. 229–351). From Hellenistic times they were a popular subject, individually or as a group, in sculpture (especially sarcophagi) and *mosaics.

There is no satisfactory etymology (see Frisk, Chantraine, and Camilloni). Asch

music in Greek and Roman life 'Let me not live without music', sings a chorus of greybeards in *Euripides (*HF* 676). Expressions such as 'without music',



music in Greek and Roman life Athenian wine-jar (*amphora*) of the early 5th cent. BC depicting a young man singing to the tune of a box-lyre or *kithara*—the major instrument of professional and public performance in Greece. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource / Scala, Florence

'chorusless', 'lyreless' evoked the dreary bitterness of war, the Erinyes' curse, or death, 'without wedding song, lyreless, chorusless, death at the end' (Soph. OC 1221–3). Poetic pictures of unblemished happiness are correspondingly resonant with music; and in every sort of revel and celebration, Greeks of all social classes sang, danced (*see* DANCING), and played instruments, besides listening to professional performances. Music was credited with divine origins and mysterious powers, and was the pivot of relations between mortals and gods. It was central to public religious observance, and to such semi-religious occasions as weddings, funerals, and harvests. At the great Panhellenic festivals (*see* GREECE (PREHISTORY AND HISTORY)) and their many local counterparts, choruses and vocal and instrumental soloists competed no less than athletes for prizes and glory (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 12): these showcase occasions provided a matrix for the development of sophisticated forms of art-music, and fostered rapid stylistic elaborations and technical advances (*see* GAMES).

The best Greek soloists and composers were usually in some sense professionals, and professionals are already familiar in *Homer, though apart from Thamyris (*Il.* 2. 594–600) they are neither competitors nor independent agents, but retainers in a noble house. In historical times poet-composers such as Terpander, Thaletas, and *Alcman may have been 'retained' by the public purse in Sparta, and there were eminent musicians in the retinues of 6th-cent. tyrants. Others, *Sappho for example, and many in 5th-cent. Athens, made their living as teachers. But not all public performers were professionals. Choruses of singers and dancers remained citizen-amateurs until Hellenistic times, whether in Homer's Phaeacia (Scheria), in Alcman's Sparta, in Archaic *Delos, or in the dithyrambic and dramatic contests of Classical Athens (*see* DITHYRAMB; COMEDY (GREEK), OLD; TRAGEDY (GREEK)), and often later, even on occasion in Augustan Rome. Well-bred Greek citizens normally had a competence on an instrument (usually the lyre, sometimes the pipes) as well as in singing and choral dance. When *Achilles, the toughest of the Greek warriors, is found playing the lyre and singing in his tent (*Il.* 9. 186–9), no one is surprised. Humble folk sang at their work, piped to their flocks, or kept time to music at their oars. Guests at the *symposium listened to girl-pipers and other hired entertainers, but also sang and played instruments. Women made music in their domestic quarters. Music, all in all, was essential to the pattern and texture of Greek life at all social levels, providing a widely available means for the expression of communal identity and values, and a focus for controversy, judgement, and partisanship in which all citizens could enthusiastically engage.

It has generally been held, perhaps rightly, that music was much less important in Roman life than in Archaic or Classical Greece. It was nevertheless indispensable at Rome to all religious rituals and civic celebrations, prominent in public theatrical performance and private merry-making, a fully institutionalized ingredient of military activities, and a common element in the education of well-bred citizens (*see* EDUCATION, GREEK, §. 3). Professional performers won great acclaim. There are perhaps three main reasons for its apparently less significant status. First, we are ill-informed about relations between music and poetry in early Roman times. Unlike their Greek counterparts, most surviving Latin poets belong to a period in which sophisticated poetry had emancipated itself from occasions of musical performance and was primarily designed to be spoken or read. Secondly, Roman writers on music are typically educated men with a deep respect for Hellenic culture, inclined to compare the deliberate theatricality and the cosmopolitan variousness of contemporary performance unfavourably with the supposedly pure, simple, and ethically edifying music of the Greek past (but Greeks themselves regularly made similar complaints from the 5th cent. onwards). Finally, Greek lore about music's effects on character and its distinctive role in moral education had been elaborately articulated by philosophers and theorists, and such theorizing continued through imperial times: but in whichever language they wrote, Roman intellectuals invariably related these ideas to the older Greek music, seldom reflecting on matters within their own experience. Romans seem to have thought of the musical elements in education either as a source of peripheral gentlemanly adornments, or as part of a thoroughly gentlemanly professional training. Even where one would most expect it, in the ethical writings of the Roman Stoics (*see* STOICISM), there are few traces of the doctrine that musical education moulds the moral core of a citizen's dispositions and sensibilities. To most reflective Roman minds, music in their own milieu was no more than trivial entertainment, and the polemics of the Epicurean Philodemus (*see* EPICURUS) against Greek Stoics' and Platonists' conceptions of music's ethical significance found a ready audience (*see* PLATO). Technical analyses of musical structures continued similarly to focus wholly on Greek models: we have only the most impressionistic accounts of the music the Romans heard. ADB

Mycenaean civilization (*see following page*)

mysteries For much of the 20th cent. the term 'mystery religions' has been current, denoting a special form of personal religion linking the fate of a god of Frazer's 'dying-rising' type with the individual believer. The two

[continued on p. 533]

MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION

Mycenaean civilization takes its name from the spectacular finds made by Heinrich Schliemann at Mycenae, and was first systematically defined by Christos Tsountas. He applied the term Mycenaean to all Aegean Late Bronze Age material, but it is now confined to the culture which developed on the mainland in the late bronze age. The stylistic divisions of the Mycenaean pottery style (LH (late Helladic) I, IIA, etc.) provide a well-defined relative chronology, but historically the Mycenaean age is better divided into a formative period, covering LH I, IIA and IIB (c.1600/1550–1400 BC on the standard chronology; the ‘high’ chronology would start around 1680. All figures are rounded-off estimations), a palace period, covering LH IIIA₁, IIIA₂, IIIB₁, and IIIB₂ (c.1400–1200 BC), and a post-palatial period, covering LH IIIC (frequently divided into Early, Middle and Late) and Submycenaean (c.1200–1050 BC).

The most striking feature of the formative period is the emergence of wealthy ruling groups in the southern mainland, who were surely native to the territories that they controlled; theories that they represent alien invaders or the ‘first Greeks’ have not identified the new and consistently occurring cultural assemblage that should appear, or explained the variability of the earliest Mycenaean developments in different regions and the strong links with the preceding middle Helladic culture. Their emergence and acquisition of considerable wealth, displayed mostly in lavish burials (see below), remains hard to explain, but the expanding influence of *Minoan civilization in the Aegean and the increasing involvement of the Aegean with the expanding near eastern trading systems may have been the major stimuli. Characteristic types of mainland pottery have been found not only in the Aegean islands and some western Asia Minor sites (Miletus, Troy), but in the central Mediterranean, while Baltic amber reached important early Mycenaean sites (e.g. in the shaft graves of Mycenae), all suggestive of long-distance trade. Minoan influence is most marked in the crafts (see below) that the ruling groups patronized, and was hardly felt at the level of the ordinary settlements.

During the formative period features that were at first localized, like the Messenian tholos-tombs (SW *Peloponnese), were combined into something more like a homogeneous culture; by its end not only the Mycenaean pottery style but the characteristic burial practices had spread through the Peloponnese and central Greece. The new principalities were probably organized rather simply—there is no trace of the administrative use of the seal or writing—and the popularity of weapons as high-status grave-goods suggests that society was more turbulent than that of *Crete and the south Aegean islands. The distribution of Mycenaean pottery overseas extended in the 15th cent. to sites in Chalcidice (Torone), Albania, *Cyprus, *Syria-Palestine, and *Egypt, but contacts with the near east may still have been largely indirect while Minoan civilization dominated the Aegean.

Theories of Mycenaean responsibility for the collapse of Minoan civilization c.1450 are surely oversimplifying a very complex situation, but the following period certainly saw a great expansion of Mycenaean culture and the establishment of a state in Crete, centred on Cnossus, whose ruling class adopted many features of Mycenaean élite burial customs and used Greek, written in the Linear B script, as the administrative language. The administrative skills of Crete were probably transmitted to the mainland at this time, when the first well-preserved antecedents of the later Mycenaean palaces were built (Tiryns, Menelaion); but tombs continued to be richly provided with grave-goods at both mainland and Cretan sites. The final destruction of the palace at Cnossus during the 14th cent. BC, on the standard view (a minority argue for a mid-13th cent. date), removed the last major competitor to the mainland centres, although some Cretan centres continued to use Linear B, especially Cydonia (Khania), where the discovery of tablets indicates the existence of a palace-style administration.

Mycenaean civilization now reached its zenith, dominating the south Aegean and extending along the Asia Minor, where the Miletus region effectively became Mycenaean. It has recently been demonstrated, in an analysis of the geography of western Asia Minor in Hittite times (Hawkins, *Anat. St.* 1998, 1 ff.), that this region must have been the Asia Minor part of the kingdom of Ahhiyawā, whose kings had diplomatic contacts with the Hittite kings in the 13th cent. Ahhiyawā was therefore surely a Mycenaean kingdom (its name may well represent a hypothetical Akhaiwia, ‘land of the Achaeans’); its centre clearly lay outside Asia Minor, and its capital may well have been Mycenae, though serious arguments have also been put forward for Thebes and somewhere on *Rhodes (Ialysus?). It is hard to identify other references to Mycenaean states in near eastern sources, and there is no other clear evidence that Mycenaean states played a part in the power politics of the near east in the 14th and 13th cents., but there are some indications of possible 14th-cent. diplomatic contacts with Egypt.



Mycenaean civilization View of the central hall ('megaron') of the Mycenaean palace at Pylos (SW *Peloponnese). The circular hearth surrounded by four columns, a feature also known from Mycenae and Tiryns, suggests the role of hospitality and feasting in sustaining the primacy of the palace centres. American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Alison Frantz Collection

The leading centres of this civilization were those marked by the great palaces best preserved at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos; important remains have also been found at Thebes, and palace-quality frescos at Orchomenus, with which Gla should probably be associated. While considerably smaller than the Minoan palaces and differently laid out, Mycenaean palaces evidently have similar functions, as centres of administration, ritual and ceremonial, and storage. They also patronized luxury craftwork and probably organized large-scale overseas trade. They presided over societies that were small in scale: most settlements ranged in size from a few households to some hundreds, and even the greatest, with populations that must have been in the thousands, do not have a very townlike appearance (an exception is Dhimini near Iolcus). But there were more settlements on the mainland than ever before; exploitation of the land was being expanded, probably to provide commodities for trade as well as to support an increasing population.

A well-established theory that the palaces played a central role in the economies of the territories that they controlled must be qualified in the light of recent studies (see esp. P. Halstead, *PCPS* 1992, 57 ff., *BICS* 1999, 111 ff., ch. 5 in M. L. Galaty and W. A. Parkinson (eds.), *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces* (2007), also T. Cullen (ed.), *Aegean Prehistory: A review* (2001), 359 ff., and chs. II-IV in S. Voutsaki and J. Killen (eds.), *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States* (2001)). These distinguish between the highly specialized economies of the palaces, which concentrated on large-scale cultivation of a few crops, and the mixed economies of the ordinary settlements, which were not controlled from the palaces but interacted with them, providing some agricultural products in taxes and others, like pulses, on an irregular basis. To judge from the Pylos texts, a palace would directly maintain a workforce of many hundreds, who were mostly involved in the production of perfumed *olive oil, fine textiles, and other craftwork, and would also control most of the distribution and working of bronze. Large resources were now expended mainly on building and engineering projects rather than tombs, though the finest tholoi belong to the period.

The Linear B texts do not make the palaces' administrative system wholly clear, but at the top in Pylos was the *wanax*, a monarch-like figure; below him were various administrators, probably drawn from a class of major land-

owners, the most important of whom were the *lawagetas*, who had a special position in some ways comparable to that of the *wanax*, and the governors of territorial subdivisions (*ko-re-te-re*). Texts concerning land-holdings indicate that people of very varied status could hold land, generally by some form of lease, including priests, craftsmen and herdsmen (but these groups may have been of more elevated status than their occupation-titles suggest), and, at *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, an important religious site relatively near Pylos itself, many 'slaves of the god', both male and female. Land could be leased from different owners and in various ways, but its tenure may always have entailed payment to the palace in taxes or services.

It should be emphasized that not all political units within the area of Mycenaean civilization will have had such a relatively complex structure; many may have been more simply organized principalities and chieftainships. But the major fortifications or other constructions at some sites that have not produced evidence of the use of Linear B for administration (especially *Athens, Crisa, Iolcus, Teikhos Dymaion in Achaëa) suggest that many of these principalities were stable and their rulers could command large resources. No doubt many of the political units, major and minor, formed links of alliance and dependence, through which commodities acquired by overseas trade could be distributed.

Mycenaean pottery of this period is found in considerable quantities in much of the Mediterranean; rare examples got as far as northern Italy and eastern Spain. It was clearly popular, for it was widely imitated, but the most significant element may have been containers for perfumed olive oil and other substances, though fine table wares were also popular, especially in Cyprus. Its conspicuousness should not lead to overestimation of the Mycenaean position either in Mediterranean trade, whose most important organizing centres were probably in Syria and Cyprus. The masses of exported Mycenaean pottery may rather symbolize the strenuous effort necessary to maintain the inward flow of raw materials and luxuries necessary to the Mycenaean style of life.

Indications of trouble during the later 13th cent. BC may reflect strains within the Mycenaean world, linked to deteriorating economic conditions, rather than any external threat. Destructions at some major sites, like Mycenae and Tiryns, have been credited to earthquakes; but the great centre of Gla in Boeotia was abandoned, and fortifications were extended or newly built at several centres. Further destructions accompanied by fire at major centres or important buildings within them are datable c.1200 BC; again, those in the Argolid (Mycenae, Tiryns, and Midea) are often attributed to earthquake, but this can hardly apply all over the mainland (e.g. Menelaion, Pylos, Teikhos Dymaion, Thebes, Crisa, Dhimini), nor does it explain the universal failure to recover and rebuild on a comparable scale afterwards, and the abandonment in increasing numbers of small and middle-sized sites, which begins at this time if not earlier (a good excavated example is Nichoria in Messenia). The course of events was probably extremely complex and cannot be derived from a single cause; but the result is clear, the total collapse of the 'palace societies', which ushered in a period of instability that was to last in the Aegean for a very long time. In the 12th cent. BC some regions recovered and prospered at a simpler level, centring on large nucleated settlements (Tiryns, *Lefkandi, Perati) that were still essentially Mycenaean in culture and retained contacts with the Aegean and near east, which brought new artefact types and customs (e.g. cremation). But the recovery did not last: more centres were abandoned or dwindled to villages, whose standard of living and contacts with the outside world became increasingly limited, and surviving Mycenaean features largely disappeared (e.g. the characteristic clay figurines).

Burial customs

Most characteristically, an open passage (*dromos*) would be cut to a chamber hollowed in soft rock (chamber-tomb) or built of stone, often with a narrow entrance (*stomion*); best known of the stone-built forms are the tholos tombs, which have a circular ground-plan, domed vault, and covering mound, and were probably always high-status tombs. A series of burials, averaging 6–8 but often more or fewer, were inhumed in these chambers, sometimes with complex two-stage rites. Although showing similarities to earlier Aegean forms, these tomb types seem specifically Mycenaean developments. They were used by an increasingly large proportion of the population; the rest may have used cists and pits, but these nowhere occur in large numbers after the early Mycenaean phases.

The use of such tombs persisted into the post-palatial period, although no more large tholoi were built. In some areas they survived beyond the bronze age (chamber tombs in central Crete and the Phocis-Locris region; small tholos-like tombs in Crete, Messenia, and Thessaly), still used for a series of burials, but various forms of single-burial tombs were becoming popular even before the end of the bronze age.

Architecture

Ordinary houses mostly consisted of a few rooms grouped on various plans, built largely of mud-brick on stone foundations, with timber fittings and some kind of thatched roof. The palaces and some smaller buildings were built in the Minoan style, with fine stone façades, wooden columns, plastered walls around a timber frame, and fresco decoration in major areas. Although clay roof-tiles have been identified at several major sites, they seem a late development hardly used in the palaces, which were probably flat-roofed like the Minoan. Where fully preserved, palace plans centre on the 'megaron' suite of rooms, essentially a hall containing an elaborate hearth and 'throne' emplacement, approached through an ante-room and porch, which surely had a ceremonial purpose. Other rooms open off flanking corridors, and there are traces of an upper storey and further associated structures, including storage buildings and workshops. Also notable architecturally are the 'Cyclopean' fortifications, of two faces of massive blocks containing a rubble fill, generally 5–8 m. (16–26 ft.) thick and averaging 8 m. (26 ft.) high; the same style was used for terraces, dikes, dams, bridges, etc., mainly in the Argolid and Boeotia.

Crafts

Many luxury crafts were established on the mainland in the formative period, as demonstrated by the rich grave-goods from many tombs. Their first practitioners may have been largely immigrants: Minoan influence is marked from the beginning in the weapons, precious vessels, seals, and decorated pottery, although native elements can be identified, and this steadily increases in jewellery. As a result, no separate Mycenaean artistic tradition developed; individuality is shown mainly in preferences for particular motifs, themes, or materials (e.g. metal rather than stone for vessels). The crafts of the palace period maintained high standards technically, but generally repeated the established themes of earlier art; some, like the production of seals, progressively declined. More use was made of *ivory than before, especially for inlays on luxury furniture, but also for occasional works in the round. Decorative stone reliefs are occasionally found in palaces and the finest tholoi, but the Lion Gate relief at Mycenae remains unique. Worth mentioning as particularly characteristic are the clay figurines, especially standing female figures and bovinds, which evidently served several ritual purposes. In the postpalatial period, elaborate classes of pictorial pottery are conspicuous for a while, but all but the most basic crafts eventually disappeared.

OTPKD

scholars whose authority made soteriology the central issue were Fr. Cumont (1906) and R. Reitzenstein (1910). The concealed agendum was the question of the uniqueness, and by implication, validity, of Christianity; at the same time, it was the model of that religion which provided the agreed terms of discussion. In this perspective, the earliest and most influential Greek mystery cult, of *Demeter and Kore (see PERSEPHONE) at *Eleusis, appeared a crude forerunner of more developed mystery religions from the near east, which in the Hellenistic period filled a spiritual vacuum left by the etiolation of Archaic and Classical civic cult. 'Mystery' was taken to be the essence of oriental religiosity.

This entire scenario, and with it the coherence of the notion 'mystery', has now been seriously eroded. U. von Wilamowitz and C. Schneider showed in the 1930s that mysteries in the Greek (Eleusinian) sense were unknown in the homelands of the oriental cults, and were attached to them only on their entry into the Graeco-Roman world. M. P. Nilsson later made a similar point about Dionysiac mysteries (see DIONYSUS); and it is now agreed that all the 'oriental' divinities were thoroughly Hellenized in the process of being assimilated. The validity of

Frazer's typology of the dying-rising god (Osiris, Attis, Adonis) was undermined in the 1950s by H. Frankfort and others. The nature of the soteriology of mystery cults has been critically reviewed by the 'School of Rome' since the 1960s, especially by U. Bianchi and his pupils (e.g. U. Bianchi, *The Greek Mysteries* (1976); U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren (eds.), *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano* (1982)), and redefined as 'the mass of benefits and guarantees which the worshipper expected from the celebration of the cult' (G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology and Mystic Aspects in the Cult of Cybele and Attis*, 2nd edn. (1985)). In the light of this revisionism, the uniqueness of the claims of Pauline *Christianity (see PAUL, ST.) against the background of Judaic Messianism (see RELIGION, JEWISH) has been re-emphasized, and the issue of the Christianization of the Roman empire opened to fresh debate. The category 'mysteries' is looking decidedly limp. For it is clear that they cannot be considered independent movements, let alone religions, but as merely an ingrained modality of (Greek, later Graeco-Roman) polytheism—they have been compared with a pilgrimage to Santiago di Compostela in the Christian context. And they are only a specialized, often highly

local, form of the cult of ill-assorted divinities. Their prominence in modern scholarship is quite disproportionate to their ancient profile.

The most useful recent typology of Graeco-Roman mysteries as forms of personal religious choice is that of Bianchi and others. Three modes are distinguished: 'mystery' proper, an entire initiatory structure of some duration and complexity, of which the type (and in many cases the actual model, e.g. Celeia near Phlius (Paus. 2. 14. 1–4) or the mysteries of Alexander of Abonoteichos (Lucian, *Alex.* 38 f.)) is Eleusis; 'mystic' cult, involving not initiation but rather a relation of intense communion, typically ecstatic or enthusiastic, with the divinity (e.g. Bacchic frenzy (see DIONYSUS), or the *kybēboi* of *Cybele); and 'mysteriosophic' cult, offering an anthropology, an eschatology, and a practical means of individual reunion with divinity—the primitive or original form is Orphism (see ORPHEUS and below), consistently represented as a 'mystery' (e.g. Paus. 9. 30. 4 f., 10. 7. 2), the most typical, Hermeticism and Gnosis, though these are late Egyptian and Judaeo-Christian forms of religiosity. Bianchi himself has sought to provide an element of thematic unity by adapting Frazer's 'dying-rising god' typology: these cults are all focused upon a 'god subject to some vicissitude.' This tack has rightly been criticized, but the scheme has heuristic value without it.

Of their very nature, ideal types simplify to offer insight. The real world is always much more confused. The word *teletē*, which often denotes initiatory rituals of the Eleusinian type, could also be applied to any kind of unusual rite in some way analogous. One of the costs of conceptual clarity is the exclusion from consideration of numerous minor cults of Greece and Asia Minor, such as the *teletē* of *Hera at Nauplia, where she bathed annually to 'become a virgin' (Paus. 2. 38. 2). 'Mystery' shifts easily between indigenous term and analytical concept. Further complications are the intermingling of the three types in practice and the clear evidence of changes over time: early Orphic lore cannot be neatly distinguished from Bacchic 'mystic' experience; Orphic texts are intimately connected with the formation of Eleusinian myth;

the cult of Cybele and Attis is marked by 'mystic' *ecstasy but also, in the Hellenistic period and after, by mysteries of uncertain content analogous to those of Eleusis, and, from the 2nd cent. AD, by a fusion of sacrifice, substitute-castration, and personal baptism—the *taurobolium* ('bull-sacrifice'); the cult of *Mithras may have taken on a 'mysteriosophic' tone.

The variety of mystery cults makes them exceptionally difficult to summarize both briefly and accurately. The aim of the 'mystic' form is best contrasted with that of the collective, integrative, political value of sacrificial civic religion: the individual seeks through possession/'madness' to transcend the constraints of the everyday and become a member of a privileged but temporary community of bliss (Eur. *Bacch.* 64–169; Strabo 10. 3. 7). Religious imagery and style offer a complex counterpoint to those of civic cult. A brusquer world-rejection inspired the 'mysteriosophic' form, based upon a myth accounting for the separation between god and man, flesh and spirit (Kern, *Orph. frag.* 232), evident in the gold plaques from Pelinna in *Thessaly (late 4th cent. BC). The 'mystery' type is much more integrated into dominant social values. The modal form, the Eleusinian mysteries, was a full and regular part of Athenian civic cult from the late 6th cent. BC, institutionalizing many aspects of religious aspiration otherwise excluded from public ceremonial: collective purification, the dramatic representation of mythical narrative, the opportunity for awe, fear, wonder, scurrility, and humour (the *gephyrismoι* (ritual abuse) at the bridge over the Cephissus), explicit exegesis by the *mystagōgoi*, the privilege bestowed by an open secret 'that may not be divulged', and public reaffirmation of a theodicy of moral desert linked to good fortune. In this perspective, the offer of a blessed existence in the Elysian Fields after death (e.g. *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 480–9, comm. N. J. Richardson (1974)); received no special emphasis, being a projection of complacency into the world beyond, not a compensation for the sorrows of this one. The point probably holds good for all mystery cults, indigenous or 'oriental' (cf. Diod. Sic. 5. 49. 5 f.), until the 3rd cent. AD.

RLG

mythology (see following page)

MYTHOLOGY

mythology is the field of scholarship dealing with myth but also a particular body of myths. Myth goes back to the Greek word *mythos*, which originally meant 'word, speech, message' but in the 5th cent. BC started to acquire the meaning 'entertaining, if not necessarily trustworthy, tale'. The Romans used the word *fabula*, which was also used in modern discussions until c.1760, when the Göttingen classicist C. G. Heyne (1729–1812) coined the word *mythus* in order to stress the inner veracity of myth. No universally accepted definition of myth exists, but Walter Burkert's statement that 'myth is a traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance' gives a good idea of the main characteristics of myth.

Let us start with the problem of tradition. *Homer already mentions the Argonauts, the Theban Cycle, and the deeds of *Heracles. The presence in Linear B texts of the formulae 'Mother of the Gods' and 'Drimius, son of *Zeus' suggests a divine genealogy, and the myths of *Achilles, Helen, and the cattle-raiding Heracles all seem to go back to Indo-European times (and Heracles maybe further back than that). The connection with central institutions or pressing problems of society—*initiation, marriage, food—makes their continuity persuasive: Achilles' myth can hardly be separated from rites of initiation, whereas wedding poetry probably stands in the background of Helen's mythology.

Other myths were certainly also of considerable age, such as the birth of Athenian Erechtheus from the seed of *Hephaestus or the birth of the famous horse Arion from the union of *Poseidon with the goddess Erinys. It is typical of Greek myth that Homer and other Archaic poets tended to suppress such strange and scandalous details, which survived only in locally fixed traditions. The trend of Greek mythology was firmly anthropomorphic and away from the fantastic.

Another ancient complex was constituted by initiatory myths. Strikingly, all early panhellenic expeditions—the Trojan War (see TROY), Jason and the Argonauts, and the Calydonian Hunt—contain many male initiatory elements, just as the myths of Iphigenia, Io, Europa, and the daughters of Proteus reflect the final transition into womanhood. Although many other Indo-European peoples had initiatory myths, its prominence is one of the distinctive features of Greek mythology.

A more recent complex of myths came from the east. The Indo-Europeans had at the most only rudimentary theogonical and cosmogonical myths. It is not surprising, therefore, that in this area Greece became very much indebted to the rich mythologies of Anatolia and Mesopotamia. Cronus' castration of his father Uranus ultimately derives from the Hurrians, having passed through Hittite and *Phoenician intermediaries; the division of the world between Zeus, Poseidon, and *Hades through the casting of lots, as described in the *Iliad* (15. 187–93), derives from the Akkadian epic *Atrahasis*; and when *Hera, in a speech to deceive Zeus, says that she will go to Oceanus, 'origin of the gods', and Tethys, the 'mother' (*Il.* 14. 201), she mentions a couple derived from the parental pair Apsu and Tiamat in the Babylonian creation epic *Enuma Elish*. New clay tablets will surely present further surprises in this direction.

The fertile contacts with the east probably took place in the early iron age. Somewhat later, the foundations of colonies (see COLONIZATION, GREEK) in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea (c.750–600 BC) led to the last great wave of mythological inventions. In particular, the myths about the return of the heroes after the Trojan War, but also the expedition of the Argonauts, enabled many colonies to connect their new foundations to the Panhellenic past as created through these great myths. It is surprising how quickly traditional story-patterns here transformed historical events.

It is clear that poets were always prepared to assimilate or borrow new material. Another way of 'staying in business' was to vary the traditional myths by introducing new details—e.g. new names and motivations—or by restructuring the myth into a different direction. Whereas archaic myth concentrated more, for example, on dynasties and heroic feats, in a later, more regulated society, myth tended to concentrate on relations within the family and, especially in Athenian tragedy (see TRAGEDY, GREEK), on the relation between individual and *polis or the value of democratic institutions (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN).

Rome, on the other hand, was situated at the margin of the 'civilized' world and was late to assimilate Greek myth (see further below). When the Roman élite started to write down its history at the end of the 3rd cent. BC, it had one fixed mythological complex at its disposal: the foundation of Rome by *Romulus and Remus. A few names, such as *Janus and Picus, hint at the sometime existence of other myths, but nothing suggests an originally rich mythology,

and the absence of a *Götterapparat* has even led some scholars to the suggestion that the Romans lacked a mythology altogether. Moreover, the 'brain drain' of neighbouring élites into Rome did not favour the survival of Italic myths: the founding of Praeneste by Caeculus is the only full myth from Latium that we still have. The foundation myths show that the temporal horizon was not the creation of gods or men but the birth of the native city; the foundation of the city was also the most important mythological theme in public declamations in imperial times.

Unlike Rome, which lacked a native expression for poets and poetry, Greece knew many poets who were the main producers of mythology; the tradition of formal narrative prose, which existed as well, is only discoverable in bare outlines. Poets performed at courts or local festivals in various genres, which successively became popular: epic in the 8th cent., choral lyric in the 6th, and, finally, tragedy, the last public performance of myth, in the 5th. Yet myths were also related in other contexts. Temple friezes, sculptures, and vases (*see* IMAGERY; PAINTING; SCULPTURE) made myth as a subject visible virtually everywhere. Women told myths during weaving-sessions (Eur. *Ion* 196 f.); old men will have related them in the *leschai* (club-like meeting-places), and mothers and nurses told them to children (Eur. fr. 484 Kannicht; Pl. *Leg.* 887d). 'Indoctrination' by mothers and nurses will have been a significant, if usually neglected, factor in the continuing popularity of myth all through antiquity.

The uses of myth varied over time, but the entertainment value was always important. Indeed, Homer himself points to the delight of songs (*Od.* 17. 385). Choral lyric, with its combination of music, dance, and song, must have been quite a spectacle, and for the thousands of spectators Athenian *tragedy was a welcome break in the winter months. Other uses included the foundation of the social and political order. Myth explained how in Athens males had arrived at their dominant position through the chaos caused by women; how cities originated, such as Thebes through a struggle against a dragon, or how tribal groupings arose, such as the Ionians from Ion and the Aeolians from Aeolus. It explained why, for example, the Spartans ruled their extended territory, or why Athens could claim Aegina.

Myth also helped the Greeks to define the world around them and their own place in relation to the gods. By situating murderous women on mountains, by letting girls in their prime play on flowery meadows, or by ascribing the ancestry of the leading family to a river-god, these features of the landscape were assigned negative or positive values. Moreover, by relating the unhappy endings of love affairs between gods and humans, for example Semele being burnt to ashes through the appearance of Zeus in full glory, myth stressed the unbridgeable gap between mortals and immortals.

Finally, the aetiological function of myth was substantial. (*See* AETIOLOGY). Many myths explained the birth or function of rituals; even the tragedian *Euripides often recounted the origins of vital Attic cults. Other myths highlighted or 'explained' unusual features of ritual: the myth of the Lemnian women concentrated on the separation of the sexes but totally left out the new fire, which was actually very prominent in the corresponding ritual. (*See* W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (1983), 190 ff.) The exaggeration by myth of the ritual separation of the sexes into the mythical murder shows up an important difference between myth and *ritual: myth can depict as real what in ritual has to remain symbolic. Over time, myth could free itself from one specific ritual and be connected with other ones, or the ritual could disappear while the myth continued to be narrated: in the 2nd cent. AD the traveller *Pausanias recorded many myths of which the rituals had already long disappeared.

Myth was originally the product of an oral society (*see* ORALITY), but the arrival of writing brought important changes. Poets had now to share their leading intellectual roles with philosophers and historians—authors who wrote in prose and did not have to subject their opinions to the scrutiny of a public. The new intellectuals soon started to systematize and criticize mythological traditions. On the other hand, the force of tradition weighed heavily and that explains why the two most popular strategies in dealing with mythology were rationalization, which in our sources starts with Hecataeus of Miletus (c.550–480 BC), and allegorization, which probably started with the late 6th-cent. rhapsodist Theagenes of Rhegium; the adoption of this approach by the Stoics (*see* STOICISM) caused its survival until late antiquity. In this way, intellectuals could have their mythological cake and eat it.

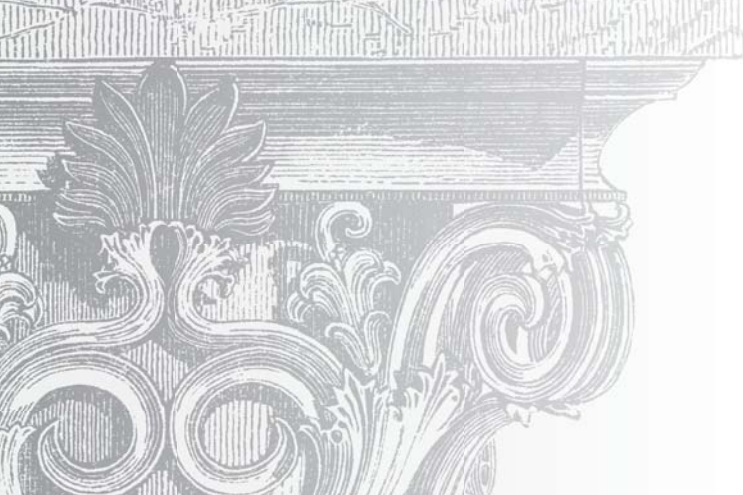
These developments strongly diminished the public influence of poets as prime producers of mythology. In Hellenistic times, the myths recorded and adapted by *Callimachus and his contemporaries were directed at a small circle of connoisseurs not the general public. However, it was these poets who exercised an enormous influence in Rome, where in the last two centuries of the republic and during the early Principate a proliferation of mythical themes can be noted—to the extent that in *Ovid one ritual can receive several aetiological myths. However, it is hard to say what degree of authority, if any, these myths had in Rome.

In the Hellenistic and early imperial period scholars started to collect myths in order to elucidate allusions in the Classical authors; most important in this respect was the collection of mythological scholia on Homer which

circulated as a separate book at least from the 1st to the 5th cent. AD. Other collections concentrated on one theme, such as *Eratosthenes' book of star-myths or the famous *Library* of Apollodorus, which organized the mythological material by families. It is especially these collections which have ensured modern knowledge of the less familiar myths of Greece.

The modern study of Greek mythology started in France in the 18th cent., but the centre of interest soon shifted to Germany, where there was more philological expertise. It was the insights of Heyne in particular—myth as history, myth as explanation of natural phenomena, myth as the product of a specific people—which dominated the field in the 19th cent. However, the excesses of the naturalist interpretation were an important factor in the shift of scholarly interest away from mythology towards ritual at the end of the 19th cent. Since the middle 1960s interest in Greek myth has revived, notably through the work of Walter Burkert (1931–). The focal points of the new approaches are the relationship between myth and ritual and the explanatory and normative functions of myth. Roman myth has also profited from this revival, but the scarcity of material and the élite's view of myths as *fabulae*, 'fictional stories', make it difficult to see what exactly the place of myth was in Roman society. The differences between Greek and Roman mythology still await further analysis.

JNB



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Naevius, Gnaeus (c.280/60–200 BC), dramatic and epic poet of Campanian birth (west central Italy). He saw military service during the First Punic War (see **ROME (HISTORY)** §1.4) and was perhaps attached to the Claudii Marcelli. Naevius' theatrical career began in around 235 and seems to have been over by 204. Many stories were told in antiquity of insulting remarks he made about men of the nobility from the stage or in other contexts. Plautus, *Miles gloriosus* 210–12 was interpreted to refer to a spell by him in prison.

Titles of about 34 plays in the style of Greek New Comedy (see **COMEDY (GREEK), NEW**) are transmitted (*Acontizomenos, Agitatoria, Agrypnuntes, Appella, Ariolus, †Astiologa†, Carbonaria, Clamidaria, Colax, Commotria, Corollaria, Dementes, Demetrius, Dolus, Figulus, Glaucoma, Guminasticus, Lampadio, Leon, Nagido, †Nautae†, Neruolaria, Paelex, Personata, Proiectus, Quadrigemini, Stalagmus, Stigmatias, Tarentilla, Technicus, Testicularia, †Tribacelus†, Triphallus, Tunicularia*). According to *Terence (*An.* 15–21), Naevius was one of those poets who set a precedent for treating Attic models with some liberty. He put both dialogues and monologues into musically accompanied metres of the type used by his younger contemporary *Plautus. On occasion Naevius made his Greek personages allude to features of Italian life. There is thus no need to assume that he was also the inventor of comedy set in Rome, of *fabula togata* (drama, usually comedy, set in Rome or Italy). The reference point of a *Satyra* cited in Festus (p. 306. 29–30 Lindsay) is uncertain.

Six titles (*Danae, Equos Troianus, Hector proficiscens, Hesiona, Iphigenia, Lycurgus*) suggest tragedies of Greek type (see **TRAGEDY, GREEK**). Again verses accompanied by music are used: an account of Danae's disgrace (*Non.*, p. 456. 24–6 M. = 731 Lindsay) seems to have been set in bacchiac verse rather than in spoken senarii. Naevius was also the first Roman poet to compose original dramas in serious style, plays on events from Roman history (*fabula praetexta*), one (*Romulus/Lupus*) on the story of

*Romulus, the founder of Rome, another (*Clastidium*) on the defeat of a Gallic army in 222 by Marcus Claudius Marcellus. The latter may have been performed at funeral games for Marcellus in 208 or at the dedication in 205 of the temple of Virtus (military courage) vowed by the consul before the battle of Clastidium (Casteggio) fought in 222 BC by Rome against the Celts.

In addition to dramatic poetry Naevius composed a narrative poem in Saturnian verses concerning the First Punic War (264–241) with **Carthage, Bellum Poenicum* (c.60 frs. remaining). The grammarian Gaius Octavius Lampadio divided it into seven units towards the end of the 2nd cent. Naevius could hardly have been unaware of the pro-Carthaginian account of the war by Philinus of Acragas. Whether he knew of Fabius Pictor's historical narrative has been the subject of much speculation. A digression, filling a large part of the first of Lampadio's units, all the second, and a large part of the third, related the early history of Rome and Carthage and provided a mythical or divine background for the 3rd-cent. clash of arms and perhaps a starting point for *Virgil's story of Dido and Aeneas. Naevius maintained the metrical and verbal style used in Livius Andronicus' adaptation of *Homer's *Odyssey*, but applied the form to a Roman topic.

Despite *Ennius' attempts at superseding it (see Cic., *Brutus* 72), Naevius' epic poem continued to find readers in the 1st cent. BC. According to *Varro, two grammarians, a Cornelius and a Vergilius composed commentaries on it (Varro, *Ling.* 7. 39). Naevius' works were still widely read in *Horace's time (*Epist.* 2. 1. 53–4). Ancient students of borrowings in Virgil's *Aeneid* detected a number from Naevius. The matter was still of interest in the 5th cent. AD (see Macrobius, *Sat.* 6. 2), but there is no evidence that the poem itself could be found in any library of this time.

HDJ/GM

narrative, narration In the last 30 years, interest in narrative has developed at an incredible pace. Two

branches of this 'narratology' may be distinguished. The one is oriented towards the 'story' as signified ('what happened': cf. especially the work of Greimas and Bremond, looking back to Propp's famous *Morphology of the Folktale*); the other is oriented rather towards the narrative as signifier ('the way it is told': Stanzel, Genette, in the line of the Russian formalists, Henry James, and E. M. Forster). Both approaches have been widely applied in classical studies, but the first has perhaps been more successful in the anthropological study of myth (see MYTHOLOGY), the second in literary studies, in that it focuses on the rhetorical construction of the work rather than its underlying functional structure. The sophisticated armoury of methods that is modern narratology is one of the products of structuralism and semiotics, and like those more general movements it has in recent times been subject to qualifications and criticisms from post-structuralists and from reception theorists and students of literary pragmatics with their greater focus on the audience or readership of a work.

An interest in the theory of narrative is already apparent in *Aristotle, whose *Poetics* may be considered the first treatise of narratology. Obviously there are differences between the prescriptive and evaluative character of ancient aesthetics and the descriptive and interpretative character of the semiotic approach: but it is significant that Aristotle assigns a central place to *mythos* or 'plot', which is the criterion (rather than metre) that he uses to distinguish poetry from other forms of discourse. *Mythos*, analysed both in terms of content and of its representation, is required to have an organic unity which calls to mind the concept of *closure as defined in Anglo-American criticism. The Aristotelian theory of narrative includes drama, and many modern theorists such as Ricœur (*Time and Narrative* (1984)) include drama (and historiography) within the boundaries of narrative theory. More recently however, the idiosyncratic nature of the dramatic text, which is realized fully only in performance, has been stressed. One may certainly study narrative elements in non-narrative genres (e.g. *Pindar or the messenger speeches of tragedy; see TRAGEDY, GREEK), but it is important to remember that these genres have different contexts of *reception and different purposes. For this reason, a narrower conception of *fictional* narrative, above all *epic and the *novel, may be preferable. The question of the applicability of narratological approaches to *historiography has been particularly controversial, especially in relation to the work of the American historian Hayden White (see now S. Hornblower in Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography* (1994), ch. 5).

The basic forms of western narrative occur already in Homer. P. Genette (*Narrative Discourse* (1980)) distin-

guishes four categories: the *order* in which events are narrated, their *duration* at the level of narrative in comparison to that of the underlying story, the mode or *mood* in which the information is conveyed ('focalization', point of view), and the *voice* which delivers it. A fifth category, that of the *frequency* with which an event is related, plays a less central role. Homeric narrative knows various possible ways of manipulating the linearity of story-time, such as the 'analeptic' flashbacks of Nestor in the *Iliad* and the beginning *in medias res* of the *Odyssey*. At the level of duration, 'scenes' with dialogue predominate over more rapid 'summaries': the opposition is a version of the Platonic one (see PLATO) between *mimēsis* 'representation' and *diēgēsis* 'narration', or Henry James's distinction between 'showing' and 'telling'. At the level of mood and voice, we are presented with a narrator who is (on the surface at least) impersonal, objective, and with a point of view superior to that of his characters. In comparison with this model, *Apollonius of Rhodes and *Virgil, under the influence of Hellenistic epyllion (narrative poem of up to c.600 hexameters), show a desire for a denser and more 'subjective' mode more oriented towards the present moment of narration: hence the greater use of 'proleptic' anticipation of later events, of summary narration, and of focalization from the point of view of the characters (e.g. *Medea, Dido).

The equivalence between poetry and fiction established by Aristotle had a long history in antiquity, and prose fiction developed late. The love novel or romance at first used a linear narrative technique (Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus) but later turned to more complex forms in the phase influenced by the *Second Sophistic (Achilles Tatius, Longus, Heliodorus). In these, we find frequent use of a restricted point of view and 'metadiegesis' (the device of 'stories within stories' used e.g. also by *Ovid). This last technique is particularly prevalent in Heliodorus: the ultimate model is the *Odyssey*. In contrast, the Latin novel, associated more closely with that cultural tradition which the theorist Bakhtin called 'Menippean', tended towards more free and open forms, as in Greek did the *Life of Aesop*. See also LITERARY THEORY AND CLASSICAL STUDIES. MF

nationalism

Greece, Archaic and Classical

D. M. Lewis has observed that 'to say that the Athenians built the Parthenon to worship themselves would be an exaggeration, but not a great one' (*CAH*² (1992), 139. Such self-worship would make 5th-cent. BC Athenians into 'nationalists' by one modern criterion (cf. E. Gellner, drawing on E. Durkheim: 'in a nationalistic age, societies

worship themselves brazenly and openly': *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), 56). But in the strong sense familiar from the history of the 19th-cent. rise of certain European nation-states, nationalism was hardly a feature of, or problem experienced by, the Classical Greek world. City-state particularism (see *POLIS*), and the consciousness of the religious and linguistic differences between Dorians and Ionians, are not the same as nationalism. Such feelings are best considered under the heading of *ethnicity. The idea that Greece was a 'nation', in a way that transcended local differences, does occur in our sources, but only at special moments like the Persian Wars (see e.g. *Hdt.* 8. 144). In the following period the Persian Wars affected Greek thinking (see *GREECE (PREHISTORY AND HISTORY)*); but the effect was negative rather than positive: in the 5th cent. BC '*barbarians' were viewed more disparagingly as a result of the Persian Wars, just as the opposition between Dorians and Ionians became sharper as tensions between Athens and Sparta increased in the same period. But no correspondingly increased sense of Greek national identity is traceable. However, it has been well said (M. I. Finley, *The Use and Abuse of History*, 2nd edn. (1986), 121f.) that it is pointless to castigate the Greeks for their 'failure to achieve unity' when there is so little evidence that this was an aim they had or even understood. Nationalism, like ethnicity, is a matter of attitude. The rhetorical nature of much of our literary evidence makes the truth about real attitudes hard to reach: before the invading Athenians arrive in *Sicily in 415 BC, the Syracusan Hermocrates in *Thucydides is made to say, in effect 'let us unite! Sicily for the Sicilians' (4. 61. 2; 6. 34. 4); but once the Athenians have arrived he plays the Dorian card, to create bad feeling against the invading Ionians (6. 77. 1). SH

Hellenistic and Roman

The Graeco-Macedonian kingdoms were essentially dynastic states under personal rule. This was true even of the 4th-cent. BC ethnic state of Macedonia, sometimes seen today as a 'national' monarchy: but it is notable that *Alexander the Great's invasion of Asia not only promoted no vital Macedonian interest but led to the undoing of the traditional Macedonian state.

Early Rome did not evolve into a nation because initial expansion was based, not on incorporation, but treaty-relationships; even when she extended her citizenship to all Italy, a Roman citizen belonged to a city, not a country.

Subject-resistance to the Hellenistic and Roman empires is sometimes scanned for 'national feeling'. But there was rarely a tradition of political unity even among ethnic groups sharing a common culture (e.g. the Gauls), so that nationalism in the modern sense could not exist.

Important exceptions are the indigenous Egyptians under the Ptolemies, and the *Jews of Judaea, who rebelled under both the *Seleucids and Rome; both groups could look back to a tradition of political independence. Otherwise, revolts against imperial Rome, when not occurring shortly after incorporation and constituting a continuation of the initial armed struggle, were chiefly occasioned by Roman misgovernment (e.g. the revolt of Boudicca in *Britain), the political ambitions of individuals (such as Gaius Avidius Cassius under Marcus *Aurelius), or other factors. Generally, Rome's political integration of subject élites (much more successful, and indeed purposeful, than in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires) kept local nationalisms underdeveloped. The assertion of local cultures in (e.g.) the African and Greek-speaking provinces has been thought to be fuelled by anti-Roman sentiment, but this interpretation is controversial (2nd-cent. AD nostalgia among Greek-speakers for the Classical past, for instance, was actually encouraged by Rome); it is no easier here than in the regional schisms of early Christianity to detect provincial quests for political independence. AJSS

nature The term *physis*, originally meaning 'birth' or 'growth', evolved to become the standard term for the 'nature' of an animal or plant. From the 6th cent. BC Greek philosophers were said to be investigating 'the nature of things' or inquiring 'about nature' (*peri physeōs*). See *GORGIAS*. Their task was to investigate the way the cosmos works, and the things that naturally occur in it. Nature was not regarded as an external force or agent (nothing is done 'by nature') but as the natural disposition of things to behave in certain ways.

Aristotle reports that Presocratic Philosophy was largely 'natural philosophy' and he describes one of his own works (*Ph.*) as concerned with natural things. In the Hellenistic period, the study of nature became one of the main three branches of the philosophical curriculum (physics, ethics, and logic). It included studies of natural causation, time, place etc. which might belong to meta-physics in the modern curriculum. See *PHYSICS*.

In the Roman period, *Lucretius borrows his title *De rerum natura* (On the nature of things) from the Presocratic tradition, and Tullius *Cicero wrote *De natura deorum* (On the nature of the gods). These titles, like their Greek models, use the word 'nature' to refer to the things' immanent dispositional nature, although a personified force of Nature does occasionally appear. See also *ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY*; *ANIMALS, ATTITUDES TO*; *ANIMALS, KNOWLEDGE ABOUT*; *ANTHROPOLOGY*; *ASTRONOMY*; *BODY*; *BOTANY*; *CLIMATE*; *EARTHQUAKES*; *ECOLOGY*; *FAMINE*; *GEOGRAPHY*; *GYNAECOLOGY*; *MINERALOGY*; *PHYSICS*;

POLITICAL THEORY (for *nomos*, 'law, convention', as opp. *physis* ('nature')); TIMBER. CJO

navies The oldest navy in the ancient world was probably that of the Egyptian pharaohs; see EGYPT. Very little is known about Egyptian naval development, however, until the dynasty known as the Saites (672–525 BC), one of whom, Necho II (610–595), reorganized the navy to protect Egyptian interests against the Babylonians. The introduction of *triremes, probably under Amasis (570–526), further strengthened Egypt's navy prior to the Persian conquest.

The Persian navy was created under Cambyses (530–522). It utilized triremes and was crewed by the king's maritime subjects, arranged in territorial or ethnic squadrons (e.g. Egyptians, *Phoenicians, Ionians). During much of the 5th cent. BC this navy fought in the eastern Mediterranean against the Greek city-states, led by Athens, whose ships were crewed by her citizens and subject allies. From the battle of Salamis (480) to the battle of Aegospotami (405) the Athenians were the dominant naval power in the region. They developed considerable expertise in trireme warfare, which was put to good use in the Peloponnesian War (432–404). During the 4th cent. the Athenian navy remained a powerful force, although lack of money and manpower prevented a return to its former position of dominance. Defeat by the Macedonians at the battle of Amorgos in 322 BC effectively marked the end of the Athenian navy.

The Hellenistic period saw the development of larger warships as the Hellenistic monarchs apparently tried to outbuild each other in an attempt to achieve supremacy and assert prestige. The Ptolemaic kings (see EGYPT (Ptolemaic)) used their navies extensively in the effort to secure their overseas possessions, but no single state gained lasting naval dominance until the Romans were forced to create a series of large fleets from the resources of Italy, initially in order to defeat the Carthaginians, and then to fight a series of wars in the Greek east.

Roman naval forces in the 2nd and 1st cents. BC were mainly drawn from allies in Italy and the Greek east. The value of a strong navy had been demonstrated to Octavian in his struggle with Sextus Pompeius. He established permanent naval forces soon after the battle of *Actium. These consisted of a fleet to guard the NW coast of Italy and the Gallic coast, based at Forum Iulii (mod. Fréjus), two praetorian fleets to secure the Italian coasts, based at Ravenna and Misenum, a small fleet based at *Alexandria and, probably, another at Seleuceia in Pieria. Later emperors added units in the Black (Euxine) Sea, *Africa, *Britain, and on the Rhine and Danube rivers. The Forum Iulii fleet disappeared before the end of the 1st cent. AD,

but most of the others seem to have continued to exist well into the 3rd cent. Considerable reorganization took place under *Constantine I who divided the fleets into smaller squadrons and created extra commands.

The duties of the Roman navy included transporting Roman troops, supporting land campaigns, protecting coastal settlements, suppressing *piracy, and dealing with hostile incursions by barbarians into Roman waters. The fleets of the Roman imperial navy contained mainly triremes and smaller vessels, with only a few quinqueremes or larger ships in the two praetorian fleets. After the defeat of Licinius in AD 324 triremes ceased to be the main ships of the imperial fleets, and the navy of the Byzantine empire consisted largely of two-banked galleys, called *dromones*.

Naval craft were expensive to build and maintain. Most warships could not be used for *trade and their crews were normally free men who required payment as well as provisioning. The creation of a navy was, therefore, a momentous step for any ancient state. *Samos acquired its navy during the prosperous period of Polycrates' tyranny, possibly with Egyptian backing. The Athenian navy of the 5th cent. BC was founded on the proceeds of a rich silver strike in the Laurium mines in 483, and maintained through tribute payments and the wealth of private citizens (see TRIERARCHY). During the Peloponnesian War the Spartans were only able to sustain their naval presence in the Aegean with the support of the Persian king, who provided money for the wages of the crews. The achievement of the Rhodians (see RHODES), who maintained a substantial navy from the 4th to the 1st cent. BC, was exceptional and surpassed only by the Roman empire. p de s

navigation can be defined as the art of taking a ship successfully from one chosen point to another. From a very early stage the relatively calm, tideless waters of the Mediterranean encouraged travel by sea. Seagoing ships were not normally used in the winter months, because storms and poor visibility made navigation hazardous, but Hesiod's suggestion that sailing be limited to July and August is overcautious (Hes. *Op.* 663–5), the period between the vernal and autumnal equinoxes being the best season, with some leeway at either end. Ancient vessels were either paddled, rowed, or sailed. Their speed depended upon size, type of propulsion, and the weather. Sailing speeds of between four and six knots seem to have been the norm with favourable winds. Light or unfavourable winds might reduce speed to less than one knot, making it preferable to lie up and wait for a change in the weather.

Ancient seafarers guided their vessels without the benefit of instruments or charts. Wherever possible they

followed the coastline or sailed between fixed points on land. On clear nights the stars could be used to plot a course, as could the moon. Experienced ancient mariners would have had a good, practical understanding of the phases of the moon and the movement of the stars, which they would have passed on by oral transmission. They would also have needed detailed knowledge of local conditions such as prevailing winds and currents, the presence of reefs, rocks, and shallows, and how to follow a course according to local landmarks.

Basic navigational equipment included oars and sails, steering oars, anchors, usually made of stone or wood, or both, and a variety of lines and cables. Leaded lines for checking the depth of the water were common, often featuring a hollow weight that could be used to sample the nature of the seabed. Flags and pennants were used to identify warships, or sometimes deliberately to misidentify them (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 8. 53. 3), and lanterns were employed at night or in fog to enable flotillas to follow a flagship (App. *BCiv.* 2. 89). Although the theoretical skills and the basic knowledge needed to produce quite detailed *maps were available from the early Hellenistic period onwards, there is no evidence that charts intended for use at sea were ever produced. A few descriptions of sea routes and coastlines (*periploi*) have survived from antiquity, but it is unlikely that they circulated among the mariners themselves.

Navigable rivers were also heavily used, especially the Nile, the Rhine (Rhenus), and the Rhône (Rhodanus). In late republican and imperial times the Tiber would have been crowded with vessels carrying people and goods up to Rome from *Ostia. River-craft were mostly rowed, paddled, or sailed, but towing, either by teams of men or animals, or by use of a line fixed on shore and a capstan was also common. See NAVIES. P de S

Nemrut Dağ (Mt. Nemrut) (see ◀ Map 2, Db ▶), the highest mountain in Commagene, its peak—commanding spectacular views over SE Turkey—the site of a monumental *hierotherion* (mausoleum-cum-cult-centre) built c.40 BC by the Commagenian king Antiochus I; of interest for its grandiose divinizing (see RULER-CULT (Greek)) of this Roman client king and for its mix of Greek and Persian imagery and religious ideas. The complex comprised a vast tumulus (probably the royal burial-mound) flanked by two terraces for sculpture, each repeating the same row of colossal enthroned divinities (8–9 m. (26–29 ft.) high), among them Antiochus himself, and the same two series of inscribed relief-slabs portraying respectively his Persian and Macedonian ancestors. In two long (Greek) inscriptions (duplicates), Antiochus expounded his lifelong piety and prescribed

details of the cult (OGI 383; partial Eng. trans.: S. Burstein, *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII* (1985), no. 48). AJSS

Neptune (Lat. Neptunus), Italic god of *water. He extended his protection to watercourses and to expanses of water threatened by evaporation in the heat of summer as well as to human activities linked with water; hence, under the influence of *Poseidon, he could become patron of journeys on water. During *sacrifice, the cooked *exta* ('entrails') were thrown into water (Livy 29. 27. 5); it is in virtue of this capacity that the absurd identification of Consus with 'Neptunus Equester', i.e. Poseidon Hippios, takes place, Livy 1. 9. 6. The etymology of his name is quite uncertain; in Etruscan it is Neθun(u)s. His festival is of the oldest series (Neptunalia, 23 July); about its ritual, we only know that arbours, *umbrae*, of boughs were commonly erected (Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 465), but it may be conjectured that the purpose was to obtain sufficient water at this hot and dry time of year. Neptune is attested at Rome before the first *lectisternium* or banquet for the gods (399 BC); his association there with *Mercury seems to refer to the circulation of merchandise (Livy 5. 13. 6). His cult-partner is Salacia (Gell. 13. 23. 2); she may be the goddess of 'leaping', i.e. springing water (*salire*), but was identified with Amphitrite as he was with Poseidon. HJR/JSCh

Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar), Roman emperor AD 54–68, was born 15 December 37 of Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus (consul AD 32) and *Agrippina.

To strengthen his doubtful claim to the throne, stories had been spread of his miraculous childhood (Suet. *Ner.* 6; Tac. *Ann.* 11. 11) and stress laid on his descent from the divine *Augustus. In 49 his mother, as *Claudius' new wife, was able to have the younger *Seneca recalled from exile in order to teach her son rhetoric and to secure his betrothal to Claudius' daughter Octavia; in 50 Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus was adopted by Claudius, thus becoming Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar or, as he is sometimes called, Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus. In the next year he assumed the *toga virilis* (dress indicating manhood) at the early age of 13 and was clearly marked out for the accession by being given the same privileges as Augustus' grandsons Gaius and Lucius had received. When Claudius died on 13 October 54, Nero was escorted into the praetorian camp by the prefect Sextus Afranius Burrus. The senate then conferred the necessary powers on Nero and declared his adoptive father a god and Agrippina his priestess.

The ancient tradition is unanimous in regarding Nero's initial years of rule as excellent, a period hailed as a golden

age by contemporary poets. Two 4th-cent. writers ascribe to the later emperor *Trajan the view that Nero surpassed all other *principes* for a *quinquennium*, apparently referring to the first five years. Of our three major ancient authorities, *Suetonius and *Cassius Dio suggest that the young emperor at first left government to his mother and Dio adds that Seneca and Burrus soon took over control, leaving the emperor to his pleasures. *Tacitus, however, regards the influence of Agrippina (visible on coins of December 54 showing her head facing Nero's on the obverse) as more apparent than real and the role of his advisers as one of guiding his activities, as in Seneca's *De clementia*, and managing court intrigue and public relations. Nero's first speech to the senate, written by Seneca, is described by Suetonius (*Ner.* 10) as a promise to rule according to Augustan precedent; Tacitus (*Ann.* 13. 4) adds a renunciation of the abuses of the Claudian regime—excessive influence of palace minions and monopolization of jurisdiction by the *princeps*, in particular, the trying of (political) cases behind closed doors—and a pledge to share the responsibilities of government with the senate. The historian vouches for the fulfilment of these promises, clearly interpreting the last, not in the sense of a surrender of power by the *princeps* but of an attitude of respect towards that body. Symbolic of the new attitude was the legend '*ex s c*' ('in accordance with a senatorial decree') appearing regularly on the gold and silver coinage for the first ten years, though whether it is an authorization mark or relates to the types and legends is uncertain.

Nero at first heeded his advisers because they protected him from his domineering mother and indulged him within limits. She had always used the menace of rivals to threaten him, and the presence of a considerable number of dynastic claimants was inevitable under the Augustan Principate, which, not being an avowed monarchy, could have no law of succession to regulate the actual practice of hereditary succession. When Agrippina decided to show sympathy for Claudius' natural son Britannicus in 55, she sealed his doom, though the poisoning was not overt and could be dissembled, as by Seneca, who wrote praising Nero's clemency in the next year. In 59 Agrippina's resistance to his affair with Poppaea Sabina led Nero to enlist the prefect of the fleet of Misenum to drown her in a collapsible boat. When that failed, she was stabbed at her villa. This spectacular crime marked the end of the good part of Nero's reign, according to a contemporary view (*Tac. Ann.* 15. 67), echoed in the later tradition of the 'Quinquennium Neronis'. But for Tacitus, the political deterioration did not set in until 62 when a treason charge of the unrepublican sort, based on irreverence towards the emperor, was admitted for the first time

in the reign, and Burrus died, thereby ending Seneca's influence as well. One of the new prefects, Ofonius Tigellinus was seen by Tacitus as Nero's evil genius, rather like *Sejanus to *Tiberius. Nero now divorced his barren wife Octavia and married Poppaea who was pregnant: the child was a girl, Claudia Augusta, who was born in January of 41 and died four months later.

The death of his mother already made him feel freer to indulge his artistic passions. His enthusiasm for art, chariot-racing, and Greek *athletics seems to have been genuine; he wanted to lead Rome from gladiatorial shows (*see* GLADIATORS) to nobler entertainments. At the Iuvenalia, private games held in 59 to celebrate the first shaving of his beard, he sang and performed on the cithara (lyre) but also encouraged members of the upper classes to take lessons in singing and dancing. A year later he introduced for the first time at Rome public games in the Greek fashion (*see* GAMES) to be celebrated every five years. In 61 he opened a *gymnasium and distributed free oil to competitors. His interest in re-educating Rome was genuine: it was not until the second celebration of these games in 65 that the *princeps* himself performed, though he had already made his *début* in the Greek city of Naples (Neapolis) a year earlier. His voice, described as 'slight and husky', may have been passable; his poetry was probably his own, for Suetonius had seen his notebooks with their erasures (*Ner.* 52).

The emperor's popularity with the propertied classes had been further undermined by a fire which devastated the city and strained the economy. It broke out in the early hours of 19 June 64 in shops around the Circus Maximus, and spread north through the valley between the Palatine and the Esquiline. It lasted for nine days in all and reduced three of the fourteen regions (*regiones*) of the city to rubble, leaving only four regions untouched. The emperor provided emergency shelter and helped with reconstruction, but he soon revealed that he would take the opportunity, not only to introduce a new code of safety for buildings, but to use land previously in private occupation for a grand palace and spacious parks (the Golden House or *Domus Aurea*) in the centre of Rome. The precious metal coinage shows the financial strain, to which the expense of the disastrous revolt of Boudicca (Boadicea) in *Britain in 60 and the protracted wars with *Parthia over Armenia contributed: both the gold and silver were reduced in weight and the silver content of the denarius lowered by more than 10 per cent. With rumours circulating that Nero had instigated the fire and recited his own poems over the burning city, Nero made the Christians scapegoats, burning them alive to make the punishment fit the alleged crime (*see* CHRISTIANITY).

Nero never lost his popularity with the ordinary people of Rome, who loved his generosity and his games. The threat came from the upper classes and especially from senators governing provinces where the propertied élite had become discontent as a result of confiscations after the Rome fire: they are attested in Gaul, Spain, Africa, Britain, Judaea, and Egypt. But meanwhile his paranoiac prosecutions in Rome led to a conspiracy in 65 to assassinate him and make Gaius Calpurnius Piso emperor. The scheme was betrayed. Piso and his accomplices, senators including *Lucan, knights, officers of the praetorian guard, and one of the prefects, Faenius Rufus, were executed. Nero now suspected all, and more deaths followed, including Seneca, Petronius, and the Stoics Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus (*see* STOICISM). In the year after Poppaea's death, Nero married Statilia Messalina, and, also in 66, Tiridates, a member of the ruling Parthian dynasty, came to Rome to receive the diadem of Armenia from Nero's hand. This represented an adjustment of Roman foreign policy in the east, where independent client kings had always been imposed on this buffer state with Parthia. In September of 66, despite another conspiracy at Beneventum, Nero himself left for Greece, to perform in all the Greek games. The highpoint of his tour was his liberation of Greece from Roman administration and taxation, announced at a special celebration of the Isthmian Games at Corinth on 28 November 67. The text of Nero's speech in Greek is preserved on an inscription (*ILS* 8794; *Syll.*³ 814; Sherk, *Hadrian* 71 for translation).

While in Greece *Vespasian was selected from the emperor's entourage to deal with a revolt in Judaea (*see* JEWS). But Nero deposed and executed three senatorial commanders, Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo who had served him well in the east, and the Scribonii brothers who governed the two Germanies. Disaffection was rumbling in the west. At last Nero, in response to the warnings of his freedman Helius, returned to Italy. Soon after, in March of 68, Gaius Iulius Vindex, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis (*see* GAUL (TRANSALPINE)), rose in arms. Although he was defeated two months later by the governor of Upper Germany, Nero's failure to respond decisively had encouraged others to defect. In Spain Galba declared himself 'Legate of the Senate and Roman People', and in Africa Lucius Clodius Macer revolted. The praetorians were told that Nero had already fled abroad and were bribed by Gaius Nymphidius Sabinus, one of their prefects, to declare for Galba. The senate followed suit, decreeing Nero a public enemy. Nero took refuge in the villa of his freedman Phaon and there he committed suicide, reputedly lamenting, 'What an artist dies with me!' (*Suet. Ner.* 48–9).

Nero's *philhellenism earned him the devotion of many in the Greek-speaking provinces, and within the next twenty years, three false Neros appeared there, all playing the lyre and all attracting followers. But the Christians naturally hated him for their persecution of 64 and the Jews for the mistreatment that led to the revolt which ultimately lost them the Temple in Jerusalem. MPC/GEFC/MTG

Nerva, Marcus Cocceius, Roman emperor AD 96–98, grandson of *Tiberius' friend Marcus Cocceius Nerva, was born possibly in AD 35. His family, which came from the old Latin colony of Narnia and acquired distinction during the Civil Wars, had a remote connection with the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Nerva it seems did not serve as a provincial governor or hold any senior administrative post, but was influential as a confidant of *Nero, who admired his poetry and presented him with triumphal ornaments and other honours after the suppression of the conspiracy of Gaius Calpurnius Piso in 65. Despite this he was high in the Flavians' favour, being ordinary *consul with *Vespasian in 71 and again in 90 with *Domitian.

Nerva was seemingly not party to the plot to murder Domitian and was approached by the conspirators only after several others had rebuffed them. But he had qualities of good birth, a pleasant disposition, and long experience in imperial politics, and immediately set out to be a contrast to Domitian, who had been detested by the upper classes and whose memory was damned by the senate (*damnatio memoriae*). The slogans on Nerva's coinage ('Public Freedom', 'Salvation', 'Equity', 'Justice') reflect his wish to create a new atmosphere. He released those on trial for treason, banned future treason charges, restored exiles, returned property confiscated by Domitian, displayed moderation in the public honours he accepted, and took advice from leading men. He built granaries in Rome, dedicated the forum Transitorium begun by Domitian, distributed a largess to the people and the soldiers, removed the burden of the imperial post (*vehiculatio*; *see* POSTAL SERVICE) from communities in Italy, and initiated moves to buy up land for distribution to the poorest citizens; he may also have begun the 'alimentary' scheme, which aimed to provide funds for the maintenance of poor children in rural Italy, although major responsibility for its execution probably lay with Trajan. According to Tacitus, Nerva combined two incompatible elements—liberty and imperial rule (*Ag.* 3).

However, Nerva was elderly and infirm and had no children. Naturally there was speculation about the succession, and further problems appeared. The desire for vengeance against supposed agents of Domitian came close to anarchy. The appointment of a senatorial

committee in 97 to effect economies suggests that there were some financial difficulties, which arguably were the result of extravagance in Nerva's regime. The most serious signs of disquiet occurred among the soldiers, with whom Domitian had been popular. One army was close to mutiny on the news of his death, and subsequently there were rumours about the intentions of a governor of one of the eastern provinces in command of a substantial army (Philostr. *VS* 488; Plin. *Ep.* 9. 13). Coins celebrating 'Concord of the armies' probably express hope rather than confidence. There was also a plot against the emperor in Rome. Most ominously, rebellion broke out among the praetorians who had been stirred up by their prefect Casperius Aelianus into demanding the execution of the murderers of Domitian. Nerva had to accede, and was forced to give public thanks for the executions, thereby losing much of his authority and prestige. In October 97 amid gathering political crisis, he adopted *Trajan, whom he had previously appointed governor of Upper Germany, as his son, co-emperor, and successor. His own title *Germanicus*, granted for a minor victory over the Germans in Bohemia, was conferred on Trajan. It is impossible to discover the exact circumstances of Trajan's adoption. Pliny suggests that the empire was tottering above the head of an emperor who now regretted his elevation to imperial power (*Pan.* 6. 3, 7. 3), but this may have been exaggerated in order to please Trajan. However if Nerva's regime faced increasing discontent, his advisers would doubtless take into consideration Trajan's distinguished background and career, popularity with the troops, and proximity to Rome. Nerva's death on 28 January 98 marks an important point in the development of the empire, since he was the last strictly Italian emperor. JBC

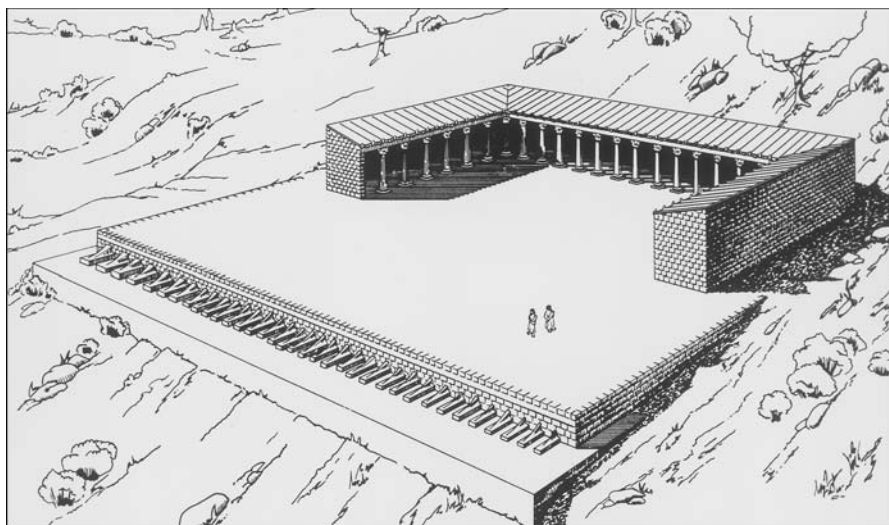
Nicias (c.470–413 BC), Athenian politician and general. During the period after the death of *Pericles he became the principal rival of Cleon in the struggle for political leadership. He was a moderate and opposed the aggressive *imperialism of the extreme democrats, his aim being the conclusion of peace with Sparta as soon as it could be attained on terms favourable to Athens. Elected frequently to serve as *stratēgos* (general), he led several expeditions in which, thanks to his cautious competence, he suffered no serious defeat and won no important victory. He was largely responsible for the armistice concluded in 423, and the Peace of 421 appropriately bears his name.

He now favoured a policy of retrenchment and objected to the ambitious schemes of *Alcibiades, who advocated Athenian intervention in the Peloponnese and later an expedition to Sicily. Despite his disapproval

Nicias was appointed with Alcibiades and Lamachus to conduct this enterprise. Alcibiades was soon recalled, and little was accomplished in 415, but in 414 Syracuse was besieged and almost reduced to capitulation. The death of Lamachus, the arrival of the Spartan Gylippus, and the inactivity of Nicias, now seriously ill, transformed the situation, and in spite of the efforts of Demosthenes, who brought reinforcements in 413, the Athenians were themselves blockaded. Nicias, who refused to withdraw by sea until too late, led the vanguard in a desperate attempt to escape by land. His troops were overwhelmed at the river Assinarus, and he was subsequently executed. The narrative of *Thucydides, though giving due credit to Nicias for his selfless devotion, shows very clearly that the Athenian disaster was largely due to the inadequacy of his military leadership.

He was very wealthy (Xen. *Vect.* 4. 14 says he had 1,000 slaves working in the silver *mines; see SLAVERY) and spent lavishly; see esp. Plut. *Nic.* 3, mentioning the splendid festival procession he led to *Delos, where Athens has recently re-established the festival of the Delia (Thuc. 3. 104). Thucydides may have this in mind when he speaks of Nicias' *aretē* (civic virtue, a notion which could include open-handed outlay on liturgies). See Thuc. 7. 86. 5. HDW/SH

Nicopolis (see ◀ Map 1, Ab ▶) in Epirus, situated on the isthmus of the Preveza peninsula opposite *Actium at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf. Founded by Octavian (see AUGUSTUS) on the site of his army encampment (specially revered, as at *Alexander the Great's Cilician city of Nicopolis, founded after the battle of Issus in 333 BC, which provided the model for the city in Epirus), Nicopolis was not only a 'victory city' (the Greek name means this) honouring his defeat of Mark *Antony and *Cleopatra VII in this region, but was also a *synoecism of older cities (Strabo 10. 2. 2; Paus. 5. 23. 3). It was settled soon after 31 BC, and dedicated, perhaps, in 29. A free city minting its own coinage, Nicopolis served as a regional administrative, economic, and religious centre, especially following the creation of a separate province of Epirus. Augustus chose the city as the new site for the Actian Games (*Actia*), an ancient festival once held on Cape Actium, but now celebrated every four years under Spartan stewardship and ranked equal to the major Panhellenic *games; he also enrolled it in the Delphic amphictiony (see DELPHI). Surviving structures include impressive city walls of two major phases (Augustan and 4th–5th cents. AD), a theatre, stadium, gymnasium, two large bath structures, an odeum, a victory monument commemorating the Actian war, an aqueduct, nymphaea, a large northern cemetery with



Nicopolis Reconstructed drawing of the naval trophy set up by Octavian (the future *Augustus) on the site of his army encampment at the battle of *Actium. The trophy overlooked the site of Nicopolis, founded by Octavian in imitation of earlier 'victory-cities' built by *Pompey (in Pontus, *Asia Minor) and *Alexander the Great (near Issus). Drawing by Richard Scott from Murray & Petsas, 'Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War', Vol 79, Part 4 of TAPS, 1989. By permission of the American Philosophical Society

substantial mausoleia, a large Roman house (late 3rd, early 4th cent.), and four early Christian basilicas. Nicopolis was home to Epictetus. NP/WMM

Nike, the goddess of Victory, is first mentioned by *Hesiod (*Theog.* 383–4) as daughter of the Titan Pallas and Styx, and sister of Zelos, Kratos, and Bia ('Rivalry', 'Strength', and 'Force'). With these she was honoured by *Zeus because she fought with the gods against the Titans. *Bacchylides (11. 1) depicts her standing next to Zeus on Olympus and judging the award for '*areta*' (virtue) to gods and men. The victorious athlete sinks into the arms of Nike (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 42). Here Nike is already victory of an athletic, not only a military, contest.

Nike has no mythology of her own, and in cult may be assimilated with other gods, like Zeus at *Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 8) or *Athena at Athens, where from c.566 BC, she had an altar on the Acropolis, and subsequently a Classical temple. *Pausanias (1. 22. 4) calls this Nike wingless, adding (3. 15. 7) that the Athenians and Spartans had a wingless Nike so that she would always stay with them. In art, her winged appearance is readily confused with orientalizing figures, and subsequently with Iris, especially when she holds a *kērykeion* (caduceus). She appears from the early 6th cent., on vases, freestanding or as acroteria, always in the 'Knielauf' pose. She may have two or four wings. The Nike of Archermus (supposedly the first to give Nike wings) c.550 BC and that of Callimachus c.480, are representative.



Nike A 4th-cent BC gemstone depicts Nike (Victory), winged and scantily draped, alighting to build a *trophy of captured arms on a tree-trunk marking a battle site. (British Museum, Gem Walters 601) Institute of Archaeology, Oxford

In the Classical period, her iconography is fully developed, attributes including garland, jug, phiale, and *thymiatērion* (censer). She is particularly popular on vases after the battle of Marathon (490 BC), often alone, or pouring a libation over an altar, for both gods and men; also in athletic and military contexts, sometimes holding weapons, or decorating a *trophy. She strides, runs, or flies. Sculptural representations attempt to evoke flight, such as the Nike of Paros (c.470) where she hovers or alights; so too the Nike of Paonius at Olympia of c.420. She was shown alighting on the hand of the Athena Parthenos and the Zeus at Olympia (where she was also an acroterion). The sculpted parapet of her temple on the Acropolis (c.410) shows her as messenger of Victory, setting a trophy, administering libations, leading bulls to sacrifice, and, characteristically, binding her sandal. She appears as charioteer on Classical vases, especially south Italian.

In the Hellenistic period, Nike is used for political ends by *Alexander the Great and his Successors (the 'Diadochi') on coins and *gems. The striding type is represented by the Nike of Samothrace (c.306–250), and continues in attachments to Canosan vases and terracotta statuettes to the 1st cent. KWA

nomads Greek (followed by Roman) writers lumped together as nomads (*nomades*, formed on *nomos*, 'pasture') all pastoral groups for whom wandering was a way of life, without distinguishing (as does the modern concept of nomadism) between semi-nomads—including those practising transhumance—and fully nomadic societies of no fixed abode, such as the ancients met on the desert fringes of *Libya and Arabia and in Scythia. *Homer's portrayal of the pastoral Cyclopes as uncivilized and savage (*Od.* 9) inaugurates a persistent hostility in Greek literature to nomads, whose lifestyle as 'cultivators of living fields' (*Arist. Pol.* 1256^a 34–5), in particular their different diet (notably their drinking of milk) and desert habitat, set them apart from the sedentary communities of Greek farmers and encouraged a stereotyping taken to extremes in *Herodotus' account of the nomadic Scythian 'man eaters' (4. 106). Thus to turn nomads into settled agriculturalists ranked among the self-evident achievements of the Macedonian kings *Philip II and *Alexander the Great (*Arr. Anab.* 7. 9. 2, 8. 40. 8). Modern ethnographic work denies this rigid conceptual separation of cultivators from nomads in real life, stressing rather their economic symbiosis, for which there is some ancient evidence from Roman *Africa, where the old view, that the Roman state tried to blockade out the Libyan nomads by means of a **limes* (artificial barrier), is now questioned. See BARBARIAN; PASTORALISM. AJS

Notitia Dignitatum The 'List of Offices' is a late Roman illustrated manuscript which survived in a Carolingian copy. This is lost, but at least four copies were made, which are now in Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, and Munich. The *Notitia* is divided into two parts, each entitled 'a list of all offices, civil and military' in the eastern and western halves of the empire respectively, as divided in AD 395. Each part was kept by a senior member of the court secretariat, the *primicerius notariorum*, and contains an index followed by more than 40 chapters, one for each of the high officers of state, from the praetorian prefects, masters of the soldiers, and other court dignitaries to the lesser generals (*comites* and *duces*) and the provincial governors, in order of precedence or geographical sequence. For the provincial governors, however, only one specimen of each grade (*consularis*, *corrector*, *praeses*) is given. Each chapter gives the title and rank of the dignitary, a brief description of his functions, including a list of his subordinate officers, if any, and the members of his staff (*officium*); for generals, a list of units under his command, with their stations in the case of *duces*. Each chapter is accompanied by an illustration of *insignia*, a schematic picture of the dignitary's responsibilities; for *magistri militum* ('masters of the soldiers') these are the shields of their regiments, for *duces* ('generals') their forts. The *Notitia* outlines the late Roman order of battle and administrative structure in great detail, but its date and purpose are obscure. It may have listed dignitaries who received letters of appointment (for a fee), our copy being derived from the western working copy, since some eastern chapters are in abbreviated form and contain nothing which is demonstrably later than 395, whereas the western chapters have been altered thereafter. Both parts contain internal inconsistencies due to piecemeal revision, and material which reached its present form in earlier reigns. Revision later than 395 is most apparent in the western military chapters, which must reflect the supremacy (395–408) and strategy of the *magister militum* Stilicho. RSOT

novel, Greek Extended prose narrative fiction is a late-comer to Greek literature. It is first recognizable in a lively account of the Assyrian king Ninus' courtship of a 14-year-old Semiramis, preserved on a papyrus dated by a document on its verso to earlier than AD 100–1 and by its script to between 50 BC and AD 50. Its composition need not be earlier, though some conjecture c.100 BC. Of the five novels to survive complete, Chariton (like *Metiochus and Parthenope*, known from papyri and oriental descendants) probably belongs to the later 1st cent. AD, though a date as late as *Hadrian is possible; Xenophon of Ephesus to the first half of the 2nd cent., and Achilles Tatius to the

2nd; Longus is perhaps late 2nd or early 3rd cent. AD, while both early 3rd and late 4th cent. AD are claimed for Heliodorus. Only Iamblichus' *Babylonian History*, known from fragments and Photius' epitome, is firmly dated by its author's claimed career, to c.AD 165–80.

These narratives (two in eight books, the others in four, five, and ten) vary a shared pattern. Boy and girl fall in love: Xenophon's heroine is also 14, his hero 16, Longus' 13 and 15. Either before marriage (Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus, ? *Ninus*) or soon after (Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus) they are separated and survive storms, shipwreck, imprisonment, attempted seduction or rape, torture, and even what readers and characters believe to be death, before reunion at the book's end. Their ordeals usually traverse Egypt or other near eastern lands; but Heliodorus' couple have Ethiopian Meroe as their goal, Xenophon of Ephesus' reach south Italy, and Longus compresses his pastoral couple's adventures into a corner of *Lesbos, substituting sexual naïvety for external forces as obstacles to their union. The heroine typically preserves her virginity/fidelity to her husband, although Chariton's accepts a cultivated Greek as her second husband (to protect the hero's child she is carrying). Achilles' hero, however, succumbs to a married Ephesian, and Longus' receives sexual instruction, crucial to the plot's advancement, from a married city woman.

Love stories are found in earlier Greek literature, both verse (especially of the Hellenistic period) and prose (above all the more famous *Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*); *historiography is evoked by the setting of the *Ninus*, of Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* (5th/4th-cent. *Syracuse), and of a scene from *Metiochus and Parthenope*; the centrality of a young couple's love, their city origins and some speeches recall New Comedy (see COMEDY (GREEK), NEW); analogous story-patterns can be found in Mesopotamian or Egyptian literature. But the novel evolves from none of these. Rather it is a late Hellenistic or early imperial creation, whose literary effects include evocation of all these Greek predecessors and of *Homer's *Odyssey* and Attic tragedy too (see TRAGEDY, GREEK). Elaborate 'documentation' of the story's 'origin' and apparently exact geographical detail entice readers to accept the 'events' as having once happened, albeit in the distant (*Ninus*) and particularly Classical past: only Xenophon of Ephesus' world seems to be that of the empire, though Achilles' might be taken as such, and the élites from which the novels' characters are drawn (even the foundlings Daphnis and Chloe) resemble those of Greek cities of the Roman empire. But all authors exclude Rome and Romans. *piracy is commoner than in the *pax Romana* (Roman peace), coincidences are far-fetched, but the impossible is avoided and only such miraculous events

admitted (e.g. prophetic *dreams) as contemporary belief credited.

Characters are less convincing. Anglophone critics often adduce shallow characterization as a reason for denying that these works are 'novels': in continental Europe they are *Roman* (Ger.), *roman* (Fr.), *romanzo* (It.), *romance* (Portug.) rather than *novela* (Sp.). The main characters, albeit morally admirable, are indeed rarely interesting, though the often stronger heroines engage readers more effectively, and some minor characters (e.g. Heliodorus' Calasiris and even Cnemon) are more fascinating because less predictable. Descriptions of actions and thoughts (usually conveyed by dialogue or monologue) are deployed rather to delineate emotion and raise suspense or excitement. The speeches attest rhetorical training, as do **ekphraseis* of scenes or works of art, especially in Achilles Tatius, Longus, and Heliodorus, authors whose mannered and Atticizing style has caused their novels to be classed as 'sophistic' (see SECOND SOPHISTIC). Yet Chariton too, though not Atticizing, both claims to be a rhetor's secretary and deploys rhetorical speeches, while all four avoid hiatus and allude extensively to Classical literature. These features mark literary aspirations as high and the intended readership as educated. Philostratus and *Julian betray knowledge of the genre, but the silence of other writers has puzzled scholars, and been used (along with the lack of an ancient generic name) to argue that it was despised and of low status. Few, however, dispute the dexterity with which all but Xenophon of Ephesus unfold their plot and manipulate their readers. Achilles, Longus, and Heliodorus can be seen as variously parodying the genre's basic tropes, and the complexity, irony, and suspense created by Heliodorus' opening *in mediis rebus*, and gradual unfolding of the couple's story through Calasiris' long and sometimes misleading narrative, mark him as a master of plot-construction, with Calasiris and Fate or Fortune sometimes taking his part.

Such 'ideal' romances were not the only novels. Antonius Diogenes retained romantic love but gave more emphasis to travel in a chinese-box plot occupying 24 books. In the lost *Metamorphoses* ascribed by Photius (cod. 129) to Lucius of Patrae and in its surviving epitome, the Lucianic (see LUCIAN) *Onos* ('Ass'), the first-person narrator who is turned into an ass strings together in a travel-framework incidents involving witchcraft and obscene or titillating sexual escapades in the tradition of *Milesian Tales* (short erotic tales attributed to an Aristides, and conventionally set in Miletus; see NOVEL (LATIN)). Similar coarse and melodramatic treatment of sex is found in the papyrus of Lollianus' *Phoenician Tales* and in a prosimetric scrap in which one Iolaus may intend

disguise as a eunuch priest to achieve a boy's seduction (POxy. 42. 3010, early 2nd cent. AD). Remoter still, and with only a minor role for love or sex, are Dictys Cretensis' rewriting of the Trojan War and the *Alexander Romance* (a fictional work, falsely ascribed to *Alexander the Great's historian Callisthenes, and hence sometimes called 'pseudo-Callisthenes').

Of the five 'ideal' romances all but Longus were still read in the 6th cent.; in the 9th Photius summarized Antonius, Lucius' *Metamorphoses*, Heliodorus, Iamblichus, and Achilles, commending their Attic style but condemning erotic content. Only the last two, and Xenophon of Ephesus, get *Suda* entries, but in the 11th cent. Psellus wrote a comparison of Achilles and Heliodorus, while both they and Longus inspire writers of four 12th-cent. Byzantine novels, three verse and one prose.

In the Renaissance Heliodorus, the first to be printed (1534) and translated (into French, 1547), was most influential; but later the others, especially Longus, were much read too, vernacular translations preceding *editioes principes*.

ELB

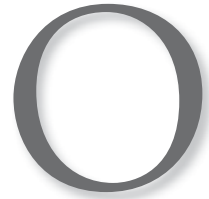
novel, Latin The Latin novel is mainly represented for us by two extant texts, the *Satyrica* of *Petronius Arbiter (1st cent. AD) and the *Metamorphoses* or *Golden Ass* of Apuleius (2nd cent. AD); no previous long fictions are known in Latin. An important influence on both were the lubricious *Milesian Tales* of Lucius Cornelius Sisenna in the 1st cent. BC (Ov. *Tr.* 2. 443–4), short stories translated from the Greek *Milēsiaka* of Aristides (2nd cent. BC; cf. Plut. *Crass.* 32, [Lucian], *Amores* 1). The adaptations by *Varro of the prosimetric Greek satires of Menippus of Gadara also contributed something to the prosimetric form and satirical content of Petronius, and were followed by the younger *Seneca in his *Apocolocyntosis*; there is also recent evidence in the Iolous-papyrus (POxy. 42. 3010) that there existed at least one work of low-life prosimetric fiction in Greek.

Petronius' *Satyrica* survives only in parts, but was clearly lengthy, in at least sixteen books. Its plot concerns the comic adventures of a homosexual couple as narrated by one of them, Encolpius; as its title implies, it has connections with Roman *satire, in terms both of its prosimetric form (see above) and of its content, for example the comic meal (the *Cena Trimalchionis*). Two of its inserted tales clearly reflect the tradition of *Milesian Tales*

(above)—the Widow of Ephesus (111–12) and the Pergamene Boy (85–7); it also contains literary and social criticism and some complex narrative technique. Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in eleven books, concerning the metamorphosis of a young man into an ass and his comic adventures before retransformation by the goddess Isis, contains like the *Satyrica* a number of inserted tales, the most famous being that of Cupid and Psyche in two books (4. 28–6. 24). Some of these are clearly *Milesian Tales*, which Apuleius explicitly claims to use (1. 1. 1, 4. 32. 6); the inserted tales make up a large proportion of the plot but also lend it unity and coherence by their close thematic relation to the main narrative. The *Metamorphoses* has marked Isiac and Platonic elements; in the final book, the conversion of Lucius to Isiac cult and the resulting reassessment of his adventures (11. 15. 1–5), coupled with the apparent revelation that the narrator is no longer Lucius but Apuleius himself (11. 27. 9), provide a problematic conclusion in both ideological and narratological terms (see NARRATIVE).

Both Petronius and Apuleius use the existing genre of the Greek ideal novel, but both alter its flavour in a characteristically Roman way, parodying its stress on virtuous young love, adding low-life realism, bawdy humour, and elements from other established literary genres, and using narrators, narrative levels, and inserted tales in a complex way. All these features appear to some extent in Greek novelistic texts, but are fundamentally characteristic of the two main Latin novels. There are two further Latin novels extant from late antiquity, translations from the Greek, belonging essentially to the Greek rather than Latin tradition—the *Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre* (5th–6th cent. AD) and the *Alexander Romance* of Iulius Valerius (4th cent. AD; for the Romance, see NOVEL, GREEK). Christian texts in Latin make use of the ancient novel for fictionalized hagiography: the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* (4th cent. AD), translated from an earlier Greek original, shows many novelistic elements in its melodramatic story of the young Clement, Peter's successor as bishop of Rome, as does Jerome's similar *Life of St Paul the First Hermit* (text in Migne, *PL* 23. 17–30) from the same period. There are also fictionalized histories in Latin with some novelistic colouring from late antiquity, particularly the Troy-narratives of Dictys Cretensis (4th cent. AD) and Dares of Phrygia (5th/6th cent. AD).

SJHA



Octavian See AUGUSTUS.

Odysseus (Latin Ulixes from one of several Greek variants; hence English Ulysses), king of Ithaca; son of Laertes and Anticlea; husband of Penelope; hero of *Homer's *Odyssey*.

In Homer's *Iliad*, despite his out-of-the-way kingdom, Odysseus is already one of the most prominent of the Greek heroes. He displays martial prowess (e.g. at 11. 310–488, where he delays the rout of the Greeks), courage and resourcefulness (e.g. in the *Doloneia* of book 10, a late addition), and above all wisdom and diplomacy (e.g. at 2. 169–335, where he prevents the Greek army from disbanding, and in the embassy to *Achilles, especially 9. 223–306). He shows little of the skill in deceit which is characteristic of him in the *Odyssey*, but such epithets as 'much enduring' and 'cunning', which occur in both epics, must refer to his exploits after the Trojan War (see TROY), and show that these were always his principal claim to fame.

In the *Odyssey* he is in some ways the typical 'trickster' of folktales, who uses guile and deception to defeat stronger opponents. His maternal grandfather is the knavish Autolycus (19. 392–466). Besides spear and sword he uses the bow, which was often considered a less manly weapon, and he even procures arrow-poison (1. 261–2). He not only resorts to trickery by necessity but sometimes revels in it, as when he boasts of his triumph over the Cyclops (9. 473–525); and his lying tales on Ithaca are elaborated with relish, as *Athena observes (13. 291–5). But Homer was concerned to make him a worthy hero, not just for a folktale, but for an epic. Books 1–4, where his son Telemachus takes centre-stage, are largely devoted to building up our sense of his greatness: he is the ideal king, whose return is necessary to establish order on Ithaca, and a friend deeply honoured by Nestor and Menelaus. When we first see him in book 5—longing for home after his long detention by Calypso, then no sooner released than shipwrecked—the emphasis is on

his noble patience and endurance. At his lowest point, naked and destitute on the shore of Scheria in Book 6, he is still resourceful, and can be seen by the princess Nausicaa as an ideal husband (6. 239–45). Even in the fantastic and magical episodes which he relates as bard-like storyteller to the Phaeacians in books 9–12 (the Lotus-Eaters, the Cyclops, the Bag of the Winds, the Laestrygonians, the witch Circe, the visit to the Underworld, the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, the Cattle of the Sun), there is pathos as well as adventure. When he finally reaches Ithaca he spends much of the rest of the poem (books 17–21) in the most humiliating condition, disguised as a beggar in his own house; but in his final revenge over Penelope's suitors, although he takes the crafty and necessary precaution of removing their weapons (19. 1–52), the main emphasis is on his strength in stringing the great bow and the skill with which he wields it (books 21–22).

A later epic, the *Telegonia* of Eugammon of Cyrene, continued the story with further travels and martial adventures for Odysseus, who was finally killed unwittingly by Telegonus, his son by Circe. Other early poetry seems to have presented him less favourably. In the *Cypria* he feigned madness to evade his obligation to join the Trojan expedition, but the trick was exposed by Palamedes. In revenge he and Diomedes later brought about Palamedes' death. In the *Little Iliad* Odysseus and Diomedes stole the Palladium, a Trojan talisman; and by some accounts Odysseus tried to kill Diomedes on the way back. The dispute with *Aias over the arms of Achilles, first mentioned at *Odyssey* 11. 543–51, was related in the *Aethiopsis* and *Little Iliad*, and *Pindar (*Nem.* 8. 23–34) claims that Odysseus won the arms by dishonest trickery. The killing of the infant Astyanax was attributed to Neoptolemus by the *Little Iliad* but to Odysseus by the *Sack of Troy*.

The tragedians tended to be similarly unfavourable. *Sophocles, while presenting a noble and magnanimous Odysseus in *Aias*, makes him an unprincipled cynic in *Philoctetes*. *Euripides depicts the Homeric Odysseus

straightforwardly in *Cyclops*, but evidently made him a villain in his lost *Palamedes* (as does the *sophist *Gorgias in his *Defence of Palamedes*), and his character in other plays (on stage in *Hecuba*, reported elsewhere) is in keeping with this. His detractors now often call him the son, not of Laertes, but of the criminal Sisyphus, who had allegedly seduced Anticlea before her marriage.

Virgil's references to Ulixes in *Aeneid* 2 follow the Euripidean conception (ignoring a tradition which made him a founder of Rome and father of Latinus), as does the younger *Seneca in *Troades*. The dispute over the arms of Achilles, treated as a rhetorical debate by Antisthenes, is again so treated by *Ovid, *Met.* 13.

At a few sites Odysseus was the subject of a hero-cult, evidently because of his prestige in epic. His name has been found on a dedication on Ithaca.

In art he is always a popular figure. The more spectacular adventures are illustrated especially often in the Archaic period (the blinding of Polyphemus and the escape under the ram are found as early as the 7th cent.). Later these are joined by quieter subjects, such as the embassy to Achilles and the dispute over the arms. From the 5th cent. Odysseus is often depicted in a conical hat, the *pilos*. ALB

Oedipus, son of Laius, the king of Thebes who killed his father and married his mother. The name appears to mean 'with swollen foot', but the reason for this is obscure, as the explanation given by ancient authors—that his feet were swollen because his ankles were pierced when he was exposed as a baby—looks like rationalizing invention.

*Homer's *Iliad* mentions him only (23. 679) in the context of the funeral games held after his death, implying that he died at Thebes and probably in battle. Homer's *Odyssey*, however (11. 271–80), tells how he unwittingly killed his father and married his mother Epicaste (the later *Jocasta), but the gods soon made this known (this version allows no time for the couple to have children) and Epicaste hanged herself. Oedipus continued to reign at Thebes, suffering all the woes that a mother's Erinyes ('Furies', chthonian powers of retribution) can inflict.

Of the epic *Oedipodia* we know little except that it mentioned the *Sphinx (also in *Hesiod, *Theog.* 326), who killed Haemon son of Creon and must have been killed (perhaps in fight) by Oedipus, and that Oedipus had children, not by his mother, but by a second wife, Euryganeia. The children must have included Eteocles and Polynices, and probably also Antigone and Ismene.

Another epic, the *Thebais*, told how Oedipus, now probably blind, twice cursed his sons, first when Polynices disobeyed him by serving him wine in a gold cup on

a silver table (fr. 2, cf. *TrGF* 2 fr. adesp. 458), and again when his sons served him the wrong joint of meat (fr. 3). He prayed that they would quarrel over their patrimony and die at each other's hands, and the epic went on to describe the Theban War that ensued.

It is uncertain when Oedipus was first said to have had children by his mother (see INCEST), and when the motif of his exile arose. In a fragment of *Stesichorus (*PMGF* 222b) the mother of Eteocles and Polynices attempts to mediate between them, presumably after the death of Oedipus, but she could be either Jocasta (Epicaste) or Euryganeia. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4. 263–9, may allude to Oedipus in exile.

In 467 *Aeschylus produced a tetralogy consisting of *Laius*, *Oedipus*, the surviving *Seven against Thebes*, and the satyr-play *Sphinx*. Though much is debatable, the outlines of the Oedipus story can be gathered from fragments and from allusions in the *Septem* (esp. 742–91). Laius learned from the *Delphic oracle that to save the city he must die childless. Overcome by lust, however, he begot Oedipus, and sought to have the baby exposed. Oedipus somehow survived to kill his father at a fork in the road near Potniae. He came to Thebes and rid the city of the man-eating Sphinx, probably by answering its riddle. He married Jocasta, became an honoured king, and begot Eteocles and Polynices. The patricide and incest came to light (we do not know how, but the prophet Tiresias may have played a role), and Oedipus in his anguish blinded himself and cursed the sons born of the incest: they were to divide their patrimony with the sword. In the *Septem* Oedipus is dead, having probably died at Thebes.

*Sophocles' *Antigone* (49–54) mentions how Oedipus blinded himself and died and Jocasta hanged herself. But Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (*King Oedipus*) became the definitive account. Here Laius received an *oracle from *Apollo that his son would kill him, so he ordered a shepherd to expose the infant Oedipus on Mt. Cithaeron. The shepherd, however, took pity on the baby, and Oedipus survived to be brought up as the son of Polybus, king of Corinth, and his wife Merope. An oracle warned him that he would kill his father and marry his mother, so he fled from Corinth. At a junction of three roads near Daulis he killed Laius in a quarrel, not knowing who he was. Coming to Thebes he answered the riddle of the Sphinx, married Jocasta, and became king. When the play opens, the city is being ravaged by a *plague, caused, so the oracle reveals, by the polluting presence of the killer of Laius (see POLLUTION). Oedipus, an intelligent and benevolent king, pronounces a *curse on the unknown killer and begins an investigation, which ends in the discovery of the whole truth. Jocasta hangs herself and Oedipus

blinds himself with pins from her dress. The ending is problematic, as Oedipus does not go into the immediate exile foreshadowed earlier but remains, for the moment, in the palace.

*Euripides too wrote an *Oedipus*, in which the king was blinded by the servants of Laius, not by his own hand. In Euripides' *Phoenissae* he is self-blinded and is still living in the palace at the time of his sons' death.

At the end of his life Sophocles returned to Oedipus with his *Oedipus at Colonos*. Here the blind man, led by Antigone, comes to the grove of the Eumenides (Erinyes) at Colonos near Athens, where he knows that he must die. Protected by *Theseus, he resists the attempts of Polyneices and Jocasta's brother Creon, who banished him from Thebes, to bring him back there for their selfish purposes. He curses his sons for their neglect, and finally, called by the gods, he dies mysteriously at a spot known only to Theseus, where his angry corpse will protect Athens against Theban attack. Tombs and hero-cults of Oedipus are reported from Colonos and from Athens itself (among other places), but the antiquity of these, and their relation to Sophocles' play (where he has *no* tomb), are uncertain.

Roman authors of an *Oedipus* tragedy included *Caesar. The *Oedipus* of *Seneca is based on Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The role of Oedipus in Statius' *Thebaid* is derived from Euripides' *Phoenissae*.

In art the confrontation with the Sphinx is often portrayed, other episodes more rarely. ALB

oligarchy ('the rule of the few'), with monarchy (see KINGSHIP) and democracy one of the three basic categories of constitution commonly used by the Greeks from the 5th cent. BC onwards. Whereas a democratic regime gave basic political rights to all adult males in the free non-immigrant population, and had slight or non-existent limitations on eligibility for office, an oligarchic regime excluded some of the free population even from basic political rights, and might exclude even more of them from office-holding and reduce the amount of business which came the way of the full citizen body. In practice those who were admitted to political activity by democracies but not by oligarchies were the poor, and *Aristotle, after listing the three categories of constitution and distinguishing correct and deviant versions of each, went on to say that really oligarchy is the rule of the rich and democracy is the rule of the poor (*Pol.* 3. 1279^a 22–1280^a 6).

Before the 5th cent. the constitutions of most states were in fact oligarchic, though the term did not yet exist. In the 5th cent. Athens developed a self-conscious democracy (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN) and posed as a

champion of democracy elsewhere in Greece, while those who disliked that labelled themselves oligarchic, and Sparta, though not itself a typical oligarchy, posed as the champion of oligarchies. At the end of the 5th cent. there were oligarchic revolutions in Athens, resulting in the regimes of the Four Hundred (see ATHENS (HISTORY)) and of the (moderate but still not fully democratic) Five Thousand in 411–410, and of the Thirty Tyrants in 404–403. In the Hellenistic period the distinction between oligarchy and democracy was still sometimes taken seriously, but it mattered less than in the Classical period as even states which were democratic in form tended in practice to be run by the rich; and government by the rich was preferred by the Romans. See also POLITICS. VE/PJR

olive The olive is probably native to the Mediterranean region. It is long-lived and highly drought-resistant, though sensitive to frost, and thrives best at relatively low altitudes. Olives generally only crop every other year, and usually trees are regionally synchronized. Despite the attempts of farmers from antiquity to the present to break this habit, it has never successfully been circumvented.

Olives are easily propagated by cuttings, ovules (trunk growths, Gk. *premna*), or by grafting, a well-known technique in the Classical world. Domesticated scions were frequently grafted onto wild stocks. Trees grown from cuttings planted in a nursery bed seem to have been more characteristic of Roman than Greek regimes. Greek farmers apparently preferred planting ovules, which have a greater success-rate under conditions of water-stress than cuttings. Olives do not grow true to type from seed. Many varieties were known and cultivated for both oil and table use in classical antiquity.

Rarely grown under a monocultural system, olives were usually part of mixed farming regimes, including arable and other tree crops since cropping and yields can be erratic. Sometimes olive cultivation was combined with *pastoralism, as in *Cato the Elder's (*Agr.* 10) model olive grove which included a shepherd, 100 sheep, and a swineherd. Sheep ate grass and weed growth under trees, while pigs utilized the presscake.

Olives are harvested in autumn and winter. Greeks and Romans felt that the best-quality oil came from 'white' ('green') olives, picked early, a belief not in accord with modern practice. Ripe, 'black' olives contain more oil than green ones—the scarcity of oil in the latter may partially explain why it was more highly valued. Today the crucial factor is felt to be acidity, which increases in oil which is old, or which has been made from olives (black

or green) stored for some time between picking and pressing.

Olives can be processed for either table-olives or oil: they are not edible raw. The most basic table-olives are packed in salt, but the Roman agronomists provide other recipes. Olive oil was used for food, medicine, lighting, perfume, and bathing, as well as *athletics.

Producing oil entails crushing, pressing, and separating. Many different devices were known in antiquity for crushing and pressing olives. The simplest crusher is a flat bed with a stone roller. However the Romans (and probably the Greeks) believed that crushing the olive stones (almost inevitable with most machines) lowered oil quality. For luxury-quality oil they tried to keep crushed stones to a minimum, although this reduced the yield. Machines were invented to achieve this end, although it is questionable how effectively they worked. The most common olive crusher found in archaeological contexts is the rotary mill generally known as the *trapetum*, invented around the 4th cent. BC (it is debated whether the earliest examples from Chios and Olynthus used one millstone or two). They remained common throughout the Roman world until late antiquity. The most usual presses were beam presses. Earlier examples were weighted with large stones, but later many used capstans. Screw presses came into use during Roman times, though the date of their invention is uncertain, perhaps around the 2nd cent. BC. Crushed olives were placed in bags or frails on the pressbed (many stone examples survive), and the press was fastened. The first pressing produced best quality 'green' oil, sometimes kept separate and sold at high prices. Hot water was poured on the frails before further, lower quality, pressings.

The mixed oil, water, and olive juice (*amurca*) was left to settle in vats until the oil floated. Then oil was skimmed off the top or the waste let out via a tap from the bottom. Oil was stored in large jars (*dolia*, *pithoi*) or sold in *amphorae*. Though most ordinary oil was probably consumed locally, high-quality oil was a luxury product traded over long distances, like vintage wine. Certain regions, e.g. Attica (Athens' countryside), *Samos, Venafrum, Baetica, and Cyrenaica (see CYRENE; LIBYA), became famous for oil. In the case of Attica, the olive was an important symbol of Athena and Athens and oil from the sacred trees (*moriat*) was given as prizes at the Panathenaic Games. However, it was probably never the most important Attic crop and oil may not have been the primary export. See AGRICULTURE. LF

Olympia (see ◀ Map 1, Ac ▶) Panhellenic sanctuary of *Zeus located in hill country beside the river Alpheus in Elis (western *Peloponnese).

1. Before 500 BC

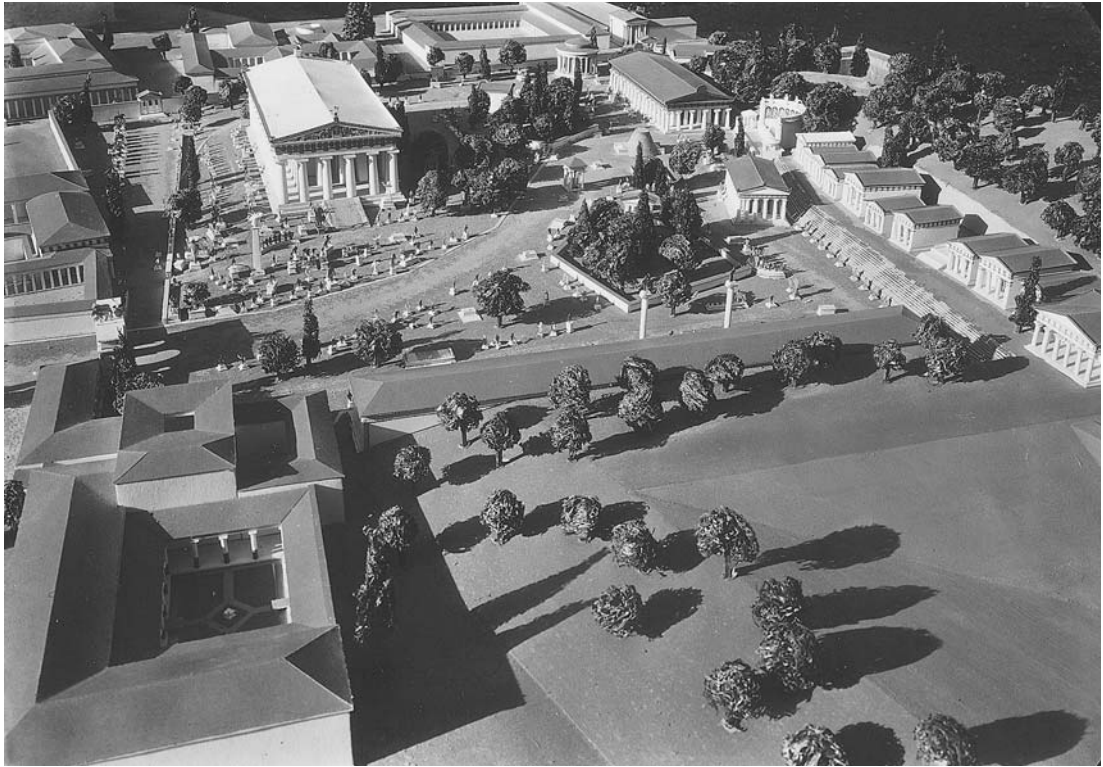
There is evidence of extensive prehistoric settlement in the vicinity including a large EH tumulus in the Altis which remained visible into the early iron age, MH houses, and Mycenaean tombs (see MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION) in the vicinity of the archaeological museum.

Votives (tripods and figurines) in an ash layer in the Altis indicate cult activity at least from the late 10th cent. (perhaps with an early ash altar). The first Olympiad was traditionally dated 776 BC (see TIME-RECKONING). According to *Pindar, *Heracles founded the Olympian Games; an alternative tradition attributed the foundation to Pelops after his victory over Oenomaus. A sequence of wells on the eastern side of the sanctuary beginning in the late 8th cent. served visitors.

The first temple (ascribed to *Hera) was built c.590. A row of eleven treasuries (primarily of W. Greek i.e. Italian and Sicilian states) lay under Cronus Hill. The first phase of the *stadium (c. mid-6th cent.) consisted of a simple track west of the later stadium, extending into the Altis. The first bouleuterion (building for the *boulē* or council) was built in c.520. From at least the 6th cent., sanctuary and festival were managed by Elis. CAM

2. Classical

The Greeks of the west (see (1) above) always had close connections with Olympia, cf. ML 10 of c.525 (treaty between Sybaris and the Serdaioi); ML 29, bronze helmet commemorating Hieron I's victory over the *Etruscans at Cumae in 474 (cf. BCH 1960, 721 and SEG 33 no. 328); ML 57 (victory dedication of Tarentum over Thurii) and I. Olympia 266 (statues dedicated by Praxiteles of *Syracuse and Camarina). But Olympia, the paramount athletic sanctuary (Pind. *Ol.* 1), was properly Panhellenic. Thus the Persian Wars (see GREECE (HISTORY)) were commemorated at Olympia, though less spectacularly than at *Delphi; for instance (A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (1972), 32 ff.) the Athenians dedicated at Olympia a helmet 'taken from the Medes; another splendid helmet-dedication by Miltiades might be from the Greek victory over Persia at Marathon (490 BC) but is probably earlier. The battle of Plataea (479 BC) prompted a colossal bronze Zeus (Paus. 5. 23), inscribed with a roll of honour of the participating states, including Ionian Athens in second place after Sparta. But the Dorian character of Olympia is marked, even if we deny political symbolism to the labours of *Heracles depicted on the temple metopes of the mid-5th-cent. Zeus temple, the second to be built within the Altis. Thus the Olympian Games of 428 were turned by Sparta into an overtly anti-Athenian meeting (Thuc. 3. 8 ff.). But Athens was never, even in the



Olympia Model of the sanctuary of Olympia as it looked by the later 2nd cent. AD, with the row of treasuries lined up top right. Typically of a major sanctuary, a dense accretion of sculptured offerings is visible around the principal temple. At Olympia, a high proportion commemorated athletes victorious in the Olympian *games. Photo: Walter Hege, DAI Athens, neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-Hege 526. All rights reserved

Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC), formally denied access to Olympia, any more than to Delphi; and to balance ML 22 (Spartan victory dedication over Messenians, 490s?) we have, from the 420s, R. MD. L 74, the lovely *Nike of Paonius—a dedication by Athens' friends the Messenians of Naupactus (cf. Thuc. 1. 103). We do hear of a classical exclusion from the Olympian games, but of Sparta not Athens: Thuc. 5. 49–50, a rare Thucydidean glimpse of the continuing political importance of *athletics. SH

3. Hellenistic and Roman

Hellenistic kings affirmed by their dedications Olympia's Panhellenic standing. New buildings included a palaestra (training-ground), *gymnasium, and (c.100 BC) the earliest Roman-style *baths found in Greece. Roman domination, signalled by the dedications of Lucius Mummius (146 BC), at first saw Olympia decline in prestige: by 30 BC the games had dwindled into an essentially local festival. Imperial patronage prompted a marked revival: *Agrippa repaired the temple of Zeus and both *Tiberius

and *Germanicus won chariot-races, to be outdone by *Nero, who performed in person at irregularly convened games (67) including (uniquely) musical contests (full refs.: N. Kennell, *AJPhil.* 1988, 241). In the 2nd cent., with the popularity of the games never greater, Olympia once more attracted orators (see SECOND SOPHISTIC), as well as cultural *tourism (Phidias' statue of Zeus was among the *Seven Wonders of the ancient world); facilities saw a final expansion, including a nymphaeum (fountain-house), attracting conservative attack (Lucian, *Peregr.* 19). From fear of the Heruli, the sanctuary was fortified (c.268) at the cost of many classical monuments. Cult survived well into the 4th cent. A Christian basilica was built c.400–450; the temple was only toppled by earthquake (or by tsunami, as recently suggested) in the 6th cent. AJSS

opera The Florentine Camerata—a group of humanists, musicians and intellectuals—invented opera, which was to become a major western art form, at the end of the 16th cent. AD. Its members believed that Greek tragedy was

sung throughout, and sought to devise a new medium which would equal its perceived excellence. The first operas (e.g. Peri's *Euridice*, 1600) largely consisted of declamatory recitative, and it was only with Monteverdi's Venetian operas—*Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* (1640), and *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1642)—that a true expressive power began to be achieved. Monteverdi established an alternation and dialogue between different musical forms, which was a true recreation in Renaissance terms of the structural principles of Greek tragedy. This innovation was to affect almost all subsequent operas based on classical texts, epic, tragic or comic, as opposed to those based simply on a classical theme or myth.

Except in France, where Lully's *Alceste* (1674) and Rameau's *Hippolyte et Aricie* (1733, after Racine) are important, the significant operas of the Baroque turned largely to Rome for subject-matter. Neoplatonism and *Stoicism dominate the outstanding operas of this period, which include Handel's *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (1724) and Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* (1791). By contrast baroque operas on Greek themes tended to trivialize or sensationalize the stories until the advent of Gluck, whose reformist operas, in particular *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1778), brought back a seriousness of intent and firmly focused emotion. Gluck's new direction was developed further in Cherubini's powerful, forward-looking *Médée* of 1797, in which *Euripides' anguished and often sympathetic heroine is restored after many treatments in which she had been demonized, following *Seneca the Younger, as a witch.

The 19th cent. was a relatively barren time for classical reception into opera, with the outstanding exception of Berlioz's highly individualistic masterpiece *Les Troyens* (1860), which is based on books 2 and 4 of the *Aeneid*, and culminates with Dido's death on her funeral pyre.

In Germany, Wagner thoroughly rethought his own art after 1849, in the light of the example of the Greek festival theatre, and in particular of *Aeschylus' use of myth to create a trilogy in the *Oresteia*. This led to the creation of *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (first performed complete in 1876), a cycle of three very substantial operas with a 'preliminary evening', based on German and Norse mythology. Wagner propounded the concept of a tension between intellectual, 'Apolline' aspects of Greek tragedy and Dionysian, instinctual and emotional elements, which was taken up by Nietzsche.

Wagner, Nietzsche, and above all Freud influenced the single most successful 20th-cent. opera on a classical theme: Richard Strauss's *Elektra* (1909), based on the 'Tragedy after Sophocles' by Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Here the rigorously shaped tonal architecture of the one-act opera and the detailed use of Wagnerian *Leitmotive*

(leading melodies) barely contain the intense violence which Strauss unleashed in response to von Hofmannsthal's vivid imagery and the stage action, which culminates with Elektra dancing like a maenad (Dionysus again) to celebrate the deaths of Klytämnestra and Aegisth—and falling dead at the climax of her dance.

Two other notable post-Wagnerian operas raise a significant issue. Taneyev in *Oresteia* (1895) and Enescu in *Oedipe* (first performed in 1936) attempt to graft Christian elements of forgiveness and redemption onto the endings of their respective Greek tragic stories, whose successful resolution had been achieved in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and *Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* on much more pragmatic terms. The consequent juxtapositions jar, though in both operas the sublime music of the closing pages does much to create an illusion of dramatic unity.

In the 20th and 21st cents. opera has continued to draw its inspiration more from Greek myth than from the Romans. Two pre-eminent post-war operas are Tippett's fatalistic Cold War reworking of the *Iliad* (*King Priam*, 1962) and Henze's *The Bassarids* (1966). Auden and Kallman, in their libretto based on *The Bacchae*, attempted to denounce *Dionysus from a Christian perspective, but Henze overwhelmingly opposed this with his musical portrait of the warmth and beauty of the god, contrasted with the ascetic severity of Pentheus. Notable among many more recent operas based on the classics are Mark-Antony Turnage's *Greek* (1988) and Mikos Theodorakis' *Medea* (1991).

MCE

oracles Among the many forms of divination known to the Greeks, the responses given by a god or hero when consulted at a fixed oracular site were the most prestigious (see e.g. Soph. *OT* 498–501). Such oracles were numerous. *Herodotus lists five in mainland Greece and one in Asia Minor which the Lydian king Croesus supposedly consulted in the 6th cent. BC (1. 46), and at least another five (including one 'oracle of the dead') appear in his pages; *Pausanias mentions four lesser local oracles, and at least five more can be added from epigraphical evidence (cf. C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (1900–27), 840–56; *Syll.*³ 1157–66).

Healing oracles, those of *Asclepius above all, are a specialized group, though even these never confined themselves exclusively to medical questions. The business of a general purpose oracle is best revealed by the lead question-tablets found at *Zeus' oracle at Dodona in Epirus. The majority of inquiries are from individuals; of the minority addressed by states, most ask whether a particular alteration to cult practice is acceptable, or more generally by what sacrifices divine favour is to be maintained; one or

two concern political issues. Individuals inquire, for instance, whether their wife will conceive (or conceive a son), whether a proposed marriage or journey or change of career is wise, whether a child is legitimate; they also ask about health problems, and more generally about ways of winning and keeping divine favour. The kind of answer envisaged is either 'yes' or 'no' or 'by sacrificing to X'.

According to *Plutarch (*De Pyth. or.* 408c), similar everyday questions about 'whether to marry or to sail or to lend', or, from cities, about 'crops and herds and health' ('and cults', he might have added) formed the staple of Delphi's business in his day (see DELPHIC ORACLE). Before about 400 BC, states had certainly also consulted Delphi about political issues, but even then a decision, to go to war for instance or dispatch a colony (see COLONIZATION, GREEK), had normally been made by the state before approaching the oracle. What was sought was a divine sanction. And since no mortals were endowed with religious authority in the Greek system, all oracles at all dates had an especially important role in sanctioning adjustments to cult practice.

Techniques by which responses were given were very various. The most prestigious was 'inspired' prophecy, the sayings of a priest or more commonly a priestess who spoke, probably in a state of trance, in the person of the god. This was the method of several oracles of *Apollo in Asia Minor and almost certainly of that of Delphi too, though a process of drawing bean-lots seems also to have played some part there. The prophetic dream was characteristic of healing oracles such as those of Asclepius and Amphiaraus, though not confined to them: the consultant slept a night or nights in the temple (incubation), during which the god in theory appeared in a dream and issued instructions (or even, in pious legend, performed a cure direct). The oracle of Zeus at *Olympia worked by 'empyromancy', signs drawn from the flames on Zeus' altar. To consult the hero Trophonius at Boeotian Lebadea, the client made a simulated descent to the Underworld: how the revelation then occurred is not recorded. Nor do we know anything certain about the practice at Zeus' oracle at Dodona.

Apart from the Egyptian-Libyan oracle of Ammon at the oasis of Siwa in the Sahara, which many Greeks consulted as an oracle of Zeus from the 5th cent. BC onwards, the great oracular shrines were Greek. In Italy, the oracle of the Sibyl at Cumae is well known from *Virgil, *Aeneid* 6. 9–101, who describes an ecstatic form of prophecy (see ECSTASY). Also prominent was the lot-oracle of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (mod. Palestrina). On extraordinary occasions the Roman government or ruler consulted the Sibylline books, which were kept by the *duoviri* (later *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, i.e. colleges of two

(eventually fifteen) *priests whose job it was to look after ritual texts.

RCTP

orality Coined as the opposite of *literacy, to denote the phenomenon of extensive reliance on oral communication rather than the written word, it is a useful concept for the ancient world, where writing was often used less than modern readers would assume. Various forms of orality are not incompatible with some use of writing, and it can be helpfully sub-divided into (1) oral composition, (2) oral communication, (3) oral transmission.

Oral composition, entirely without the help of writing, is best known in relation to the Homeric poems (see HOMER) and the long tradition of oral poetry through the Greek Dark Ages. The influential work of Parry and Lord sought to show how an oral poet could compose in performance. Spontaneous oral composition can also be found, however, in later symposiastic poetry, and oratory. The importance of oral communication can be seen e.g. in the political activity of democratic Athens (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN); in the use of contracts or wills relying on witnesses, not writing, in Athens and Rome in the habit of hearing literature. Oral transmission is the transmission without writing of any information, literature, traditions about the past etc. This usually involves some distortion, especially over generations of oral tradition, unless there is a deliberate effort to maintain the accuracy of the tradition (e.g. through poetry). Until the development of 5th-cent. Greek *historiography, most Greeks knew about their past from oral tradition; and it was crucial in preserving traditions about early Rome. Its character and reliability depends heavily on who is transmitting the traditions and why (e.g. notions of honour, patriotism). Thus Archaic Greece was almost entirely an oral society: even poetry that was written down (e.g. *Sappho) was primarily meant to be heard and performed.

As written documents and the centrality of written literature increase in the 5th. and 4th. cents., elements of orality still remain fundamental, notably the performance of poetry and prose (e.g. *Herodotus), and oratory and extempore performance; the value of the written word was not uniformly accepted (cf. *Plato's criticisms in *Phaedrus*). Roman society was more book- and library-oriented, but even at the level of high culture one finds literary readings, the accomplishments of oratory, memory, and improvisation (see Quint. *Inst.* 10. 7. 30–2; 11; the skill and advantages of shorthand were despised, Sen. *Ep.* 90. 25). The balance between oral communication and writing varied immensely over the period and in different areas. Some see a fundamental mentality engendered by orality (e.g. lack of individualism and/or

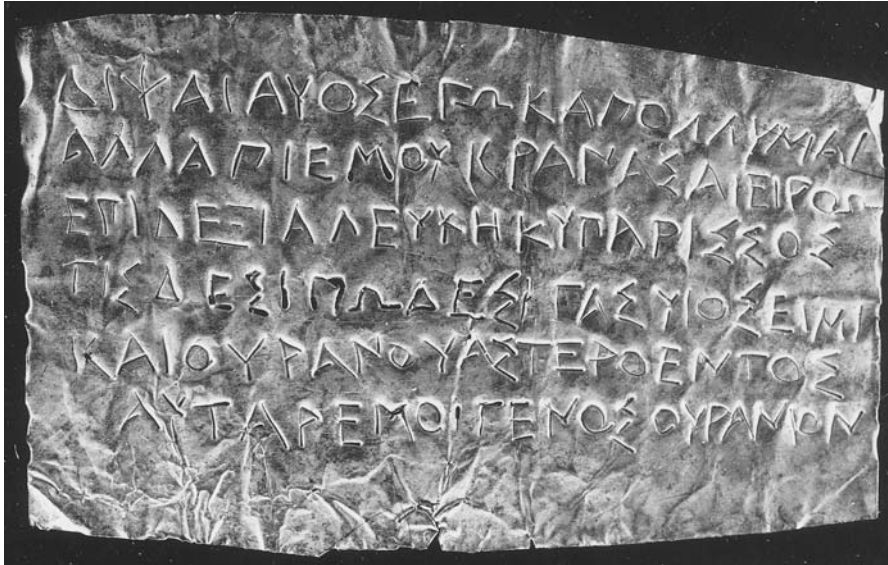
analytical skills), but both Greece and Rome have their own particular manifestations of oral culture, and the theory may be exaggerated. RT

Orientalism *Orientalism* is the title of a study by the distinguished Palestinian literary critic Edward Said; published in 1978, its impact has been enormous. The central thesis is that the concepts 'Europe' and 'Orient', as polar opposites, have been created by Europeans, particularly in the context of European imperialism, to provide a positive, strong image of Europe, with which eastern civilizations (especially the Muslim world) can be negatively contrasted. The 'Orient' is thus presented as lacking all desirable, active characteristics: it is effeminate, decadent, corrupt, voluptuous, despotic, and incapable of independent creative development. This pervasive perception of 'the east' underlies most studies of Middle Eastern history and culture and has profoundly shaped scholarly analysis. Although most of Said's study is devoted to the 18th to 20th cents. he argues that Oriental stereotypes derive much of their imagery from early Greek literary works (e.g. *Herodotus; *Aeschylus' *Persae*). This has led several classicists and ancient historians to refocus their work and explore consciously the assumptions made in some traditional areas of study. As a result, standard approaches to several subjects are now

being scrutinized and radically reassessed. Most prominent among these are: the development of Greek art, in particular the 'orientalizing' phase, Greek tragedy, and Achaemenid and Hellenistic history. An interesting, though in several respects maverick, study of Greek civilization, which adopts part of Said's political agenda, is M. Bernal's *Black Athena* (1987–2006); he takes an extreme position to argue that Greece was colonized by black Africans and *Phoenicians and owed its culture to them. See also HELLENISM, HELLENIZATION. ATLK

Orpheus, the quintessential mythical singer, son of *Apollo and a Muse (see MUSES), whose song has more than human power. In archaic Greece, Orpheus appears among the Argonauts whom he saves from the Sirens by overcoming their song with his own; other attestations exalt the power of his song (Ibycus, *Simonides). In the 5th cent. Orpheus enlarges his field of competence: his powerful song encompasses epic poetry, healing songs, oracles, and initiatory rites.

His main myth is his tragic love for Eurydice, narrated by *Virgil (*G.* 4. 453–525) and *Ovid (*Met.* 10. 1–11. 84) but known already in some form in the 5th cent. BC. In Virgil's version Eurydice, newly wed to Orpheus, died of a snakebite, and the singer descended to Hades to bring her back. His song enchanted *Hades; Eurydice was



Orpheus An Orphic prayer inscribed on a gold leaf supposedly found folded in a cinerary urn from *Thessaly (late 4th cent. BC): 'Parched with thirst am I, and dying. Nay, drink of Me, the ever-flowing spring where on the right is a fair cypress. "Who art thou? where art thou?"—"I am the son of Earth and of star-filled Heaven, but from Heaven alone is my house"' (trans. J. Breslin). Similar texts from burials in N. Greece, S. Italy, and Crete suggest the widespread circulation of Orphic beliefs about death and the Underworld from the 5th cent. BC on. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California, Gift of Lenore Barozzi. Lamella Orphica, gold, W: 3.7 x L: 2.2 cm (1 7/16 x 7/8 in.)

allowed to return provided Orpheus did not look back when leading her up; he failed, losing Eurydice for ever. He retired into wild nature where his lamenting song moved animals, trees, and rocks; finally a band of Thracian women or Bacchic *maenads (see DIONYSUS) killed him. The first representation of Eurydice, Orpheus, and *Hermes is the relief from the Athenian Altar of the Twelve Gods: earlier is the allusion in Eur. *Alc.* 357–62 (438 BC). Orpheus' death at the hands of maenads is presented in *Aeschylus' drama *Bassarae* as the result of Dionysus' wrath (470/460 BC). Vases depicting Thracian women murdering him are somewhat earlier, without giving a reason for the killing; later, it is the aloofness of the widowed (and turned homosexual) singer which provokes the women. But even after his death, Orpheus' voice was not silenced: his head was carried by the sea to the island of *Lesbos where for a while it gave prophecies.

Generally, Orpheus is called a Thracian. A grave and a cult belong not to Thrace but to Pieria in *Macedonia, north-east of Mt. Olympus, a region which formerly had been inhabited by Thracians and with which the Muses had some relations. It may have been a recent invention, or point to the original home of Orpheus who has no certain place in the web of Greek mythological *genealogy.

An important consequence of his miraculous song was his authorship of the so-called Orphic poetry: as early as the late 6th cent. the powerful singer who went down into Hades was thought especially competent to sing about eschatology and theogony. Pythagoreans (see PYTHAGORAS) and adherents of Bacchic mystery cults adopted him as their figurehead, and the Neoplatonist philosophers especially discerned deep theosophical knowledge in these poems and promoted Orpheus to the role of prime theological thinker. Thus 'Orphic literature' refers to the whole body of pseudepigraphical literature ascribed to Orpheus (see M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (1983)), while 'Orphism' refers to the set of beliefs and religious practices thought to derive from Orphic literature (see R. Parker in A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (1995), 483–510).

In art the myth of Orpheus is treated from c.550 BC to late antiquity (main themes: as Argonaut; murder; in Hades; with the animals). See PYTHAGORAS. FG

Ostia (see ◀ Map 3, Bb ▶), city at the mouth of the Tiber, *colonia* at least by the late 4th cent. BC, heavily involved with Rome's naval history, commerce, and communications, and one of the best-known Roman cities archaeologically. Abandoned in the 5th cent. AD, Ostia was covered with drifting sand from coastal dunes, and the area was sparsely populated until the 20th cent. because of malaria. With the coast southwards, and the



Ostia The brick-faced House of Diana at Ostia (c. AD 150), originally with at least four floors, is a good example of the multi-storeyed apartment blocks (*insulae*) found in the Roman empire's larger cities. In Italy, the use of fired brick (mid-1st cent. AD on) in place of timber-framed mudbrick made this type of structure much safer. Fototeca dell'Unione Internazionale, American Academy in Rome

mains of Portus, this therefore makes an archaeological site of the highest importance.

Tradition ascribed the foundation to King Ancus Marcius, and claimed that the trade in salt from the adjacent lagoons (which was certainly significant in historical times) dated back to that epoch (cf. the *via Salaria*). The Latin civilization is well represented in the immediate hinterland by the important discoveries at Castel di Decima on the via Laurentina and Ficana, overlooking the confluence of the Tiber and the Fossa Galeria, an important route leading inland towards Veii, and dominating the coastal plain just inland from Ostia. No remains have been found at Ostia earlier than those of the small (c. 2 ha.) fortified settlement, typical of the *coloniae maritimae* of the time, constructed at the Tiber mouth, from which it took its name at the end of the 4th cent. (the so-called 'Castrum').

The Tiber was the route to the arsenal of Rome, the Navalium, and needed strategic protection throughout the Punic Wars (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.4), and on into the age of the depredations of *piracy, which destroyed a Roman fleet at Ostia in 67 BC. Since the 6th cent. BC it had also provided access for travellers and traders to the wharves of Rome (greatly improved and embellished during the 2nd cent.). The imperial power won by Rome at that time gave its sea access new importance, and, as

the grain-supply (see FOOD SUPPLY (Roman)) of the city came under increased governmental supervision from the time of Gaius *Gracchus, a resource of huge political sensitivity began to pass through the difficult and insecure waters of Ostia regularly. A circuit of walls (probably of the end of the 2nd cent. BC) enclosed 69 ha.; *Marius captured Ostia by treachery in 87 and sacked it. In the Civil War the loyalty to Octavian's cause of members of the local élite, Cartilius Poplicola and Lucilius Gamala, benefited the city under the victorious regime. But Strabo describes Ostia in the Augustan period as 'a city without a harbour' (5. 3. 5 (232)), and says that the huge merchant-ships of southern Spain 'make for Puteoli and Ostia, the shipyard of Rome' (3. 2. 6 (145)); the city was still only a way-station on the route up the river, and the ports of Campania (which long received much of the grain trade and retained their prosperity until the 3rd cent.) were unrivalled until the construction of the basins of *Claudius and *Trajan at Portus.

The good communications of the coastal area attracted the villas of the Roman élite even before the discomfiture of the pirates in the 60s, and there were spacious houses of the Pompeian type within Ostia's new walls as well as large estates in the territory. These increased in number greatly at the end of the republic, and Ostia became the centre of a resort coast which stretched south to Antium, the *litus Laurentinum* where *Pliny the Younger had a maritime *villa. It was to service this community that Ostia became the 'very comfortable and convenient city' (*amoenissima civitas*) of the proem to Minucius Felix' dialogue *Octavius*.

These comforts are very apparent. Most of the houses are good-quality *insulae* (tenement blocks) which, when they were first studied, gave an exaggeratedly optimistic idea of what Roman urban conditions were like (some of the apartments have as many as seven rooms), the streets were often colonnaded or arcaded, and there are areas of very spacious houses, like the area outside the seaward gate (where the synagogue was excavated in 1962). An aqueduct supplied at least seventeen bath-houses (some very grand, like the forum baths). Ostia was well equipped with taverns and similar places of resort, and provides important information about them. A lavish theatre was originally probably a benefaction from *Agrippa, perhaps because of the town's contributions to the war against Sextus Pompeius. The buildings of the forum (first given monumental form under Augustus and his successors; the large Capitoline temple is Hadrianic) occupied most of the area of the former *colonia*, and are on a magnificent scale.

The principal testimony to Ostia's economic life are the great *horrea* or storehouses, including many used by

the *annona* (public grain supply; in the 3rd cent. increasingly transformed into other uses). There are a number of headquarters of *collegia*, associations among other things connected with commerce, the river, the harbour, or warehousing; the elaborately decorated premises were intended to provide a place of visible, semi-public social interaction for the bosses rather than the rank and file. The 'Square of the Corporations' is the most remarkable building of this kind, taking the form of a piazza surrounded by colonnades and *tabernae* (booths) for the representatives of ports involved in the grain-trade, and for others connected with the harbour: its precise function remains unclear. Our understanding of the relationship of the city to the river is hampered by changes in the Tiber's course and erosion of the site: there are some indications that important dependencies of the city extended to the north on both banks of the river. But the main extent of the town was a long development beside the via Ostiensis, stretching towards Rome, and dense occupation to the west around two roads which forked beyond the seaward gate and gave access to different parts of the littoral.

Most of what is visible at Ostia is a development of the Flavian, Antonine, and Severan periods. The uniformity of the kiln-fired brick construction and the regularity of the plan suggest wholesale redevelopment, and large-scale investment in urban property. Much of what we know of Ostia refers to the 2nd and 3rd cents. when the city appears to have been home to a social milieu who had made their money in harbour-activities; their descendants and successors saw a further move away from economic activity in the direction of *amoenitas* (amenity) and in late antiquity the *domus*, small and elegant, with elaborate water-decorations, returned to the city-centre (e.g. the famous House of Cupid and Psyche).

Ostia is relatively small (there is no sign that the built-up area was ever larger than about 50 ha., and much of this was not primarily dwelling-places). It was overwhelmingly a service-town, for the countryside around, for the spread-out activities of the Tiber-bank, and the harbours of Portus, and for the numerous passers-by on their way to and from Rome (wide horizons are apparent in the diversity of its religious cults). Such service functions supported an economically relatively privileged population and a considerable number of their slaves who are archaeologically largely invisible. Otherwise labour is likely to have been available on a seasonal basis from Rome and other parts of the densely populated region around it. Ostia was thus rather a focal point in a port-region rather than a harbour-town in the strict sense, and its importance is much more as an example of the social and economic, architectural and urban

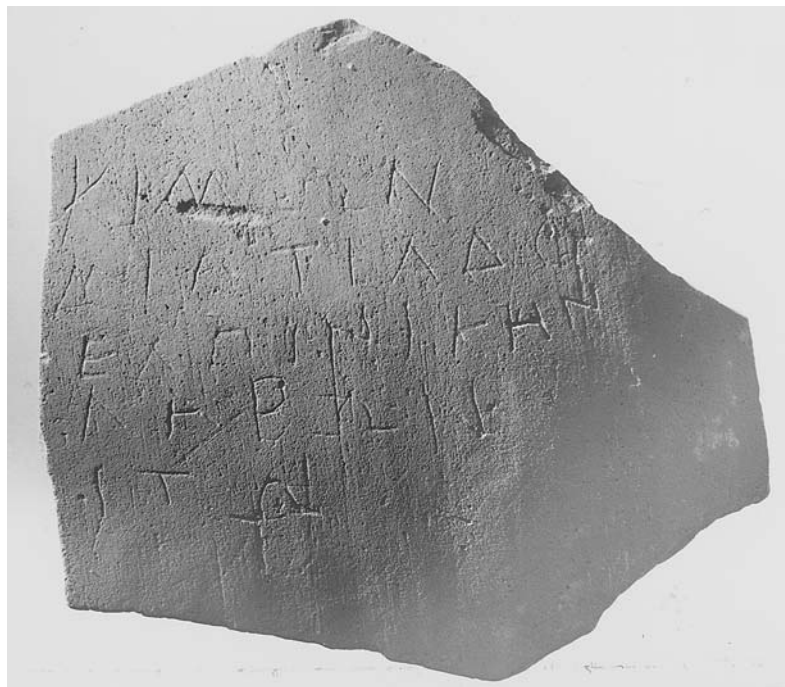
conditions prevailing in Rome itself than as either a typical example of a Mediterranean port or a normal Italian regional centre.

The serious study of the site was made possible by the eradication of malaria, and very large areas were uncovered during 1938–42, so that about three-quarters of the inner part of the city is visible today. Work has concentrated more recently on the detailed publication of the building-history of sections of the excavated site, on stratigraphic excavation of small areas (the Baths of the Swimmer (Terme del Nuotatore) are a particularly celebrated case), and on the exploration of the urban periphery and territory. See HOUSES, ITALIAN. NP

ostracism in Athens in the 5th cent. BC was a method of banishing a citizen for ten years. Each year in the sixth prytany the question whether an ostracism should be held that year was put to the *ekklēsia* (assembly). If the people voted in favour of holding an ostracism, it was held on a day in the eighth prytany in the *agora under the supervision of the *archontes* (see LAW AND PROCEDURE, ATHENIAN) and the *boulē* (council). Each citizen who wished to vote wrote on a fragment of pot-

tery (*ostrakon*) the name of the citizen whom he wished to be banished. The voters were marshalled by *phylai* (the ten 'tribes' in the sense of subdivisions of the citizen-body) in an enclosure erected for the occasion, to ensure that no one put in more than one *ostrakon*. When all had voted, the *ostraka* were counted and, provided that there was a total of at least 6,000, the man whose name appeared on the largest number was ostracized. (An alternative view, attributed to Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F30, is that the ostracism was valid only if at least 6,000 votes were cast against one man.) He had to leave the country within ten days and remain in exile for ten years, but he did not forfeit his citizenship or property, and at the end of the ten years he could return to live in Athens without any disgrace or disability.

The date of the institution of ostracism has been a matter of dispute. According to the standard account (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22) the law about it was introduced by *Cleisthenes in 508/7, but the first ostracism was not held until 487. Some modern scholars accept this account and offer various conjectural explanations of the twenty years' interval. Others maintain that the law cannot have been passed until shortly before the first ostracism in 487,



ostracism This *ostrakon* (potsherd) is incised with the remark 'Cimon son of Miltiades, take Elpinice and go!'. The Athenian leader Cimon was ostracized in 461 BC. The allegation of *incest with his sister Elpinice, known from other ancient evidence, suggests how charges of immoral behaviour, then as now, were used as a means of attack in politics. Photo: Ursula Knigge, DAI Athens, neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos 21382. All rights reserved

and that Cleisthenes therefore was not its author; a statement attributed to the 4th-cent. historian Androtion (*FGrH* 324 F6) has been adduced in support of this view, but its interpretation and value are doubtful. A third view, based on later sources, is that Cleisthenes introduced a different method of ostracism by the *boulē* and was himself ostracized by this method, which was subsequently replaced by the method first used in 487.

The man ostracized in 487 was Hipparchus son of Charmus, a relative of the ex-tyrant Hippias, son of *Pisistratus. He was followed in 486 by Megacles, one of a famous family, the Alcmaeonids, and in 485 by some other adherent of Hippias' family, probably Callias son of Cratius. No doubt these three had all become unpopular because it was thought that they favoured the Persian invaders and the restoration of the tyranny. Xanthippus was ostracized in 484 and Aristides in 482, but both of these returned from exile in 480 when an amnesty was declared in an attempt to muster the full strength of Athens to resist the invasion of Xerxes. Other prominent men known to have been ostracized are *Themistocles about 470, Cimon in 461, and Thucydides (not the historian) son of Melesias in 443. Hyperbolus was the last victim of the system; his ostracism is usually dated in 417, though some scholars have placed it in 416 or 415. Ostracism then fell out of use, although the law authorizing it remained in force in the 4th cent. The *graphē paranomōn* (law against unconstitutional proposals) was found to be a more convenient method of attacking politicians.

It is often hard to tell why a particular man was ostracized. Sometimes, as in the cases of Cimon and Thucydides son of Melesias, the Athenians seem to have ostracized a man to express their rejection of a policy for which he stood and their support for an opposing leader; thus an ostracism might serve a purpose similar to that of a modern general election. But no doubt individual citizens were often actuated by personal malice or other non-political motives, as is illustrated by the story of the yokel who wished to vote against Aristides because he was tired of hearing him called 'the Just' (*Plut. Arist.* 7. 7).

Over 10,000 *ostraka*, dumped in the Agora or Ceramics (potters' quarter) after use, have now been found. The names include not only men whom we know to have been actually ostracized but also a considerable number of others. Some are men quite unknown to us, and it may well be that they were not prominent politicians but merely had an odd vote cast against them by some malicious personal acquaintance. Particularly interesting is a find of 190 *ostraka* in a well on the north slope of the Acropolis (*see* ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY)), all inscribed with the name of Themistocles by only a few different hands. Presumably they were prepared for distribution by his opponents. This suggests that he was the victim of an organized campaign, and it illustrates the importance of ostracism as a political weapon in 5th-cent. Athens. *See also* LITERACY. DMM

OVID

Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 BC–AD 17), poet, was born at Sulmo in the Abruzzi on 20 March. Our chief source for his life is one of his own poems, *Tr.* 4. 10. As the son of an old equestrian family, Ovid was sent to Rome for his education. His rhetorical studies under Arellius Fuscus and Porcius Latro, in which he evidently acquitted himself with distinction, are described by the elder Seneca (*Controv.* 2. 2. 8–12; *cf.* 9. 5. 17). His education was rounded off by the usual Grand Tour through Greek lands (*Tr.* 1. 2. 77–8, *Ep. ex Pont.* 2. 10. 21 ff.). After holding some minor judicial posts, he apparently abandoned public life for poetry—thus enacting one of the commonplaces of Roman elegiac autobiography. With early backing from Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus (*Pont.* 1. 7. 27–8) Ovid quickly gained prominence as a writer, and by AD 8 he was the leading poet of Rome. In that year he was suddenly banished by *Augustus to Tomis on the Black (Euxine) Sea. Ovid refers to two causes of offence in his exile poetry: *carmen*, a poem, the *Ars Amatoria*; and *error*, an indiscretion. He has much to say concerning the first of these counts, especially in *Tr.* 2; concerning the second he repeatedly refuses to elaborate—though, since the *Ars* had already been out for some years in AD 8, the *error* must have been the more immediate cause. Amid the continuing speculation (*cf.* J. C. Thibault, *The Mystery of Ovid's Exile* (1964); R. Syme, *History in Ovid* (1978), 215–22), all that can be reconstructed from Ovid's own hints is a vague picture of involuntary complicity (*cf.* *Tr.* 2. 103–8) in some scandal affecting the imperial house. Tomis, a superficially Hellenized town with a wretched climate on the extreme edge of the empire, was a singularly

cruel place in which to abandon Rome's most urbane poet. Public and private pleading failed to appease Augustus or (later) *Tiberius: Ovid languished in Tomis until his death, probably (so Jerome) in AD 17. Several of the elegies from exile are addressed to his third wife (connected somehow with the *gens Fabia* (the Fabian line): *Pont.* 1. 2. 136), who remained behind him in Rome; Ovid also mentions a daughter and two grandchildren.

Works

(all extant poems written in elegiac couplets except the *Metamorphoses*).

Amores, 'Loves'. Three books of elegies (15, 20, and 15 poems) presenting the ostensibly autobiographical misadventures of a poet in love. What we have in this three-book collection is a second edition, published not before 16 BC and perhaps somewhat later (1. 14. 45–9); work on the original five books mentioned in Ovid's playful editorial preface may have begun c.25 BC. (For the vexed chronology of all Ovid's amatory works, see J. C. McKeown, *Am.* (1987), 1. 74–89.) The *Amores* continue the distinctive approach to elegy taken by Ovid's older contemporaries *Propertius and *Tibullus and by the shadowy Cornelius Gallus before them (cf. *Tr.* 4. 10. 53–4); the frequent use of mythological illustration recalls especially Propertius. Corinna, the named mistress of Ovid's collection, owes much to Propertius' Cynthia and Tibullus' Delia; her name itself (along with the pet bird mourned in *Am.* 2. 6) acknowledges a debt to an important forerunner of the Augustan elegiac woman, *Catullus' Lesbia ('Lesbia' looks to *Sappho; 'Corinna' names another Greek female poet). Erotic elegy before Ovid had featured a disjunction in the first-person voice between a very knowing poet and a very unknowing lover. Ovid closes this gap, and achieves a closer fit between literary and erotic conventions, by featuring a protagonist who loves as knowingly as he writes. Ovid's lover is familiar with the rules of the genre, understands the necessity for them, and manipulates them to his advantage. The result is not so much a parody of previous erotic elegy as a newly rigorous and zestful exploration of its possibilities.

Heroides, 'Heroines' (so called by Priscian, *Gramm. Lat.* 2. 544 Keil; but cf. *Ars Am.* 3. 345 *Epistula*. The correct form may have been *Epistulae Heroidum*, 'Heroines' Epistles'). Of the 'single *Heroides*' 1–14 are letters from mythological female figures to absent husbands or lovers; *Heroides* 15, whose Ovidian authorship is in doubt, is from the historical but heavily mythologized Sappho. In their argumentative ingenuity these poems show us the Ovid who was a star declaimer in the schools; in that they speak of female subjectivity under pressure they also testify to an admiration for Euripidean tragedy (see EURIPIDES), and give us a glimpse of what we have lost in Ovid's own *Medea*. The heroines tend to be well known rather than obscure: some of the interest of the letters lies in locating the point at which they are to be 'inserted' into prior canonical works, usually epic or tragic, and in considering the operations of revision and recall. The epistolary format is sometimes archly appropriate ('what harm will a letter do?', Phaedra asks Hippolytus), sometimes blithely inappropriate (where on her deserted shore, one wonders, will Ariadne find a postman?); above all, perhaps, it effects a characteristically Alexandrian modernization by Ovid of the dramatic monologue by presenting the heroine as a writer, her impassioned speech as a written text, and the process of poetic composition as itself part of the action. Ovid claims the *Heroides* to be a new kind of literary work (*Ars Am.* 3. 346); they owe something to an experiment in Propertius (4. 3). The idea for the 'double *Heroides*' (16–21) may have come from the replies which Ovid's friend Sabinus is said to have composed for the 'single *Heroides*' (*Am.* 2. 18, a poem which probably places the 'single *Heroides*' between the two editions of the *Amores*). Formerly doubted, 16–21 are now generally accepted as Ovid's own, stylistic discrepancies with 1–14 being explained by a later compositional date (perhaps contemporary with the *Fasti*). Arguably it is in these paired letters that the potential of the epistolary format is most fully realized.

Medicamina Faciei Femineae, 'Cosmetics for the Female Face'. A didactic poem which predates the third book of the *Ars* (*Ars Am.* 3. 205–6). Only the first 100 lines survive, the latter 50 of which, a catalogue of recipes, show Ovid matching the Hellenistic poet Nicander (in the *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*) in virtuoso ability to make poetry out of abstruse drug-lore.

Ars Amatoria, 'Art of Love' (for the title, cf. Sen. *Controv.* 3. 7. 2). A didactic poem in three books on the arts of courtship and erotic intrigue; the mechanics of sexual technique receive but limited attention (2. 703–32, 3. 769–808), perhaps reversing the proportions of works such as the manual of Philaenis (*POxy.* 2891). Books 1–2, datable in their present form to about 1 BC (1. 171 ff.), advise men about women; book 3, presented as a sequel (3. 811 may or may not imply a substantial gap in real time), advises women about men—arguably with one eye still firmly upon the interests of the latter. The situations addressed owe much to previous elegy; at times the preceptor seems to explore the rules of love poetry as much as of love (*ars amatoria* functioning as *ars poetica*). Mythological illustration is more fully developed than in the *Amores*, anticipating the full-scale narratives of *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*. The actors themselves are firmly located in contemporary Rome: the vivid specificity of the social milieu is sometimes more reminiscent of

satire than of earlier elegy. As didactic, the *Ars* takes many traits from Virgil's *Georgics* and Lucretius. It has an irreverent and parodic feel, however, deriving not from the theme alone (other didactic poems, as Ovid was to point out (*Tr.* 2. 471 ff.), could be frivolous too) but from the combination of theme and metre. Conventionally, didactic was a subset of epic written in hexameters; Ovid's choice of elegiac couplets, as it signals a continuity with his own *Amores*, signals a felt discontinuity with mainstream didactic. As successor to the *Amores*, the *Ars* achieves much of its novelty through a reversal of the implied roles of poet and reader: in the *Amores* the reader oversees the poet's love affair; in the *Ars* the poet oversees the reader's love affair. It may be (for we cannot but read with hindsight derived from later events) that this newly direct implication of the Roman reader in the erotic text made the *Ars* the poem most likely to be picked on when the climate turned unfavourable to Ovid's work. The poet's attempts to forestall moral criticism in this area (1. 31–4; cf. *Tr.* 2. 245–52) seem disingenuous.

Remedia Amoris, 'Remedies for Love'. A kind of recantation of the *Ars Amatoria*; the poet now instructs his readers how to extricate themselves from a love affair. The *Remedia* (date between 1 BC and AD 2 indicated by 155–8) appropriately concludes Ovid's early career in erotic elegiac experimentation.

Metamorphoses, 'Transformations'. An unorthodox *epic in fifteen books, Ovid's only surviving work in hexameters, composed in the years immediately preceding his exile in AD 8. The poem is a collection of tales from classical and near eastern myth and legend, each of which describes or somehow alludes to a supernatural change of shape. Metamorphic myths enjoyed an especial vogue in Hellenistic times and had previously been collected in poems (all now lost) by Nicander, by the obscure Boios or Boeo (whose *Ornithogonia*, 'Generation of Birds', was apparently adapted by Macer, *Tr.* 4. 10. 43), and by Parthenius. In Ovid's hands metamorphosis involves more than just a taste for the bizarre. Throughout the poem (and with programmatic emphasis in the opening cosmogony) the theme calls attention to the boundaries between divine and human, animal and inanimate, raising fundamental questions about definition and hierarchy in the universe. Structurally the *Metamorphoses* is a paradox. The preface promises an unbroken narrative, epic in its scope, from the creation to the poet's own day; but throughout much of the poem chronological linearity takes second place to patterns of thematic association and contrast, book divisions promote asymmetry over symmetry, and the ingenious transitions (criticized by the classicizing Quintilian: *Inst.* 4. 1. 77) do as much to emphasize the autonomy of individual episodes as to weld them into a continuum. In some ways the poem's closest analogue (structurally; but also for its interest in the mythic explanation of origins) is *Callimachus' *Aetia*, whose avowed aesthetic, influential on all Augustan poetry, the *Metamorphoses* seems both to reject and to embrace (1. 4; E. J. Kenney, *PCPS* 1976, 46 ff.). There is a real flirtation with the Augustan model of epic teleology established in the *Aeneid*; but it can be argued that the metamorphic world of Ovid's poem is structurally and ideologically incompatible with such a vision. Wherever his sources are wholly or partly extant, Ovid's dialogues with the literary past repay the closest attention. He engages with an unprecedented range of Greek and Roman writing; every genre, not just epic, leaves its mark in the poem's idiom. But in the final analysis the *Metamorphoses* renders its sources superfluous: with its many internal narrators and internal audiences, with its repeated stress on the processes of report and retelling whereby stories enter the common currency, the primary intertextual reading which the poem insists on is one internal to itself. As narrative it brilliantly captures the infinite variety and patterning of the mythological tradition on which it draws (and which, for many later communities of readers, it effectively supersedes). Ovid's poetic imagination, intensely verbal and intensely visual, finds here its finest expression. The *Metamorphoses* tells utterly memorable stories about the aspirations and sufferings which define and threaten the human condition; from the poem's characteristic aestheticization of those sufferings comes both its surface brightness and its profound power to disturb.

Fasti, 'Calendar'. A poetical calendar of the Roman year with one book devoted to each month. At the time of Ovid's exile it was incomplete, and only the first six books (January–June) survive. These show evidence of partial revision at Tomis (e.g. 1. 3, 4. 81–4); the silence which is books 7–12 abides as a reminder of a life interrupted. The poem's astronomy (1. 2) is influenced by Aratus' *Phaenomena*, its aetiological treatment of history and religion (1. 1) by Callimachus. These debts show Ovid at his most overtly Alexandrian; but, like Propertius in his fourth book (4. 2, 4, 9, 10), he is applying Callimachean aetiology to distinctively Roman material. The *Fasti* belongs equally in the tradition of Varro's lost *Antiquitates*; and the figure without whom the poem is ultimately inconceivable is the emperor Augustus, whose recuperation and appropriation of Roman religious discourse constitutes the basis of Ovid's own poetic appropriation (1. 13–14). The restrictiveness of the day-to-day format as a determinant of both subject-matter and structure is repeatedly stressed by the poet (4. 417, 5. 147–8). However, comparison with other calendrical sources (cf. A. Degrassi, *Inscr. Ital.* 13, *Fasti et Elogia* (1963), esp. the *Fasti Praenestini* compiled by Verrius Flaccus) reveals the extent to which Ovid has been free to select and order his emphases; and the very fragmentation of the narrative material (e.g.

the life of Romulus is split and chronologically shuffled between five or six different dates) offers an interesting contrast with the contemporaneous (and more fluid) *Metamorphoses*. The poet is a prominent character in his own poem: he appears in expository passages as an eager antiquarian weighing aetiological and etymological variants with himself or with interlocutors who range from the *Muses (as in books 1–2 of Callimachus' *Aetia*) to random bystanders. Long mined for its detailed information about the perceived roots of Roman religion and ritual, the *Fasti* has begun to attract new attention both as a complex work of art and as an exploration of religious thinking at a time of ideological realignment.

Tristia, 'Sorrows'. A series of books dispatched from exile between AD 9 and 12, containing (so *Tr.* 1, 3, 4, 5) poems addressed by Ovid to his wife and to various unnamed persons in Rome. The 'sorrows' of the title are the past, present, and anticipated sufferings associated with the relegation to the Black Sea: the *Tristia*, like the later *Epistulae ex Ponto*, function as open letters in which the poet campaigns from afar for a reconsideration of his sentence. *Tristia* 2, addressed to Augustus, differs in format from the other four books. A single poem of over 500 lines, it uses an ostensibly submissive appeal for imperial clemency as the point of departure for a sustained defence of the poet's career and artistic integrity. The mood of the *Tristia* is deeply introspective, with all the rich opportunities for geography and ethnography subsumed within the narrative of an inner journey: the ships on which Ovid voyages into exile merge with his metaphorical 'ship of fortune' (1. 5. 17–18); the icy torpor and infertility of the Pontic landscape become indices of the poet's own (allegedly) frozen creativity. The books read at times as *post mortem* autobiography, with exile figured as death and the elegiac metre reclaiming its supposed origins in funereal lament. On one level the insistently self-depreciatory poetics (e.g. 1. 1. 3 ff.) offer an artful fiction of incompetence, extending a **topos* of mock modesty familiar from earlier literary programmes in the sub-epic genres. But only on one level. The pervasive imagery of sickness and barrenness, decay and death, though belied by the continued technical perfection of Ovid's writing, captures an erosion of the spirit which feels real enough, in and between the lines, in the later books from Tomis.

Epistulae ex Ponto, 'Epistles from Pontus'. Four books of poems from exile, differing from the *Tristia* most obviously in that the addressees are named (1. 1. 17–18), and characterized with greater individuality. The letters in books 1–3 were gathered into a single collection ('without order': so claims 3. 9. 51–4) in AD 13; book 4 probably appeared posthumously (4. 9 written in AD 16).

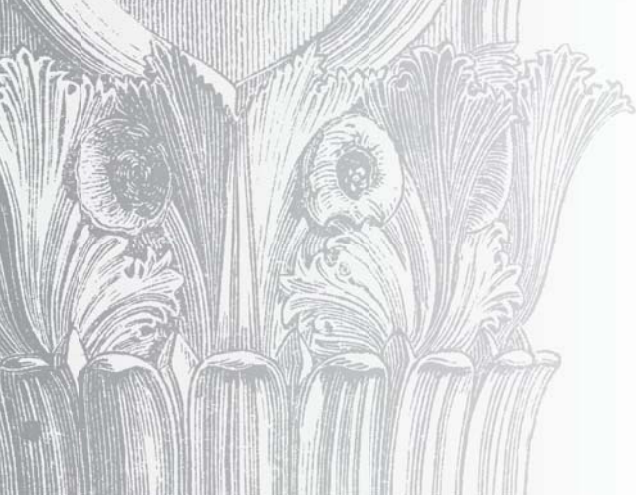
Ibis. An elaborate curse-poem in elegiacs (perhaps AD 10 or 11) directed at an enemy whose identity is hidden under the name of a bird of unclean habits; both title and treatment derive from a lost work of Callimachus (55–62). As at the beginning of the *Tristia*, Ovid dramatizes a forced break with his former self: a previously benign poet now seeks to wound; his elegy has become a prelude to Archilochean iambic (see ARCHILOCHUS). In fact, the *Ibis* displays much continuity with Ovid's earlier work. The poem's ferociously dense catalogue of sufferings achieves a mythological comprehensiveness (despite its small compass) comparable to that of the *Metamorphoses* or *Fasti*; even its 'unOvidian' obscurity (57–60) comes across as a thoroughly Ovidian experiment (cf. G. Williams, *PCPS* 1992, 174 ff.).

Lost and spurious works. Our principal loss is Ovid's tragedy *Medea* (*Tr.* 2. 553). Two verses survive, one cited by Quintilian (*Inst.* 8. 5. 6), the other by the Elder Seneca (*Suas.* 3. 7). The poet of the *Fasti* was among those who translated Aratus' *Phaenomena* into Latin hexameters; two brief fragments remain. It is most unlikely that either the *Halieutica* or the *Nux* is by Ovid (cf. J. A. Richmond in *ANRW* 2. 31. 4, 2744 ff., with bibliography).

Ovid is not only one of the finest writers of antiquity; he is also one of the finest readers. Not since Callimachus, perhaps, had a poet shown such understanding in depth and in detail of the literary traditions of which he was the inheritor; never was such understanding carried so lightly. In a national literature dominated by anxious gestures towards the past, Ovid's relationship with his predecessors is exuberantly unanxious. Moreover, the same revisionary energy which he brings to alien texts is applied no less to his own. Ovid constantly reworks himself, at the level of the poem (the *Ars* re-frames the *Amores*, the *Remedia* the *Ars*), of the episode (cross-referential Persephones in *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*), and even of the individual line and phrase (cf. A. Lueneburg, *De Ovidio sui imitatore* (1888)). This paradigm of self-imitation, together with the deceptively easy smoothness and symmetry which he bequeaths to the dactylic metres, make his manner (once achieved) endlessly imitable to later generations as a kind of Ovidian *koinē*. What remains inimitable, however, is the sheer wealth of the poet's invention. Ovid devoted most of his career to a single genre, elegy, so that by the time of the *Remedia* he was already able to claim (*Rem. am.* 395–6) that 'elegy owes as much to me as epic does to Virgil'. (The *Metamorphoses* still lay ahead, an epic which—although it is much else besides—can justly be said to be the epic of an elegist.) But within elegy he achieved an unparalleled variety of output by exploiting and extending the range of the genre as no poet had before—not by ignoring its traditional norms, but by carrying to new extremes the Alexandrian and Augustan tendency to explore a *genre's potentiality by testing its boundaries.

No Roman poet can equal Ovid's impact upon western art and culture; only the critics, stuffy as Quintilian (*Inst.* 10. 1. 88, 98), have sometimes stood aloof. Especially remarkable in its appropriations has been the *Metamorphoses*—from the Christianizing ingenuities codified in the 14th-cent. *Ovide moralisé* to the bold painterly narratives of Titian's *poesie* in the Renaissance. In the Anglophone world the terms of Ovid's *reception in the modern era have largely been defined by Dryden and Pope; behind these influential Ovids can still be sensed the Naso of Shakespeare's Holofernes, 'smelling out the odoriferous flowers of fancy', and the figure of 'Venus clerk, Ovyde' in Chaucer's *Hous of Fame*. Though not immune to the challenges which the 20th cent. has posed to the continuity of the classical tradition, Ovid's poetry, now entering upon its third millennium, still reaches artists as well as scholars: a 1979 preface to the *Metamorphoses* by Italo Calvino is at once an academic essay and an assimilation of Ovid's narrative aesthetic to Calvino's own 'postmodern' fiction ('Ovid and Universal Contiguity' translated in *The Literature Machine* (1987), 146 ff.). See ELEGIAC POETRY, LATIN.

SEH



P

Paestum (mod. Pesto) (see ◀ Map 2, Bc ▶), a colony of Sybaris, founded as Posidonia c.600 BC 60 km. south-east of Naples. It grew rapidly, exploiting its agricultural resources and control of communications, and there was a period of intense urban expansion in the 6th cent., during which a series of temples was constructed. In 410, it fell to the Lucanians and gradually became Oscanized. In 273 a Latin colony was founded there (see COLONIZATION, ROMAN); it continued to flourish under Roman control. It retained the right to issue coins until the 1st cent. AD. A second colony was founded in AD 71, and inscriptions reveal a thriving civic body until late antiquity, when malaria (see DISEASE) and marshy conditions became a problem. Both the Greek and Roman cities were orthogonally planned, and there are extensive remains of all phases of the city's history, and of extramural sanctuaries at Santa Venere and Foce del Sele. KL

painting, Greek (see page 569)

painting, Roman (see page 570)

Palmyra (Tadmor) (see ◀ Map 4, Ec ▶) gained wealth, power, and splendour particularly in Roman times. From it, a central Syrian desert oasis with hills, wadi, and spring (*Efqa*), routes ran in all directions. Efqa yielded neolithic stone tools, c.7,500 BC, and c.7000 BC. A community, Tadmor (of uncertain etymology), enters the records c.2000 BC. Puzur-Ishtar the 'Tadmorean' made a contract at Kanesh (Kültepe), Asia Minor (19th cent. BC); Syrian archives mention Tadmoreans, Suteans (nomads) pillaging, and the Amurru king's demand for taxes. The Assyrians (1115–1077) defeated, near Tadmor, Aramaeans and (645–644) Arabs, who penetrated western Asia and comprised half of Roman Tadmor's population. Tadmor rose rapidly after Seleucid extinction (64/3 BC), becoming semi-independent, and exploiting caravans between Roman (coastal) Syria and *Parthia. Crafts-people developed Tadmor's 'Parthian' art style. From 44 BC there are Aramaic inscriptions,

often with Seleucid-era dating, documented (profile-figured) art and architectural commissions. In 41 BC, Mark *Antony unsuccessfully tried to conquer the city; the oasis secured its independent position between Rome and Parthia. Under *Tiberius the city became part of the Roman province Syria; Palmyrenes served in the Roman army (particularly as bowmen and camel-riders). Roman control brought soldiery, use of Greek and occasionally Latin alongside Aramaic, the name 'Palmyra', taxation (Tariff Law, 137), administration (tribes, Senate, City, People), urbanization, and religious syncretism. *Hadrian visited Palmyra in AD 130; since then, Palmyra uses the epithet *Hadriana*. AD 212 Palmyra became a Roman colonia. Caravans, often organized and policed by Palmyrenes, brought luxuries. In the 2nd and 3rd cents., the Palmyrenes created a handsome, largely limestone city, combining Semitic, Greek, Roman, and Parthian features. Walls, gates, the great Temple of Bel (32, completed in the 2nd cent.), Romanized temples (Baalshamin, 130/1), a piazza, market (*agora*), houses, streets (including the Grand Colonnade, with bracket statuary), the Tetrastylon, arch, tower tombs, hypogea, and 'house'-tombs were built. The local, stylized, frontal-figured 'Parthian' art comprised statues depicting deities and notables, reliefs of deities, lions and ceremonial, funerary busts (for closing burial slots) and sarcophagi showing the deceased, wall-paintings, including funerary Roman allegories (Achilles, Ganymede), plaster heads and friezes, and (from c.200) coins. Imports included Chinese silks, imperial and Athenian marble statues, and mosaicists (Cassiopeia). The Palmyrene 'prince' Septimius Odaenathus' (murdered 267–8) and queen Zenobia's brief, Roman-style empire was ended by Aurelian (272–3). *Diocletian (284–305) built a camp, walls, and baths; Justinian (527–65) refurbished the walls and churches. Arabs took Tadmor (634); a late medieval fortress was constructed. Palmyra's 18th-cent. rediscovery influenced European neoclassicism. MARC/JWi



Paestum Aerial view of Paestum showing the polygonal line of the city-wall and grid-like street plan. The three well-preserved Doric temples (6th–5th cent. BC) are clearly visible (centre) and show the wealth of Greek Posidonia. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (PRM 1998.296.773)

Pan, a god whose original home was Arcadia. His name, attested on Mount Lykaion in the form *Paoni*, is certainly derived from the root †pa(s), and means ‘guardian of flocks’ (cf. Latin *pascere*). His appearance is mixed, half man and half goat, not surprising in a region where divine theriomorphism is well attested. His usual attributes of syrinx and *lagobolon* (a device for catching hares) mark him out as a shepherd. Pan became a kind of national god of Arcadia, being shown in the 4th cent. on the reverse of coins of Zeus Lycaeus type of the Arcadian League. Starting at the beginning of the 5th cent., Pan spreads into Boeotia and Attica, continuing in the 4th cent. to reach the rest of the Greek world.

The principal myths concern his birth, and there are no fewer than fourteen different versions of his parentage. Most often his father is *Hermes, another Arcadian god, but the name of his mother varies, though most often she is a nymph, in harmony with the god’s rustic nature. In some versions Pan’s mother is Penelope. Otherwise, there are few stories about Pan before Hellenistic times: he loves the nymphs Echo, Pitys, and

Syrinx, of whom the last two escape him, and Selene, the moon.

Pan’s activities and functions are basically concerned with the pastoral world (see PASTORALISM, GREEK). He is a shepherd god and protector of shepherds, who sacrifice in his honour kids (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 154), goats or sheep, and who dedicate to him statuettes showing herdsmen, with or without offerings. He is also a hunting god, concerned with small animals such as hares, partridges, and small birds, while it is *Artemis who presides over larger game. This function is illustrated by an Arcadian ritual, whereby after an unsuccessful hunt, young men would beat Pan’s statue with squills (*Theoc.* 7. 106–8, with scholia). In this way they would stimulate Pan’s powers of fertility and direct it towards the animal domain. Pan is also linked to the world of those soldiers patrolling the rocky, lonely places where he lives. During the Persian Wars (see GREECE (HISTORY)), he intervened among the Athenian ranks at Marathon (490 BC). *Herodotus (6. 105. 2–3) has the story of his appearance to the runner Phidippides, who was near Mount Parthenion in Arcadia on his way to



Palmyra Aerial view of Palmyra (mod. Tadmor), showing the great temple of Bel (AD 32), the surrounding sacred space framed by a colonnaded court, and (upper right) the colonnaded street and arched gateway, typical features of Roman urbanism. From A. Poidebard, *La Trace de Rome dans le Desert de Syrie*, Paris, 1934. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library

Laconia to get help from the Spartans; he offered to help the Athenians, in return for which the cult of Pan was established in Athens. From the Hellenistic period onwards, Pan is the god responsible for sowing panic (*paneion*) in the enemy, a sudden, unforeseeable fear. Soldiers therefore pay cult to him. In the case of the individual, too, Pan can exercise a type of savage and violent possession (*panolēpsia*). In Attica (cf. Menander, *Dyskolos* 571–2), Arcadia, and at the Corycian cave at *Delphi, Pan is credited with oracular and prophetic powers. See ORACLES.

The Greeks liked to worship Pan, together with Hermes and the nymphs, in sacred caves, recalling the figure of the Arcadian goatherd. But in his homeland of Arcadia, though he is fond of mountains, well away from human habitation, Pan does not live in caves, and he is not absent from cities. Little is known of his public cult. In Athens, it involved the sacrifice of a castrated goat and a torch-race. Individual offerings are typified by votives such as vases, golden grasshoppers, oil-lamps (in the cave at Vari in At-

tica), and reliefs, which show the God in his cave in front of his worshippers, playing the syrinx and accompanied by Hermes, three nymphs, and sometimes the river Acheolous. In the *Dyskolos* of Menander, the mother of Sostratos organizes a religious celebration in honour of Pan at Phyle, in Attica, after the god appears to her in a dream. The sacrifice of a sheep is followed by a meal, and the happy and rowdy celebration continues all night at the cave, with drinking and dancing in the presence of the god.

The ancients quite early associated Pan with the word *pan*, 'all' (*Homeric Hymn to Pan* 47). From this, word-play leads to the association which made Pan in the Roman period into a universal god, the All. It is in this context that we should see the well-known story in *Plutarch (*Mor.* 419C), which has sometimes been linked with the rise of Christianity, of a mysterious voice announcing the death of 'great Pan'. Despite these developments, as *Pausanias bears witness, in cult the god remained the god of shepherds.

GREEK AND ROMAN PAINTING

Greek painting

(see also POTTERY, GREEK). When the Mycenaean palaces fell, c.1200 BC (see MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION), the art of painting was lost. It is next practised in the early Archaic period. Sources for Archaic to Hellenistic are: literary references; artefacts echoing painting (primarily vases); surviving examples, mostly recent discoveries.

Writers of the Roman period are most informative (J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece* (rev. 1990), 124–80). *Pliny the Elder (HN35) gives a history of painting, detailing many works and careers, dividing artists into regional schools, notably (as in sculpture) a 4th-cent. Sicyonian school. Pliny acknowledges debts to Xenocrates of Sicyon; hence the conspicuousness of the Corinthia (i.e. the territory of Corinth) in the sources (although much has been found there). *Pausanias' autopsy and interest in art *per se* distinguish him from other writers. Philosophers like *Plato and *Aristotle made moral and aesthetic judgements on art (see ART, ANCIENT ATTITUDES TO); the **ekphrasis* employed by rhetoricians like Philostratus, *Lucian, and Aelius Aristides involved describing art for effect, not accuracy.

Classical painters enjoyed high social standing (hence perhaps their prominence in the sources): most notably, Polygnotus' association with Cimon, and Apelles' with *Alexander the Great. Slaves (see SLAVERY) were excluded from painting (HN 35. 77); Pliny lists female painters (HN 35. 147). Painting was introduced into the school curriculum by Pamphilus (below).

Pliny denies Egyptian influence on early painting, placing its beginnings at Corinth or Sicyon. The invention of linear painting is attributed to Philocles of Egypt or Cleanthes of Corinth, dating early Archaic. The temples at Corinth and neighbouring Isthmia, c.690–650, have painted walls: the former has blocks of colour, the latter figures c.30 cm. (12 in.) high and border patterns on stucco, using several colours. The contemporary temple at Kalapodi in Phokis is painted with a phalanx in a style similar to the Corinthian Chigi vase (*Arch. Rep.* 2006–7, 42, fig. 50). Also contemporary is the rare use of a brown wash for flesh on vases from several regions, notably Corinth (Chigi (MacMillan) Painter). However, these are explicable ceramically, as are the clay 'metopes' from Thermum in Aetolia (west central Greece), c.630, and Corinthian red-ground vases, c.575–550. Also from the Corinthia, the wooden Pitsa plaques, c.540–500 (largest, c.15 × 30 cm. (6 × 12 in.)) use a white ground and a range of colours, including (like Isthmia) blue.

Tomb-paintings preserved in Etruria appear to have been undertaken for Greek patrons (see ETRUSCANS); at *Paestum in southern Italy, the Tomb of the Diver, c. 480, bears close resemblance in pose and (in the *symposium) subject-matter to contemporary Athenian vases. In Lycia (southern Asia Minor), tomb-paintings discovered at Elmalı in 1969–70 (M. Mellink, *CR Acad. Inscr.* 1979, 476–96), c.525 and c.475, include a funeral feast and a hunt, mixing Greek, Persian, and local elements. A painting on a stone plaque from *Persepolis c.500 (*JHS* 1980, 204–6) further attests to a mix of Greek and local elements.

Cimon of Cleonae (between Argos and Corinth) is credited with inventing *katagrapha* (three-quarter views) and a new disposition of figures, matching renderings on late 6th-cent. Pioneer vases, a date supported by *Simonides against Pliny's early Archaic. Substantial advances occur c.475–450, the age of Polygnotus and Micon. Their work, often on historical and heroic themes in prominent public buildings, was characterized by variable groundlines, grouping, and disposition of figures, reflected in some contemporary vases. Panaenus (brother of Phidias) is said to have painted portraits (among the earliest) in the Marathon painting of the Stoa Poecile (Painted Stoa). The use of perspective was greatly developed by Agatharchus, and *Sophocles is said to have introduced *skēnē*-painting (Arist. *Poet.*1449^a) (A. L. Brown, *PCPS* 1984).

Apollodorus of Athens (fl. 407–404 BC) opened 'the door of the art of painting' (Pliny, HN 35. 61), developing *skiagraphia*, balancing light and shade. Through the 'door', says Pliny, walked Zeuxis. He is often contrasted with Parrhasius of Ephesus (fl. 397 BC), who worked mainly in Athens. Zeuxis was the painter of shade and mass, Parrhasius of contour lines (Plin. HN 35. 65–72), reflected e.g. in the lekythoi of Group R. Euphranor (fl. 364 BC) contrasted himself with Parrhasius, saying that the latter's Theseus was fed on roses, his own on meat (Plin. HN 35. 129). A debate on painting styles is reflected in *Xenophon (*Mem.* 3. 10. 1–5) where Parrhasius talks with *Socrates. The most highly regarded of all painters was Apelles (fl. 332 BC), pupil of Ephorus of Ephesus and Pamphilus of Sicyon, and court painter to Alexander. His contemporary, Protogenes of Rhodes, could not quite match Apelles in drawing straight lines freehand.

Classical paintings were (at least mainly) painted on whitened wooden panels (probably hung on a frame by pegs, as in the Stoa of Attalus at *Delphi). The removal of the Stoa Poecile paintings by c.AD 400 supports this. Pliny and *Cicero give (differing) lists of four-colour painters, implying that the Classical range was limited to red, yellow, black, and white. Pliny divides colours into 'austeri' (earth) and 'floridi' (artificial). The absence of blue (used at Archaic Isthmia and Pitsa) may be explained if black acts as a darkening agent. The absence of green is incompatible with Vergina and Aineia (below), although the Alexander mosaic (if it accurately reflects a late Classical painting: A. Cohen, *The Alexander Mosaic* (1997) 51–82, 138–42) argues for the four-colour scheme.

Most paintings were done with brushes, but encaustic, applying pigments mixed with heated wax, is regularly used from the 4th cent. (a statue is being painted in encaustic on an Apulian vase of c.370–360, G. Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art*, 288 fig. 403), although Polygnotus used it (Plin. *HN* 35. 122). Pausias of Sicyon first became well known for encaustic, learning it from Pamphilus, teacher of Apelles. Pausias is said (anachronistically) to have begun the practice of painting on panelled ceilings, and to have painted small panels, but is best known for introducing many kinds of flowers, and for his *stephanoplokos*, or girl making garlands (Plin. *HN* 35. 123–5). 'Pausian' florals occur regularly on contemporary south Italian vases, and on mosaics and paintings from *Macedonia (below), Illyria, and elsewhere. Pausias painted *Eros and Drunkenness at Epidaurus (Paus. 2. 27. 3). Encaustic was used by Nicias (fl. 332) on paintings, and perhaps on the statue he painted for Praxiteles; he was famed for painting women (Plin. *HN* 35. 131), and animals, or living figures in general (Paus. 1. 29. 15).

Recent finds include tomb-paintings from Macedonia, notably Vergina (M. Andronikos, *Vergina* (1984)), from 1976. The smaller tomb (c.340?) contains a *Hades and *Persephone which eschews outline, painted impressionistically, with subtle shades of colour, hatching giving shading and depth. The 'tomb of *Philip II' (if so, soon after c.336) features a hunt where human figures dominate, as in later Hellenistic and early Roman wall-painting. The treatment of landscape is paralleled in the Alexander mosaic from *Pompeii. Hades and Persephone are also painted on the back of a throne found at Vergina in 1987 (*Arch. Rep.* 1988–9, cover, 78–9).

The tombs at Aineia (found 1979–82), c.350–325, use at least six colours, and include 'Pausian' florals (I. Vokotopoulou, *Οι ταφικοί τυμβοί της Αινείας* (1990)). The late 4th-cent. paintings at Lefkadia feature 'Pausian' florals, and imitation relief sculpture, including suggested shadow. The figures are reminiscent of the Roman paintings at Boscoreale. The contemporary tomb at Kazanlak in Bulgarian Thrace (L. Zhivkova, *The Tomb at Kazanlak* (1974)) depicts battle, chariot race, and feast (and 'Pausian' florals). Outline is emphasized, with shading and little subtlety of colour, a different approach from the Macedonian, indicating that several trends were current, as must have been true of all periods of Greek painting. These tomb-paintings were apparently executed on wet plaster, with a binding medium. See IMAGERY; PAINTING, ROMAN; POTTERY, GREEK.

KWA

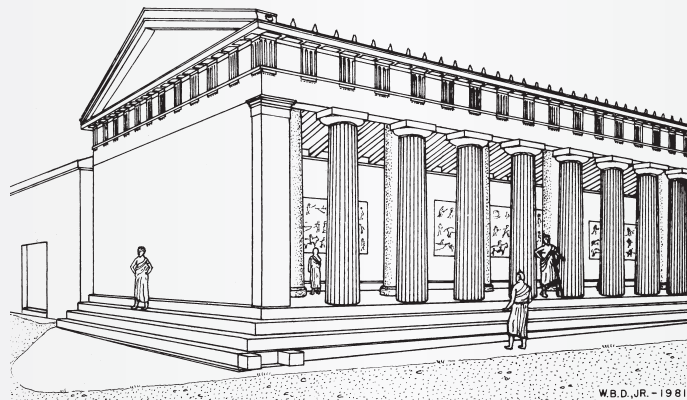
Roman painting

In late republican times Roman collectors avidly acquired Greek 'old master' pictures (see ART, ANCIENT ATTITUDES TO), and contemporary painters provided new works for the market; Greek artists such as Metrodorus of Athens in the 2nd cent. BC and Iaia of Cyzicus in the 1st cent. BC were brought to, or migrated to, Rome to meet the demand. Pictures commemorating military campaigns were carried in triumphs (see TRIUMPH). But the advent of the empire saw a gradual shift of interest from portable panels to wall-paintings, a trend lamented by *Pliny the Elder (*HN* 35. 118).

Wall-painting on plaster is attested in tombs at Rome from an early date (a well-known fragment from the Esquiline shows historical episodes from the Samnite wars) and became increasingly normal in private houses. At *Pompeii and *Herculaneum virtually every residence eventually contained extensive paintings, ranging from simple schemes in minor rooms to rich, polychrome schemes in important rooms. The evidence from the Vesuvius region, together with contemporary material from Rome (including remains in *Augustus' properties on the Palatine and *Nero's *Domus Aurea* (Golden House)), enable us to follow changing fashions up to the late 1st cent. AD. The so-called First Style, the Italian version of a fashion current throughout the Hellenistic world, modelled plaster in relief to imitate drafted masonry and marble veneer. Pictures were admitted in narrow friezes at eye-level, and the veins of imitation marble were occasionally shaped into figures and other motifs. The Second Style began early in the 1st cent. BC and reproduced architectural forms by illusionistic means upon a flat surface; the illusion became increasingly elaborate, with receding planes, baroque forms and rich colouring, but the architecture remained essentially solid and constructible. The painted architecture of the Third Style (c.15 BC–AD 50) was delicate and unreal, and all illusion of depth was removed from the wall, which was now divided into broad areas of colour (red and black especially favoured, but blue and green also becoming more popular) supplemented by fine miniaturist detail; interest was now focused on a central picture,



painting, Roman Wall-painting from the House of the Vettii at *Pompeii, AD 63-79. An example of the 'Fourth Style,' showing central picture panels, fantastic architecture, and imitation marble veneer. Archivi Alinari-archivio Alinari, Florence



painting, Greek Reconstructed drawing of the 5th-cent. BC Stoa Poecile ('Painted Colonnade') in the *Agora of *Athens. A series of wooden panel-paintings inside commemorated Athenian military achievements, including the victory at Marathon (490 BC). The Greek *polis was a patron of public painting, often, as here, exploiting local themes to express civic pride and identity. American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

often very large and showing mythological groups set against a landscape backcloth. The Fourth Style (extending to the end of the Flavian period) retained both the central pictures, now smaller and squarer, and the unreal architecture, but reintroduced effects of depth, if only as a foil to large 'tapestry' fields framed by stencil-like borders; yellow appeared as a dominant colour alongside red and black.

The evidence from the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th cents. AD is more fragmentary and difficult to date, but includes important decorations from the provinces. Architectural schemes remained popular but often without the organic structure and internal logic of the Pompeian period; sometimes, as in the Inn of the Peacock at *Ostia, they were reduced almost to abstract patterns. Surviving ceiling-decorations show inventive schemes in which emphasis was laid upon the centre and diagonals, reflecting the influence of structural forms such as cross-vaults. In the 3rd cent. AD there was a fashion for a cheap kind of decoration in which walls and ceilings were divided into compartments by a tracery of red and green stripes or lines on a white ground, a style much favoured in the early Christian catacombs. The early 4th cent. saw something of a classical revival. A richly coloured ceiling from the Constantinian palace at Augusta Treverorum (Trier), painstakingly reconstructed from thousands of fragments, was divided into rectangular compartments containing busts of poets or philosophers and nimbed females alternating with pairs of winged Cupids, all on blue backgrounds.

Portable panel-pictures certainly continued to be produced throughout the Roman period, but most are lost; an exception is a wooden roundel found in Egypt which depicts *Septimius Severus with his empress and sons. Also from Egypt comes a series of mummy portraits, usually executed on wooden panels which were inserted in the mummy-case; the painting was done either directly on the wood or on a white, grey, or pink priming coat. The first known paintings in manuscripts belong to late antiquity; they include the well-known series of illustrations in two 5th-cent. *codices* of Virgil now in the Vatican Library. See IMAGERY; PORTRAITURE, ROMAN; SCULPTURE, ROMAN. RJL

Parthia, Parthian empire (see ◀ Map 2, Fc ▶) The people whom Greeks and Romans called Parthians were originally Parni, members of the semi-nomad Dahae confederacy north of Hyrcania. Their Greek name is derived from the Achaemenian Persian and then *Seleucid satrapy called Parthia (*Parthava*), which they occupied, traditionally in 247 BC, the year with which the Parthian ('Arsacid') era begins; later they ruled from the Euphrates to the Indus, with Ctesiphon as their main residence. The territorial gains under Mithradates I and II not only changed their former eastern Iranian empire into an ethnically, politically, socially, and culturally diverse one needing new forms of administration and organization, but also deeply influenced the relationship between the Parthian aristocracy and the rulers. It was the conflict between kings and nobles which shaped later history and often allowed foreign powers like Rome to intervene in Parthian affairs. Although we hear of large estates of Parthian aristocrats in the conquered parts of the empire we do not know very much about the way in which their rights of possession and use were transferred to, and retained by them. It is therefore dangerous to call the Parthian state a 'feudal' one. Ambitious members of the great Parthian clans (Suren, Karin, Gev and others), governors, petty and 'vassal' kings temporarily gained total or limited independence (like the rulers of Mesene and Seistan). We do not know very much about Parthian

rule in Persis, apart from the fact that in their time south-western Iranian historical and mythical tradition was replaced by eastern Iranian stories and legends, and that Parthian rule was finally brought to an end by local dynasts from Istakhr.

The structure of Parthian society and the titulature of their élite are best known from the administrative documents from Nisa, the Sasanian inscriptions of the 3rd cent. AD, and the classical reports of Parthian warfare. They distinguish between a higher and a lower nobility and their dependants (cf. the *ordo probulorum, liberi*, and *servi* in Justin), the last group not being slaves but people with the belt of 'vassalage' (Iran. *bandag*). Apart from these groups we find a kind of middle stratum of artists, traders, doctors, bards, and other specialists and the non-Iranian native population of the conquered territories. Scholarship for a long time classified the Parthians as culturally dependent, without great political aspirations and inferior to Rome in almost all respects. New findings (texts from Mesopotamia, archaeological remains) provide a more differentiated view which, e.g., allows us to see the 'Philhellenism' of the kings (on their coins and in cultural affairs; cf. HELLENISM) and the Iranian traits of their rule as ways of ensuring the co-operation of two important groups of subjects. In warfare they were famous for their mailed cavalry (*cataphractarii/clibanarii*) and their horse archers, and they bred the Nisaeen horses

which were known even in China. The Parthians spoke Parthian, a western Middle Iranian language; they adopted the Zoroastrian cult of fire and its calendar but tolerated every other religion.

A stronger emphasis on the Iranian heritage is characteristic of the second half of their empire (cf. the legends on the coins and the role of Vologeses I (?) in the Zoroastrian tradition), but it is very dangerous to see this as a consequence of the revolt of Seleuceia, the reasons for which are not known to us. The Parthians played an important role as middlemen in the trade between China, India, and Syria. Their art—a revived Iranian art, which absorbed both Mesopotamian and Greek elements—spread far and is historically interesting. jwi

pastoral poetry, Greek For as long as peasants have tended their flocks and herds on grazing lands away from the village, song and music (especially that of the pipe, which is easily cut, fashioned, and carried) have served as an anodyne against rustic tedium and brutality; the Taviani brothers' film *Padre Padrone* (1977) provides a powerful illustration from modern Sardinia. This is especially true of the goatherd, who ranges furthest into the wild territory of *Pan in search of shrubs on which only his chalcidic and omnivorous charges will browse; and in these lonely wastes it is natural that two herdsmen whose paths cross should not only perform in each other's company but that their songs should be competitive. This real-world situation provided the foundation upon which a literary genre was established by the Sicilian poet *Theocritus in the 3rd cent. BC and developed by his followers in Hellenistic Greece (Moschus, Bion, and a school of epigrammatists), Rome (*Virgil, Calpurnius Siculus), and the post-Renaissance world.

Bucolic poetry was not created *ex nihilo*. Two piping herdsmen are among the figures depicted on the Shield of Achilles (*Homer, *Il.* 18. 525 f.), and Eumaeus in Homer's *Odyssey* shows early literary interest in peasant characterization; even the Cyclops Polyphemus, communing with his ram, arouses a moment of sympathy which will later stimulate his re-creation as a youthful lover in Philoxenus (fr. 2–4P) and Theocritus (6, 11). The Sicilian lyric poet *Stesichorus is credited by Aelian (*VH* 10. 18) with having been the first to sing of the local bucolic hero Daphnis, back in the 6th cent. (fr. 102P). But the conditions needed for pastoral themes to gain critical mass as a viable genre were not met until literary life became concentrated in the great Hellenistic cities, alienated from the villages in which so many Greek cultural traditions (tales, folksong, dance, ritual competition) had developed. One thread in the cultural amalgam

of the 3rd cent. is an understandable nostalgia for the simpler world once dominated by Daphnis, Pan, Priapus, and the Nymphs; a world now largely vanished but whose continued existence could at least be fantasized in the mountains of Magna Graecia (south Italy and Sicily) and Arcadia.

As already mentioned, the basic form elaborated by Theocritus seems to have been essentially agonistic. Theocritus 5 provides the clearest example. Two peasants meet; one proposes a contest; stakes are wagered, and a judge is sought; jockeying for the most favourable ground takes place; and after some preliminary boasting and badinage, each attempting to unsettle the other, the competition begins. This takes the form of an alternating ('amoebean') sequence of couplets or quatrains in which the first singer, as proposer of each subject, has an inbuilt advantage, while the respondent must follow suit and if possible cap each theme. This goes some way to offset the fact that the initiator of the challenge—in this case, Lacon—has chosen the time and place (contrast 6. 5). In poem 5, victory is suddenly and confidently claimed by Comatas at v. 136, and immediately confirmed by the judge. Why? The explanation of G. Serrao (*Problemi di poesia alessandrina* 1 (1971)) is attractive: not only must the respondent follow suit but (to continue the card-game analogy) each singer must remember every trick that has been played; the first one to contradict a previous statement is the loser. There is thus a natural limiting factor to the bucolic agon, for the longer it goes on the harder it gets.

The genius of Theocritus' creativity was to realize the possibilities offered by this half-crude, half-sophisticated model to the modern style of self-conscious urban literature. His chosen form is artificial from the start; the Doric dialect may impart a rustic flavour (see GREEK LANGUAGE), but the metre is the classical Homeric hexameter. Each poem works its own elegant variation on the fundamental pattern. The brief exchanges of the original contest are substituted with single songs (6, 7); rivalry is replaced by a friendly and voluntary exchange of gifts (6); the scenes of peasant life acquire a distancing layer of sophistication by being framed as notional letters (6. 2, *Arate*) or poetic autobiography (7); the dialogue may become an end in itself without ever reaching the stage of competition (4), or may be dropped in favour of a lover's monologue (3). Full circle is reached in poem 1, where the obscene teasing is inverted to become exquisite politeness and in which, though the diptych structure is retained, the first 'performance' is not a competition effort at all but an ekphrastic description (deliberately recalling the Iliadic *Shield of Achilles*, only recast on a miniature scale) of the decorative carving on

a wooden cup (see EKPHRASIS) which is freely offered as reward for a song by the other character. The coarse duels of the grubby, garlic-chewing rustics have been alchemically transmuted into allusive mandarin elegance, without ever quite pulling free of their roots in the vigorous Sicilian soil. The literary conventions which lead on to *Virgil, Milton, and Marie-Antoinette are all in place.

AHG

pastoral poetry, Latin Latin pastoral poetry is, in strict terms, represented by *Virgil's ten eclogues, Calpurnius Siculus' seven, the two Einsiedeln Eclogues, and Nemesianus' four. But pastoral (or 'bucolic') is often defined by theorists as a 'mode' rather than a *genre, and, in this sense, one may speak of pastoral colouring or attitudes in *Tibullus, *Lucretius, the *Culex*, *Dirae*, and *Lydia* of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, *Aeneid* 8, and numerous other texts besides. It is unlikely that Virgil's contemporary Cornelius Gallus wrote pastoral elegies, although the tenth *Eclogue* has frequently been interpreted to that effect.

Among Latin pastoralists Virgil stands supreme. He significantly extended the boundaries of the genre which he had inherited from *Theocritus, whose inspiration he explicitly acknowledges, and upon whom he draws extensively in all the *Eclogues*, with the exception of 4 and 6, in which the poet strives to lift pastoral to a higher plane (cf. 4. 1 *Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus*, 'Sicilian Muses, let us sing a somewhat grander strain'). Virgil's innovativeness is proclaimed at the outset of the *Eclogue*-book. Whereas Theocritus had kept pastoral and court poems rigidly distinct, contemporary politics and pastoral are strikingly blended in the first *Eclogue*, which describes, in the persons of Meliboeus and Tityrus, the effects upon the Italian countryside of the triumviral dispossessions of the late 40s BC (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.5). In consequence of this, the pastoral world may be said to exist no longer in a hermetic space, but to suffer encroachments from without, which have the effect of disrupting the shepherds' traditional *otium* ('ease, tranquil existence').

Also to Virgil's credit is the creation of the Arcadian setting—Snell's famous 'spiritual landscape'—which was to prove so influential in European pastoral. But it is important to note that references to Arcadia in the *Eclogues* are actually rather few, and are moreover combined with features of Italian topography (cf. *Eclogue* 7). The precise import of Arcadia is much disputed. It seems best to regard it as a remote, solitary setting for lovers' plaints and for song (at which the Arcadians were especially skilled). Both topics are central to pastoral. It is probably to the former of these that *Horace's famous verdict on the

Eclogues, molle atque facetum ('gentle and elegant') (*Satirae* 1. 10. 44) refers, though both adjectives have a stylistic connotation as well.

The *Eclogues* are self-reflexive, experimental, and challenging, but none of the authors who follow Virgil can rival him in complexity and suggestiveness. With Calpurnius, and to a lesser extent the Einsiedeln eclogues, one has a sense that pastoral is being pushed to its furthest limits. Indeed, Calpurnius' fifth *Eclogue* is concerned with purely georgic matters, while his seventh provides no more than a pastoral framework for extensive praise of *Nero's Roman amphitheatre. Similarly, both Neronian pastoralists show a readiness to talk explicitly of political matters which are properly extraneous to the pastoral world (though they naturally impinge upon it).

Certain aspects of Virgilian pastoral are taken up and developed by Calpurnius—not necessarily in a felicitous way. Whereas Virgil (in *Ecl.* 1 and 9) had hinted at an opposition between city and country, in Calpurnius' final poem, this opposition is made explicit, and resolved in favour of the former, so that the pastoral ethic is in a sense betrayed by its own representative Corydon. Virgil's youthful 'god' (Octavian) had exercised his (questionable) influence on the land at long range; Calpurnius pictures the city-dwelling Nero as a veritable *deus praesens*, 'god made manifest' in the countryside, at the mere sound of whose name the fields are instinct with joy and fertility (4. 97 ff.). So too the praise which Virgil had proffered to several patrons becomes concentrated, in Neronian pastoral, in the figure of the emperor. The richly textured, prophetic millenarianism of Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* is transmuted into the prosy assertion that the golden age—a favourite theme both of pastoral and imperial *propaganda—has returned under the presidency of Nero. Virgil's experimentation with the possibilities of the genre and his musings on which direction his future work should take are commuted by Calpurnius (*Ecl.* 4) into pastoral encomium, culminating in a baldly phrased request for imperial patronage. One can only commend Nero for shutting his ears.

The *Eclogues* of Nemesianus, written it seems in the early 280s AD, are far more conventional than those of Calpurnius, whom Nemesianus nevertheless assiduously echoes, and, it is arguable, outshines. Verbally and thematically, the influence of Virgil is paramount. The fourth *Eclogue* restores to pastoral the Theocritean refrain, which Calpurnius had dropped. Also noteworthy is *Eclogue* 2, in which two young shepherds rape the girl of whom both are enamoured while, like Proserpina, she is picking flowers. The motif of sexual violence is new to pastoral poetry, although the idea of erotic conquest—in

this case by force—recalls [Theocritus] 27 and, to some extent, anticipates the medieval *pastourelle*. LCW

pastoralism, Greek Although animals were ubiquitous throughout the Greek countryside, animal husbandry has until recently received little systematic attention; hence current interpretations are frequently embryonic. Zooarchaeological studies of animal bone assemblages from the historical period are particularly needed.

Evidence of domesticated animals goes back to the seventh millennium BC. In the early neolithic modest flocks of ovicaprines (sheep and goats), kept primarily for meat, were integrated into small-scale gardening, grazing on fallow and stubble and supplying manure. More specialized stock-keeping arose in the late neolithic and bronze age, with increased exploitation of 'secondary products', especially ox traction and ovicaprine textile fibres, culminating in the large-scale wool production of the Minoan and Mycenaean palaces (see MINOAN CIVILIZATION; MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION). Older views of the Dark Age as one of nomadic pastoralism (often associated with the 'Dorian invasions'; see MACEDONIA) are now under challenge. 'Homeric society' rested upon arable production, with large herds as a store for surplus wealth. The period of independent *poleis* (discussed further below) witnessed smaller herd sizes; Hellenistic and Roman Greece a subsequent increase. Within the Roman, especially later Roman, empire demand for pastoral products made ovicaprine stock-raising (often conducted from isolated, tenant-run farmsteads) important on larger Greek estates.

The animals reared in different regions were partly influenced by environmental conditions, with more larger livestock in the moister north and west. Older studies assumed that environmental conditions also dictated a pattern of long-distance seasonal transhumance, as practised frequently in modern times. Transhumance, however, is now regarded as the product of specific economic and political circumstances (especially weak lowland agriculture and unified political authority) which did not apply under the independent *poleis* (see POLIS). Despite occasional cross-border agreements, seasonal movements were generally limited to upland areas within *polis* boundaries. Many citizens possessed a few 'house' animals; but larger herds (typically not more than 50–100 strong) were owned by wealthy landowners employing individual hired or slave herders, rather than—as recently—by independent, low-status mobile pastoralist groups. Recent research has emphasized the income-generating capacity of such modest-sized ovicaprine flocks reared for their marketable high-quality wool and cheese. The

extent of animal husbandry's integration with arable farming is controversial. One opinion stresses the role of agro-pastoral farms whose animals fed at least partly on fodder crops, fallow, and agricultural waste-products, providing manure in return; another asserts greater reliance upon pastures distant from arable cultivation.

Animal husbandry also performed important religious and social functions. The requirements of official sacrificial calendars mirrored the seasonal availability of surplus animals from local flocks and conditioned the age at which animals were sold. War-horses, chariot-horses, and hunting dogs were powerful status symbols, playing important roles in elite lifestyles. (See also BRIGANDAGE; PAN.) SJHO

pastoralism, Roman Pastoralism, whether good, bad, or indifferent, provided the most lucrative returns, according to *Cato the Elder (Cicero, *Off.* 2. 89; Columella, *Rust.* 6 *praef.* 4–5; Plin. *HN* 8. 29–30). Thus scholars have traditionally focused on such profitable forms of stock-breeding (sometimes described as 'ranching') as *Varro's long-distance, large-scale transhumance of sheep between Apulia and the Abruzzi (*Rust.* 2. 2. 9)—entrepreneurial pastoralism largely divorced from, or even in competition with, settled *agriculture, which exploited Rome's post-Hannibalic control of Italy (see ROME (HISTORY), § 1.4). More recently, evidence from archaeology (patterns of rural settlement, *villa excavation, and analysis of animal bones and plant remains) and ethnography (the study of still-extant traditional forms of pastoralism), together with a close reading of the Roman *agricultural writers, has begun to round out the picture by emphasizing the more widespread, if less prominent, closer integration of pastoralism with agriculture. Subsistence peasants, who owned a few sheep for clothing, milk, cheese, and manure (Columella, *Rust.* 7. 2. 1) and an ass for transport and the plough (*id.* 7. 1. 1), sowed their limited cultivable land with crops for their own consumption but found pasture for their animals most of the year round in local scrub and woodland (cf. Varro, *Rust.* 2. 5. 11; Columella, *Rust.* 1. 2. 5). A c.60 ha. (240 *iugera*) estate with 6 plough-oxen, 4 asses, 100 sheep, and an unspecified number of pigs (Cato, *Agr.* 10) could produce additional fodder resources of its own: surplus grain, forage crops rotated with cereals, dry and/or irrigated meadows (which might also be profitably leased, Cato, *Agr.* 9; 149; Varro, *Rust.* 1. 21), grass grown on fallow land, grazing of the cereal crop while still in the leaf, foliage, and grape pressings. Besides sheep, which were always in the majority—with parts of Apulia and the Po plain gaining reputations for particular breeds (Columella, *Rust.* 7. 2. 3)—Roman pastoralism included cattle, horses, mules, asses, goats, pigs, dogs, and

slave herdsmen (Varro, *Rust.* 2. 10. 6; 2 *passim*) and, from the late republic onwards, the specialized breeding, known as *pastio villatica*, of peacocks, dormice, boars, snails, fish, etc. (Varro, *Rust.* 2, esp. 10. 6). See BRIGANDAGE.

patricians formed a privileged class of Roman citizens. The word is probably connected with *patres* ('Fathers'), a formal collective term for patrician senators (see SENATE). In the republican period patrician status could be obtained only by birth; and it may be surmised that in early times both parents had to be patricians, if the law of the *Twelve Tables which stated that patricians could not legally marry plebeians (see PLEBS) was a codification of long-established practice rather than an innovation by the Decemviri; this law was repealed by Gaius Canuleius in 445 BC. It is also possible, but not certain, that patrician marriages had to be by *confarreatio* (a special ceremony which took its name from a sacrificial loaf).

The origin of the patriciate is disputed. Tradition made it the creation of *Romulus, but also suggested that it was augmented by the admission of aristocratic clans (*gentes*) from outside Rome, such as the 'Trojan families' (including the Julii) who were brought to Rome after the sack of Alba Longa, and the Claudii, a Sabine clan that migrated to Rome at the beginning of the republic. The mysterious distinction among the patricians between the 'greater and lesser clans' (*gentes maiores, gentes minores*) was explained as a consequence of the elevation of new men to the patriciate by the kings. These stories suggest not only that the patriciate originated under the monarchy, but also that patrician status was characteristic of whole clans; indeed it is possible that, strictly speaking, all clans (*gentes*) were patrician. Even so, many clans developed plebeian branches, for instance the plebeian Claudii Marcelli, and plebeian lineages seem to have functioned as clans.

In contrast with the tradition, some modern scholars believe that the patricians emerged only under the republic. Their strongest argument is that the kings themselves do not appear to have been patricians. But the nature of patrician privilege suggests a different interpretation. One of the most notable patrician prerogatives was their control of affairs during an interregnum (when, it was said, the 'auspices returned to the Fathers'—*auspicia ad patres redierunt*). Only a patrician could hold the office of *interrex* ('between-king'), evidently a relic of the regal period. It may be correct to say that it was the patricians who chose the king, but that the king could not himself be a patrician. This would explain both the origin of patrician power and the fact that most of the kings were in some sense outsiders (many of them, indeed, foreigners).

There is some evidence that patricians served in the cavalry, and that six centuries were reserved for them; but it is doubtful if this was the definitive criterion of patrician status. The theory that the republican patricians were the descendants of the royal cavalry is probably mistaken.

We know that the patricians monopolized all the important priesthoods, and it is most probable that they were essentially a group defined by religious prerogatives. The nature of their political power is, by contrast, much less certain. Membership of the senate was not confined to patricians, since the senators were formally known as 'Fathers and Conscript' (*patres et conscripti*) of whom only the former were patricians (the *patrum auctoritas*, the 'assent given by the fathers' to decisions of the popular assemblies, was confined to them). The most controversial question is whether it was necessary to be a patrician in order to hold a magistracy. Our sources assume that it was, but the Fasti suggest that in the earliest decades of the republic not all consuls were patricians. The patrician monopoly of political office developed gradually in the course of the 5th cent., and was successfully challenged in the 4th by the increasingly powerful *plebs*.

Although by 300 BC the patricians had lost their monopoly of office and of the major priestly colleges, they continued to exercise power out of all proportion to their numbers. Until 172 BC one of the two annual consuls was always a patrician, and they continued to hold half the places in the major priestly colleges as of right. Other priesthoods, such as the *flamines maiores* ('priests of the senior Roman gods'), the *rex sacrorum* ('the king for sacred rites'), and the Salii ('college serving Mars'), remained exclusively patrician.

As an aristocracy of birth, the patriciate was unable to reproduce itself, and patrician numbers gradually declined. Of around 50 patrician clans that are known in the 5th cent., only 14 still survived at the end of the republic. *Caesar (by a *Lex Cassia*, 45 or 44 BC) and Octavian (by a *Lex Saenia*, 30) were given the right to create new patricians. Later emperors used their censorial powers to confer patrician status on favoured individuals, who then passed it on to their descendants. The hereditary patriciate seems finally to have disappeared in the third century, but *Constantine revived the title *patricius* as a personal honour, in recognition of faithful service to the empire.

AM/TJCO

patronage, non-literary Greek and Roman society were both heavily stratified, and many forms of dependence tied people to their superiors in *wealth, power, and *status. The study of these relations is a central part of ancient social history. (Classical Athens was perhaps untypical.)

Sources such as the letters of *Cicero and *Pliny the Younger combine with the legal evidence and epigraphy to give a more complete picture of patronage in the Roman world. In addition, the special relationship between *patronus* and *cliens* among Roman citizens was recognized as being distinctive (e.g. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 9), and has received a great deal of scholarly attention.

By the Augustan period it could be believed that *Romulus had assigned all the plebeians at Rome to individual aristocratic patrons. In practice, the title of *cliens* was odious (Cicero, *Off.* 2. 69) and the patterns of formal patronage of this type are hard to discern. Much is made of the institution in early imperial literature, but that may be largely a literary reflection in traditional guise on current problems of status. Certainly the role of *clientes* in late republican politics has been much exaggerated. This is partly because of the tendency to confuse it with other Roman social institutions such as *amicitia* (friendship), or *hospitium* (hospitality) and to adduce practices such as the morning *salutatio*, a deferential and potentially humiliating paying of respects, but a practice which entailed only a more general dependence.

Two further forms of patronage, for which the word *patronus* was indeed used, have also complicated the picture. The first is the relationship of the master to a slave or former slave, which had precise definition in Roman law, and which entailed *operae* or duties for *freedmen. This was of course a common form of dependence everywhere in the ancient world, and in Roman cities there must have been many blurred and difficult borderline cases in mixed freedman and free households as to who owed what kind of duty to which former owners or their relatives. The second is the relationship of Roman leaders to whole communities either in Italy or the provinces, and their protection of influential foreigners, for whom they might even obtain the Roman *citizenship. This relationship essentially derived from the circumstances of Rome's growth as an imperial power, and in many ways drew on the behaviour of Hellenistic kings and their families. Augustus and his successors combined enormous households and very numerous dependents with an unsurpassed range of opportunities for bestowing favours of this second sort on communities and individuals all over the inhabited world. But that did not mean that they ruled through a vast extension of the institution of *clientela*.

Cicero's patronage is our most systematic guide to the late republican practice. He acquired relations with communities in southern Italy on his way to his province of Sicily as quaestor; in the troubles of 63, retainers from Atella, Volaterrae, and particularly Reate gave him their physical support; he had a close tie with the important

city of Cales; around his villa at *Pompeii most of the towns were in his *clientela*; his governorship in Cilicia gave him a special relationship with the whole of *Cyprus; and (in an area where his friend *Atticus had important financial interests) he had the city of Buthrotum in Epirus as clients, and so on. All these places could count on Cicero for *commendatio*: a way into the personal politics of Rome, and in particular legal guidance and support. *Civitates* were a natural object of this kind of patronage, but other collectivities, such as *collegia*, acquired patrons in this way too.

The example of Cicero provides us with an insight into the importance of the general phenomenon of patronage. Chains of this sort of relationship offered a way of dealing with the scale of ancient society: with the mechanics of representing, and making decisions concerning the rival interests of, either very numerous individuals in a large community, or thousands of communities in a world-empire. It thus offered a sort of brokerage, and promoted both active communication and reciprocal exchanges of information and esteem, and served to retain a real political role for patrons under a system in which their constitutional political position had been greatly weakened by the advent of the imperial system. *Commendatio*, moreover, could only work if there were in place agreed principles of comparison and standards of assessment, the maintenance of which fostered cultural cohesion. Finally, the system reflected and maintained change in hierarchic order, and worked against sclerotic immobility, since the effectiveness of chains of influence varied, and the fortunes of the client with them. All of these effects ultimately worked in favour of the social stability which is such an interesting feature of the Roman world. NP

Paul, St St Paul, a Roman citizen from Tarsus, was a convert (see CONVERSION) from Pharisaic to Messianic Judaism as a result of a mystical experience (Galatians 1: 12 and 16) when he believed himself called to be the divine agent by whom the biblical promises about the eschatological ingathering of the pagans would be fulfilled. That transference of allegiance led him to renounce his previous religious affiliations (Philippians 3: 6 f.), even though the form of his religion remains in continuity with apocalyptic Judaism; see RELIGION, JEWISH. We know him as the result of letters which he wrote over a period of about ten years to maintain communities of Jews and gentiles in Rome and several other urban centres in a pattern of religion which enjoined faithfulness to Jesus Christ as the determining factor in the understanding of the Mosaic Law. This subordination of the Law inevitably led to conflict with Jewish and

Christian opponents who suspected him of anti-nomianism and apostasy. He commended Christianity as a religion which was both the fulfilment of the Jewish tradition and also the negation of central precepts like food laws and circumcision, though he was emphatic in his rejection of idolatry. In his letters we have clear evidence of the emergence of identifiable Christian communities separate from Judaism with a loose adherence to the Jewish tradition as interpreted by Paul. At the end of his life he organized a financial offering for the poor in Jerusalem from the gentile churches he had founded. According to the *Acts of the Apostles his journey to Jerusalem with this collection preceded his journey to Rome where later Christian tradition suggests that he died in the Neronian persecution. The letters in the New Testament which are widely assumed to be authentic are Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon, and possibly Colossians and 2 Thessalonians. Ephesians, and 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus are probably pseudonymous. This last group of documents indicates the direction of the Pauline tradition after the apostle's death when accredited teachers began to be ordained to ensure the preservation of the apostolic traditions and institutions in the face of emerging Gnosticism and antinomianism. See also CHRISTIANITY. CCR

Pausanias, from Magnesia ad Sipylum (?) (fl. c. AD 150), wrote an extant *Description of Greece* (*periēgēsis tēs Hēllados*), the only major surviving example of ancient travel literature. His (unfinished?) description of 'all things Greek' (*panta ta Hēllēnika*) is limited to southern Greece (Achaia) with the omission of Aetolia and the islands. Contents: 1. Attica, Megara; 2. Argolis etc.; 3. Laconia; 4. Messenia; 5–6. Elis, Olympia; 7. Achaia; 8. Arcadia; 9. Boeotia; 10. Phocis, Delphi.

His chief concern in his selective account was with the monuments (especially sculpture and painting) of the Archaic and Classical periods, along with local history, and with the sacred (cults, rituals, beliefs), of which he had such a profound sense that his work has been claimed as a pagan pilgrimage. In concentrating on the *poleis* and their sanctuaries, he tended to organize his description radially around regional hubs. His concern for objects after 150 BC is slight, although contemporary sights and people attracted his attention. He wrote from autopsy, and his accuracy has been broadly confirmed by excavation, despite, e.g. topographical errors (W. K. Pritchett, *Pausanias Periegetes* II (1999), 1–167). Some modern scholars detect an anti-Roman attitude (e.g. 8. 27. 1, on which, however, see W. Hutton, *CQ* 58 (2008), 622–37); others concede the complexity of his responses to the

Roman world of which he was so much a part, right down to his very concept of the unified cultural legacy of European 'Greece'. AJSS

Peloponnese (see ◀ Map 1 ▶) the large peninsula of southern mainland Greece, joined to Attica and Boeotia by the Isthmus of Corinth, a mountainous area of complex topography. All the north is highland, from the lower chains of the Argolic peninsula westwards successively through Cyllene (*Ziria*), Chelmos, Panachaicum, and to the south Erymanthus and Maenale towards the centre of the Peloponnese: all with extensive areas above 1,500 m. Three chains run southwards from this mass, the lowest to the west beginning with Lykaion and running through Ithome to form the Messenian peninsula; Taygetus in the centre, with the highest summit of the Peloponnese (2,409 m.), forming the peninsula now called the Mani, running to Cape Taenarum (Matapan); and Parnon to the east, running to cape Malea. The (mainly limestone) mountains are agriculturally unproductive, being densely wooded, and used for forest-grazing and other *pastoralism.

Within this armature are located a number of sizeable alluvial lowlands (especially the plain of Argos; the Eurotas valley; the Pamisus valley and plain of Messenia; the Alpheus valley and plain of Elis; and the central basin of Megalopolis), and many other small basins, including a series of characteristic *polje* in the limestone mountains. Along the north and west coasts are well-watered and well-drained terraces, the uplifted remnants of earlier coastal plains. Except where drainage was very poor, the agriculture of all these lowlands supported nucleated settlements at some period. The deep gulfs between the mountain chains provided some good harbours; the capes were all dangerous, Malea notoriously so. Smaller landfalls were numerous, and are not far apart even on the most mountainous coasts (like eastern Laconia).

The landscape helped the regions retain some identity throughout antiquity. Elis to the north-west with the panhellenic sanctuary of *Olympia was the region of the Alpheus plain and adjacent coasts. The steep northern valleys, their outfalls, and the coastal strip made up Achaia. The central mountains and basins, including the plain of Megalopolis, constituted Arcadia; the south-western peninsula and Pamisus plain Messenia; the Eurotas valley and south-eastern peninsula Laconia. The Isthmus and its adjacencies were controlled by Corinth; Argos was the principal focus of its plain (and some neighbouring districts: but the Saronic Gulf and the ambiguous allegiances of the island of Aegina confused the political geography of this area).

The siting of major centres has varied, though a perennial factor has been the combination of control of fertile bottomland and routes within and away from the Peloponnese. Thus the sea/land crossroads of the Isthmus gave Corinth rather stable geographical circumstances, but similar natural advantages in the Roman period, when routes to north-western Greece and beyond were of ever greater importance, were enjoyed by Patrae (which became a *colonia*), at the western mouth of the Corinthian gulf and close to the easy crossing from Rhium to Antirrhium. The plain of Argos supported important communities in the bronze age, throughout antiquity, and again in the medieval and early modern periods. To the south Lacedaemon/*Sparta was a central place for the Laconian plain throughout antiquity; its inhabitants fled to the coastal refuge of Monemvasia in the troubles thereafter, but in late Byzantine times Mistra used the resource base of the central Eurotas plain once again. Bronze-age settlements in Messenia were of considerable importance, and after the end of Spartan control, Messene as a city had some prosperity; the Hellenistic and Roman periods saw a growing role for the southern coastal cities of Gythium and Methone which were useful stations on long-haul east-west routes (an importance which Methone in particular retained until the 19th cent.). The inland districts supported a considerable population, particularly the cities of eastern Arcadia, Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenus, the three ingredients of Byzantine and early modern Tripolis; internal routes played a part here.

'Peloponnesos' is first attested in the mainly lost epic poem the *Cypria* and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, and the inhabitants seem to have thought of themselves as really resembling islanders (in Mediterranean comparison slightly smaller than Sicily, twice the size of Cyprus). The fragmentation of the topography encouraged various forms of federalism (see FEDERAL STATES) and *sympoliteia* (joint citizenship); the hegemony of Sparta promoted a regional solidarity, though it was never complete. In later times geographers saw the Peloponnese on a smaller scale, likening it to a plane-tree leaf (the medieval name Morea derives from a similar analogy to the mulberry) or to the acropolis of Greece (Strabo 8. 334). NP

Peloponnesian War See GREECE (PREHISTORY AND HISTORY).

Pergamum (see ◀Map 2, Bb▶), in Mysia (NW Asia Minor) c.24 km. (15 mi.) from the Aegean, a natural fortress of great strategic importance commanding the rich plain of the river Caïcus; important historically as the capital of the Attalid kings and, later, as one of the three leading cities of provincial *Asia, and archaeologic-

ally as the only excavated Hellenistic royal capital outside *Macedonia. First attested in Greek sources in 401 BC, Pergamum enters history's mainstream as a treasury of *Lysimachus, who entrusted it (c.302) to Philetaerus, founder of Attalid fortunes. An indigenous community (in spite of the Attalid claim to foundation by the Heraclid Telephus), Pergamum had adopted Greek civic organization (see POLIS) by c.300 (OGI 265) at the latest, and this was upheld by the Attalids, who maintained control in practice through their assumption (from Eumenes I) of the right to appoint the chief magistrates (*stratēgoi*). As a royal capital as well as a *polis*, the city was the chief showcase of Attalid patronage. From Attalus I on the kings promoted *Athena, the city's presiding deity, as dynastic protectress, especially of military success; she acquired the title Nikephoros, 'victory-bearer', and her sanctuary in the upper city was adorned with the famous statues of defeated Galatians. *Strabo (13. 4. 2) credits above all Eumenes II, his power and wealth vastly augmented by the Peace of Apamea, with the enlargement and beautification of the city. To his reign dates the 'Great Altar', masterpiece of the Pergamene 'school' of Greek *sculpture, as well as the royal *libraries and the terraced, fan-shaped plan of the upper city, its focus the royal palace—a remarkable statement of royal absolutism (see URBANISM); an inscription (SEG 13. 521; Eng. trans. in Austin no. 216) preserves a royal law on municipal administration showing the efforts made to keep the city clean and in good repair. This royal programme aimed at transforming Pergamum into a Hellenistic cultural capital, for which the model was *Athens, recipient of generous Attalid patronage in the 2nd cent. BC. Declared free in his will by Attalus III, Pergamum lost its Roman status of allied city for its support of *Mithradates VI (88–85 BC); ensuing hardship at the hands of Roman troops and businessmen was mitigated by the diplomacy of Diodorus Paspáros, a leading citizen, deified by the grateful city (C. Jones, *Chiron*, 1974, 183 ff. for the redating). Although politically and economically subordinate to *Ephesus, Pergamum under the Principate was head of a *conventus* (assize) and a centre of the (Roman) *ruler-cult. Its prosperity and prestige can be gauged from such new monuments as the temple of *Trajan and *Zeus Philios and, in the lower city, the Asclepieum (see ASCLEPIUS), transformed under *Hadrian, and from its tally of six senatorial families by AD 200 (H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* (1979), 68). Attacked by the Goths in the mid-3rd cent., the city contracted. Despite unimpressive physical remains from late antiquity, it remained an important intellectual centre, where the future emperor *Julian studied philosophy and the medical writer Oribasius worked. AJS/CR



Pergamum In this scene from the main frieze of Pergamum's 'Great Altar' an armed *Athena grapples with a fallen *Giant. In art depictions of the mythical battle between gods and Giants served as an allegory for real-life threats to Greek civilization. Here the sub-text was probably the victory of Eumenes II (ruled 197–158 BC) over the 'barbarian' Galatians, a Celtic population settled in central *Asia Minor in the 3rd–2nd cents. BC. Digital image 2013 © BPK, Berlin / Scala, Florence

Pericles (c.495–429 BC), Athenian politician, was the son of Xanthippus and Agariste (a member of the noble Alcmaeonid family), niece of *Cleisthenes and granddaughter of Agariste of Sicyon and Megacles. He was *chorēgos* (paying for the production) for *Aeschylus' *Persae* in 472, but first came to prominence as one of the elected prosecutors of Cimon in 463/2. In 462/1 he joined with Ephialtes in the attack on the Areopagus (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN §3).

According to *Plutarch he became popular leader and one of the most influential men in Athens after Ephialtes' death and the *ostracism of Cimon. Little is recorded of him for some years, but it is reasonable to assume that he was in favour of the more ambitious foreign policy pursued by Athens in the 450s and of the further reforms of that decade. He is credited with a campaign in the Gulf of

Corinth c.454 and with the sending out of cleruchies (colonies retaining citizenship rights in the mother-city) to places in the *Delian League, and with the introduction of pay for jurors and the law limiting citizenship to those with an Athenian mother as well as an Athenian father. His proposal for a congress of all the Greeks, which came to nothing because of opposition from *Sparta (Plut. *Per.* 17: its authenticity has been challenged) perhaps belongs to the early 440s and was an attempt to convert the Delian League into a league of all the Greeks under Athens' leadership now that the Delian League's war against Persia had ended. In 446 he commanded the expedition to put down the revolt of Euboea; he returned to Athens when the Peloponnesians invaded, and was alleged to have bought off the Spartan king Pleistoanax; and he then went back to deal with Euboea.

Pericles was greatly involved in Athens' public building programme of the 440s and 430s. This was the issue on which opposition to him was focused by Thucydides (not the historian) son of Melesias, a relative of Cimon, but Thucydides was ostracized (*see* OSTRACISM) c.443 and the building continued. According to Plutarch, Pericles was elected general (*stratēgos*) every year after that and was Athens' unchallenged leader; but it seems likely that attacks on Pericles and his friends, probably from the democratic end of the political spectrum, are to be dated to the early 430s. His mistress Aspasia and the *sophist Anaxagoras were perhaps prosecuted, the sculptor Phidias was prosecuted and left Athens, and Pericles himself was charged with embezzlement but presumably acquitted.

In the 430s he led an expedition to the Black (Euxine) Sea. The policies pursued by Athens in the late 430s, which led to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC), are presumably his: *Aristophanes represents him as being particularly obstinate over the decree imposing sanctions on Megara, and the historian *Thucydides gives him a speech claiming that a policy of appeasement will not work. According to Thucydides his strategy for the Peloponnesian War was to stay inside the walls when the Peloponnesians invaded, and to rely on Athens' sea power and superior financial resources to outlast the Peloponnesians; but there are indications in the scale of Athens' expenditure and naval activity in the opening years of the war that Thucydides' picture may be distorted. In 430, when the hardship of the war was beginning to be felt, the Athenians deposed him from the generalship and attempted unsuccessfully to negotiate with Sparta; he was afterwards re-elected, but he was one of the many Athenians to suffer from the *plague, and he died in 429.

Pericles was an aristocrat who became a democratic leader. He won the admiration of Cimon's relative, the historian Thucydides, as a man who was incorruptible and far-sighted, and who led the people rather than currying favour with them (2. 65). Plutarch reconciled this with the less favourable picture given by *Plato by supposing that Pericles was a demagogue in the earlier part of his career and a great statesman in the later. He was an impressive orator. His manner was aloof, and he is said to have been uninterested in his family's concerns. His marriage (possibly to his cousin and *Alcibiades' mother, Deinomache) was unhappy, but he formed a liaison with the Milesian Aspasia, and when his two sons by his Athenian wife had died from the plague his son by Aspasia, Pericles, was made an Athenian citizen. AWG/PJR

Persephone/Kore, goddess, *Demeter's daughter by *Zeus, *Hades' wife and queen of the Underworld. Her

most important myth is that of her abduction by Hades, her father's brother, who carried her off when she was picking flowers in a meadow and took her to the Underworld, Demeter's unsuccessful search for her daughter (which took her to *Eleusis) and consequent withdrawal from her normal functions caused the complete failure of crops, and mortals would have starved if Zeus had not intervened. When Demeter did not respond to the persuasion of the divine messengers he sent to mediate, Zeus sent Hermes to persuade Hades to release Persephone, which he did; but Hades tricked Persephone and made her eat some pomegranate seeds, with the consequence that she could not leave Hades for ever, but had to spend part of the year with her husband in the Underworld and part of the year with her mother in the upper world. The story is told in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, a text which has a complex relationship with what may well have been the most important cult involving Persephone and Demeter, that of the Eleusinian *mysteries, the celebration of which included a ritual search for Kore with torches.

In the images Kore/Persephone is represented as a young woman, often with the addition of attributes, among which torches, stalks of grain, and sceptres are common, while some, like the cock at Locri Epizephyrii, are found especially in the iconography of particular cults.

The name Kore stresses her persona as Demeter's daughter, Persephone that as Hades' wife. (Her name also occurs in other forms, e.g. Phersephone, or, in Attic (*see* GREEK LANGUAGE), Pherrephatta—recently interpreted as 'corn-ear beater'.) The myth of her rape was perceived as, among many other things, a polarized articulation of some perceptions pertaining to marriage from the viewpoint of the girl. Her cult in some places, notably Locri Epizephyrii, stresses this aspect. Her wedding had an important place in Locrian cult and myth and she was worshipped also as the protector of marriage and the women's sphere, including the protection of children. Demeter does not seem to have had a prominent place in the Locrian cult. Persephone's wedding and the flower-picking that preceded the abduction were also celebrated in other places, as, for example, in Sicily, where her flower-picking and marriage were celebrated, and in the Locrian colony of Hipponium. The Sicilians also celebrated *Korēs katagōgē*, the bringing down of Kore.

Of course she also had an awesome and dread aspect as the queen of the Underworld. Everyone will eventually come under her authority. But she was not implacable, and she and Hades listened to reasonable requests, such as that to return to the upper world to request the performance of proper burial or other rites—a trait abused

and exploited by the dishonest Sisyphus who refused to return to Hades.

She was often worshipped in association with Demeter; a most important festival in honour of the two goddesses was the Thesmophoria, which was celebrated by women all over the Greek world (Demeter also bore the cult-title Thesmophoros, 'law-giving'). At Cyzicus Persephone was worshipped with the epithet Soteira (Saviour) and her festival was called Pherephattia or Koreia or Soteria. (Cf. also Paus. 8. 31. 1 for Arcadia.) Persephone is invoked conspicuously on curse tablets, and not surprisingly, she had also an important place in the texts inscribed on the gold leaves that were buried with people who had been initiated into Orphism (see ORPHEUS). In one strand of belief Persephone was the mother of Dionysus-Zagreus. CS-I

Persepolis (see ◀ Map 2, Fd ▶), in Persis (SW Iran), a residence of the Achaemenid Persian kings. *Alexander the Great in 331 BC took and looted Persepolis and set fire to the palaces (Diod. Sic. 17. 71–2). Two sets of sealed administrative documents (the bulk written in Elamite and Aramaic, but also in Old Persian, Greek, and Phrygian) were found in the Treasury and the north Fortification wall. The royal quarters, built on a hill-terrace, contained a treasury and symmetrically planned palaces with immense square columnar halls.

Excavations on the site have revealed that *Darius I levelled the rock-terrace and began the great *Apadana* (audience hall), the main palace buildings, and the 'harem'. These were completed by *Xerxes I; Artaxerxes I finished the Hall of a Hundred Pillars and built his own palace; further building was carried out by his successors, the latest attested being Artaxerxes III. Around the whole complex was a fortification wall, and a great gate and stairway led up to the terrace. The bas-reliefs of these palaces are among the finest extant examples of Achaemenid art. These include the Audience reliefs originally set in the centre of the stairs leading up to the apadana and flanked by reliefs of Persian courtiers (behind the king) and delegations of subjects presenting gifts (facing the king), with a heraldic device of a lion attacking a bull at the outer edges. The tombs of Artaxerxes II and III as well as an unfinished one are located at the rear of the terrace. Current work by Iranian and French archaeologists are revealing smaller settlement sites in the vicinity. MSD/MV

Persia (see ◀ Map 2 ▶) In the narrow sense (Persis, Pārsa), Persia defines the country lying in the folds of the southern Zagros mountains. From the start of the first millennium BC, an Iranian population lived in close contact with the Elamite inhabitants here. This led to the emergence of the Persian *ethnos* and the kingdom of

Anshan, which appears fully on the historical scene beginning with the conquests of *Cyrus the Great. Even with the extension and consolidation of the Achaemenid empire under *Darius I, Persia proper retained a prominent place in the way in which the Great Kings visualized their territorial power. At the same time, members of the Persian aristocracy received the highest governorships and offices in the central and provincial government. In this respect, the empire created by Cyrus and his successors may be described as Persian.

The history of this large empire has been neglected for a long time: between the fall of Babylon (539) and *Alexander the Great's arrival (334–332), the near east has resembled a gigantic historiographical 'no-man's land'. This neglect cannot be blamed on a lack of documents, and finds of material continue to be made. Apart from the archaeological and iconographical evidence, the historian has at his disposal royal inscriptions, thousands of Elamite and Babylonian tablets and Aramaic documents, not to mention Greek accounts and other regional bodies of material. But Achaemenid history has been viewed for a long time through the distorting lenses of Greek authors, not least because the Persians themselves left virtually no narrative accounts of their own history. The find of central government documents (especially the Elamite tablets from *Persepolis), combined with a different vision of near eastern history, has given a new and powerful impetus to intensive study of a fascinating period of ancient history.

On the historical scale, the Achaemenid period represents a turning point in Middle Eastern history: for the first time, countries from the Indus to the Balkans, from Central Asia to Elephantine in Upper Egypt were embraced by one, unifying, political structure. This political unification did not result in the disappearance of local ethno-cultural identities. In 334, despite the marked process of acculturation, *Asia Minor, *Egypt, *Babylonia, and *Bactria were still countries clearly distinguishable in terms of language, culture, and religion. This was also true of Persia proper. In spite of partial and/or temporary setbacks (notably the secession of Egypt between 399 and 343), the overall assessment must be that the empire held together for more than two centuries. Alexander himself frequently did little more than take over to his own advantage the Achaemenid ideological heritage and administrative techniques. *Mutatis mutandis*, the splintered geo-political pattern of the near east c.280 recalls, the one which had prevailed before Cyrus the Great's conquests. PB/ATLK

Persian Wars See GREECE, PREHISTORY AND HISTORY OF (*Archaic Age*).

personification, or ‘...the representation of an abstract quality in human form’ (*OED*) was a notable cognitive and linguistic aspect of antiquity, expressed through a wide variety of media. The practice of personification is apparent in the earliest ancient Greek literature, continuing into the Hellenistic period; among the Romans, we find it flourishing during the republic. And crucially, across both Greek and Roman cultures personification also acquires a religious aspect, and numerous such entities, emerging at different times in different places, were the recipients of cult.

Unless they actually speak (as they sometimes do in ancient drama), it is often difficult to tell if an ancient reference to an entity in a literary source is intended to be a personification or not—and what level of anthropomorphism is implied. This is partly a matter of the difference between ancient and modern languages: in Latin and Greek these words would be gendered, and, ancient Greeks, for example, would not have used capital letters. But it also seems likely that the ancients understood these abstractions to be both powerful and, in some crucial ways, animate, and were less likely to be bothered by what seems to modern minds to be a confusion: in a world in which supernatural powers were everywhere, personification seems an obvious response.

In art, personifications are represented in human form. They tend to develop particular characteristics over time; and as a result, the earliest (Greek) representations can be difficult to identify unless they are labelled. In Attic painted pottery, for example, concepts often appear as young women with no obvious attributes, but with their names written beside them (e.g., the name vase of the *Heimarmenē* or ‘Fate’ painter). Inscriptions can serve a similar purpose, helping to identify figures in associated sculptures or reliefs; free-standing or architectural statuary, lacking even a narrative context, otherwise often remains anonymous. Of course, the representation of a figure in either literary or artistic media is no guarantee that they received cult. Not all personifications were so honoured. However, since the information about many of those we know about is sparse, and matching literary and archaeological evidence presents numerous difficulties, it is possible that we simply lack evidence for others.

In ancient Greece, worshipped personifications included physical, geographical, and natural features (e.g., rivers and mountains); desired attributes (*Hygieia* or ‘Health’); concepts that strengthen civic/community values (e.g., *Homonoia* or ‘Concord’, *Themis* or ‘Justice’, *Peithō* or ‘Persuasion’, *Nemesis* or ‘Retribution’, *Eleos* or ‘Mercy’, *Eirene* or ‘Peace’); and powerful experiences (*Phobos* or ‘Fear’, *Thanatos* or ‘Death’, *Tychē* or ‘Luck’).

Explanations for the development of individual personifications and their cults now tend to emphasize context, focusing, as far as possible, on the particular needs of a group or community at a specific time. Similarly, the meaning and significance of any particular personification is likely to vary across different groups, in diverse settings, and will shift and change over time.

In considering Greek personifications, some can be seen to be specific to particular cultures (e.g., ‘Fear’ in Sparta); others may be expressions of a more general, complex human experience, such as ‘Death’. Some may be specific to the needs of a particular period: e.g., the personifications that emerge in Greece in the Archaic period are suitable to a context in which communities were taking shape, and community values were receiving attention. The development of *Tychē* and other personifications in the last quarter of the 5th cent. has been explained as part of a process of rationalization, indicating a move away from traditional religious beliefs and gods that had not performed satisfactorily, and towards a developing secularization. A similar explanation has been given for certain Roman divine qualities, e.g. *Fortuna*. However, this approach to personification is increasingly being challenged—and replaced with a more accommodating and appreciative approach to these, at first sight puzzling, expressions of divine power.

It should be stressed that there is no evidence to suggest that (any) Roman personifications developed as a legacy of similar Greek deities. A. Clark (*Divine Qualities* (2007)) has emphasized the many different ethnic influences involved in the development of traditions about Roman values. The earliest Roman personification to receive public cult was *Fortuna* and she was soon joined by *Concordia* (367 BC); *Salus* (302 BC), and *Victoria* (294 BC)—and this was just the beginning. In Cicero’s *On the Nature of the Gods* (2. 61), Balbus lists, in addition, *Fides*, *Mens*, *Virtus*, *Honos*, *Ops*, *Libertas*, *Cupido*, *Voluptas*, and **Venus Lubentina*. (A full list is given by H. L. Axtell (*The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions* (1907, repr. 1987)), who has categorized them in chronological order as (i) state-cults, (ii) popular but unofficial cults, and (iii) occasional and individual deifications). As these initial figures suggest, the Romans tended to focus on qualities that conveyed desirable civic values. It has been suggested that they offered a form of ‘moral teaching’, not otherwise provided by Roman religion, while recent work has emphasized how these divinities were used in a variety of ways in the negotiation of community and individual identities.

Axtell’s work does not include the many more mundane personified divinities, a number of which caused

St *Augustine some hilarity, e.g. (*City of God*, 4. 8), Cloacina argued by a number of ancient writers including Cyprian *De Idol. Vanit.* and Lactantius *De falsa relig.* 1. 20 to be the goddess of the sewer of Rome (although others call her Cluacina, an epithet of Venus, and describe her as a goddess of purification), and (6. 9) *Intercidona*, a goddess called after the cut made by a hatchet, or *Pilumnus*, personifying the pestle. The utility of these figures is obvious, and suggests the profound integration of religion within everyday life—as well as, perhaps, the high value attached to service.

However, they also suggest the extent to which the Romans took the process of personification—which some Romans themselves took as a reason to criticize this aspect of their own religion. *Pliny the Elder (*HN* 2. 7. 5. 14–17) protests against the way in which personification creates images of god. He argues that men make gods simply to comfort themselves against their own particular weaknesses. We find similar ideas in Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods*: Balbus suggests that it is the power of such concepts that prompts humans to deify them. But his dialogic jousting partner, Cotta (3.61), dismisses these ideas, arguing that they are qualities we humans either already possess or to which we aspire. EE

Petronius Arbiter, author of the extant *Satyrice*, possibly identical with Petronius, the politician and *arbiter elegantiae* at the court of Nero, forced to suicide in AD 66. Given that scholars now agree that the *Satyrice* belongs stylistically and in terms of factual detail to the Neronian period, and that *Tacitus' account of the courtier Petronius describes a hedonistic, witty, and amoral character which would well suit the author of the *Satyrice* (*Ann.* 16. 17–20), many find it economical to identify the two, but the matter is beyond conclusive proof; the occurrence of the name Titus Petronius Arbiter in the MSS of the *Satyrice* gives no aid, since this may simply be the supplement of a later copyist who had read Tacitus.

Of the *Satyrice* itself we seem to have fragments of books 14, 15, and 16, with book 15 practically complete, containing the *Cena Trimalchionis* (26. 6–78. 8). The commonly used but misleading title *Satyricon* (sc. *libri*) conceals not *Σατυρικόν* (neuter singular) but *Σατυρικῶν* (neuter genitive plural) and alludes both to influence from Roman *satire and (ironically) to Encolpius' far from satyric sexual capacity (see below for both). The whole work was evidently lengthy; one conjectural reconstruction has suggested twenty books and a length of 400,000 words. It is prosimetric in form, an inheritance from the similar satires of *Varro, though there is now extant a Greek low-life prosimetric fictional text in the Iolaus-papyrus, *POxy.* 42 (1974). The outline of the

plot is naturally difficult to reconstruct; the main characters are the homosexual pair Encolpius (the narrator) and the younger Giton, who undergo various adventures in a southern Italian setting. They encounter a number of characters, some of whom, such as the unscrupulous adventurer Ascyltus and the lecherous poet Eumolpus, try to divide the lovers; Giton is not particularly faithful, and this, like the sexual orientation of the lovers and many other elements in the novel, constitutes an evident parody of the chaste fidelity of the boy-girl pairings of the ideal Greek *novel. Encolpius seems to be afflicted with impotence as the result of the wrath of the phallic god Priapus, and there are several episodes describing his sexual failures; the wrath of Priapus is evidently a parody of the wrath of *Poseidon in the *Odyssey* of *Homer, and other parallels between Encolpius and *Odysseus are present, particularly when he encounters a woman named Circe (126ff).

Many themes familiar from Roman satire appear, such as legacy-hunting (the episode set in Croton (Crotona), 116–41) and the comic meal (the *Cena Trimalchionis*); in the latter Encolpius, Giton, and Ascyltus attend a dinner given by the rich *freedman Trimalchio, probably in Puteoli, in the narrative of which both Trimalchio's vulgar and ignorant display of wealth and the snobbishness of the narrator emerge very forcibly, and which contains in a parody of *Plato's *Symposium* a collection of tales told by Trimalchio's freedman friends which gives some evidence for vulgar Latin, though Petronius has naturally not reproduced colloquial speech exactly. Several other inserted tales are told in the novel, especially those of the Pergamene Boy (85–7) and the Widow of Ephesus (111–12), suitably lubricious stories for their narrator Eumolpus, but also clearly drawing on the Hellenistic tradition of Milesian tales (see *NOVEL, LATIN*). The inserted poems in various metres sometimes appear to comment on the novel's action; the two longest, presented as the work of the bad poet Eumolpus, seem to relate to other Neronian writers, the 65-line *Troiae Halosis* (89) written in the iambic trimeters of Senecan tragedy, and the *Bellum Civile* in 295 hexameters (119–24), closely recalling *Lucan's homonymous epic on the same subject (and restoring the divine machinery which Lucan had excluded). Literary and cultural criticism is certainly a concern of the novel; there are prominent attacks on contemporary oratory, painting, and poetry (1–5, 88–9, 118).

Petronius' novel seems not to have been widely known in antiquity, though a more extensive text than ours was available; it was rediscovered between the 15th and 17th cents., with great impact. The fragmentary text which has come down to us is likely to have some degree of interpolation, though scholars disagree as to how much.

A number of poems in various metres transmitted separately from the *Satyrice* are also attributed to Petronius. See NOVEL, LATIN. SJHA

philhellenism (in Roman republican history) refers to the nexus of two developments in the late 3rd and 2nd cents. BC. One of these is cultural, characterized by the actively favourable reception of Greek language, literature, and philosophy within the Roman ruling class. The other, political, is signalled by the adoption of policy and behaviour actively represented as beneficial to, and respectful of, Greece and Greeks. The phenomenon is associated especially with *Flamininus, Lucius Aemilius Paullus (consul 182), and *Scipio Aemilianus and his Scipionic Circle. Instances of approbation of aspects of Greek culture go back a very long way. Advice was taken from *Apollo at *Delphi and thanks rendered to him (398, 394) long before Delphi was 'freed' from Aetolian control (see FEDERAL STATES) in 189. On instruction from Apollo during the Samnite wars (see ROME (HISTORY) §13) statues of *Alcibiades and *Pythagoras were erected in the *Comitium* or chief place of political assembly (Plin.HN 34. 26), long before Gaius Laelius welcomed Athenian philosophers (155). The serpent of *Asclepius was brought to Rome from Epidaurus (292) long before the black stone of the Magna Mater (see CYBELE) was imported from Pessinus in *Asia Minor (204). Greek plays (in translation) were first performed in Rome in 240. In the sphere of diplomacy, Lucius Postumius Megellus, when envoy to Tarentum in 282, spoke Greek long before Flamininus dealt with Greeks in their own language, and as early as 228 Rome's victorious treaty with the Illyrian queen Teuta was presented to Greeks as in their interest (Polyb. 2. 12). The name 'Atticus' ('Athenian') was first borne by the censor of 247 (and consul 244, 241) Aulus Manlius Torquatus Atticus.

Early instances of 'philhellenic' behaviour, collective and individual, abound, as do indications of 'hellenization' (though it is difficult to say how far this ever happened and what exactly it means to say that it did: see HELLENISM). But these instances are disparate, and the disparate sources for them are not such as to suggest ideological coherence or consistency. From the end of the 3rd cent. the pace quickens and the picture changes. This is partly a matter of evidence—the availability of a comparatively continuous contemporary account (*Polybius) and the tendency of writers of the 1st cent. (esp. Posidonius and *Cicero) to find philhellenism in their favoured Romans of the 2nd, but not only that. Quintus Fabius Pictor wrote his annals in Greek early in the 2nd cent. (see HISTORIOGRAPHY, ROMAN), and by the 160s Greek purveyors of hellenism were flocking to Rome

(Polyb. 31. 24. 7); things Greek were much sought and genuinely admired, if occasionally to excess. Aulus Postumius Albinus had his self-imposed literary hellenism castigated by *Cato the Elder; Polybius (39. 1) concurred and more. (Cato's hostility to particular representatives and manifestations of Roman philhellenism should not be taken to indicate general hostility to hellenism.) Titus Albuicis was lampooned by Lucilius for preferring to be called Greek rather than Roman (Cic. *Fin.* 1. 9).

Alongside all this, the Romans in 200 announced to Greeks that they would go to war against Philip V of Macedon to prevent him from attacking any Greeks and protected Athens from Macedonian attack. From 198 Flamininus adopted the language of Greek diplomacy and used the rhetoric of Greek freedom to great advantage, most strikingly at the Isthmian games of 196. This was the efflorescence of political philhellenism. It was effective. Philip was defeated, and Greek cities honoured Flamininus; Lampsacus with an embassy (196) and Smyrna with a *templum urbis Romae* (temple of the city of Rome) (195) sought Roman favour and protection against *Antiochus III. But the philhellenic posture was less in evidence during the war with Antiochus and thereafter, as a policy of partisan intervention took hold. Lucius Aemilius Paullus celebrated his victory over Perseus, the last Macedonian king, in explicitly hellenistic fashion, but he also oversaw the deportation or slaughter of Rome's opponents in the Greek cities and mass enslavement in Epirus. At the same time, the Romans were often referred to in Greek inscriptions of the period as 'common benefactors' (*koinoi euergetai*; see EUERGETISM), and the goddess Roma was worshipped: Greeks participated in the construct that was Rome's political philhellenism and so continued to make it as real as Rome's dominion. See also HELLENISM, HELLENIZATION. PSD

Philip II (382–336 BC), king of Macedon and architect of Macedonian greatness. In his youth he witnessed the near dissolution of the kingdom through civil war and foreign intervention, and spent some time (probably 369–367) as hostage in *Epaminondas' Thebes. The nadir came when his brother, Perdiccas III, died in battle against Illyrian invaders (360/59) who occupied the north-western borderlands. On his accession (perhaps initially as regent for his nephew, Amyntas) his priority was to save Macedon from dismemberment by hostile powers, poised for the kill; and from the outset he displayed a genius for compromise and intrigue. The Athenians, who backed a pretender (Argaeus), were defeated in a skirmish near *Aegae but wooed by the return of their prisoners (and by hints that he would recognize their claims to Amphipolis). Other belligerents (Paeonians

and Thracians) were bought off, and Philip used the time he acquired to train a new citizen army in mass infantry tactics, introducing the twelve-cubit pike (*sarisa*) as its basic weaponry (see ARMS AND ARMOUR). His efforts bore fruit in 358, when he decisively defeated the Illyrians near Lake Lychnitis and used his victory to integrate the previously independent principalities of upper Macedonia into his kingdom. Their nobility joined the companions of his court and the commons were recruited into the army. Philip's increased power was immediately deployed against Athens. While the city was enmeshed in the Social War (357–355) he annexed Amphipolis and Pydna in 357, captured Potidaea in 356, ceding it to the Olynthian federation in return for alliance, and acquired Methone (354)—at the cost of his right eye and permanent disfigurement. From the conquests came land which he distributed in part to a new aristocracy, recruited from all parts of the Greek world (e.g. Nearchus of Crete, Laomedon of Mytilene, and Androstenes of Thasos, all settled at Amphipolis). Most important was Crenides, the Thracian settlement by Mt. Pangaeus, which Philip occupied and reinforced in 356, naming it Philippi after himself. The exploitation of the neighbouring gold mines allegedly engrossed 1,000 talents *per annum*, which enabled him to maintain a large mercenary army and win the services of politicians in southern Greece.

*Thessaly rapidly became an annex of Macedon. An early marriage alliance with the Aleuadae family of Larissa brought an invitation to intervene in the murderous internecine war between the Thessalian League and the tyrants of Pherae. Initial defeats in 353 were redeemed in 352 by the great victory of the Crocus Field and the expulsion of Lycophron and Peitholaus from Pherae. In return Philip was appointed archon of Thessaly with its revenues and superb cavalry at his disposal. In 349 he attacked another traditional enemy, Olynthus, and by September 348 had captured the city through internal treachery. The population was enslaved and Olynthus' land absorbed, but despite the shock of this exemplary treatment there was no response to the Athenian appeal for an international alliance against him, and in despondency the Athenians entered peace negotiations early in 346. Peace and alliance were concluded in April 346 (Peace of Philocrates) at the same time that Philip accepted an appeal to lead an Amphictionic campaign against the Phocians (allies of Athens). With masterly prevarication he delayed ratifying the peace until he was in the vicinity of Thermopylae, preventing the Athenians reinforcing their allies, and forced the Phocians to terms (July 346). The settlement which resulted left him master of Thermopylae with voting rights in the Amphictiony.

The years after 346 saw further expansion. Campaigns against the Illyrians (notably in 345) brought the Dardanians and Taulantians to subject status, and between 342 and 340 Philip crowned a long series of campaigns against the Thracians with a prolonged war in the Hebrus valley. The old Odrysian kingdom became a dependency under a Macedonian *stratēgos*; military colonies (notably Philippopolis/Plovdiv) were implanted, and the Thracians supplied his largest pool of auxiliary troops. Meanwhile Philip's influence had expanded in southern Greece. He championed Megalopolis and Messenia against Sparta, supported a coup at Elis (343) and sent mercenaries to Euboea (343/2 : date disputed). By 342 Athenian interpretations of his motives had more conviction. In 341 the Euboean regimes at Eretria and Oreos (Histiaea) were overthrown by an Athenian-led invasion and Athenian overtures were sympathetically received in the Peloponnese. The situation became graver in 340, when Philip laid siege to Perinthus and *Byzantium, and open war erupted in the late summer, when he commandeered the Athenian grain fleet. He left the sieges incomplete to launch a successful attack on the Scythian king Ateas, and returned to Macedon in mid-339.

The final act came when he assumed command of an Amphictionic expedition against the Locrians of Amphissa and used the campaign as a fulcrum to attack Thebes and Athens, now united in alliance against him. Its denouement was the battle of Chaeronea (August 338), fought with a fraction of the forces at his disposal, which destroyed Thebes as a military power and made him undisputed master of the Greek world. Garrisons at Corinth, Thebes, Ambracia, and (probably) Chalcis policed the settlement he imposed, and a conference at Corinth (summer 337) approved a common peace which guaranteed the stability of all governments party to it, prohibited constitutional change and entrenched Philip as executive head (*hēgemōn*) of the council (*synedrion*) which directed its enforcement. It was intended to perpetuate Macedonian domination and did so effectively. The meeting also witnessed Philip's proclamation of his war of revenge against Persia, a project doubtless long in gestation but only now publicized, and in 336 an expeditionary force crossed the Hellespont (Dardanelles) to begin operations in Asia Minor.

Philip's last year was overshadowed by domestic conflict. His love match with Cleopatra provoked a rift in the royal house which saw his wife Olympias in angry retirement and the heir-apparent, Alexander (see ALEXANDER THE GREAT), in temporary exile in Illyria. There was a formal reconciliation; but tensions persisted, and Philip fell by an assassin's hand in autumn 336. The sources give personal motives, but there are also hints of a multiplicity

of conspirators and the background to the murder is beyond speculation. He was interred at *Aegae (many believe, in the splendid barrel-vaulted Tomb II in the Great Tumulus of Vergina), leaving his kingdom a military and economic giant but internally almost as distracted as it had been at his accession. ABB

philosophers and politics *Plato (*Resp.* 473d) regarded good government as unattainable ‘unless either philosophers become kings in our cities or those whom we now call kings and rulers take to the pursuit of philosophy’. He already recognized, however, that philosophers would either be reluctant to leave the contemplation of truth for the task of governing any but an ideal city, or would be ridiculed and rejected if they tried (*Resp.* 516d–517a; 519e–521b).

Philosopher-leaders were rare in the ancient world: *Cicero (*Leg.* 3. 14) named only Demetrius of Phalerum, the Peripatetic (Aristotelian) philosopher who ruled Athens from 317 to 307 BC, ignoring less respectable examples, like the Peripatetic Athenion and the Epicurean Aristion (see EPICURUS) who ruled Athens for brief periods in his youth. The Romans themselves sent philosophers to rule Cilician Tarsus (Strabo 14. 675), but it was in the 2nd cent. AD that admirers of Marcus *Aurelius, the emperor, could claim that Plato’s ideal was finally fulfilled (*SHA Marc.* 27. 6–7, cf. *Med.* 9. 29). Philosophers more commonly served their cities by educating and advising rulers or serving as ambassadors. In the 3rd cent. BC Herippus wrote a treatise entitled ‘On Those who Have Converted from Philosophy to Tyrannies and Positions of Power’, in which he described such cases as the Stoic Persaeus who served *Antigonus Gonatas (unsuccessfully) as a general. Another Stoic, Sphaerus, advised King Cleomenes of Sparta (Plut. *Cleom.* 11). In 155 BC when the Athenians wanted the senate to reduce a fine imposed on the city, they sent as envoys the Stoic Diogenes, the Peripatetic Critolaus, and the Academic Carneades. They succeeded in their missions, but also gave such attractive lectures that *Cato the Elder objected that they were seducing Roman youth away from traditional values (Plut. *Cato* 22).

The charge of corrupting the youth, already employed against *Socrates, was used at Rome as a reason for expelling philosophers from the city as early as 161 BC. As a preparation for public life, philosophy was suspect on several counts: (1) Philosophers, as Plato surmised, might reject practical politics. The Epicureans in fact advocated such abstention except in exceptional circumstances, though many of them in fact participated (e.g. *Ath.* 5. 215b; *Cic. Fin.* 2. 76; *Tusc.* 5. 108; *Joseph. BJ* 19. 32; *Epict.* 3. 7, cf. *Plin. Ep.* 8. 24). Stoics (see STOICISM) took

the opposite line, so that their failure to participate was, or could be construed as, criticism of the existing regime.

(2) Philosophers might insist on unrealistic moral standards in public life (e.g. *Cic. Mur.* 60 f.; *Sen. Clem.* 2. 5. 2). The Romans were particularly prone to this view (*Tac. Agric.* 4. 4), so that whereas philosophers, except Epicureans, were regularly honoured at Athens and elsewhere in the Greek world for their contribution to educating the young (e.g. *Diog. Laert.* 7. 10–12), at Rome they were at first excluded from the privileges offered to doctors and teachers of rhetoric and literature for their services to the community.

It is often said that philosophers made a theoretical contribution to politics only in the age of the independent Greek city-state or *polis, and that before, and after, Academic and Peripatetic political theory was applied to Rome in the age of the republic, philosophers living under the Hellenistic and Roman monarchical systems limited their concerns to the individual. That is an oversimplification of the fact that the Hellenistic schools were not interested in discussing ideal constitutions, but rather in prescribing moral conduct for rulers of any kind and in teaching their subjects how to preserve their integrity and exercise free speech. See KINGSHIP. MTG

philosophy See ACADEMY; ARISTOTLE; CYNICS; EPICURUS; PLATO; PYTHAGORAS; SOCRATES; SOPHISTS; STOICISM

Phoenicians (Gk. Phoinikes, Lat. *Poeni*), a people (rather than a nation) occupying the coast of the Levant; they are thus described only in the classical sources and etymologically their name is Greek; their own name for themselves is unknown, although the Bible classes them as Canaanites (for the Greek tradition on Chna, see Hecataeus in *Steph. Byz.*; also Philon of Byblos). The royal Assyrian inscriptions (9th–7th cent. BC) refer to the cities of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, etc., as (in the form of ethnics) do the Phoenician inscriptions; but they are silent about ‘Phoenicia’ and ‘Phoenicians’, which were classical constructs.

A common view derives *Phoinikes* from the Greek *phoinios*, *phoinos*, meaning ‘red’. The Phoenicians were so designated (runs this view) from their copper skin, and/or their expertise in the purple industry; other theories relate their name to the copper trade, the palm-tree and dates, textiles (based on a tablet of ambiguous sense from Minoan Cnossus; see MINOAN CIVILIZATION), or to an Egyptian word for ‘woodcutters’.

The land of the Phoenicians (Phoenicia) extended along the eastern Mediterranean coast from modern Syria to southern Lebanon and Galilee. Its limits are

debated: either from Tarsus to Gaza, or, more conventionally, from Tell Sukas (Syria) south of Ugarit, to Akko (Galilee). For the Classical Greeks, Phoenicia was no more or less than the Phoenician homeland, without the precise boundaries later assigned by Rome. The Phoenicians were divided into several city-kingdoms, the most famous being Sidon (for 'Sidonian' as a synonym for 'Phoenician', see Hom. *Od.* 4. 84), Tyre, and Byblos, although Aradus, Amrith, Berytus, and Sarepta were important too.

The Phoenicians were said by *Herodotus (1. 1; 2. 44; 7. 89) to have migrated from the Persian Gulf 2,300 years before his time. Whatever the basis of this tradition, it takes the existence of the Phoenicians back to the third millennium, when their presence in Lebanon is well attested archaeologically. The port of Byblos was known in Early Dynastic Egypt. The history of the Phoenicians is intimately related to the sea, as shown e.g. by their island-harbours at Tyre and Aradus and their harbour-settlements in the western Mediterranean; also by their expertise in ship-building (using *timber from the Lebanon forests) and seafaring. This relationship inspired two dominant trends in their history: their role in international trade—notably metals (both ore and processed), textiles, purple, foodstuffs, exotic materials, and craft-goods (see the trade of Tyre in Ezekiel 27)—and what is misleadingly called Phoenician 'colonization': i.e., the spread of Phoenician settlements (trading posts and farming communities) from Spain via Africa to Egypt; of these *Carthage was the most famous. This movement began early in the 11th cent., reaching its climax in the 9th-8th cents., when Phoenician culture (arts, religion, and inscriptions) left traces almost all over the Mediterranean.

The Phoenicians were also a vital element of the near east: the maritime strength of the region caused Assyrian and Babylonian kings to conquer it several times, and the Phoenicians formed the backbone of the Persian navy in Achaemenid times. They maintained close links with Palestine, Egypt (along with the Red Sea), Assyria, and Arabia, and their arts were strongly influenced by the east.

From the beginning of their expansion, the Phoenicians came into contact with the Greeks, but it was only after the Persian Wars that the Hellenization of Phoenicia commenced; see HELLENISM, HELLENIZATION. After their conquest (Tyre included) by *Alexander the Great, the Phoenician cities were gradually integrated into the Hellenistic *koinē* or shared culture, first under the Ptolemies (see PTOLEMY I; PTOLEMY II), then the *Seleucids and finally Rome; but their political identity (based on their cities) and cultural character (notably their lan-

guage) were partly preserved, and the Phoenicians maintained their own specific place in the Graeco-Roman world.

J-FS

physics today involves the investigation of the nature and behaviour of matter and energy, and it is often thus distinguished from chemistry and biology. The same term, derived from the Greek word for 'nature', *'physis'*, is used to describe a number of ancient inquiries, including *peri physeōs historia* (the inquiry into nature), *'ta physika'* (natural things), and *physikē* [*sc. epistēmē*], where no such distinction is implied. These ancient expressions are to some extent context-relative and they covered a range of interests far wider than that encompassed by modern physics. 'Theory of Nature' might be a reasonable general characterization of ancient physics. Notably, for some ancient authorities 'physics' explicitly excluded mathematics and even mathematical attempts at modelling nature. For early doctors physical inquiry was equivalent to what we might now call physiology; the cognate terms in English, 'physic' and 'physician', tend to relate, on the other hand, to the practice of what is now called pathology.

1. Before *Aristotle, physical investigation ranged from the cosmological through to the observation and explanation of discrete natural phenomena. Early studies of the material origins of the world, the position of the earth in space, along with speculation about what we now call magnetism, and the nature of sound and light, could all be thought of as parts of physical inquiry. In the first book of the *Metaphysics*, Aristotle reports in summary fashion that many of the earliest philosophers based their speculations about nature on the idea that the physical world is reducible to one or more basic starting points or principles. Thales is supposed to have given water a special status, Anaximenes air, and so on. The atomists Leucippus and Democritus (see ATOMISM) invented a theory of matter which, they hoped, would satisfy *both* strict logical demands for certain, immutable, knowledge about reality (laid down by people like Parmenides of Elea) *and* account for the changing and unpredictable phenomena of the visible world. They posited an ontologically real world of first principles—atoms and void—and a secondary world of appearances, the result of the movement of the atoms in the void. (Aristotle praised Democritus for arguing 'physically' and not just 'logically', but criticized nearly all his predecessors for leaving important questions unanswered, notably about the origins of physical motion.)

2. *Plato's physical system is similarly based on a distinction between what is real and intelligible (the Forms) and the particulars we can see in the world around us,

which share in different ways (though never completely) in the perfection of the idealized Forms. Doubts about the extent to which the mathematical perfection of ultimate reality can ever be fully present in physical objects lie behind the reservations expressed by Plato about the reliability of the physical theory in the *Timaeus* (5. 27–30). Matter, for Plato, is inherently chaotic, and the creator of Plato's universe had to struggle hard with the recalcitrant material substrate of physical being as he sought to model it in the image of the Forms.

Yet the desire to describe mathematically the behaviour of natural—physical—objects and phenomena did not always clash, even for Plato, and relations between mathematics and the physical world were studied throughout antiquity. Early evidence comes from the Pythagorean investigations into harmonics, but the idea that a mathematically describable order has left its imprint on at least some levels of creation was encouraged by Plato. In *Republic* 9, Plato prescribed a curriculum of physical subjects including astronomy, stereometry, and harmonics for the education of the Guardians of his ideal state, because their study shows that the perfect order of the Forms is reflected to some extent at least in the world around us.

3. Aristotle is the author of the earliest surviving detailed work bearing the title *Physics*. For him, *physikē* is distinguished (e.g. at *Metaphysics* E 1, 1026^a) from the abstract study of number and shape in *mathēmatika* (see MATHEMATICS) and from the science of divinity in *theologikē*. Physics involved going back to the first principles which underlie the phenomenal world of natural objects, and investigating their origins, number, behaviour, and interactions. The 'inquiry into nature' in Aristotle's view is the study of those things which do not exist independently of matter. It can thus be thought to include both the theoretical material contained in the *Physics* itself, the biological and zoological material in, for example, the *History of Animals*, what we might call the geophysical material in the *Meteorology*, along with the inherently more mathematical material of astronomy in *On the Heavens*.

In Aristotle's *Physics*, the first principles governing the behaviour of matter are investigated in great detail. The nature of physical existence, of weight, qualitative variety, different types of motion and their origins, the nature of purpose-directed activity and its sources are all examined. It is here that the four types of causal question necessary for a full account of something's existence are formulated—the formal, final, material, and efficient. Aristotelian ideas about motion—notably his statements implying that the velocity of falling objects is inversely proportional to the resistance they meet and directly

proportional to their weight (see *Physics* 4. 8), which made velocity in a void undefinable—were famously criticized and developed by much later commentators, including Simplicius and Philoponus. Aristotle's successors as head of the Lyceum, Theophrastus of Eresus and Straton of Lampsacus, continued to stress the importance of the types of physical inquiry initiated by their master.

4. It is widely believed that Aristotle's criticisms of early atomic physics (especially in *On Generation and Corruption*) led *Epicurus and his followers to modify Democritean atomism in a number of respects. The exact extent of Epicurean innovation is hard to gauge, partly because of our lack of evidence for Democritus' own theory, and partly because Epicurus himself acknowledges few positive debts to any predecessors. Driven by the need to find arguments to dissolve away fear, and especially fear of death, Epicurean physics centres on proving the existence of ungenerated and permanent forms of matter—atoms—whose unpredictable and unpremeditated motion in the void can explain all natural phenomena. The Epicureans developed new arguments to prove the possibility of indivisible atoms, explain their motion and combination, and found new language to describe void. The phenomena of sensation and action at a distance (magnetic attraction, for instance) are all explained in terms of influxes or effluxes of atoms moving across the void. Purpose-directed activity in the domain of natural phenomena, and the active intervention of divine power in human life for good or ill, are denied. The study of the physical world is of value only insofar as it aids in the search for peace of mind.

5. With ethics and logic, physics was one of the cornerstones of Stoic philosophy. Although there is doctrinal variation within *Stoicism on the level of detail, Diogenes Laertius (7. 132) reports that the Stoics divided physics into the study of the world, of the elements, and the inquiry into causes. Stoic physics is an essential part of the broad Stoic inquiry into our place in the universe, and into the divine and guiding active principle which permeates everything, designing and steering it. Unlike the Epicureans, but following Plato and Aristotle, the Stoics denied the possibility of void within the cosmos, and many of the more sophisticated explanations of action at a distance in a continuum can be laid at their door.

6. Mathematical—geometrical—models of the behaviour of physical bodies developed rapidly in mechanics, and also in what Aristotle calls the more 'physical' branches of *mathematics or the more 'mathematical' branches of physics, such as optics, acoustics and *astronomy. (Mathematical geography, statics, and hydrostatics might be added to Aristotle's list.) Quite apart from the mathematical sophistication of these ancient

inquiries, the level of methodological controversy, particularly between empiricist and rationalist positions, is striking. In the Aristotelian corpus there is a treatise on mechanics, almost certainly not by Aristotle himself, which deals with the theory and practical uses of balances, pulleys, and levers. Archimedes' theoretical work on the behaviour of basic mechanical elements is characteristic of the subsequent application of strict geometry to the practical explanation of physical contrivances. Archimedes' *On the Equilibrium of Planes* deals amongst other things with the problem of how to determine the centre of gravity in different types of figures. Other important ancient mechanical theoreticians include Heron of Alexandria (*Mechanics*) and Pappus of Alexandria (esp. the *Collectio*, bk. 8.)

7. A group of ancient writers dealt with applied as well as theoretical mechanics. Figures like Ctesibius are little more than names to us, but Heron of Alexandria and Philo of Byzantium wrote elaborate works on the subject, Philo dealing with the theory and practice of machines of war, Hero with mechanical automata.

8. The physics of sight, light, and colour occupied both physiologists and mathematicians. Natural philosophers and physiologists offered theories to explain the mechanisms of visual perception (e.g. Plato, *Timaeus*, Aristotle *On the Soul* 2, and Theophrastus, *On the Senses*, which includes a review of earlier theories of sight). Theoretical debate focused on the nature of light—was it a type of wave, or a tension in the continuum (a Stoic view), or the transport of something through the atomists' void? Geometrical optics was based on the assumption that light—or the visual ray—travels from the eye in straight lines. Systematic research into the behaviour of these lines begins (for us) with Euclid's *Optics*, which also survives in a late version by Theon of Alexandria, but important treatises on optics were also composed by Ptolemy, by Heron of Alexandria, and an optician of the 4th cent. AD, Damianus (of Larissa?). Geminus, quoted by Proclus (*Commentary on Euclid's Elements* 1), divides optics into (a) the study of problems related to the perception of objects at a distance (including perspective), (b) catoptrics, or the study of reflection and refraction, and (c) scenography, which dealt originally with the problem of representing in drawing and painting objects of different sizes and at different distances from the observer. In addition, dioptrics (the subject of a work by Heron of Alexandria) was concerned with the construction of optical instruments used to investigate all these phenomena.

9. 'Pythagoras had no faith in the human ear', reports Boethius (*On Music* 1. 10). He sought instead fixed, mathematical ways of measuring consonances; the Pythagoreans

were credited even in antiquity with the discovery of the connection between the length of a vibrating body and its pitch. Further work on the subject was done by the Pythagorean Philolaus of Croton, and on the properties of vibrating bodies generally by Archytas, Euclid, Ptolemy, and Nicomachus. Aristotle deals with the physiology of sound, speech and hearing in *On the Soul*, and there is a spurious tract in the Aristotelian corpus entitled *On Things Heard*. Ancient harmonics was profoundly influenced by more general epistemological debates over how far the senses—the ear in this case—should be trusted over reason. There was also a long-running dispute over the fundamental nature of sound itself which mirrors in certain respects disagreements about the nature of light—is sound continuous, or discrete, to be analysed geometrically or arithmetically? The greatest ancient authority on harmonics is the Aristotelian physicist and musicologist Aristoxenus, whose *Elements of Harmonics* provided the basis for most subsequent treatments of both mathematical and practical harmonics. See MUSIC.

JTV

physiology See ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY.

pilgrimage (Christian) Despite the New Testament's disavowal of the localized cults of Judaism and the surrounding pagan world—the need was for holy lives rather than holy places—early Christians still clung to their sacred sites. Jesus' followers preserved some memory of the location of his tomb in Jerusalem and (at least by the mid-2nd cent.) of his birthplace in Bethlehem; while further afield the burial places of martyrs on the outskirts of their cities attracted local gatherings. In maintaining these recollections of their sacred past, the first Christian pilgrims tried to assert some communal identity in a world indifferent or hostile to their faith.

As the first emperor to favour Christianity, *Constantine I actively promoted holy places through imperial church-building in the Holy Land, as well as at the shrines of St Peter and St *Paul and other Roman martyrs; and his mother *Helena Augusta personified the official interest in sacred sites by visiting Palestine as part of a tour of the eastern provinces (c. AD 327). Pilgrimages to the Holy Land were no longer just a local preserve, but might bring travellers from the opposite end of the empire. The earliest such journey on record is that of an unknown pilgrim from Bordeaux, who reached Jerusalem in 333: the surviving document is both a 'secular' itinerary of the route and the account of a pilgrimage round the biblical sites of the Holy Land. The religious significance attached not to the journey itself, but to its objective of locating and—with the aid of the 'eyes of faith' and a very literal reading of the text—entering into the scriptural past of both Old and New Testaments.

In 381–4 the western pilgrim Egeria journeyed round the Holy Land and Egypt. Besides visiting martyr-shrines *en route*, she endeavoured to search out ‘on the ground’ the places of the Bible, attempting e.g. to retrace the movements of the children of Israel out of Egypt. Holy men were as much an object of pilgrimage for her as holy places: the monks who now populated the region formed part of Egeria’s scriptural landscape, perceived as successors of the Holy Land’s biblical occupants. These 4th-cent. Christian travellers engaged in a species of devotional *tourism which had eyes only for the biblical past re-created in the contemporary Holy Land. The many other associations of pilgrimage—ascetic, therapeutic, penitential—would emerge only later. EDH

Pindar, lyric poet, native of Cynoscephalae in Boeotia. He was born probably in 518 BC (*Suda*, fr. 193, if the latter refers to Pindar). The tradition (one of several competing accounts) that he lived to the age of eighty is at least roughly correct, since his last datable composition (*Pyth.* 8) belongs in or shortly after 446. On the basis of *Pyth.* 5. 72 it is widely believed that he belonged to the aristocratic family of the Aegeidae. He achieved panhellenic recognition early; at the age of 20 he was commissioned by the ruling family of *Thessaly to celebrate the athletic victory of a favourite youth, Hippocleas (*Pyth.* 10). His commissions covered most of the Greek world, from *Macedonia and Abdera in Thrace in the north (fr. 120–1, *Pae.* 2) to *Cyrene in Africa in the south (*Pyth.* 4, 5, 9), from *Italy and *Sicily in the west (*Ol.* 1–5, 10, 11, *Pyth.* 1, 2, 3, 6, *Nem.* 9, *Isthm.* 2) to the seaboard of Asia Minor in the east (*Ol.* 7, *Nem.* 11, fr. 123). He probably travelled a great deal, but we have little information on his movements. He is already a classic for *Herodotus (3. 38), and was regarded by many in antiquity as the greatest of the nine poets of the lyric canon (Quint. 10. 1. 61, Dion. Hal. *De imit.* 2).

The Alexandrian editors divided Pindar’s works into 17 books: hymns, paeans, *dithyrambs (2 books), *proso-dia* (processional songs, 2 books), *partheneia* (maiden-songs, 3 books), *hyporchēmata* (dance songs, 2 books), encomia, *thrēnoi* (dirges) and *epinicia* (victory songs, 4 books). Of these, the only books to survive intact are the choral victory songs composed for the formal celebration of victories in the four Panhellenic athletic festivals (see GAMES). His patrons were the great aristocratic houses of the day, and the ruling families of Cyrene, *Syracuse, and Acragas. The scale of this section of the corpus indicates the value which Pindar, in common with other Greeks, placed on *athletics as a testing ground for the highest human qualities. The victory ode was normally performed either at the athletic festival

shortly after the victory or after the victor’s return to his native city. Since time for composition and choir training was limited, the former type tends to be brief. Odes composed for performance after the victor’s return are usually, though not invariably, lengthier and more elaborate. The longer odes usually have three sections, with the opening and closing sections devoted to the victor and his success and the central section usually containing a mythic narrative. The opening is always striking, often elaborate, consisting either of an abrupt announcement of victory or a focusing process which sets the victory against a general background, usually through a hymnal invocation or a preparatory list of objects, experiences, or achievements (*priamel*). In the sections devoted to the victor conventional elements recur. The god of the games is honoured. Place of victory and event are announced, with details frequently surrendered slowly in order to maintain a forward tension (description of victory is rare, however). Earlier victories by the patron or other members of his family are listed; such lists are carefully crafted to avoid monotony. The city is praised, and in the case of boy victors the father and usually the trainer. Self-praise by the poet is also common. More sombre notes, surprising to the modern reader, are struck. The poet often reminds the victor of his mortality or offers prayers to avert misfortune; these elements reflect the archaic fear of divine envy and awareness of the psychological dangers of success; they function both to warn and to emphasize the extent of the achievement. *Gnomai* (succinct generalizations) are frequent. Recurrent themes are the impossibility of achievement without toil, the need for divine aid for success, the duty to praise victory, the vulnerability of achievement without praise in song, the importance of inborn excellence and the inadequacy of mere learning. The effect of this moralizing is to give the ode a pronounced didactic as well as celebratory quality.

Pindar usually chooses myths dealing with the heroes of the victor’s city. As with most Greek *lyric poetry, the myth is not narrated in full. Usually a single incident is selected for narration, with other details dealt with briskly. Even the lengthy quasi-epic myth of *Pyth.* 4 proceeds by a series of scenes, not an even narrative. Audience familiarity with the myth is assumed. Unlike his contemporary *Bacchylides, Pindar regularly adopts an explicit moral stance with reference to the events narrated. The role of myth in the odes varies. Sometimes the myth has only a broad relevance to the victor, in that the deeds of the city’s heroes highlight the tradition which has produced the victor’s qualities. On occasion myth presents a negative contrast to the victor (such as the Tantalus myth in *Ol.* 1, the Orestes myth of *Pyth.* 11).

Often it appears to reflect an aspect of the victory or the victor's situation as developed in the direct praise.

The fragmentary nature of the rest of the corpus makes it difficult to generalize about other genres. The same moralizing quality is present. The structure where ascertainable corresponds to the tripartite structure of the victory odes. The myth is in most cases uncontroversial, since it arises from the location and occasion of the performance.

His poems are written in regular stanzas, either strophic or triadic. With the exception of *Isthm.* 3 and 4, no two poems are identical metrically. Most are composed in the dactylo-epitrite or aeolic metres. His manner of writing is both dense and elaborate. Words are used sparingly. Compound adjectives abound. The style is rich in metaphor, and rapid shifts of metaphor are common. Transition between themes is rapid, and is often effected by formalized claims to be constrained by time or rules of composition or to have lost the way. As his earliest and last datable compositions (*Pyth.* 10 and 8) show, he adhered throughout his life to a conservative set of standards. His thought impresses not for its originality but the consistency and conviction with which he presents the world view of the aristocrat of the late Archaic period. His religion is the traditional Olympian religion (see RELIGION, GREEK), combined in *Ol.* 2 and the dirges with elements of mystery cult and Orphico-Pythagorean belief (see ORPHEUS; PYTHAGORAS). CC

piracy can be defined as armed robbery involving the use of ships. The greater mobility which the sea provides is a major factor in differentiating between piracy and *brigandage, although the Greek and Latin vocabulary for the two was largely the same. It is often very difficult to distinguish piracy from warfare in the ancient sources, especially when the labelling of certain activities as piracy seems to be a way of illegitimizing the perpetrators, similar in some ways to the modern practice of describing political violence as terrorism.

The earliest references to pirates are in the Homeric poems (see HOMER), particularly the *Odyssey*, where piracy is an activity which brings no shame upon its practitioners, although it may be disapproved of for the misery it brings to the victims (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 3. 71–4; 14. 222–34). None of the Homeric heroes is ever called a pirate, but they carry out seaborne raids which are very similar to the actions of those referred to as pirates (e.g. *Od.* 9. 39–52).

Piracy begins to be differentiated from war in the Classical period of Greek history, when the political aims of the Greek city-states began to take precedence over the economic goals of raiding and plundering. Nevertheless,

pirates are mentioned frequently by *Thucydides and *Xenophon in their accounts of the wars of the 5th and 4th cents. BC, and the works of the Attic orators show that accusations of piracy were made by both sides in the rivalries between Athens and *Macedonia in the second half of the 4th cent. BC.

In the Hellenistic period the main difference between piracy and warfare was the scale of activity. Many pirates operated on the fringes of wars in this period, taking advantage of the political confusion, but they do not seem to have played a major part in the conflicts of the Hellenistic monarchs. Although attacks on ships at sea are mentioned occasionally in the ancient sources, the main threat from piracy seems to have been to coastal settlements. Numerous inscriptions from this period record sudden attacks by unidentified pirates on the islands and coastal cities of the Aegean, in search of both plunder and prisoners to be ransomed or sold. The abduction of a well-born young man or woman by pirates who sell their captive as a slave (see SLAVERY) became a common theme in Greek and Latin literature.

The custom of plundering enemies, or even third parties, in reprisal for injuries or insults suffered could be used by some groups to justify acts which others might have called piracy. A great deal of the piracy found in sources from the 5th to the 2nd cents. BC involves reprisals. The rules governing reprisals were rather vague, allowing considerable latitude for interpretation. *Polybius criticized the Aetolians in particular for their abuse of this custom (Polyb. 4. 3–6; see FEDERAL STATES). Cities and communities attempted to deter attacks by concluding treaties which guaranteed them immunity from reprisals, but it is unclear how effective this system was in practice.

Thucydides credited the legendary King Minos of Crete with clearing the seas of pirates (Thuc. 1. 4), but, until the 1st cent. BC, no ancient state possessed the resources to suppress piracy on anything more than a local scale, although even small successes might win fulsome praise and help to legitimize political power. A significant problem was the fact that successful suppression of piracy meant depriving pirates of bases on land, which entailed the conquest and control of territory. Without co-operation between states, or the imposition of a policy by a single imperial power, piracy could easily flourish in many parts of the Mediterranean. The Athenians took some action to limit piracy in their own interests in the 5th and 4th cents. BC, as did the Rhodians (see RHODES) in the Hellenistic period. Both were strongly applauded by later writers. The rise of Roman power in the Mediterranean was accompanied by a gradual realization that the Romans should take a stand against those perceived as pirates, but

little action had been taken by the 2nd cent. BC, when pirates based in Cilicia (southern Asia Minor) began to cause serious problems in the eastern Mediterranean.

The attitude of the Romans towards piracy in the Mediterranean seems to have changed towards the end of the 2nd cent. BC. The campaign of Marcus Antonius in Cilicia in 102 was specifically directed against pirates, and a law of 100 BC concerning praetorian provinces enjoins all Rome's allies and friends to assist in the suppression of piracy. Further campaigns by Roman magistrates in the 70s and 60s BC, most famously that of *Pompey in 67, reduced the areas from which pirates were able to operate, but piracy remained a problem at the start of Augustus' reign. It was only after the Roman emperors had secured control of the entire coastline of the Mediterranean that they were able to reduce piracy to a minimum, through the use of their powerful army and navy.

Piracy was thus largely confined to the margins of the Roman empire with some strong incursions by *barbarian tribes in the second half of the 3rd cent. AD. When the empire began to break up in the 5th cent. AD, however, piracy again became a serious problem, especially when the Vandals seized *Carthage and used it as a base for their own plundering raids. The Muslim conquests of the 7th cent. were followed by a widespread resurgence of piracy in the Mediterranean. See BRIGANDAGE; NAVIES; SLAVERY.

P de S

Pisistratus (Gk. Peisistratos), tyrant of Athens (see TYRANNY), claimed descent from the Neleids of Homeric Pylos and Pisistratus, archon (civilian head of state) at Athens 669/8 BC. He first came to prominence through his success in the war against Megara (c.565). In a period of aristocratic faction between Lycurgus and the *Pedieis* (party 'of the Plain') and Megacles and *Paralioi* (coast party), he created a third faction, the *Hyperakrioi* or *Diakrioi* (referring to 'hill country', probably NE Attica: the factions probably reflect regional bases of support, Hdt. 1. 59). He first seized power with the bodyguard granted him by the Athenians (c.560). Ousted by the other two factions, he returned again with Megacles' allegiance and, if we can extract anything from the ruse in *Herodotus (1. 60), a claim to the protection of *Athena. However the Alcmaeonid-family alliance disintegrated and he went into a ten-year exile, settling Rhaecelus in *Macedonia, mustering support from Eretria, other cities (e.g. Thebes), and from the mines of Mt. Pangaeus in Thrace (*Ath. pol.* 15; Hdt. 1. 64). Armed with money and Argive *mercenaries, he landed near Marathon, c.546, defeated opposition at the battle of Pallene, and established the tyranny for 36 years. He died in 527.

Sources agree that Pisistratus' rule, financed by a 5 per cent tax and perhaps family resources from the Strymon area in northern Greece, was benevolent and law-abiding (esp. Thuc. 6. 54; a 'golden age', *Ath. pol.* 16. 7). Despite the mention of exiles (Hdt. 1. 64), he seems to have achieved a *modus vivendi* with other aristocratic families (who are later found holding archonships). Strained relations with the Philaids may have been eased by Miltiades' colonization of the Chersonesus (Hdt. 6. 34–41), whose strategic importance suggests it had Pisistratus' blessing. Athenian interests were strengthened by Pisistratus' control of Cycladic Naxos (Hdt. 1. 64), and recapture of Sigeum, foreshadowing Athens' later maritime expansion. He lent money to poor farmers and instituted travelling judges (*Ath. pol.* 16).

From the 560s, Athens begins to acquire a monumental appearance and become a Panhellenic artistic centre (J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama* (1985), ch. 4). The archaeological record indicates rapidly increasing prosperity, as Attic black-figure becomes (from the 560s) the dominant exported pottery. How much can be linked to Pisistratus' personal efforts, rather than to the indirect effects of internal peace and external expansion, is uncertain and controversial, and purely archaeological evidence is inconclusive. The Panathenaea festival, reorganized in 566/5, and City Dionysia prospered, but Pisistratus cannot securely be credited with establishing the former, nor erecting the (so-called 'old') temple of Athena on the Acropolis built about the same time. The beginning of Athenian *coinage, attested archaeologically by 550, might imply the ruler's support. It is likely, however, that, like other archaic aristocrats, he used religious cult to consolidate his position (Davies *APF* pp. 454–5; D. Lewis, *Hist.* 1963, 22ff.) or enhance *polis cohesion; and that he was a great builder, like his sons. He purified the Ionian religious centre of *Delos and instituted a festival there (Thuc. 3. 104). Other cults to Apollo were probably fostered by him in Athens, that of Pythian *Apollo and (perhaps) Apollo Patroos (first temple built, in the Agora, c.550); and perhaps other cults (see H. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (1989)). It has been suggested, purely on pottery evidence, that he claimed special association with *Heraclides (J. Boardman, *Rev. Arch.* 1972, 57 ff.) as well as Athena's protection. Of secular buildings, as well as the Enneakrounos fountain-house (Paus. 1. 14. 1), he can probably be associated with other building in the Agora in the third quarter of the 6th cent., including the Stoa Basileios and the mysterious 'Building F': in short with the further clearing of the Agora and its development as civic centre. (See ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY); IMAGERY; PROPAGANDA).

RT

plague (Gk. *loimos*, Lat. *pestis*), a term confusingly employed by ancient historians to designate epidemics of infectious *diseases. Epidemics in antiquity were not necessarily caused by the disease now called plague (*Yersinia pestis*), although Rufus of Ephesus (1st cent. AD) cites some evidence for true plague in Hellenistic Egypt and Syria. True plague was also the cause of the plague of Justinian in the 6th cent. AD. The major epidemic diseases are density-dependent. The 'plague of Athens' (see below) was an isolated event in Greek history, but there is more evidence for great epidemics during the Roman empire. This increase in frequency was a consequence of *population growth in antiquity. Most of the epidemics described by Roman historians, e.g. *Livy who relied on the annalistic tradition, are described so briefly that there is no hope of identifying the diseases in question. Epidemics are neglected in the major theoretical works of ancient medicine (the Hippocratic corpus (see MEDICINE §4) and the writings of Galen (2nd cent. AD)) because doctors had no knowledge of the existence of micro-organisms and had difficulty applying the types of explanation they favoured (in terms of the diet and lifestyle of individuals; also, later, the theory of the four humours) to mass outbreaks of disease.

*Thucydides (2. 47–58, 3. 87) described the so-called 'plague of Athens' (430–426 BC), the most famous epidemic in antiquity. Unfortunately there is no agreement regarding the identification of the disease. Around 30 different diseases have been suggested as the cause. Most of these are highly implausible, either because they do not correspond to Thucydides' description, or because they cannot be transmitted in such a way as to cause large epidemics. Epidemic typhus and smallpox are the strongest candidates, but true plague has also attracted a considerable number of advocates, along with the hypothesis that the disease organism is now extinct. Thucydides recognized the role of contagion in transmitting the infection.

The second famous plague in antiquity was the 'Antonine plague', which attacked the Roman empire in the 2nd cent. AD. Galen, the main source, does not provide a comprehensive description, but gives details which permit a more definite resolution of the problem than in the case of the 'plague of Athens': this evidence indicates smallpox. Subsequently there were other great epidemics, e.g. the 'plague of Cyprian' in the 3rd cent. AD. However, the descriptions are so inadequate that it is impossible to identify them. Typhus and smallpox were probably the most important causes of epidemics in antiquity.

JRS

Plato (see facing page)

Plautus (Titus Maccius Plautus), comic playwright, author of *fabulae palliatae* ('dramas in a Greek cloak') between c.205 and 184 BC; plays by Plautus are the earliest Latin works to have survived complete. The precise form of his name is uncertain, and in any case each element of it may have been a nickname (see A. S. Gratwick, *CQ* 1973, 78 ff.). He is said to have come from Sarsina in Umbria, inland from Ariminum (Jerome, *Festus*; an inference from the joke at *Mostellaria* 769 f.?), made money in some kind of theatrical employment, lost it in a business venture, and been reduced to working in a mill (Gell. *NA* 3. 3. 14 f., probably all fictitious). Gell. *NA* 3. 3 records that 130 plays were attributed to him but that the authenticity of most was disputed; *Varro had drawn up a list of 21 plays which were generally agreed to be by Plautus, and there can be little doubt that these are the 21 transmitted in our manuscripts (though Varro himself believed some others to be genuine as well). Nearly 200 further lines survive in later quotations (many of one line or less), attributed to over 30 named plays.

The *didascaliae* (production notices) give dates of 200 BC for *Stichus* (at the Plebeian Games) and 191 for *Pseudolus* (Megalesian Games, on the dedication of the temple of *Cybele). There is general agreement that *Cistellaria* and *Miles Gloriosus* are relatively early plays, *Bacchides*, *Casina*, *Persa*, *Trinummus*, and *Truculentus* late, but the dating of most plays is quite uncertain; the criteria usually invoked are (alleged) contemporary references and relative frequency of *cantica* (see below), but neither yields indisputable results.

The plays are nearly all either known or assumed to be adaptations of (Greek) New Comedy, with plots portraying love affairs, confusion of identity, and misunderstandings; the strongest candidates for (Greek) Middle Comedy are *Amphitruo* (Plautus' only mythological comedy) and *Persa* (because of the reference to a Persian expedition into Arabia at line 506). See COMEDY (GREEK), MIDDLE; COMEDY (GREEK), NEW. For eight plays the prologue names the author or title, or both, of the Greek original: Diphilus is named as the author for *Casina* and *Rudens*, Philemon for *Mercator* and *Trinummus*, the otherwise unknown Demophilus for *Asinaria*; titles alone are given for *Miles Gloriosus* and *Poenulus*; the prologue of *Vidularia* is very fragmentary but seems to have given at least the title of the original. In addition, *Bacchides*, *Cistellaria*, and *Stichus* are known to be based on plays by Menander, and *Aulularia* is widely believed to be. We cannot always be sure what titles Plautus himself gave his plays, but in about half these cases he seems to have changed it from the Greek original, and the titles of nearly all his plays have at least been Latinized. Scholars

[continued on p. 599]

PLATO

Plato of Athens, c.429–347 BC, descended from wealthy and influential Athenian families on both sides. His own family, like many, was divided by the disastrous political consequences of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC). His stepfather Pylilampes was a democrat and friend of *Pericles, but two of his uncles, Critias and Charmides, became members of the Thirty Tyrants (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN). At some point Plato turned away from practical politics to philosophy. The major philosophical influence on his life was *Socrates, but in three important respects Plato diverged from the Socratic model. He rejected marriage and the family duty of producing citizen sons; he founded a philosophical school, the *Academy; and he published written philosophical works (as well as uttering some so-called ‘unwritten doctrines’, for which we have only secondary evidence, and which have been the focus of considerable speculation among some scholars).

Plato’s written works take the form of dialogues in which he does not himself appear, which has the effect of detaching the author from the arguments which are presented. Plato is unique among philosophers in this constant refusal to present ideas as his own, forcing the reader to make up his or her own mind about adopting them—a strategy which works best in the shorter dialogues where arguments are presented in a more lively way. For Plato this detachment and use of dialogue is not a point of style, but an issue of epistemology: despite various changes of position on the issue of knowledge, he remains convinced throughout that anything taken on trust, second-hand, either from others or from books, can never amount to a worthwhile cognitive state; knowledge must be achieved by effort from the person concerned. Plato tries to stimulate thought rather than to hand over doctrines.

This detachment also makes Plato himself elusive, in two ways. First, we know very little about him personally. Later biographies are patently constructed to ‘explain’ aspects of the dialogues. The seventh of a series of ‘letters by Plato’ has been accepted as genuine by some scholars, and has been used to create a historical background to the dialogues. But such ‘letters’ are a recognized fictional genre; it is very unwise to try to explain the dialogues by appeal to a ‘life and letters’. This tempting idea misses the point of Plato’s procedure, which is to force us to respond to the ideas in the dialogues themselves, not to judge them by our view of the author.

Second, the dialogues themselves are varied and frequently open to different interpretations. Since antiquity scholars have disagreed over whether Plato’s philosophical legacy consists in a set of doctrines, or a continuing debate and argument. The middle, sceptical Academy read Plato for the arguments, and Plato’s heritage was taken to be a continuation of the practice of argument against contemporary targets. The dialogue most favourable to such interpretation is the *Theaetetus*, in which Socrates describes himself as a barren midwife, drawing ideas out of others but putting forward none himself. However, even in antiquity a rival dogmatic reading of Plato takes the dialogues to be presenting pieces of doctrine which the reader must put together, to produce ‘Platonism’, a distinctive system of beliefs. The dogmatic reading struggles to cope with the diverse nature of the dialogues, the unsystematic treatment of many topics, apparent conflicts between dialogues, and the changing and finally disappearing role of Socrates as the chief figure. Such problems are often addressed by suggesting that Plato’s views changed over time, although ‘unitarians’, who believe that Plato did not give up any doctrines, have been known ever since Arius Didymus (1st cent. BC) declared, ‘Plato has many voices, not, as some think, many doctrines’ (Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 2. 55. 5–6).

Since the 19th cent. much energy has been expended on the chronology of the dialogues, including electronic analysis of stylistic traits. The results remain indeterminate. In any case a chronology of the dialogues is interesting only if it tracks some independently established development of Plato’s thought. Attempts to establish this easily fall into circularity, or they rely on the dubious ‘life and letters’. Stylistically, however, the dialogues fall into three comparatively uncontroversial groups: (1) the ‘Socratic’ dialogues, in which Socrates is the main figure, questioning others about their own positions but arguing for none himself, though characteristic views of his own emerge. This group includes *Ion*, *Laches*, *Lysis*, *Apology*, *Euthyphro*, *Charmides*, *Menexenus*, *Hippias Major*, *Hippias Minor*, *Protagoras*, *Crito*, *Cleitophon*, *Alcibiades*, *Lovers*, *Hipparchus* (the authenticity of the last two is often doubted, and since the 19th cent. the same has been true of the *Alcibiades*, never doubted in antiquity). Two dialogues generally regarded as transitional between the Socratic and middle dialogues are *Gorgias* and *Meno*. Two dialogues which use the Socratic format but have much in common with the later works are *Euthydemus* and *Theaetetus*. (2) the ‘middle’ dialogues, in which Socrates remains the chief figure, but, no longer undermining others’ views, sets out, at length, many positive ideas: this

group includes *Phaedo*, *Republic*, *Symposium*, and *Phaedrus*. (3) the ‘later’ dialogues, in which Socrates retreats as the main interlocutor, and Plato deals at length, sometimes critically, with ideas found in his own work and in other philosophers, in a newly detailed and increasingly technical and ‘professional’ way: this group includes *Cratylus*, *Parmenides*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, *Philebus*, and *Laws*. *Timaeus* and *Critias* are most often put in this group, but there are arguments for placing them with the middle dialogues.

There is no uncontroversial way of presenting Plato’s thought. Many aspects of his work invite the reader to open-ended pursuit of philosophical issues; others present her with more developed positions, substantial enough to be characterized as ‘Platonic’ even for those who reject the more rigid forms of the dogmatic reading. While no brief survey of Plato’s varied and fertile thought can be adequate, some major themes recur and can be traced through several works.

Ethical and political thought

Plato insists throughout on the objectivity of values, and on the importance of morality in the individual’s life. The ‘protreptic’ passage in the *Euthydemus* anticipates the Stoics by claiming that so-called ‘goods’ (health, wealth, and so on) are not really goods; the only good thing is the virtuous person’s knowledge of how to use these things in accordance with morality. It is explicitly assumed that everyone pursues happiness, though prior to philosophical reflection we have little idea of what happiness is, so that most confuse it with worldly success; the choice of virtue is embodied in the worldly failure Socrates. In many of the Socratic dialogues, Socrates urges people to rethink their priorities, and to live more morally; he is sure that there is such a thing as virtue, though he never claims to have it. He further identifies virtue with the wisdom or understanding that is its basis, namely the unified grasp of principles which enables the virtuous to act rightly in a variety of situations, and to explain and justify their decisions and actions.

In the *Protagoras*, Socrates claims that this wisdom is instrumental for achieving pleasure; this view is examined respectfully. Although we find attacks on the idea that pleasure could be our end in the *Phaedo* and *Gorgias*, Plato reverts to some very hedonistic-seeming thoughts in the *Philebus* and *Laws*. Arius Didymus takes Plato to be a kind of hedonist, comparing him with Democritus. Clearly he is sometimes tempted by the idea that some form of pleasure is inescapably our aim, although after the *Protagoras* he never thinks that our reason might be merely instrumental to achieving it. Apart from cryptic and difficult hints in the *Philebus*, he never achieves a substantive characterization of the virtuous person’s understanding.

In some early and middle dialogues Plato conflates the wisdom of the virtuous individual with that of the virtuous ruler; the skill of running one’s own life is run together with that of achieving the happiness of others. This culminates in the *Republic*, where individual and state are similar in structure, and the virtuous individual is produced only in the virtuous state. Later Plato divides these concerns again: the *Philebus* is concerned with individual, and the *Laws* with social morality.

Plato’s treatment of social and political matters is marked by a shift of emphasis between two strands in his thought. One is his conviction that the best solution to political problems is the exercise of expert judgement: an individual needs an overall grasp based on correct understanding of priorities, and a state needs expert overall understanding of the common good. This conviction is triumphant in the *Republic*, where the rulers, the Guardians, have power to run the lives of all citizens in a very broadly defined way: laws serve the purpose of applying the Guardians’ expert knowledge, but do not stand in its way. By virtue of their knowledge, experts are entitled to impose on others what they know to be in the latter’s true interests, just as patients must defer to the doctor and the crew to the ship’s captain.

Plato is also, however, aware of the importance of law in ensuring stability and other advantages. In the *Crito* the Laws of Athens claim obedience from Socrates (though on various unharmonized grounds). In the *Statesman* Plato admits that the laws embody the past results of expertise and are therefore to be respected, indeed obeyed absolutely in the absence of an expert, although in the real world they clog expertise. In the *Laws*, where Plato has abandoned the hope that actual experts could exist and rule uncorrupted by power, he insists that political division and strife are to be solved by complete obedience to laws, which are regarded as the product of rational human expertise and reflection in the light of understanding the rational structure of the cosmos.

Plato’s best-known contribution to political thought is his idea, developed in the *Republic*, that individual (more strictly the individual’s *soul) and state are analogous in structure. Justice in the state is the condition in which its three functionally defined parts—the rulers, the rulers’ auxiliaries, and the rest of the citizens (the producers)—work in harmony, guided by the expert understanding of the rulers, who, unlike the others, grasp what is in the common interest. Analogously, justice in the individual is the condition where the three parts of the individual’s soul work in harmony. This condition will differ for members of the three classes. All the citizens have souls whose parts are: reason,

which discerns the interest of the whole (or at least can be guided by someone else's reason which does); 'spirit', the emotional side of the person; and desire, the collection of desires aimed at their own satisfaction regardless of the interests of the whole. For every citizen, justice consists in the subordination of spirit and the desires to reason; but what this demands is one thing for the rulers, who can articulate reason's requirements, and another for the producers, who cannot. It is notable that Plato identifies this condition of soul, which he calls psychic harmony, with justice, quite contrary to Greek intuitions about political justice. In the *Republic*, the citizen's justice consists in identifying his or her overall interest, to the extent that that is possible, with the common interest. This idea is taken to notorious lengths in the central books, where the rulers are to live a life in which individuality is given the least possible scope. Opinions have always differed as to whether the *Republic* is a contribution to political theory, or a rejection of the very basis of political theory, one which refuses to solve political conflicts, but unrealistically eliminates their sources. The *Republic* has always been most inspiring as a 'pattern laid up in heaven' for individuals to use in the pursuit of individual justice.

Knowledge and its objects

In the early dialogues, Socrates is constantly seeking knowledge; he is provoked, not by sceptical worries about knowledge of matters of fact, but by the desire to acquire, on a larger and deeper scale, the kind of expert knowledge displayed by craftspeople. Socrates does not doubt that such globally expert knowledge, which he calls wisdom, exists, nor that it would be most useful in the running of one's life, but he never claims to have it, and in the Socratic dialogues differences show up between it and everyday kinds of expert knowledge. Various *Sophists, particularly Hippias, are ridiculed for lacking the kind of global understanding which Socrates is seeking though they uncontroversially have everyday skills.

Socrates' conception of wisdom is ambitious; the person with this expert knowledge has a unified overall grasp of the principles which define his field and (as is stressed in the *Gorgias*) he can give a *logos* or account of what it is that he knows, enabling him to explain and justify the judgements that he makes. In several dialogues this request for a *logos* becomes more stringent, and prior conditions are set on what would be an adequate answer. One who has knowledge of X must give an answer as to what X is which is in some way explanatory of the way particular things and kinds of thing are X. The answer is said to provide a 'form' which is itself in some way X, indeed X in a way which (unlike the Xness of other things) precludes it from ever being the opposite of X in any way. Many complex issues arise over these 'forms', hotly disputed by scholars. The text gives suggestive but incomplete solutions to these issues.

In the Socratic dialogues there is a noteworthy mismatch between the goal of wisdom and the method that Socrates employs, namely *elenchus*, or the testing of the opponent's views by Socrates' tenacious arguments. Since the *elenchus* shows only inconsistency between beliefs, it has no resources for proving truth. Its result is negative; it can demonstrate what friendship, courage, piety, etc. are not, but not what they are. In the *Meno* a different approach emerges; the theory of 'recollection' stresses that a person can get knowledge by thinking in a way not dependent on experience, and therefore entirely through his own intellectual resources. Although the *Meno* is careful not to restrict knowledge entirely to such *a priori* knowledge, Plato goes on to develop an account of knowledge in which the model of skill is replaced by that of non-empirical, particularly mathematical reasoning. In the *Phaedo* and *Republic* Plato stresses both the non-empirical nature of the objects of knowledge, the forms, and the structured and hierarchical nature of knowledge. Understanding now requires grasp of an entire connected system of thought, and insight into the difference between the basic and the derived elements, and the ways in which the latter are dependent on the former. As the conditions for having knowledge become higher, knowledge becomes an ever more ideal state; in the *Republic* it is only to be achieved by an intellectually gifted élite, who have spent many years in unremittingly abstract intellectual activities, and have lived a life strenuously devoted to the common good. In the *Republic* Plato's account of knowledge, theoretically demanding yet practically applicable, is his most extensive and ambitious.

In later dialogues this synthesis, though never repudiated, lapses. In the *Statesman* theoretical and practical knowledge are carefully separated; in the *Laws* a continued stress on the importance of mathematics does little work, and contrasts with the work's extensive and explicit reliance on experience. The *Theaetetus* examines knowledge with a fresh and lively concern, attacking various forms of relativism and subjectivism, but without reference to the *Republic* account.

Plato continues to talk about forms, but in elusive and often puzzling ways. One sustained passage in the first part of the *Parmenides* which appears to discuss forms of the kind that appear in the *Phaedo* and *Republic* is wholly negative. There various powerful arguments are brought against such forms, and no answers are supplied. Whatever Plato's own opinion of these arguments (some of them resembling arguments in early *Aristotle), forms in later dialogues revert

to a role more like their earlier one. They are the objective natures of things, the objects of knowledge, grasped only by the exercise of thought and inquiry, not by reliance on experience. *Statesman* 262b–263d discusses the way that language can be misleading: for instance, there is no form of foreigner, since ‘foreigner’ simply means ‘not Greek’ and things are not put into a unified kind by not being Greek. But there is no single method, other than continued inquiry, to determine which words pick out natural kinds, rather than merely contrived ones. However, although Plato never renounces forms as a source of objectivity in intellectual inquiry, he ceases to devote the same mystical and exalted attitudes to them as in the middle dialogues.

Soul and the cosmos

Throughout his work, Plato explores various versions of the idea of a person’s soul, as an entity distinct from the living embodied person, but attached to it by a relation which is inevitable but unfortunate. In the *Phaedo* several arguments for the soul’s immortality show that Plato is dealing indiscriminately with a number of different understandings of what the soul is: the principle of life, the intellect, the personality. The latter two are the ideas most developed. Understanding the soul as the intellect encourages Plato to treat knowledge as something that transcends our embodied state; in the *Meno* learning a geometrical proof is taken to be the person’s soul recollecting what it knew before birth. Understanding the soul as the personality prompts Plato to use myths of transmigration of souls and afterlife rewards and punishments. In the middle dialogues these two ideas are united: the *Phaedrus* gives a vivid picture of souls caught on a wheel of ongoing rebirth, a cycle from which only philosophical understanding promises release.

Plato uses the idea that souls are immortal and are endlessly reborn into different bodies as a metaphorical expression of a deep body–soul dualism which also emerges in other forms. He tends to draw sharp oppositions between active thinking and passive reliance on sense-experience, and to think of the senses as giving us merely unreflected and unreliable reports; the middle dialogues contain highly coloured disparagements of the world as revealed to us through the senses. However, another strain in Plato sets against this a more unified view of the person. The *Symposium* develops the idea that erotic love can be sublimated and refined in a way that draws the person to aspire to philosophical truth; in the *Phaedrus* we find that this need not lead to repudiation of the starting-point. In the *Republic*, two of the soul’s three parts are closely connected with the body; but (in the final book) only the thinking part achieves immortality.

The *Timaeus*, an account of the natural world cast as a description of its creation by a craftsman god, treats the world itself as a living thing, with body and soul. Many aspects of the *Timaeus*’ cosmology depend on this assumption. Other later dialogues, particularly the *Philebus*, also suggest that our souls are fragments of a cosmic soul.

Later problems and methods

The later dialogues do not display the same literary concerns as the Socratic and middle ones, nor do they contain the same themes. Rather, Plato moves to engaging with the ideas of other philosophers, and his own earlier ones, in a way strikingly unlike his earlier way of doing philosophy by the use of dialogue. In the later works the dialogue form is often strained by the need for exposition. Some are heavy and pedagogical. However, dialogue is often used brilliantly for long stretches of argument, as in the *Parmenides* and *Sophist*.

The *Sophist* presents, in a passage of challenging argument, Plato’s solution to Parmenides’ challenge about the coherence of talking about not-being. The *Timaeus* takes up the challenge of cosmology, replying to earlier thinkers with different cosmological assumptions. More fanciful treatment of cosmology is found in the *Statesman*. The *Cratylus* discusses questions of language and etymology in a semi-playful but systematic way. The unfinished *Critias* and the *Statesman* take up questions of political theory, discussing them by means previously rejected, like fiction and accounts which take folk memory and myth seriously. The *Philebus*, discussing the place of pleasure in the good life, does so in a context of Pythagorean metaphysics. The *Laws* sketches an ideal state with considerable help from the lessons of history and of actual politics. These works show a larger variety of interests than hitherto, and an increased flexibility of methodology. In these works Plato shows both a greater respect for the views of others and more willingness to learn from experience, tradition and history. *Laws* 3 anticipates Aristotle’s detailed research into political history. It is not surprising to find many ideas, methods, and concerns which remind us of Aristotle, who was Plato’s pupil, such as the treatment of the ‘mean’ in the *Statesman*, and the ‘receptacle’ in the *Timaeus* which resembles Aristotelian matter.

Plato is original, radical, and daring, but also elusive. His ideas are locally clear and uncompromising, and globally fragmented, perennially challenging the reader to join in the dialogue and take up the challenge, following the argument where it leads.

influenced by *Terence's invocation of Plautine precedent at *Andria* prologue 18 used to think they could show that Plautus had in some cases incorporated material from another Greek play into his adaptation; it is now commoner to believe in free invention of some material by Plautus. Attempts have even been made to show that he sometimes took no specific Greek original as his model, so far without success. But he adapted his models with considerable freedom and wrote plays that are in several respects quite different from anything we know of New Comedy. There is a large increase in the musical element. The roles of stock characters such as the parasite or sponger appear to have been considerably expanded. Consistency of characterization and plot development are cheerfully sacrificed for the sake of an immediate effect. The humour resides less in the irony of the situation than in jokes and puns. There are 'metatheatrical' references to the audience and to the progress of the play (e.g. *Pseudolus* 388, 562 ff., 720–1), or explicit reminders (as at *Stichus* 446–8) that the play is set in Greece. Above all, there is a constant display of verbal fireworks, with alliteration, wordplays, unexpected personifications (e.g. *Rudens* 626, 'Twist the neck of wrongdoing'), and riddling expressions (e.g. *Mercator* 361, 'My father's a fly: you can't keep anything secret from him, he's always buzzing around'). Both the style of humour and the presentation of stock characters may well have been influenced by the *Atellana* (a type of low-life comedy), but the verbal brilliance is Plautus' own.

The Greek originals have not survived, but a tattered papyrus published by Handley in 1968 contains the lines on which *Bacchides* 494–561 are based (from Menander's *Dis Exapaton*, 'The Double Deceiver'), for the first time enabling us to study Plautus' techniques of adaptation at first hand, and confirming the freedom of his approach. Plautus has preserved the basic plot and sequence of scenes, but he has cut two scenes altogether and has contrived to avoid a pause in the action where there was an act-break in the original. The tormented monologue of a young man in love has had some jokes added to it. Passages spoken without musical accompaniment in the original Greek are turned into accompanied passages in longer lines. The play is still set in Athens, and the characters have Greek-sounding names; but Plautus has changed most of them, in particular that of the scheming slave who dominates the action, called Syrus (The Syrian) in Menander's play; Plautus calls him Chrysalus (Gold-finger) and adds some colour elsewhere in the play by punning on this name. Chrysalus even boasts of his superiority to slaves called Syrus (649)!

The plots show considerable variety, ranging from the character study of *Aulularia* (the source of Molière's

L'Avare) to the transvestite romp of *Casina*, from the comedy of mistaken identity in *Amphitruo* and *Menaechmi* (both used by Shakespeare in *The Comedy of Errors*) to the more movingly ironic recognition comedy of *Captivi* (unusual in having no love interest). *Trinummus* is full of high-minded moralizing; *Truculentus* shows the triumph of an utterly amoral and manipulative prostitute. In several plays it is the authority-figure, the male head of the household, who comes off worst: *Casina* and *Mercator* show father and son competing for the love of the same girl, while at the end of *Asinaria* the father is caught by his wife as he tries to share his son's beloved; other plays (above all *Bacchides*, *Epidicus*, *Mostellaria*, and *Pseudolus*) glorify the roguish slave, generally for outwitting the father. These plays have been seen as providing a holiday release from the tensions of daily life, and their Greek setting must have helped: a world in which young men compete with mercenary soldiers for a long-term relationship with a prostitute was probably quite alien to Plautus' first audiences, a fantasy world in which such aberrations as the domination of citizens by slaves could safely be contemplated as part of the entertainment.

Plautus is at his most exuberant in the *cantica*, operatic arias and duets written in a variety of metres, with considerable technical virtuosity, and displaying many features of high-flown style. They often do little or nothing to advance the action, and we know of nothing like them in Greek New Comedy. *Cantica* come in many contexts, e.g. in the mouth of young men in love (as at *Cistellaria* 203–28, *Mostellaria* 84–156, *Trinummus* 223–75), or of 'running slaves', who rush on to the stage in great excitement to deliver an important piece of news but take the time to deliver a lengthy monologue about its importance (as at *Mercator* 111–30, *Stichus* 274–307, *Trinummus* 1008–58). Chrysalus has two strikingly boastful *cantica* at *Bacchides* 640–66 and 925–77. Some of his boasting is embroidered with triumph-imagery and other peculiarly Roman references; it is part of the fantasy of Plautus' Greek world that it can include Italian elements. Thus at *Pseudolus* 143 and 172 the pimp Ballio in addressing the members of his establishment speaks as a Roman magistrate issuing an official edict, and at *Menaechmi* 571 ff. the complaints about the duties of a patron are concerned entirely with social problems at Rome in Plautus' day. But such explicit comment on Roman matters is rare.

Plautus' plays continued to be performed with success at Rome at least until the time of Horace, and they were read by later generations. The earliest surviving manuscript is the 6th-cent. 'Ambrosian palimpsest'. Plautus was well known in Renaissance Italy, particularly after the re-discovery of twelve plays in a manuscript found in Germany in 1429, and his plays were performed and imitated

all over Europe until the seventeenth century, and more sporadically thereafter. Terence was more widely read in schools, but both contributed to the development of the European comic tradition (see COMEDY, LATIN). PGMB

plebs, the name given to the mass of Roman citizens, as distinct from the privileged patricians, perhaps related to the Greek term for the masses, *plēthos*. A modern hypothesis that the *plebs* was racially distinct from the *patricians is not supported by ancient evidence; and the view of some ancient writers (Cic. *Rep.* 2. 16; Dion. Hal. 2. 9; Plut. *Rom.* 13) that the plebeians were all clients of the patricians in origin may simply be an overstatement of the truism that clients were plebeians. Although we can confidently believe in the differentiation of an aristocracy of wealthier and more powerful families in the regal period, a clear-cut distinction of birth does not seem to have become important before the foundation of the republic, except perhaps in the field of religion, where the view that the plebeians did not originally have *gentes*, lineages (Livy 10. 8. 9) may be of some value. Our sources maintain that in the early republic the plebeians were excluded from religious colleges, magistracies, and the senate; a law of the *Twelve Tables confirmed an existing ban on their intermarriage with patricians, only to be repealed within a few years by the *lex Cannuleia*. However, they were enrolled in *curiae* (voting units) and *tribus (tribes), they served at all times in the army and could hold the office of *tribunus militum* (military tribune). The 'Conflict of the Orders', by which the *plebs* (or, more precisely, its wealthier members) achieved political equality with the patricians, is an essential part of the story of the development of Rome. The *plebs* owed its victory to the fact that it organized itself into an association, which held its own assemblies (*concilia plebis*), appointed its own officers, the *tribuni plebis* (*tribune of the plebs) and *aediles* (usually selected from the wealthier members of the order) and deposited its own records in the temples of Ceres and *Diana on the Aventine hill. Its major tactic in crises was *secessio*, secession *en masse* from Rome (note that the term *seeditio* also means a 'going apart'). During the first secession it secured inviolability for the persons of its officers by a collective undertaking to protect them. In fact the tribunes and aediles became in due course magistrates of the *populus Romanus*. The final secession in 287 BC led to the *lex Hortensia*, which made *plebiscita* (resolutions of the plebeian assembly) binding on the whole community. This is normally regarded as the end of the Conflict of the Orders, since the plebeians were no longer significantly disadvantaged *qua* plebeians. However, there continued to be clashes between the interests of the aristocrats and

the wealthy and those of the humbler citizens over issues such as public land, which had first emerged in the early republic. Under the later republic the name 'plebeian' acquired in ordinary parlance its modern sense of a member of the lower social orders. Hence from at least *Augustus' reign onwards those who did not belong to the senatorial or equestrian orders or to the order of the local senate (*decuriones*) in colonies or *municipia* (municipalities) were often called the *plebs*. AM/AWL

Pliny the Elder (AD 23/4–79), Gaius Plinius Secundus, prominent Roman equestrian, from Novum Comum in Gallia Cisalpina (see GAUL (CISALPINE)), commander of the fleet at Misenum, and uncle of *Pliny the Younger, best known as the author of the 37-book *Naturalis Historia*, an encyclopaedia of all contemporary knowledge—animal, vegetable, and mineral—but with much that is human included too: *natura, hoc est vita, narratur* ('Nature, which is to say Life, is my subject', *pref.* 13).

Characteristic of his age and background in his range of interests and diverse career, Pliny obtained an equestrian command through the *patronage of Quintus Pompeius Secundus (consul 41), and served in Germany, alongside the future emperor *Titus. Active in legal practice in the reign of *Nero, he was then promoted by the favour of the Flavians (and probably the patronage of Licinius Mucianus, whose works he also often quotes) through a series of high procuratorships (including that of Hispania Tarraconensis), in which he won a reputation for integrity (see PROCURATOR). He became a member of the council of *Vespasian and Titus, and was given the command of the Misenum fleet. When Vesuvius erupted on 24 August 79, duty and curiosity combined, fatally; he led a detachment to the disaster-area, landed at Stabiae, and died from inhaling fumes. For his career and death two letters of his nephew (Pliny, *Ep.* 3. 5 and 6. 16) are the primary source (also Suet. *Illustr.* fr. 80 Reifferscheid).

Throughout this career Pliny was phenomenally productive of literary work. His cavalry command produced a monograph on the use of the throwing-spear by cavalrymen. Piety towards his patron demanded a biography in two books. The *Bella Germaniae* in 20 books recounted Roman campaigns against the Germans, and was used by *Tacitus in the *Annales* and *Germania*. *Studiosi* in 3 long books (two rolls each) was a collection of *sententiae* from *controversiae* for use by orators, and *Dubius sermo*, reconciling the claims of analogy and anomaly in Latin diction, reflect his period of legal employment—and the dangers of composing anything less anodyne in the latter years of Nero. The years of his procuratorships produced a 31-book history continuing

Aufidius Bassus (see HISTORIOGRAPHY, ROMAN) and covering the later Julio-Claudian period; and, dedicated to Titus, the *Naturalis Historia*.

Pliny was clearly impressed by scale, number, comprehensiveness, and detail. It is characteristic that he claims that there are 20,000 important facts derived from 2,000 books in his work (*pref.* 17), but this is a severe underestimate. The value of what he preserves of the information available to him (the more so since he usually attributes his material to its source) far outweighs the fact that when he can be checked against the original (as with Theophrastus, for instance), he not infrequently garbles his information through haste or insufficient thought. To give only four examples: our study of ancient *agriculture, *medicine, the techniques of metallurgy, and the canon of great artists in antiquity, would all be impoverished if the work had perished (see ART, ANCIENT ATTITUDES TO). So dependent are we on him for many technical fields, that it becomes essential to remember that, mania for inclusiveness notwithstanding, his was a selection of what was available to him (and is indeed—creditably—slanted where possible towards his own experience). The argument from literary silence about many matters of economic and social importance is thus often essentially an argument from the silence of Pliny, and therefore methodologically very limited. It still has to be said that he can scarcely be blamed for not applying the standards of empirical inquiry to ancient medical lore, or for sharing widespread misconceptions about the world. Indeed, one of the interesting aspects of the work is the eloquent witness that he provides for precisely these pre-scientific ways of thinking.

Pliny was no philosopher. It may indeed be thought refreshing to have a view of the ancient world from an author who did not have some claim to the philosophical viewpoint; certainly the sections where Pliny's thought is least accessible are often those where subject-matter such as the Cosmos or the Divine take him away from the relatively concrete. Even here, though, there is an engaging personality at work, and there are enough asides and reflections on the world to give an impression of the author which, though it resembles, to an extent, the persona adopted by other Latin technical writers such as *Vitruvius or Julius Frontinus (and is deeply conscious of what literary work it is proper to expect from an important equestrian, but not a senator) is still highly individual: as is the style and the imagery, which was often misunderstood in later antiquity, and can still baffle today. The standard ethical diatribe against luxury and aristocratic excess of the man from the municipality is given vivid historical and geographical colour, and if the Roman past is idealized it is partly through the evocation of an image

of the *populus Romanus* which is among the least hostile treatments of the many in any ancient author. The themes of the sufficient excellence of the natural endowment of Italy, and the terrible moral threat posed by the differential value of the exotic, form a laconic and memorable conclusion to book 37 (described in book 1, end as *Comparatio naturae per terras; comparatio rerum per pretia*, 'nature compared in different lands; products compared as to value').

Vita vigilia est (*pref.* 18): Life is being awake. The *Naturalis Historia* is a monument to keeping alert, and to the useful employment of time. Pliny's energy and diligence astonished his nephew, were intended to impress his contemporaries, and still amaze today; they were, moreover, not just a contingent habit of mind, but intended as an ethical statement. For all his defects of accuracy, selection, and arrangement, Pliny achieved a real summation of universal knowledge, deeply imbued with the mood of the time, and the greatness of his work was speedily recognized. It was a model for later writers such as Julius Solinus and Isidorus, and attained a position of enormous cultural and intellectual influence in the medieval west. NP

Pliny the Younger (c. AD 61–c. 112), Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, is known from his writings and from inscriptions (e.g. *ILS* 2927). Son of a landowner of Comum, he was brought up by his uncle, *Pliny the Elder, of equestrian rank (see *EQUITES*), who adopted him, perhaps in his will; see *ADOPTION* (ROMAN). He studied rhetoric at the feet of Quintilian and Nicetes at Rome. After the usual year's service on the staff of a Syrian legion (c. 81), he entered the senate in the later 80s through the patronage of such distinguished family friends as Verginius Rufus and Julius Frontinus. He practised with distinction in the civil courts all his life, specializing in cases relating to inheritance, and conducted several prosecutions in the senate of provincial governors charged with extortion. He rose up the senatorial ladder, becoming praetor in 93 (or less probably 95) and consul in 100, and he also held a series of imperial administrative appointments, as *praefectus aerari militaris* (prefect in charge of soldiers' pension fund: c. 94–6), *praefectus aerari Saturni* (prefect in charge of the state treasury: c. 98–100), and *curator alvei Tiberis*, i.e. in charge of the banks of the river Tiber (c. 104–6). He was thrice a member of the judicial council of *Trajan (c. 104–7), who sent him as *legatus Augusti* (imperial legate) to govern Bithynia-Pontus in NW *Asia Minor (c. 110), where he apparently died in office (c. 112). His career, though similar to that of his friend *Tacitus, is the best-documented example from the Principate of a man of municipal origins and continuing local

ties, of his role as patron, of his senatorial activities, and of his landed wealth.

Pliny published nine books of literary letters between 99 (or 104) and 109 at irregular intervals, singly or in groups of three. Some letters comment elegantly on social, domestic, judicial, and political events, others offer friends advice, others again are references for jobs or requests for support for his own candidates in senatorial elections, while the tone is varied by the inclusion of short courtesy notes and set-piece topographical descriptions. Each letter is carefully composed (*Ep.* 1. 1), with great attention to formal style; Pliny uses the devices of contemporary rhetoric, with intricate arrangement and balance of words and clauses in sentences and paragraphs. Letters are limited either to a single subject treated at appropriate length, or to a single theme illustrated by three examples (cf. *Epp.* 2. 20; 3. 16; 6. 31; 7. 27). Great care was also taken with the sequence of letters within each book. Pliny and his friends regularly exchanged such letters (*Ep.* 9. 28), which Pliny distinguished from boring business letters (*Ep.* 1. 10), from mere trivialities (*Ep.* 3. 20), and from the philosophical abstractions of *Seneca's letters (*Ep.* 9. 2). The letters do have their origins in day-to-day events, but Pliny aimed to create a new type of literature. He set out to write not an annalistic history, but a picture of himself and his times with a strong moral element. He censures the cruelty of slave masters, the dodges of legacy hunters, and the meanness of the wealthy, but the targets of his criticisms are normally anonymous. He dwells for preference on positive aspects of the present, the benign role of Trajan, the merits of friends and acquaintances, the importance of education, and the literary life of Rome. Other letters describe the public life of senatorial debates, elections and trials, without concealing the weaknesses of senators, and recount, in a manner anticipating Tacitus, heroic episodes of the political opposition to *Domitian, with which Pliny liked to claim some connection.

Pliny was also active in other fields of literature. He wrote verses enthusiastically, publishing, in the manner of his protégé *Martial, two volumes, from which he quotes a few indifferent specimens. His surviving speech, the *Panegyricus*, the only extant Latin speech between *Cicero and the late imperial panegyrics, is an expanded version of the original he delivered in the senate in thanks for his election to the consulship. Rhetorically a success (its popularity in the late-Roman rhetorical schools is responsible for its survival), it contrasts Trajan with the tyrannical Domitian. It is a major statement of the Roman political ideal of the good emperor, who condescends to play the role of an ordinary senator.

The tenth book of letters contains all of Pliny's correspondence with Trajan: the first fourteen letters date between 98 and c.110, the remainder to Pliny's governorship of Bithynia-Pontus. The letters are much simpler in style than those in books 1–9 and were not worked up for publication, probably after Pliny's death. The provincial letters are the only such dossier surviving entire, and are a major source for understanding Roman provincial government. Each letter concerns a particular problem, such as the status of foundlings or the condition of civic finances, on which Pliny sought a ruling from Trajan. In *Ep.* 10. 96 Pliny gives the earliest external account of Christian worship, and the fullest statement of the reasons for the execution of Christians; see CHRISTIANITY. ANS-W/SRFP

Plutarch (Lucius (?) Mestrius Plutarchus) of Boeotian Chaeronea; b. before AD 50, d. after AD 120; philosopher and biographer. The family had long been established in Chaeronea, and most of Plutarch's life was spent in that historic town, to which he was devoted. He knew Athens well, and visited both Egypt and Italy, lecturing and teaching at Rome. His father, Autobulus, his grandfather, Lamprias, and other members of his family figure often in his dialogues; his wide circle of influential friends include the consulars Lucius Mestrius Florus (whose gentile name he bore), Quintus Sosius Senecio (to whom the *Parallel Lives* and other works are dedicated), and Gaius Minicius Fundanus, as well as magnates like the exiled Syrian prince Philopappus. For the last 30 years of his life, Plutarch was a priest at *Delphi. A devout believer in the ancient pieties and a profound student of its antiquities, he played a notable part in the revival of the shrine in the time of Trajan and Hadrian; and the people of Delphi joined with Chaeronea in dedicating a portrait bust of him 'in obedience to the decision of the Amphictions', the members of the sanctuary's venerable governing body (*Syll.* 3 843 A). Late authorities (*Suda*, Eusebius) report that he received *ornamenta consularia* (the honorary rank of *consul) from Trajan, and was imperial *procurator in Achaia under Hadrian; whatever lies behind this, he was a man of some influence in governing circles, as he was in his writing an active exponent of the concept of a partnership between Greece, the educator, and Rome, the great power, and of the compatibility of the two loyalties.

The 'Catalogue of Lamprias', a list of his works probably dating from the 4th cent., contains 227 items. Extant are 78 miscellaneous works (some not listed in the Catalogue) and 50 Lives. We have lost the Lives of the Caesars (except *Galba* and *Otho*) and some others (notably *Epaminondas*, *Pindar*, *Daiphantus*), and probably two-thirds of the miscellaneous works. Nevertheless, what

remains is a formidable mass; Plutarch was a very prolific writer, especially (it seems) in the last twenty years of his life. The relative chronology of his works however is very difficult to establish (C. P. Jones, *JRS* 1966, 61–74). For a complete list of titles, see e.g. any volume of the Loeb *Moralia*, or D. A. Russell, *Select Essays and Dialogues* (World's Classics, 1993), pp. xxiii–xxix. In what follows, we can only mention a few. (The numbers attached to the titles refer to the order of treatises in all editions.)

1. The group of *rhetorical* works—epideictic performances—includes ‘The Glory of Athens’ (22), ‘The Fortune of Rome’ (20), ‘Against Borrowing Money’ (54). Plutarch’s richly allusive and metaphorical style does not seem very well adapted to rhetorical performance, and these—with the exception of ‘Against Borrowing’ which is a powerful, satirical piece—are not very successful; it is often thought, though without clear evidence, that Plutarch’s epideictic rhetoric was something that he gave up in later life.

2. The numerous treatises on themes of popular moral philosophy are derivative in content, but homogeneous and characteristic in style. Among the best are ‘Friends and Flatterers’ (4), ‘Progress in Virtue’ (5), ‘Superstition’ (14), ‘The Control of Anger’ (29), ‘Talkativeness’ (35), ‘Curiosity’ (36), and ‘Bashfulness’ (38). In ‘Rules for Politicians’ (52), Plutarch draws both on his historical reading and on his own experience, to give advice to a young man entering politics. The warm and sympathetic personality never far beneath the surface appears particularly in ‘Consolation to my Wife’ (45) and ‘Advice on Marriage’ (12). Plutarch’s teaching is less individualistic than that of many ancient moralists: family affections and friendly loyalties play a large part in it.

3. Many of Plutarch’s works are *dialogues*, written not so much in the Platonic tradition as in that of *Aristotle (and indeed *Cicero), with long speeches, a good deal of characterization, and the frequent appearance of the author himself as a participant. The nine books of ‘Table Talk’ (46) are full of erudite urbanity and curious speculation. ‘Socrates’ Daimonion’ (43) combines exciting narrative (liberation of Thebes from Spartan occupation in 379/8) with philosophical conversation about prophecy (a favourite theme) and an elaborate Platonic myth (see PLATO) of the fate of the soul after death (Plutarch attempted such myths elsewhere also, especially in ‘God’s Slowness to Punish’ (41)). ‘Eroticus’ (47) also combines narrative with argument, this time in a near contemporary setting: the ‘kidnapping’ of a young man by a widow who wishes to marry him forms the background to a discussion of heterosexual and homosexual love in general (see HETEROSEXUALITY; HOMOSEXUALITY). Delphi is the scene of four dialogues, all concerned with

prophecy, *daimones*, and divine providence; and it is in these (together with *Isis and Osiris* (23)) that the greater part of Plutarch’s philosophical and religious speculation is to be sought.

4. He was a Platonist, and a teacher of philosophy; and the more technical side of this activity is to be seen in his interpretation of the *Timaeus* (68) and a series of polemical treatises against the Stoics (70–2) and Epicureans (73–5).

5. We possess also important antiquarian works—‘Roman Questions’ and ‘Greek Questions’ (18), mainly concerned with religious antiquities—and some on literary themes (‘On Reading the Poets’ (2) is the most significant).

Plutarch’s fame led to the inclusion in the corpus of a number of *spuria*, some of which have been very important: ‘The Education of Children’ (1) was influential in the Renaissance; ‘Doctrines of the Philosophers’ (58) is a version of a doxographic compilation to which we owe a lot of our knowledge of Greek philosophy, while ‘Lives of the Ten Orators’ (55) and ‘Music’ (76) are also important sources of information.

The ‘Parallel Lives’ remain his greatest achievement. We have 23 pairs, 19 of them with ‘comparisons’ attached. Plutarch’s aims are set out e.g. in *Alexander* 1: his object was not to write continuous political history, but to exemplify individual virtue (or vice) in the careers of great men. Hence he gives attention especially to his heroes’ education, to significant anecdotes, and to what he sees as the development or revelation of character. Much depends of course on the sources available to him (*Alcibiades* is full of attested personal detail; *Publicola* is thin and padded out; *Antony* full of glorious narrative, especially about *Cleopatra VII; *Phocion* and *Cato Maior* full of sententious anecdotes), but the general pattern is maintained wherever possible: family, education, début in public life, climaxes, changes of fortune or attitude, latter years and death. The *Lives*, despite the pitfalls for the historian which have sometimes led to despair about their value as source-material, have been the main source of understanding of the ancient world for many readers from the Renaissance to the present day.

Indeed, Plutarch has almost always been popular. He was a ‘classic’ by the 4th cent., and a popular educational text in Byzantine times. The preservation of so much of his work is due mainly to Byzantine scholars (especially Maximus Planudes). His wider influence dates from Renaissance translations, especially Amyot’s French version (*Lives* 1559, *Moralia* 1572) and Sir T. North’s English *Lives* (1579; largely based on Amyot) and Philemon Holland’s *Moralia* (1603). Montaigne, Shakespeare, Dryden, Rousseau, and Emerson are among Plutarch’s principal

debtors. In the 19th cent., however, his influence, at least among scholars, diminished: he was seen as a derivative source both in history and in philosophy, and his lack of historical perspective and his rather simple moral attitudes earned him much disrespect. Recent scholarship has done much to reverse this negative view; as understanding of his learning and the aims and methods of his writing has deepened, so he has come again to be seen, not as a marginal figure, but as a thinker whose view of the Classical world deserves respect and study. *See also* BIOGRAPHY, GREEK.

DAR

police In any discussion of police it is necessary to distinguish between the function of policing, that is, maintaining public order and enforcing the law, and the existence of a specialized agency of repression, i.e. a police force, to carry out these tasks on behalf of the state. Police forces as such, though taken for granted as a necessity, or at least a necessary evil, in modern societies, did not exist in the ancient world. They are a creation of the 18th and 19th cents., and reflect the growth of state power in the increasingly complex and bureaucratic societies of the modern industrialized world, and the extent to which mechanisms of social control have been centralized and monopolized by the state.

On the other hand, ancient city-states recognized the need for publicly appointed officials to carry out functions of social regulation. For example, in Classical Athens annual boards of magistrates (*astynomoi* (streets), *agoranomoi* (markets), *sitophylakes* (corn supply), etc.) were charged with keeping the streets clean, supervising market transactions, and controlling grain prices (*Ath. Pol.* 50–1, with Rhodes *CAAP*). Officials of this kind are attested in Greek cities throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and the same functions were performed in Rome and cities of the Latin west by the aediles and their equivalents.

As for penal enforcement, Aristotle observes (*Ath. pol.* 1322a 1–19) that officials to enforce court decisions are indispensable in any city (but are universally disliked). At Athens a board of citizen officials called the Eleven, appointed by lot, had the task of guarding prisoners in the city *prison, carrying out executions, and occasionally arresting criminals. In Rome these functions were carried out by minor magistrates called *tresviri capitales*, who may also have exercised summary jurisdiction over slaves and humble citizens. But these magistrates, who were assisted by only a small number of public slaves, had neither the authority nor the resources to act as a police force. At Athens after the Persian Wars (*see* GREECE (HISTORY)) a special force of 300 Scythian slaves, armed with bows, was used to keep order in the assembly and the law-

courts, but the Scythian archers acted as policemen only in the most rudimentary sense; they were of low status, enjoyed little public respect and had no authority to investigate, arrest or prosecute. At Rome the lictors who attended the senior magistrates were only symbols of the state's authority to discipline and punish; they had no effective power to coerce. The authority of magistrates depended absolutely on the acceptance by the citizens of their political institutions and the men who operated them.

A remarkable feature of ancient societies is how little the authorities were involved in the suppression, investigation, and prosecution of criminal activity. These matters were left to the private initiative of citizens who relied on networks of kin, friends, and dependants in a system of self-help. Small-scale disturbances were resolved locally by neighbours and passers-by, who were expected to take sides and usually did so. The state became involved only when violence had a political dimension or when it became a threat to the community as a whole. In such circumstances the authorities mobilized ordinary citizens who took up arms on behalf of the state. This happened in Athens in the crisis of 415 BC (Andocides 1. 45), and in Rome in 186 BC at the time of the Bacchanalian affair (*Livy* 39. 16. 13; *see* BACCHANALIA). In the political crises of 121 and 100 BC the senators and knights armed themselves and their dependants in order to crush Gaius *Gracchus and Lucius Appuleius Saturninus. The need to call upon the armed support of the citizens in a crisis was widely recognized, and is for example laid down in Roman colonial charters (e.g. *lex Coloniae Genetivae* [= *Roman Statutes* 25], 103).

After the breakdown of public order in the late republic the Roman emperors instituted more permanent forces to police the city of Rome. These were the urban cohorts, commanded by the prefect of the city (*praefectus urbi*), and the *vigiles*, a corps of 7,000 freed slaves under an equestrian prefect, whose principal task was to act as a fire brigade, but could be used to enforce order if necessary. The praetorian guard was also on hand to suppress major public disturbances. Urban cohorts similar to those at Rome existed at certain large cities, including Lugdunum (Lyons) and *Carthage, and several cities apparently had fire brigades; but these were treated with suspicion by the central government which saw them as potentially subversive. *Trajan advised *Pliny the Younger to provide fire-fighting equipment for the citizens of Nicomedia to use when needed, rather than to set up a permanent fire brigade (*Plin. Ep.* 10. 34, a most revealing document). But these paramilitary forces of the Roman empire, including the *diogmitae* ('pursuers') found in Asia Minor, although closer to a police force

than anything else in antiquity, were not involved in day-to-day law enforcement, which remained the responsibility of private citizens acting on their own behalf. TJCO

polis (plur. *poleis*), the Greek city-state. The *polis* is the characteristic form of Greek urban life; its main features are small size, political autonomy, social homogeneity, sense of community and respect for law. It can be contrasted with the earlier Mycenaean palace economy (see MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION), and with the continuing existence of tribal (*ethnos*) types of organization in many areas of northern Greece. (See ETHNICITY. For a different sense of 'tribe' see below.) The *polis* arose in the late Dark Ages. It is present in *Homer; the archaeological signs of city development (public space, temples, walls, public works, town planning) appear in an increasing number of sites in the 8th–7th cents. (Old Smyrna, Eretria); the peaceful abandonment of smaller sites and the general decline of archaeological evidence from the countryside in the 7th cent. suggest early *synoecism or concentration of population in specific *polis* sites. The foundation of organized settlements in new areas (see COLONIZATION, GREEK) is not distinct, but part of the same process.

Each *polis* controlled a territory (*chōra*) delimited geographically by mountains or sea, or by proximity to another *polis*; border wars were common, as were inter-city agreements and attempts to establish religious rights over disputed areas; *Athens and *Sparta were exceptional in possessing large territories. Autonomy was jealously guarded, but the necessities of collaboration made for a proliferation of foreign alliances, leagues, and hegemonies; and a constant struggle for domination or independence developed (see IMPERIALISM (*Greek and Hellenistic*)). There was also constant interchange and competition between cities, so that despite their separate identities a common culture was always maintained.

Economically the *polis* served an agrarian economy as a centre for local exchange, processing, and manufacture; many cities were located on the sea, and had also important overseas trading interests (see ECONOMY, GREEK; ECONOMY, HELLENISTIC). Socially the citizens comprised an ethnically homogeneous or limited group, organized according to 'tribes' (*phylai*) and smaller *kinship groups, such as phratries, demes (rural villages) and families (see HOUSEHOLD); new cities would replicate these, and they were often reorganized more or less artificially to serve new civic functions. Each city had a specific patron deity and a religious calendar with other lesser cults and festivals; the older priesthoods belonged to specific aristocratic families, later ones were often appointed by

the people (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)). Animal sacrifice (see SACRIFICE, GREEK) was accompanied by equal distribution of the meat at civic festivals, which from the 6th cent. became the focus for city-organized competitions in sport, dancing, and theatre (see GAMES). New cities required religious authorization, traditionally from the oracle of Apollo at Delphi (see COLONIZATION, GREEK; DELPHIC ORACLE); sacred fire was brought from the mother city, and established at the *prytaneion* (town hall), which in all cities acted as the common hearth, where magistrates and others took meals provided at public expense; the founder of a new city was given heroic honours after death, with a tomb within the walls and public rites.

Economy, kinship groups, and religion were subordinate to the main focus of the *polis*, which was broadly political; and its development may be seen largely in terms of the adaptation of these forces to a political end. Originating as an aristocratic system, the *polis* became a 'guild of warriors', in which the military power of the community (hoplites or heavy infantrymen, and later at Athens the 'naval mob') controlled the political and institutional life. Women were therefore never admitted to political rights and were effectively excluded from public life. In origin all cities seem to have possessed similar institutions: magistrates (see MAGISTRACY, GREEK) elected annually, a council of elders, and a warrior assembly; the common later contrast between *oligarchy and *democracy simply relates to relatively minor differences in the distribution of powers and eligibility for office. The first stage in the development of the *polis* (7th–6th cents.) was usually the establishment of a written or customary lawcode (often attributed to a named *nomothētēs* or lawmaker (*Lycurgus, *Solon)), which limited the arbitrary powers of the aristocratic magistrates and regulated social conflict; the ideal was often referred to as *eunomia* (see SPARTA, § 2). The second stage (late 6th cent.) was the evolution of the concept of the citizen with defined privileges and duties; this often involved the establishment of equality in political rights (*isonomia*, or democracy), but also the establishment of clear membership rules excluding non-citizens, and creating subordinate statuses (see CLEISTHENES; METICS). The *polis* was indeed always defined in terms of its members, rather than geographically: the city of Athens is always called 'the Athenians', and citizenship generally implied equality and participation in all political, judicial, and governmental activities. In the 5th and 4th cents. a fully political society developed, centred on the making of complex decisions in the citizen assembly (see POLITICS).

This elaboration of a political culture affected all aspects of the *polis*. Religious and social institutions were



polis Ruins of an Athenian farmhouse near modern Vari (late 5th cent. BC). Most *poleis* were agricultural communities, and at Athens the majority of citizens lived in the Attic countryside until forced to take shelter behind the city-walls in the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC). Antony Spawforth

not autonomous, but were continually being adapted to conform to the needs of *polis* organization. Sparta is a striking example: an initially normal Greek city substituted universal military commensality (the *syssitia*) in place of family structures, and adapted all religious *rituals to the needs of a hoplite *polis*. Other cities underwent less extreme forms of adaptation, but the constant subordination of family and religious structures and large parts of the legal system (such as inheritance) to the needs of the *polis* is striking, and creates an impression of rationality in the development of social forms. Equally the dominance of the political led to an early recognition of the difference between the various spheres of social activity (Max Weber's 'formal rationality'), and of the possibility of conflict between them, which is especially exemplified in the public art of tragedy (see TRAGEDY, GREEK).

In the late 4th cent. the gradual loss of political autonomy eroded the power of the armed citizens, and increased that of wealthy notables. The Hellenistic *polis* was marked by a conflict between rich and poor citizens (see CLASS STRUGGLE), mediated by the willingness of the rich to spend their *wealth on the duties of office and to engage in *euergetism, or subsidizing the expenses of office and of public festivals and culture, and providing buildings and other public works; this is expressed in the ideal of *homonoia* (concord). The extension of the *polis* as a civic form across the areas conquered by *Alexander the Great under his Successors (the 'Diadochi') created a colonial-style system, in which a Greek urbanized élite

lived off the labour of a non-Greek countryside (see COLONIZATION, HELLENISTIC). The criterion of citizenship became education at the *gymnasium in Greek letters and sport, and the concept of the *polis* became as much cultural as political.

The *polis* of the Roman age inherited a tradition of independence and competition within an imperial system, of civic pride expressed in public building programmes, and of cultural superiority over Romans and native peasantry; this was exemplified in the Greek renaissance of the '*Second Sophistic'. The Greek cities of the eastern empire were thus able to develop and continue a rich economic, cultural, and social life into the early Byzantine period.

The origins of the rationalization and idealization of the *polis* lie deep in the reforming tendencies of the Archaic age. Greek political philosophy emerged in the fifth century with various attempts to imagine utopian cities whose institutions were directed towards specific ends; *Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* stand in this tradition. *Aristotle's *Politics* begins from the claim that 'man is by nature an animal of the *polis*', and seeks to draw conclusions from the whole experience of the *polis*, but fails to create an ideal philosophical state. Later thinkers (the *Cynics, Zeno, *Epicurus) rebelled against the conception of man as subordinate to the *polis*, either by claiming his freedom from it, or by redefining the institution as a *cosmopolis*, in which all wise men were free. It is this mystical universalization of the *polis* which enabled first the Roman imperial panegyrist and then the Christian writer

St *Augustine to conceive of the *polis* as a transcendental city embracing all the members of a community, whether empire or church.

See also CITIZENSHIP, GREEK; ETHNICITY; FEDERAL STATES; FREEDOM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD; GREECE, PREHISTORY AND HISTORY OF; LAW IN GREECE; POLITICAL THEORY; POLITICS; URBANISM. OMU

political theory (*see following page*)

politics

In Greece

1. Politics as power struggle. This is the dominant interpretation of politics in the modern world since Macchiavelli; it requires organized groups, either operating out of group self-interest or with differing conceptions of the common interest. In the Archaic age of Greece there is some evidence for the existence of aristocratic groups supported by retainers, notably in the poetry of *Alcaeus and at Athens before *Cleisthenes; in the Classical period organized aristocratic *hetaireiai* (clubs) occasionally emerged as politically important, but usually as a consequence of lack of success in normal political life. Organized political parties never existed, and political programmes were confined to groups trying to change the constitution.

2. Politics as ritualized decision-making. Specific political institutions and methods for decision-making are first found in the archaic age, and were highly developed by the Classical period; the best-known examples are *Sparta and *Athens (*see* DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN; LYCURGUS; SPARTA). They involved a specific location for taking decisions, religious rituals for demarcating space and time, and a fixed procedure. In principle all citizens with full rights could participate in the assembly. The aim was to achieve consensus through structured discussion; arguments usually took the form of opposed speeches, and speakers were expected to maintain certain conventions of dignified behaviour: scandal was caused when these were infringed by the Athenian demagogues in the late 5th cent. At Athens political leaders were initially of aristocratic birth, but after the death of *Pericles they were simply those who spoke most often (*prostatai tou dēμου, dēmagōgoi, rhētores*); they were regarded as responsible for decisions, and prided themselves on consistency of advice. There were four main issues on which they were expected to possess knowledge: city revenues, war and peace, defence, corn supply (Arist. *Rhet.* 1. 4; Xen. *Mem.* 3. 6). Seventeen assembly speeches survive from the period 403–322 BC, by *Lysias, *Andocides and (especially) *Demosthenes; they are brief and well organized; their arguments are based on rational calcula-

tion of advantage and consequence, rather than appeals to sentiment, religion, or historical rights. The controls on assembly procedure in the 5th cent. were customary; but in the 4th cent. the formal distinction between laws and decrees, and the limitation of the assembly to the making of decrees, led to the constitutional check of the *graphē paranomōn* (indictment for unconstitutional behaviour), whereby decrees could be challenged in the courts as being contrary to the laws. A decision once taken was accepted as the will of the community expressed in such phrases as 'the Athenians decided', and was binding on all: there was no mechanism for continued dissent.

This absence of a means for structuring permanent political oppositions such as class conflict (*see* CLASS STRUGGLE) was a basic weakness of Greek political life: *stasis*, armed revolution, had as its aim the overthrow of the existing consensus, in order to return to a different political unity through the extermination of the opposition; it was common in many cities, and focused on the conflict between democracy and oligarchy, or the question of equal or unequal distribution of political privileges in relation to social class; it caused much instability of political life. *Stasis* was regarded as a disease of the body politic, capable of destroying the community (Thuc. 3. 82–3). Philosophers were unable to offer any solution to the problem.

At Rome

Roman society had a strong gentilicial framework, and throughout the republic politics was largely based on the *clientela* or kinship group; the late republic saw also the growth of military clientship among the dynasts. Much of Roman political life was concerned with the struggle for election to those offices which gave access to legal power, military command, and the possibility of conquest (*see* IMPERIUM; MAGISTRACY, ROMAN; PROVINCIA); it therefore involved a measure of participation by the people. Individuals might espouse conservative or radical attitudes and be designated by the political labels, *optimates* (lit. 'the best men', the conservative governing class) and *populares* (popular politicians); but there was much inconsistency, and these claims seldom involved clear differences in policy. Decision-making was divided between the aristocratic senate and a number of different assemblies, and was therefore complex and open to challenge. Roman political life seems closer to modern practices than does Greek, for it distanced the people from the process of decision-making and possessed a complex constitutional law based on precedent; but it still lacked the concept of institutionalized party politics. The political leadership was always aristocratic, and much concerned

[*continued on p. 609*]

POLITICAL THEORY

political theory Greek and Roman authors reflected constantly about justice, good government, the nature of law. Epic, tragedy, comedy, history, and oratory are rich in political thought, frequently intensely interacting with the thought of the philosophers. To single out the philosophers, as must be done here, is potentially distorting.

Greek and Roman political theory is distinctive in its focus on the *soul. All the major thinkers hold that one cannot reflect well about political institutions without reflecting, first, about human flourishing, and about the psychological structures that facilitate or impede it. Their thought about virtue, education, and the passions is integral to their political theory, since they hold, for the most part, that a just city (*polis) can only be achieved by the formation of balanced and virtuous individuals—although they also hold that institutions shape the passions of individuals and their possibilities for flourishing.

The 5th cent. BC in Athens saw a flowering of political theory and a turning of philosophy from cosmology to human concerns. The *sophists and those influenced by them exchanged arguments about the status of ethical and political norms—whether these norms exist by nature (*physis*) or by convention or law (*nomos*), and whether they are absolute, or relative to the species and/or the individual. Protagoras' famous saying that 'The human being is the measure of all things' was probably not intended as the claim that each individual is the subjective judge of value for himself, but that the human species is the standard. But even such anthropocentrism constituted a challenge to the primacy of religious sources of value. Other thinkers championed more thoroughgoing forms of relativism. While Protagoras strongly defended conventions of justice as essential to well-being, others offered an immoralist teaching, urging individuals to pursue their own pleasure or power in so far as they could escape the tyranny of constraining law and custom.

*Socrates portrayed his relation to the Athenian democracy (*see* DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN) as that of a gadfly on the back of a 'noble but sluggish horse': democracy was on the whole admirable but in need of critical self-examination. Although charged with oligarchic sympathies, he remained on good terms with *Lysias and other prominent democrats after the restoration; it is likely that he preferred democracy to other regimes, while advocating a larger role for expert judgement. In *Plato's *Crito*, he justifies his refusal to escape his penalty by insisting on the obligation of obedience to law imposed by a citizen's acceptance of the benefit and education of those same laws.

Plato's search for a just city, in the *Republic*, begins with the attempt to defend the life of the just person against Thrasymachus' immoralist challenge, showing that this life is more *eudaimōn* (lucky) than the unjust life. In order to understand justice in the individual, the interlocutors imagine an ideal city, in whose class-relations justice may be seen. The relation between city and *soul turns out to be more complex than analogy, however, since the institutions of the ideal city prove necessary for the production of full justice in individuals; and the rule of just individuals is necessary for the maintenance of ideal institutions. The just individual is characterized by psychic harmony in which each part of the soul does its proper work, reason ruling and appetite and spirit being ruled; so too, in the just city, the reasoners are to rule and people dominated by appetite are to be ruled. On this basis Plato's Socrates develops his institutional proposals, which include: an education for the ruling class in which all traditional poetry is banished as bad for the soul; the abolition of the nuclear family and a communal scheme of marriage and child-rearing; the equal consideration of women for all functions, including that of ruler; a selective cultivation of the best souls to produce a ruling class of philosophers with knowledge of the good. Plato seems unconcerned about the limits he imposes on free choice, since he views most citizens as psychically immature and in need of permanent supervision.

Plato's later political works, *Statesman* and *Laws*, re-examine these psychic and institutional questions. *Statesman* develops the idea of practical wisdom as a flexible ability to grapple with the changing circumstances of human life, thus anticipating a prominent theme in the thought of *Aristotle. In *Laws* the emphasis on the guiding political role of wisdom is maintained, but, apparently, with a new emphasis on the importance of consent by and rational persuasion of the ruled, who now seem to be judged capable of some sort of fully-fledged virtue. The dialogue reflects at length about the justification and nature of punishment.

Aristotle's political thought includes an account of the nature of human flourishing or *eudaimonia*, since, as he argues, the good things that politics distributes (property, possessions, offices, honours) are good not in themselves but as means to flourishing; an account of flourishing thus gives a 'limit' to the legislator, whose task will be to make an arrangement such that, barring catastrophic accidents, 'anyone whatsoever may do well and live a flourishing life.'

Aristotle justifies the *polis* as essential to the complete realization of human ends, and details its development from the household and the village. While critical of 'artificial slavery', he defends a 'natural slavery' whose subjects are beings who 'altogether lack the deliberative faculty'. A more co-operative type of subordination is justified for women, apparently on the grounds that they deliberate ineffectually. Because he holds that virtue requires leisure, he denies citizenship to farmers, craftsmen, and resident aliens. These exclusions aside, Aristotle's preferred regime is that of free and equal citizens, ruling and being ruled by turns. His ideal city subsidizes the participation of poor citizens in common meals and other institutions out of the revenue from publicly held land; on the other hand, Platonic communism of property is thoroughly repudiated, as is Plato's attack on the family. Education is central, and Aristotle seems almost as insensitive as Plato to the issue of state control. In the central books of the *Pol.*, Aristotle describes various types of actual regime and their alternations.

For *Epicurus, justice is a necessary condition for *eudaimonia*, not an end in itself. Political involvement is to be avoided as a source of disturbance. The moderation of bad desires, such as the fear of death and aggressive wishes, will ameliorate many social ills. *Lucretius either preserves or innovates a fuller account of politics, which includes the idea that justice arose out of an implicit contract for the sake of protecting the weak.

The Stoics (*see* STOICISM) also focus on the therapy of the soul, holding that anger, fear, and the other 'passions' should be extirpated by removing excessive attachments to external goods such as money and reputation. This will change politics by removing various bad forms of contention and self-assertion. Zeno and Chrysippus propose an ideal city in which virtuous citizens will live in concord, inspired by bonds of love. Women are given full equality; the institution of marriage is replaced by free consensual sexual relations. To all Stoics, local and national affiliations are less morally salient than our membership in the worldwide community of reason; this theme of the *kosmou politēs* ('world citizen') is developed vividly in Roman Stoicism, especially in Marcus *Aurelius. Roman Stoics debated the question of the best regime: some preferred monarchy and conceived of the emperor as (ideally) a Stoic sage; others, such as Thræsea Paetus, understanding the Stoic ideal of self-command to entail republican government, invoked Stoicism in their anti-imperial politics.

Other major contributors to Hellenistic political theory include *Cicero, with his account of the mixed regime, and *Plutarch, with his wide-ranging reflections on virtue and rulership. *See* DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN; FREEDOM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD; KINGSHIP; OLIGARCHY; POLIS; POLITICS. MCN

with its own dignity, privileges, and 'equality'. The emperors continued to respect the claims of the senate to play a major role in the political system at least in principle during the 1st cent. AD, but the power of the people was not preserved under the Principate; *libertas* (*see* FREEDOM) became an aristocratic ideal.

See DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN; FREEDOM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD; OLIGARCHY; POLIS; TYRANNY. OMU

pollution, the Greek concept of Societies create order by stigmatizing certain disorderly conditions and events and persons as 'polluting', that is, by treating them metaphorically as unclean and dangerous. Very roughly, the pollutions generally recognized by the Greeks were birth, death, to a limited degree sexual activity, homicide except in war, and sacrilege; certain diseases, madness above all, were also sometimes viewed in this way, while mythology abounds in instances of extreme pollutions such as *incest, parricide, and cannibalism.

Different pollutions worked in different ways (local rules also varied). We get some indication of the attendant

casuistry from, above all, a long code from Cyrene (*SEG* 9. 72) and the rules of purity attached to certain Coan priesthoods (F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (1969), nos. 154, 156). To give some illustrations: contact with a dead person of one's own family pollutes for longer than with an unrelated person; a person entering a house of birth becomes polluted, but does not transmit the pollution further; sexual contact only requires purification if it occurs by day...

Pollution has a complicated relation to the sacred. In one sense they are polar opposites: the main practical consequence of (for instance) the pollutions of birth and death was that the persons affected were excluded from temples for a period of days, and *priests and priestesses had to observe special rules of purity. But offenders against the gods became 'consecrated' to them in the sense of being made over to them for punishment; and such negative consecration (which could also be imposed by a human curse) was comparable to a pollution. This is why *agos* and *enagēs*, words that appear to be related to a root †*hag* conveying the idea of sacredness, to

some extent overlap in usage with *miasma* and *miaros*, the standard terms for pollution and polluting. In consequence, the boundaries are blurred between the concepts of 'pollution' and of 'divine anger'.

Since some pollutions are natural and inescapable, rules of purity are obviously not simply rules of morality in disguise. But the very dangerous pollutions were those caused by avoidable (if sometimes unintentional) actions such as bloodshed and sacrilege. In theory, one man's crime could through such pollution bring disaster to a whole state. There is a common mythological schema (best seen at the start of *Sophocles, *OT*), whereby pollution causes plague, crop-failure, infertility of women and of animals. Such pollution is fertility reversed, which is why such powers as the Eumenides (Erinyes, Furies) are double-sided, agents of pollution and also givers of fertility (see above all Aeschylus, *Eum.*). Orators often attempted to brand political opponents as polluting demons, the source of the city's misfortunes; and a question actually put to the *oracle of *Zeus at Dodona shows that this conception of the polluting individual was not a mere anachronism in the historical period: 'is it because of a mortal's pollution that we are suffering the storm?' (*SEG* 19. 427).

But pollution is also often envisaged as working more selectively. According to *Antiphon's *Tetralogies*, for instance, murder pollution threatens the victim's kin until they seek vengeance or prosecute, the jurors until they convict. Thus the threat of pollution encourages action to put right the disorder.

Fear of pollution is often said by modern scholars to be absent from the world of Homer; the emergence of such anxieties becomes therefore a defining mark of the succeeding centuries. But it is wrong to interpret pollution beliefs, an ordering device, as primarily a product of fear; and the natural context for, for instance, a doctrine of blood pollution of the type discussed above is a society such as Homer's where legal sanctions are weak. As we have seen, pollution belief is a complex phenomenon, a vehicle for many different concerns: it has no unified origin or history. RCTP

Polybius (c.200–c.118 BC), Greek historian of Rome's rise to Mediterranean dominion and of the world in which that happened. His father, Lycortas of Megalopolis, was a leading figure of the Achaean Confederacy (see GREECE (HISTORY)) in the 180s and, along with Philopoemen, one of the architects of the doomed Achaean attempt to treat with Rome on a basis of equality during those years. Polybius bore Philopoemen's ashes to burial in 182, was appointed in 180 as envoy to Alexandria, and in 170/69 served as Hipparch of the Confederation. After

Rome's victory over Perseus of Macedon at Pydna (168), he was denounced as insufficiently friendly to the Romans by the Achaean politician Callicrates and became one of the 1,000 prominent Achaeans deported to Rome and subsequently detained without trial in various towns of Italy. Polybius became friend and mentor to *Scipio Aemilianus, was allowed to remain in Rome during his captivity, and formed part of the 'Scipionic Circle'. He probably accompanied Scipio to Spain (151) and to Africa (where he met Masinissa), returning to Italy over the Alps in *Hannibal's footsteps. After the release of the surviving detainees in 150 Polybius witnessed the destruction of *Carthage (146) in Scipio's company and undertook an exploratory voyage in the Atlantic. He helped to usher in the Roman settlement of Greece after the sack of Corinth (146), visited *Alexandria and Sardis, and may have been at Numantia in 133. He is reported to have died at the age of 82 after falling from a horse.

His minor works—an early encomiastic biography of Philopoemen, a work on tactics, a history of the Numantine war, and a treatise on the habitability of the equatorial region—are all lost. Of his *Histories* a substantial amount survives; he is the only Hellenistic historian of whom a significant amount does remain. Only books 1–5 of the original 40 survive intact. After that we are dependent upon excerpts and occasional quotations by other writers. The 'Excerpta Antiqua' are a continuous abridgement of books 1–18 and provide the majority of what remains of books 6–18. For the remainder the main source is the slightly later collection of excerpts, by a number of hands under various headings and from many Greek historians along with Polybius, made for the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (AD 912–950). From five books there are no excerpts at all (17, 19, 26, 37, 40); they were presumably lost already. A few quotations from 19, 26, and 37 are found in other authors. Book 34 (devoted to geographical matters) was much referred to, especially by *Strabo; it survives only in quotations. Books 17 and 40 have perished without trace. For the arrangement of what does survive of books 7–39, a matter beset with difficulty, see Walbank, *HCP* 3. 1–62.

Polybius' original purpose was to tell the story of (that is, to describe and explain) Rome's rise to world dominion, to answer the question 'how and by a state with what sort of constitution almost the whole of the known world was conquered and fell under the single rule of the Romans in a space of not quite 53 years' (1. 1. 5; from the beginning of the 140th Olympiad in 220 to the end of the Macedonian monarchy in 167: books 3–30). He was profoundly impressed by this process, both by the simple fact of the end of the monarchy that had dominated the affairs of Greece for almost two centuries and by the way

in which the course of events seemed almost calculated to produce the final result. A metaphor of supernatural guidance is often invoked in the form of *tychē* (fortune), which, though sometimes very close to seeming an active, even a vengeful, agent, is never invoked as an explanation of anything. He later extended his purpose to show how the Romans exercised their dominion, how the world under them reacted to it, and how both were affected (books 30–39; book 40 contained a recapitulation and chronological survey). For his task Polybius developed both a structure and a kind of history. Given his theme and his belief that the process at issue was fundamentally unitary, the structure must allow at once for universality and focus. This was made possible by combining chronological and geographical organization in an original way. Vertically, the arrangement is by Olympiads, each Olympiad containing four numbered years; these years were not rigidly fixed but were adapted to the flow of events. Horizontally, the framework is geographical. Within each year there is a fixed progression from west to east: first, events in Italy (with Sicily, Spain, and Africa), then Greece and Macedonia, then Asia, then Egypt. Books 1 and 2 are something apart. They focused primarily on Rome from the first Punic War to 220, providing a background for those little acquainted with the Romans and an explanation of how the Romans could with reason come to develop the aim for universal dominion (*hē tōn holōn epibolē*, 1. 3. 6, etc.) that informed their actions after the Hannibalic war.

For the kind of history he wrote Polybius invented the term *pragmatikē historia*, ‘pragmatic history.’ This kind of inquiry involves study of documents and written memoirs, geographical study (especially autopsy), first-hand knowledge of some events, and the most careful examination of eye-witnesses about the rest. The focus is upon political actions (*hai praxeis hai politikai*, 12. 25e), but the scope of ‘political’ was for Polybius very wide indeed, as may be inferred from the breadth of his account of the Roman *politeia* in book 6: this embraced military, economic, religious, social, and political institutions and practice. (It also included the formulation of the theory of a tripartite constitution, incorporating elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, that influenced political thinking for the next 2,000 years.) Apprehension of all these was needed in order to describe things properly and, above all, to explain them. For Polybius the historian’s primary task was explanation. ‘The mere statement of a fact may interest us, but it is when the

reason is added that the study of history becomes fruitful: it is the mental transference of similar circumstances to our own that gives us the means of forming presentiments about what is going to happen...’ (12. 25b). This resembles *Thucydides (1. 22), as does Polybius’ insistence upon true and accurate narration of historical action (both deed and speech), but Polybius goes beyond his predecessor in his insistence upon the element of explanation and beyond everybody in his explicit formulation (3. 6–7) about beginnings (*archai*) and reasons (*aitiai*). (*Prophasis* is reserved for ‘pretext’.) Beginnings are actions; actions are preceded by decisions to act; decisions to act are processes involving various elements: a proper explanation, for Polybius, must delineate these processes and identify these various elements. In dealing with the wars that led to Rome’s dominion Polybius adheres rigorously to his principles: he aims to explain in a properly multifaceted way rather than to assign responsibility.

Having brought the writing of history to a methodological acme (and having access to Rome and Romans in a way that his Greek predecessors and contemporaries did not), Polybius was regularly critical of past and contemporary historians, often polemically and sometimes excessively, whether for their method or their bias (book 12 is the most concentrated statement about method and what survives of it contains much hostile criticism of *Timaeus). From bias he was himself manifestly not free, whether positive (as for Philopoemen, Scipio Aemilianus, or the Achaean Confederacy as a whole) or negative (as for *Flamininus, the Aetolian Confederacy, many of Rome’s opponents and supporters alike, and the lower classes generally). But he was, though of course not neutral, honest, and he was, above all, concerned about the effect of undisputed dominion upon the society that wielded it and upon those who inhabited the world in which it was wielded. PSD

Pompeii (see ◀Map 3, Bc▶) Archaeologically the best-known Roman city, this port and regional centre in the Sarnus (mod. Sarno) plain of south Campania, destroyed by the eruption of AD 79, is central to the study of Roman art and domestic life, but surprisingly hard to fit in to general accounts of local politics, or economic and social history.

The oldest architecture (fragments from the Doric Temple and the Temple of *Apollo) belongs in the Greek milieu around the Campanian *apoikiai* (colonies: see COLONIZATION, GREEK) of the 6th cent. BC: scattered

Pompeii (Following page) The forum at Pompeii, with Vesuvius in the background. This multi-functional open space, the focal point of most Roman towns in the west, was surrounded by a variety of public buildings, including temples, speakers’ platforms, and senate-house, as well as taverns. Roger-Viollet / TopFoto





finds suggest links with the *Etruscan cultures of the Archaic and Classical periods, and the wider Mediterranean world. Pompeii appears as a dependent port-settlement of Nuceria in 310 BC (Livy 9. 38. 2–3), and at no earlier point—either in the Greek, Etruscan, or early Samnite (Oscan-speaking) milieu of 6th, 5th, and 4th cents.—does there seem to have been a substantial urban nucleus or an autonomous political community. Even now there has been little stratigraphic excavation, but the early Pompeii appears at present as a village on the lava hill above the sheltered mouth of the river Sarno, with a couple of prominent sanctuaries and a likely role as an anchorage for coasting vessels and a local market.

There have been suggestions of a 6th-cent. enceinte on the line of the later substantial fortifications (enclosing some 63 ha. on the summit of the lava spur, and perhaps, if so early, a refuge-enclosure). Debate continues, but the walls are most probably to be linked with the introduction of new methods and aspirations in such architecture now widely attested among the indigenous populations of south Italy at the end of the 4th cent., and linked with a widespread urbanizing process. The layout of the greater part of the street-plan is probably also of 4th/3rd-cent. date (perhaps in two phases with rather different orientations), though the 9 ha. nucleus of somewhat irregular lanes and small blocks around the Forum may reflect earlier circumstances.

The impetus for the impressive transformation involved in the creation of streets and walls escapes us: otherwise, the basics of Pompeii as we know it are 2nd cent. Campanians were prominent participants in late Hellenistic economic prosperity, and the Oscan culture of this period is of particular interest for its participation—alongside, and blending with, the similar contemporary experience of Rome—in the currents of fashion and display that were found in the eastern Mediterranean. The formation, out of earlier local prototypes, of the distinctive ‘Pompeian house’, belongs in this setting. Benefactors who could afford dwellings like the palatial House of the Faun equipped the city with the larger theatre, the earlier palaestra, and the temple of Isis, the first *baths, the *gymnasium around the Doric temple, the first systematization of the forum, and the paving of the main streets. This phase undoubtedly saw activity in the harbour district, of which little is still known.

On this flourishing community, *Sulla imposed a *colonia* of Roman veterans, led by his nephew, as a penalty for siding with the enemy in the Social War of 91–89 BC (during which he had himself laid siege to Pompeii). See COLONIZATION, ROMAN. Latin subsequently replaced Oscan (completing a process that had been at work for some time) in the town’s inscriptions, and the *meddix*

tuticus (an Oscan magistracy) was replaced by aediles. The new community continued the tradition of architectural benefaction with important monuments: the amphitheatre, the covered theatre, the temple of Jupiter which formed the main feature of the forum. Further important houses date from this period (like that of the Silver Wedding), as do the first monumental tombs of the inner suburbs and the first villas of the territory (*Cicero was one proprietor).

Yet another phase of public building marked the city’s response to the initiatives and ideologies of the new Augustan regime. Important monumental complexes like the Macellum or the Porticus of Eumachia (which echoes themes in contemporary architecture in the capital) were added to the forum; the Great Palaestra was built alongside the amphitheatre, and the larger theatre remodelled.

The sudden destruction crystallized a problematic moment: the damage of the earthquake of 62 was still being patchily repaired and the opulence and modishness of some private and public projects of the last phase (the temple of the town’s patron Venus and the ‘central’ baths were both ambitious in scale) contrast with chaos and squalor. The centre of gravity of Campania was shifting towards Puteoli (mod. Pozzuoli), and servicing the luxury villas had perhaps become the town’s principal activity. But the inscriptions painted on the walls attest vigorous political life, and the removal of decorative and documentary material from the easily identified public zones in the immediate aftermath of the eruption may have skewed the evidence towards the private sphere. Most important, earlier phases might have looked like this too, if they had been interrupted: the constant disruptions of rebuilding and social discontinuity, and the enormous complexity of the social history of a community like this, are among Pompeii’s most important lessons.

Neither the composition by place of origin nor the total size of the population is easily established, though the inscriptions attest frequent links by family-name (implying blood-ties or manumission-relationships) with other cities of the area. Local contacts also included rivalry over spectacles (vividly illuminated by the slogans and notices painted on the walls), like that with Nuceria which caused a major riot in AD 59, untypically attracting attention from Rome (Tac. *Ann.* 14, 17), and the economic relations which stemmed from the city’s important function as a port (for Nola, Nuceria, and Acerrae, Strabo 5. 4. 8). The city was the centre of a vigorous and varied cash-crop agriculture (an export *wine of middling reputation was of some importance); excavation has revealed the intensiveness of cultivation on small garden-lots even within the walls. See GARDENS. The territory had been centuriated at an uncer-

tain date. The processing of agricultural produce is visible in many small commercial premises, but the extent and economic standing of activities such as textile-manufacture remain controversial. Any assessment of Roman Pompeii must take into account the wealth of Campania, its dense network of overseas contacts (which are reflected in many aspects of the life of the city, especially its religion), and the investment in the area that derived from its popularity as a resort.

The site (only haphazardly reoccupied in antiquity) was first rediscovered in 1748, rapidly acquiring a sensational fame. Systematic recording began in 1861; the new excavations of the 1950s set a new standard; contemporary work today concentrates more on recording, conservation, and analysis, since the discoveries of the first excavators have often decayed irreparably. Some four-fifths of the walled area have been disinterred. NP

Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus), b. 106 BC (the official *cognomen* or surname 'Magnus', meaning 'the Great', in imitation of *Alexander the Great, was assumed after 81 BC). He served with his father Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo at Asculum (89) and brought a private army of three legions from his father's veterans and clients in Picenum to win victories for *Sulla in 83. He was then sent *pro praetore* (i.e. as a magistrate substituting for a praetor) to Sicily, where he defeated and killed Gnaeus Papirius Carbo, and from there to Africa, where he destroyed Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and King Iarbas. Though Pompey was still an *equus* (see *EQUITES*), Sulla grudgingly allowed him to triumph (12 March 81); and in 80, after the death of his wife Aemilia, Sulla's stepdaughter, he married Mucia Tertia, a close connection of the Metellan family. He supported Marcus Aemilius Lepidus for the consulship of 78, for which Sulla cut him out of his will, but assisted Quintus Lutatius Catulus to overcome Lepidus next year. Later in 77 he was sent *pro consule* (i.e. as a magistrate substituting for a *consul) to reinforce Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius against Quintus *Sertorius in Spain. Thence he returned in 71 and attempted to steal from *Crassus the credit for finishing off the Slave War. He was rewarded with a second *triumph and as his first magistracy, despite his youth, the consulship of 70, with Crassus as his colleague. They restored the legislative powers which Sulla had removed from the tribunes; and Lucius Aurelius Cotta reversed another of Sulla's arrangements by ending the senate's monopoly of representation on the courts: judges were now to be drawn equally from senators, **equites*, and *tribuni aerarii* (a group similar to the *equites*).

Pompey took no consular province. But in 67 the Gabinian law (*lex Gabinia*) empowered him to deal with

*piracy. The command, for three years, covered the whole Mediterranean, and gave him unprecedented powers; but Pompey's campaign required only three months. In 66 a law of the tribune Gaius Manilius gave him the Asiatic provinces of Cilicia, Bithynia, and Pontus, earlier held by Lucius Licinius Lucullus, and the conduct of the war against *Mithradates VI. Pompey's eastern campaigns were his greatest achievement. Mithradates was defeated immediately, and though attempts to pursue him over the Caucasus failed, he committed suicide in the Crimea in 63. Pompey founded colonies, annexed *Syria, settled Judaea, and laid the foundation of subsequent Roman organization of the East (though he reached no agreement with *Parthia).

In 62 he returned, disbanded his army, and triumphed, no longer a *popularis* (popular politician) as hitherto (for the new role, *Cic. Att.* 2. 1. 6). He made two requests: land for his veterans, and ratification of his eastern arrangements. But he had divorced Mucia for adultery, allegedly with *Caesar; and the Metelli, aided by Lucullus and *Cato the Younger, frustrated him until in 60 Caesar succeeded in reconciling him with Crassus. In 59 the three men formed a coalition and Pompey married Caesar's daughter Julia. His demands were satisfied by Caesar as consul; but his popularity waned, and in 58/7 Publius *Clodius Pulcher flouted and attacked him. In 57, after securing *Cicero's return from exile, he received control of the corn-supply for five years with proconsular *imperium* and fifteen legates. But no army was attached, nor could he secure the commission to restore Ptolemy XII Auletes (father of *Cleopatra VII) in Egypt. In April 56 the coalition with Caesar and Crassus was renewed at Luca (mod. Lucca). Pompey became consul with Crassus for 55, and received both Spanish provinces for five years; he governed them through legates, staying in the suburbs of Rome. After Julia's death in 54 he declined a further marriage alliance with Caesar, and the death of Crassus in 53 increased the tension between Caesar and Pompey. In 52 after Clodius' murder Pompey was appointed sole consul, with backing even from Cato. Pompey's immediate actions—the trial of Titus Annius Milo and his legislation on violence, on *bribery, and on the tenure of *magistracies—were not necessarily intended specifically to injure Caesar, but the prolongation of his **imperium* for five years from this date destroyed the balance of power, and he took as his colleague Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, whose daughter Cornelia he married about the time that he became consul. At first he resisted attempts to recall Caesar, but his desire to pose as the arbiter of Caesar's fate was challenged in 50 by Gaius Scribonius Curio, who insisted that both or neither should lay down their commands. Unable to accept the

implications of parity, Pompey conditionally accepted from the consul Gaius Claudius Marcellus the command of the republic's forces in Italy. In 49 he transported his army from Brundisium to Greece and spent the year mobilizing in *Macedonia. He met Caesar on the latter's arrival in 48 with a force powerful in every arm, and inflicted a serious reverse when Caesar attempted to blockade him in Dyrrachium. But later (9 August), perhaps under pressure from his senatorial friends, he joined in a pitched battle at Pharsalus, and was heavily defeated. He fled to Egypt, but was stabbed to death as he landed (28 September 48).

The violence and unconstitutional character of Pompey's early career invite comparison with *Augustus whose constitutional position his powers often prefigured: in 67 he had 15 (or even 24) legates; from 55 he governed Spain through legates, and while doing so was made consul in 52. But still more significant was his wealth and his unofficial power: by 62 in Spain, Gaul, Africa, and the east, and parts of Italy, there were colonists and clients bound to him by the relationship of *fides* (loyalty) and surrounding him with a magnificence unsurpassed by a Roman senator hitherto; the climax was reached with the dedication of his theatre in the Campus Martius in 55. His military talents are hard to evaluate. Other commanders—Metellus, Crassus, Lucullus—often paved the way to his successes, and at Pharsalus he clearly panicked. Logistics seem to have been his strong point, as in the campaign against the pirates. But in politics he showed a mastery which it was easy for clever men to underrate (e.g., for all its brilliance, the epigram of Marcus Caelius Rufus in Cic. *Fam.* 8. 1. 3: 'he is apt to say one thing and think another, but is not clever enough to keep his real aims from showing'). 'Moderate in everything but in seeking domination' (Sall., *Hist.* 2. 14), by superb skill and timing he rose from his lawless beginnings to a constitutional pre-eminence in which he could discard the use of naked force. His aim was predominance, but not at the expense of at least the appearance of popularity. He did not wish to overthrow the republican constitution, but was content if its rules were bent almost but not quite to breaking-point to accommodate his extraordinary eminence. His private life was virtually blameless, and two women, Julia and Cornelia, married to him for dynastic ends, became deeply attached to him, and his love for Julia was noted by contemporaries. Cicero, though he never understood Pompey's subtleties, remained a devoted admirer; and despite the disappointments of the war years Pompey's death brought from him a muted but moving tribute: 'I knew him to be a man of good character, clean life, and serious principle' (*Att.* 11. 6. 5).

GEFC/RJS

popular culture This article addresses the Classical world in popular culture rather than vice versa (for which see J. P. Toner, *Popular Culture in Ancient Rome* (2010)).

Popular culture includes texts, artefacts, and practices and their mass audiences and is generally theorized as being in tension with high culture, which it may openly or implicitly challenge, pastiche or parody. Key media include popular theatre, song and dance, fiction, painting and illustration, and, from the 20th cent., *film, television, comics, and board and electronic games, together with non-fictional forms such as documentary and news media, general-audience historical writing, military re-enactment, and virtual worlds. The foundational, pre-industrial, pagan, heroic, and mythopoetic aspects of classical antiquity have been embedded in the popular imagination, with heroic and imperial narratives prominent. Novels and films are the popular forms that lend themselves to the most sustained and coherent large-scale engagement with the narratives and outstanding figures of the ancient world and classical antiquity has been prolifically represented in modern fiction and film, with some works commanding very high commercial and cultural impact: Wallace's *Ben-Hur* was the largest-selling book of the 19th cent. after the Bible. *Ben-Hur* (1959), *Cleopatra* (1963), and *The Robe* (1953) stand, in that order, among the fifty highest-grossing films after inflation adjustment, and although changes in production economics and market taste virtually obliterated classical antiquity from cinema between *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1966) and *Gladiator* (2000), nevertheless *Troy* (2004), *Clash of the Titans* (2010), *Gladiator*, and *300* (2007) rank, in that order, in the top 75 for their decade.

In fiction, Roman subjects outnumber Greek by four or five to one. Popular reception of ancient Rome has been strongly shaped by a group of influential 19th-cent. novels, adapted for stage and screen, whose narrative is built on a matrix of oppositions: between Rome and Judaea; pagan and Christian; old and new; male and female; muscle and beauty; rape and marriage; physical strength and spiritual; sadism and non-violence; decadence and virtue; opulence and frugality; tyranny and liberation; hierarchy and egalitarianism; slavery and emancipation; imperialism and revolution. Many are centred on the arena and modern versions continue to respond to this master plot, which has no counterpart on the Greek side. Greek antiquity, in contrast, is most distinctively characterized by its proximity to myth. Historical subjects are outnumbered by bronze age narratives which attempt various forms of conciliation between myth and prehistory. A major parascholarly influence here has been Robert Graves' *The Greek Myths* (1955–8), whose quasi-academic footnotes wrap the material in an elaborate pseudohistorical private myth-

ology of the author's own creation, imaginatively rich but entirely fantastic, bending early Greek history to a master narrative of displaced matriarchy which has been reproduced widely in fiction.

The popular reception of antiquity has been exploited in various contexts, ranging from the shaping of mass cultural memory to stimulation of interest in classical antiquity in schools and colleges. It also provides distinctive strands of creativity and sophistication, which often entwine with some of the values of postmodernism: irony and play, dense intertextuality and allusiveness, and rapid and prolific creation in often ephemeral expressions. These tendencies have been accelerated by accessible internet technologies. However, popular history also skews conservatively towards the positivistic, immersive, experiential, and reconstruction-friendly. It tends to assimilate culturally remote and inaccessible worlds to anachronistic models of self and society. This is especially apparent in the areas of gender, politics, and social values, where there may be conflict with scholarship's tendency to stress anthropological distance, the incompleteness of evidence, the provisionality of conclusions, and the constructedness of receptions of antiquity. Nevertheless, imaginative recreations have a role in simultaneously exposing and exploring the gaps between the desire for understanding and the actual state of evidence and models. Thus, popular culture can encourage scholars towards greater awareness of vernacular modes of representation and engagement. It can also stimulate financial and technical resources for exploratory work in military and architectural reconstruction. In these disparate ways, popular culture both shapes and reflects shifts in public perceptions of antiquity. *See also* DANCE (RECEPTION); FILM; LITERARY THEORY AND CLASSICAL STUDIES; MYTHOLOGY; RECEPTION; TRANSLATION. NJL

population, Greek The demography of Greece is a very difficult subject to investigate because of the shortage of statistical data. The Greeks did not have the modern concept of 'population' as a breeding group. Ancient authors did not write any books about demography and give hardly any figures for population sizes. Owing to the stress on war in historiography most estimates relate to the size of military forces or to the manpower available for military purposes, i.e. adult males only. Extrapolations must be attempted from such information to total population sizes because women, children, and slaves were usually not enumerated at all. The Greeks had a very poor grasp of numbers and were prone to exaggeration, for example in relation to the size of Persian armies. *Thucydides was a notable exception to this rule. Even in Classical Athens it seems unlikely that there was a central

register of hoplites (citizen-infantrymen), in addition to the deme registers. Greek states did not have taxes payable by all inhabitants that would have required the maintenance of records for financial purposes. Censuses of citizens were rare in the ancient Greek world.

Estimates of ancient population sizes inevitably involve a lot of guesswork. It is often necessary to use estimates of carrying capacity based on land areas, soil fertility, etc. The assumptions underlying such estimates are usually controversial. Intensive archaeological field surveys are yielding information about changes in settlement patterns in ancient Greece, which are probably connected with population fluctuations. The general pattern is of a thinly populated landscape in the 11th–10th cents. BC, followed by substantial population growth in most areas from the 9th cent. BC, suggesting that *colonization from the 8th cent. BC onwards was at least partly a product of population growth. A peak was reached in the 5th to the 3rd cents. BC. The period of colonization after *Alexander the Great (*see* COLONIZATION, HELLENISTIC) was at least partly a consequence of population increase. There was a substantial decline in the last two centuries BC, which continued into the early Roman empire. There were many local variations on this broad pattern in all periods. However it is very striking that the inference drawn from the field surveys, namely that Greece was more densely populated in the Classical period than at any time before or since until the late 19th cent. AD, correlates with the fact that even the lowest estimates of the size of the population of Classical Greece made by modern scholars, on the basis of the fragmentary literary sources, are substantially higher than figures derived from census data for parts of late medieval and early modern Greece. The total population in the 4th cent. BC may have been about two million people.

Demography is not just a matter of population size. It is also concerned with the age-structure of populations, which is determined principally by fertility rates and also by mortality rates. Fertility and mortality rates are determined by many factors, especially average age of marriage for fertility, and disease patterns for mortality. There is as little information for vital rates in ancient Greece as for population size.

Excavations of cemeteries suggest a high level of infant and early child mortality in Classical Greece (c.30 per cent at Olynthus in northern Greece). Physical anthropologists attempt to determine the age of death of ancient skeletons. However their methods suffer from various sources of uncertainty, especially in relation to the age of death of adults. Individuals who survived infancy and early childhood (i.e. survived weaning) may

have had a reasonable chance of reaching old age. Moreover conclusions drawn from cemeteries about populations, rather than individuals, are often controversial because it is not certain whether the individuals buried there were a representative sample of the whole population. Scholars are suspicious of ages given in literary sources because there were no birth or death certificates. The Greeks in the Classical period seldom recorded ages or causes of death on tombstones.

There is even less evidence for fertility rates than for mortality rates. However, fertility levels were almost certainly much higher than in modern advanced countries. In the context of high infant mortality (*see* *CHILDBIRTH*) parents needed several children to ensure that some reached adulthood, to provide an heir to the estate, support for the parents in old age, and additional farm labour. These considerations are also important motives for high fertility in developing countries today. Each adult woman would have had to give birth four or five times to reproduce the population. There is very little evidence for average age of marriage, particularly for women, which is the most important factor influencing fertility levels. There were no marriage certificates. A few passages in literary sources suggest a pattern of late marriage for men (around the age of 30) and early marriage for women (mid- to late-teens). Early marriage for women made very high fertility rates possible. Consequently family limitation measures such as infanticide or *abortion may have been practised in some social classes, regions, or periods. Marriage patterns are themselves influenced by the nature of the economic system, social structure, and even conceivably by political organization.

Apart from calculations based on land areas, and scattered references to army strengths, the main body of information comes from *Athens, especially for the 4th cent. BC. Such promising contemporary epigraphic sources as lists of *ephēboi* (two age-classes of young men undergoing military training), *bouleutai* (councillors) and *diaitētai* (an age-class of elderly men serving as arbitrators) are usually fragmentary. It is unclear whether these groups were recruited from the entire adult male citizen body or only from the hoplite and upper classes. At Athens every boy at 18 was registered in his father's deme. The total of deme registers formed the list of those entitled to attend the assembly, and the basis of lists of *zeugitai* (the third of *Solon's property classes) liable to hoplite service and *thētes* (the fourth and lowest property class) liable to service in the Athenian navy. Unfortunately the registers of the demes (constitutional subunits) were not inscribed on stone. Other methods for calculating population size are hardly any more promising: cereal production (the one extant figure may well

refer to a year of drought); cereal imports (one estimate made in a year of drought, which may in any case total the imports for several years). Boys and girls were enrolled in their phratries (kinship groups); but there were no other records of citizen women. *Metics were required to pay a tax and were registered in their deme of residence. The biggest source of uncertainty is the number of slaves (*see* *SLAVERY*).

For Classical Athens only one census is recorded, namely that carried out by the Macedonian governor Demetrius of Phaleron in the late 4th cent. BC. According to information preserved by Athenaeus (6. 272c) this census enumerated 21,000 citizens, 10,000 metics, and 400,000 slaves. The number of citizens seems plausible, but it is uncertain whether it includes all citizens or merely those liable and fit for hoplite service. The number of metics is the only preserved figure for this status-group, whose numbers probably varied in accordance with the prosperity of Athens. The number of slaves is incredible, as are similar figures for slaves in Corinth and Aegina. Attempts have been made to emend the text, but it is more likely that these figures for slaves were simply invented. Nevertheless there were probably considerably more slaves in the 5th cent. BC, at the time of the Athenian empire (*see* *DELIAN LEAGUE*), than there had been earlier. *Herodotus (5. 97. 2) suggests that there were about 30,000 Athenian citizens in the early 5th cent. BC. This stock figure for the number of citizens was frequently repeated: the citizen body probably did not significantly exceed it during the 4th cent. BC. Multiplication by four to account for women and children indicates a total (citizen) population of around 120,000 then. There is no evidence that the sex-ratio diverged significantly from parity. Evidence for the size of Athenian military forces during the 5th-cent. empire suggests that by c.450 BC there were at least 50,000, or possibly even 60,000, citizens, revealing a substantial increase since the early 5th cent. BC. This level was maintained until the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. According to Thucydides (2. 14) most Athenians still lived in the countryside then, rather than in Athens. During the war the citizen population gradually declined, first because of the great *'plague', and second because of heavy casualties in battle, especially during the Syracusan expedition (415–413).

*Sparta suffered from a serious problem of manpower shortage, which *Aristotle (*Politics* 1270^a29–34) identified as the reason for her downfall. Herodotus (7. 234. 2; 9. 10. 1) states that Sparta had 8,000 potential soldiers in 480 BC, and 5,000 actually took part in the battle of Plataea in 479 BC. By Aristotle's time Sparta probably had fewer than 1,000 citizens. There is much debate about the causes of this decline. Such diverse factors as the

structure of Spartan society, casualties in war, inheritance patterns, and the *earthquake of c.464 BC have been invoked to explain it. In any case, it is clear that the Spartan citizen body was only a small fraction of the total population of the region of Laconia and, before 371 BC, Messenia. Field-survey data suggest that these parts of the *Peloponnese were as densely populated in the 4th cent. BC as the rest of Greece.

There is even less evidence for other parts of Greece. Judging by evidence for military strengths, Argos and Boeotia had citizen bodies not dissimilar in size to that of Athens in the 4th cent. BC, but probably had fewer resident aliens and slaves. Corinth's population was at most half the size of the Athenian population. The mountainous country of Arcadia produced many emigrants. However, migration occurred on a substantial scale from most regions of Greece from the Dark Age until well into the Hellenistic period, resulting in the foundation of many colonies abroad. The Greek colonies in *Sicily and Italy were particularly prosperous. The population of *Syracuse may have exceeded in size all the states of mainland Greece, including Athens. Several other colonies in these areas, such as Acragas and Tarentum, probably also surpassed virtually all states in mainland Greece in respect of population size, although there is little detailed information available. JRS

population, Roman There are two different kinds of questions which historians might wish to ask about the population of the Roman world: how large was it or any of its constituent parts? and what were the patterns and tendencies of such things as birth rates and death rates, with their implications for overall growth or decline? Four sources of information are available to offer imperfect answers to the first kind of question: census figures, mostly but not exclusively, for the Roman republic and early empire, where they served for the levy and, originally, taxation; figures relating to the feeding of (part of) the population of the city of Rome; occasional references to the population of particular cities or areas, usually without any possibility of knowing on what they were based; and figures for the carrying capacity of different areas of the Roman world in the earliest post-Roman periods for which reasonably reliable figures exist. The first to collect such material systematically was K. J. Beloch (*Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (1886)) and it is with him that serious study of the population of the Roman world begins. Almost no information is available for the second kind of question; and one has to try to find the best fit of such scraps as there are with the model life tables compiled in the modern period for a variety of populations at different stages of economic

development. It may be that current interest in other early empires such as China will produce useful comparators.

As far as the Roman census figures are concerned, they purport to give the adult male population from the early republic to the early empire. Leaving aside the problem of the reliability of the early figures, some scholars have argued that the figures actually give for the republic only the adult male population above the property qualification for military service, excluding *proletarii* (poor citizens exempt from serving); or that the figures are only of those who are *sui iuris*. Such theories are excluded by Orosius V, 22, 3, from *Livy; and if there had been substantial numbers of adult males deliberately excluded from the census figures, it would be hard to see why the Romans ever (thought they) had problems of recruitment to the legions.

On the other hand, it has also been argued that the rise in the total under *Augustus is so large that it can only be explained on the assumption that the figures now included women and children, probably over the age of one:

70/69 BC	910,000
28 BC	4,063,000

This view is principally associated with the name of P. A. Brunt (*Italian Manpower* (2nd edn. 1987)). It is by no means universally accepted; and the alternative view argues that the difference is to be explained by the enfranchisement of the Transpadanes (*see GAUL (CISALPINE)*) and probably also Liguria in 49 BC, by the growing numbers of Roman citizens overseas, and by the greater efficiency of registration. In any case, the figure of 4,063,000 will have included large numbers of such Romans living overseas, including the slaves they had freed and enfranchised provincials. Comparisons with guesses as to the total (adult male) population of Italy in any earlier period are hazardous. Similarly, we cannot know how far rises in numbers after Augustus are due to manumissions of slaves (*see SLAVERY*) and enfranchisements of provincials, notably foreigners who had served in the *auxilia* (auxiliary units) and their sons (or families) (*see CITIZENSHIP, ROMAN*).

The so-called 'low counters', who hold that the Augustan and later figures included women and children, and 'high-counters', who hold that they continued to include only adult males, are currently represented by Scheidel and Lo Cascio respectively, and the debate may conveniently be sampled in L. De Ligt and S. Northwood (eds.), *People, Land and Politics* (2008). The two sides seem to have settled in for an extended period of trench warfare. There will always have been some under-registration in the census,

probably becoming substantial after **tributum* ceased to be collected after 167 BC. The rise in numbers between 131 and 125 BC is probably to be related to the *Lex agraria* of Tiberius **Gracchus*; but it is not clear whether it is due to recipients of plots of land bothering to register for the first time or to men registering in order to prove their eligibility.

The relatively low rise in 86 BC, after the enfranchisement of peninsular Italy in 90, is probably to be explained by the difficulty of conditions in the aftermath of the Social War of 91–89. Our view of how far the figure for 70/69 BC is still an underestimate will depend on our guess as to the number of Italian allies in 90 and the population of the Latin colonies, also enfranchised under the *Lex Iulia*: it can be demonstrated that Latin colonies incorporated at their foundation substantial elements of the indigenous population, and any attempt to understand the passage from 70/69 to the first Augustan census needs to take this into account.

All arguments about trends in general are made difficult by uncertainty over the scale of losses due to war casualties and the removal of Roman citizens to Latin colonies (see COLONIZATION, ROMAN), and of additions to citizen numbers through the manumission of slaves and the incorporation of new citizens from other communities. Such uncertainties affect also the debate between 'low-counters' and 'high-counters'.

The conventional view of Rome is that in the imperial period it had a total population of about 1 million; but it seems not to have been widely noticed that a fragment of Livy, quoted in a scholium (ancient commentary) on **Lucan* 1. 319, implies that this figure had already been reached when **Pompey* was *curator annonae* (see FOOD SUPPLY) in 57 BC.

Figures exist for a number of other cities, plausibly attesting that **Alexandria*, **Carthage*, **Antioch*, **Pergamum*, **Ephesus*, Apamea in Syria, and Lyons (Lugdunum) had free populations in the range 100,000 to 300,000, probably including the free inhabitants of their chora or territory. The numbers of slaves to be added to these figures are obviously uncertain, though Galen implies that there were as many slaves in Pergamum as free male inhabitants. (Attempts to estimate size of cities from carrying capacity of **aqueducts* are hopelessly flawed: many cities never had aqueducts at all and relied on cisterns; aqueducts therefore form an unknowable part of the total water supply.)

For the total population of the Roman empire, Beloch estimated about 54 million at the death of Augustus; it is a plausible guess and compatible with the figure of 7.5 million reported for Egypt, excluding Alexandria. The total may have risen slowly thereafter, declining with the

series of **plagues* which begin in the 160s AD and culminate in that under Justinian (6th cent. AD).

When we turn to patterns and tendencies in the population as a whole, the best guess is that the population of the Roman world was relatively stable, both in size and in structure, with a high birth-rate and a high death-rate, particularly in infancy, but with some slow growth. The existence of the *ius (trium) liberorum* (privileges for parents of three children) obviously indicates that three surviving children was regarded as an attainable goal. There is very limited evidence for the sex-ratio at birth or for the scale of infanticide, let alone specifically female infanticide. Some confirmation for the use of model life tables as parallels comes from the small number of declarations of death which survive from Egypt, and a few other documents. It should by now be clear that ages of death recorded on tombstones are wholly worthless as demographic evidence: the surviving material is hopelessly skewed by underlying differences in who was commemorated and who was not.

MHC

pornography can be understood as the explicit representation of sexual activity, in images or in writing; however, many scholars would argue that neither representing sexual activity, nor obscenity, necessarily constitutes pornography. Recent theorists have defined it more specifically as material which presents people—particularly women—as mute, available, and subordinate sexual objects, often shown in a context of violence. In its most extreme form, pornography theory argues that all representation produced by men in patriarchal societies is, by very definition, pornographic. A further element to be considered is the intention of the writer or artist; is the material created deliberately to violate a taboo? In early modern Europe, pornography was often used for political or anticlerical subversion.

In antiquity the rare term *pornographos* is used in a far more limited sense than any of these, to mean a writer about, or a painter of, whores (see PROSTITUTION, SECULAR). It first appears in Athenaeus 13. 567b3–8. The lost Hellenistic erotic handbooks, probably written by men despite being assigned to female authors (e.g. Philaenis) suggest that part of their purpose was to teach women to be whores, presenting themselves as objects for male pleasure.

It has been argued that at least some forms of representation from the ancient world should be seen as pornographic in a modern sense. In particular, types of production sometimes read in this way include vase-paintings, wall-paintings, and oil lamps. Attic red-figure ware includes scenes of abuse and degradation of women, including some sado-masochism, in which women are

typically threatened with a sandal. M. F. Kilmer (*Greek Erotica* (1993)) argues that scenes on pottery are deliberately left open-ended, so that the viewer can decide whether to see a figure as male or female, and can use his or her own preferences in deciding what form of sexual activity will happen next. It is possible to read homosexual images on Athenian vases as more 'romantic' in tone than the heterosexual images.

Sexual activity was shown very widely in the ancient world. Erotic wall-paintings from cities such as *Pompeii were once used to define buildings as brothels, but it is now clear that such paintings were found on the walls of private houses as well. Roman literary references to these images refer to small painted pictures (*Ov. Tr.* 2; *Suet. Tib.* 43) on the bedroom walls of the Julio-Claudian emperors. Mirror covers and oil lamps also show heterosexual couples in a range of poses.

A further category of ancient material used in a rather different way is *Suetonius' *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*. The erotic scenes here were illustrated in the 18th cent. and these images were then passed off as recently discovered ancient cameos. Some scenes were subsequently used to illustrate privately printed sex manuals—an example of using the classical past as pornography. See HETEROSEXUALITY; HOMOSEXUALITY; PAINTING. HK

portraiture, Greek Although archaic gravestones and other sculpture already represented specific individuals, Greek portraiture proper begins after the Persian invasions of 480. The Tyrannicides were generic representations of men long dead, but the *Themistocles from Ostia (a copy) modifies a pre-existing *Heracles type to make him into a heroic figure (cf. *Plut. Them.* 22. 2). Such 'role' portraiture, whereby standard types were personalized to a greater or lesser degree, was normative during the Classical period and into the Hellenistic. Examples (all copies) include *Pericles (c.425), *Herodotus, *Thucydides, and *Socrates 'A' (c.380), *Xenophon (c.350), *Plato (c.345), 'Acropolis' *Alexander the Great (c.338), *Sophocles (c.336), *Aristotle and Socrates 'B' (c.320), *Demosthenes (280), *Epicurus (c.270), Metrodorus and Hermarchus (c.260), and Carneades (c.150). Most if not all are Attic. Coiffure, attributes, posture, and gesture helped to locate the subject as belonging to a particular citizen and/or character type within the *polis.

Though Demetrius of Alopece apparently excelled at specific likenesses, they chiefly appear outside Athens or in other media: good surviving examples are the Porticello 'philosopher' (c.400) and an engraved *gem by Dexamenus (c.430). Portraits of barbarians, outside the polis and its social and characterological norms, also tend to be quite specific: compare the 'Mausolus' from the

*Mausoleum at Halicarnassus and the coins of the early 4th-cent. Lycian and other dynasts.

Alexander's conquests both revolutionized the genre of ruler-portraiture and stimulated a massive demand for portraits at all levels. His preferred sculptor Lysippus idealized his features and blended them with a version of the nude Doryphoros ('spear-bearer') in order to show him as a latter-day *Achilles, while the court painter Apelles represented him as a *Zeus on earth, complete with thunderbolt (*Plut. Mor.* 335af. 360d; *Alex.* 4). They and others also first portrayed the ruler in narrative situations (hunts, battles, processions), and with gods and personifications. Alexander's successors eagerly followed suit, choosing the diadem or head ribbon (which he had assumed in 330) as their royal symbol. Whether equestrian, armoured, cloaked, or nude; striding, standing, or seated; spear-bearing or with trident, sceptre, or cornucopia; or wearing solar crown, winged *petasos*, panther-scalp, elephant-scalp, or horns, their statues, pictures, coins, and gems represented them as charismatic and often semi-divine rulers in their own right. Whilst most are idealized, this seldom obscures their individuality, for easy recognition is one of their prime aims; indeed, some Bactrian (see BACTRIA) and Asian rulers opted for a no-nonsense realism as an alternative, attention-getting, device.

After Alexander, portraiture became the central Hellenistic art form. While the old categories continue, and bourgeois portraits are mostly conventional, others are markedly original. Most striking are the sharp-featured Menander (c.290), the aged Chrysippus (c.200), the bronze 'Worried Man' from *Delos (c.100), and some inspired 'baroque' portraits: the Antisthenes (c.200), the 'pseudo-Seneca' (c.150; perhaps *Hesiod), and the Homer IV (c.150). Portraits of Romans conformed both to traditional Greek attitudes about barbarians and the sitters' own tastes: examples range from the aquiline, impetuous *Flamininus (after 197; cf. *Plut. Flam.* 1. 1) to the hard-boiled Italian merchants who settled on Delos between 166 and 88. Athletes represent the opposite pole: surviving examples suggest hardly any individualization in the majority of cases. See PORTRAITURE, ROMAN. AFS

portraiture, Roman Roman portraiture is especially noted for its verism, the meticulous recording of facial characteristics including such unflattering features as wrinkles, warts, and moles. The origins of the veristic style remain obscure, but republican customs suggest that portraits were used by the Romans to exemplify noble behaviour. *Polybius (6. 53) records the practice at the funeral processions of great men of dressing young

men of the family in the clothes and death masks of those distinguished ancestors whom they most resembled; he and *Pliny the Elder describe the ancestral portraits kept in genealogical order in noble houses together with a written record of the achievements of the dead. The right to keep and display such portraits (*imagines*) was restricted to the nobility and to the families of serving magistrates.

Most surviving republican Roman portraits date to the 1st cent. BC, when the ancestral portrait was used in the competitive environment of the intense struggle for political leadership in the late republic. Some aspiring political and military leaders adopted the fashions of Hellenistic court portraiture (see PHILHELLENISM), but *Caesar favoured the veristic style, discrediting its republican origins by becoming the first Roman to have his own portrait on coins minted during his lifetime, and permitting his images to be carried on litters and set up on sacred platforms. *Augustus developed an idealized image drawn from the repertoire of Classical Greece, but recognizably Roman in its often modest presentation. From the beginning of the empire, men and women copied court portraiture from images of the emperor and his family on coins and statues intended for wide use and public view at Rome and in the provinces. The veristic style continued to be used by some nobles, but was also adopted by *freedmen who wished to celebrate the right of their families to Roman citizenship following legislation passed under Augustus; in the conventionalized portraits of freedmen and their families it is difficult to trace the documentation of individual features that was so marked a feature of republican portraiture of the aristocracy. Verism is also marked in the portraiture of emperors of modest origin such as *Vespasian and some of the 3rd-cent. emperors.

The Julio-Claudian emperors and their successors were mostly clean-shaven, though *Nero and *Domitian were occasionally portrayed bearded. It is likely that his beard, comparable to that of *Pericles, expressed *Hadrian's commitment to Greek culture. During his reign women adopted the simple bun worn high on the crown, a revival of Hellenistic Greek fashion and a striking contrast to the elaborate tiered coiffures fashionable from the time of Nero to that of Trajan. Hadrian's adoption of the beard and the contemporary innovation of engraving the pupil and iris of the eye influenced subsequent imperial and private portraiture. Among beards there were idiosyncratic variations: Marcus *Aurelius wore the long beard of the philosopher, and *Septimius Severus the forked beard marking his interest in the cult of the Graeco-Egyptian god Sarapis. The soldier-emperors and tetrarchs of the later 3rd cent. were ill-shaven rather than bearded, with

close-cropped hair; Gallienus (253–268), in contrast, presented an image of Hadrianic refinement. The clean-shaven portrait was revived by *Constantine I and his successors. Commemorative and funerary portraits were introduced to many regions under the empire, and proved an influential form of individual commemoration. Portraits, whether of imperial or private subjects, were made in a wide variety of media including silver, bronze, stone, terracotta, glass, mosaic, ivory, bone, and painted wood. Of the last the most striking examples are the mummy portraits made in the Fayûm (Egypt), the only naturalistically coloured portraits to survive from antiquity (see PAINTING, ROMAN). Many of these seem to represent individuals as they appeared in life; some present a type still current in north-east Africa. These and the limestone funerary reliefs of *Palmyra (Syria) offer the best surviving evidence for the wearing of *dress and jewellery.

Roman portrait busts may be dated not only by their relationship to the fashions of the imperial court, but by changes in the shape and size of the bust, which by Flavian times had enlarged from head and neck to incorporate the shoulders, and in the early third century grew to a half-length figure, after which it shrank again. See ART, FUNERARY, ROMAN. FNP/JMCT/SECW

Poseidon 'All men call Poseidon god of the sea, of *earthquakes, and of horses,' wrote *Pausanias (7. 21. 7) in the 2nd cent. AD, describing the three principal aspects of one of the most widely, and anciently, worshipped of the Greek gods. Pausanias' term for god of the sea, *pelagaios*, is descriptive, not cultic, but his epithets for the earthquake god, Asphaleios, 'He who keeps things steady,' and god of horses, Hippios, were common cult titles. In the form Posedaon (= *Poseidaōn*, as in epic poetry) he is attested on Mycenaean tablets from the palace archives at Cnossus on Crete and at Pylos in Messenia, where there are more references to him than to any other divinity; he has a sanctuary (Posidaion) and Posidawes (cult personnel?), while a female figure, Posideia, owes her name to him. His local importance at Pylos is reflected in *Homer's *Odyssey* (3. 4–8, Nestor and nine groups of 500 Pylions sacrifice nine black bulls to the god on the seashore) and in later traditions of the Neleids in Athens and Ionia, who claimed descent from Pylion kings (see PISISTRATUS). According to Homer, in a division of realms, *Zeus received the sky, Poseidon the sea, and *Hades the Underworld, while all three shared Mt. Olympus and earth. He is a powerful figure, resistant to pressure from his brother Zeus while acknowledging the latter's seniority (15. 184–99); this is in contrast to the story of Zeus being the last child of Cronus and Rhea (Hes. *Theog.*



Poseidon View of the Erechtheum *temple on the Acropolis (late 5th cent. BC). It housed a group of Athenian cults, including that of Poseidon Erechtheus. The god's tokens, a salt-water well and the mark of his trident, were displayed inside. American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Alison Frantz Collection

454–506, and often later). In Homer he is largely the god of the sea, aside from the implications of earthquake in the epithets *enosichthōn*, *ennosigaios* ('earth-shaker'). He causes storms and calms the waters; his wife is Amphitrite, a sea-creature. Poseidon supports the Greeks in the Trojan War (see TROY), but is hostile to *Odysseus, the supreme seafarer. Eventually Odysseus will establish the god's cult far from the sea where an oar is mistaken for a winnowing fan (*Od.* 11. 119–34).

Poseidon begets various monstrous figures such as Odysseus' enemies the Cyclopes. He is not associated, in myth or cult, with civic institutions. The violence of natural phenomena, sea and earthquake, are central to the Greek conception of him. In art he is always a grave, mature male, indistinguishable from Zeus when not accompanied by attributes.

Numerous sanctuaries of the god on coastal sites, such as the 5th-cent. BC marble temple on the promontory of Sunium in Attica, where quadrennial boat races were held in his honour, and the oracular shrine at Taenarum in Laconia which boasted a passage to the Underworld, show that his ties to the sea were also prominent in cult, as do the dedications of sailors and fishermen. Many coastal settlements were named after him.

But there were also important cult places inland where clefts in rocks, pools, streams, and springs (cf. *Aesch. Sept.* 308–11) were signs of his activity. Heliconius, his title as common god of the Ionians at the Panionium near Mycale (western Asia Minor), and similar epithets on the Greek mainland (cf. also Mt. Helicon in Boeotia with its spring Hippocrene), may refer to the blackness of deep waters. A concern with fertility is seen in the worship of Poseidon Phytalmios ('of plants') which was said to be almost universal among the Greeks (*Plut. Mor.* 675 f). This aspect of the god may have stemmed from his association with fresh waters and lightning, for which the trident was an instrument. There is, however, in general an emphasis on masculinity and potency in his myths and cults (so stallions, bulls, and uncastrated sheep are sacrificial victims, cf. *Syll.*³ 1024 from Myconos).

Mating with grim figures (a single Erinys (Fury) in Boeotia, *Schol. Il.* 23. 347, with *Demeter Erinys at Arcadian Telphusa, she in the form of a mare, he as a stallion, *Paus.* 8. 25. 4–5), he begets the marvellous horse Arion and, at Telphusa also a daughter with a secret name. Again in Arcadia, at Phigaleia (*Paus.* 8. 42. 1–2), Black Demeter is represented with a horse's head and her child by Poseidon is Despoina ('Mistress') which is also the public name of the daughter of Demeter and Poseidon Hippios at Arcadian Lycosura (*Paus.* 8. 37. 9–10). With the Gorgon Medusa he begets Chrysaor and the winged horse Pegasus, whose name was connected with the

springs (*pēgai*) of Ocean (*Hes. Theog.* 278–83). He had herds of horses in Arcadian Pheneus (*Paus.* 8. 14. 5–6), and horses were sometimes sacrificed to him (*Paus.* 8. 7. 2). In his sanctuary at Onchestus in Boeotia a horse with chariot but no driver was allowed to run loose and if the chariot crashed it was dedicated to the god (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 229–38). This close association with the horse has led to the theory that he was introduced to Greece along with the horse by the speakers of an ancestral form of Greek early in the second millennium BC. Whatever the reasons for the original connection, the aristocratic and non-utilitarian associations of the horse were appropriate for a god often named as the ancestor of aristocratic families.

He was worshipped widely in inland Arcadia and Boeotia ('All Boeotia is sacred to Poseidon,' Aristarchus of Samothrace, in *Etym. Mag.* 547. 17) and he had important cults around the Saronic Gulf. In the Archaic period, on the island of Calauria (mod. Poros) off Troezen, his sanctuary was the centre of an amphictiony (cultic league of neighbours) of originally five small *poleis* on the Argolic and Saronic gulfs, together with Athens and Boeotian Orchomenus (*Strabo* 8. 6. 14; Poseidon's son *Theseus moves in myth, as his cult may have moved historically, from Troezen to Athens). The organization seems to have lapsed in the Classical period but revived briefly in the Hellenistic. The Athenian orator and statesman *Demosthenes killed himself in the sanctuary while fleeing from the Macedonians in 322 BC. Corinth, not a member of the amphictiony, developed the open-air shrine of the god on the Isthmus, dating from the Dark Age, into a major regional and then Panhellenic sanctuary with one of the earliest ashlar-built temples (mid-7th cent. BC) and, in the early 6th cent., a biennial festival with *games. It was the seat of the Hellenic League first formed at the time of *Xerxes' invasions and revived more than once by the Macedonian kings. The sanctuary was destroyed by the Romans in 146 BC. and rebuilt by them more than a century later. On the southern tip of Euboea was the sanctuary of Poseidon Geraistius.

In Athens Poseidon was shown contending with *Athena for the patronage of the city in the west pediment of the Parthenon. He bore the epithet Erechtheus while Erechtheus himself (originally a local form of the god?) was regarded as a heroized early king of the city. The same Attic *genos* ('clan') provided the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus and the priestess of Athena Polias (the goddess of the Acropolis). Even so, no major Athenian festival was celebrated in his honour. The annual Posideia, held in the winter month of Posideon, is more likely to have been concerned with his agricultural than his maritime role. His priest, along with the priestess of

Athena, also marched to Sciron, west of Athens, the site of a sacred ploughing (Plut. *Mor.* 144b).

The etymology of the name is not certain. The first two syllables seem to contain the Greek word for 'Lord', 'Husband', cf. Sanskrit (*páti-*). *da*, in the second part of his name, may be an alternative form of Ga=Ge, Earth (cf. Gaia), for which the Pindaric epithet (see PINDAR) Ennosidas and the first syllable of Damater (Demeter) may provide support. He would then be 'Husband of Earth' (cf. the epic epithet *gaieochos*, 'holder of the earth'). ΜΗJ

postal service The Greek *poleis* communicated by professional messengers (*hēmerodromoi*, like Phidippides, on land; there were also messenger-ships), but developed no other general infrastructure for communications. The Assyrian state, however, with its developed and centralized requisitioning system, used relays of mounted couriers. These were the model for the efficient Persian arrangements (e.g. the Royal Road: see ROADS) which were maintained at the expense of local communities. From the first, the carrying of messages, the movement of goods due to the state, and the journeys of the ruler and his representatives were closely linked, and this is the system bequeathed by the Achaemenid Persian kingdom to the (Diadochi) Successors of *Alexander the Great, in *Syria and in Egypt, where the Ptolemies (see PTOLEMY I; PTOLEMY II) developed it to a high level of complexity and dependability (here the duty to maintain the post was liturgical, i.e. a compulsory service, like military service, though it could be commuted into a tax).

Rome in the republic knew only the essentially private, though quite large scale, networks of messengers (*tabellarii*) maintained by important men, governors, or **publicani* (entitled to requisition in certain circumstances). No doubt most movements of information and materials continued to be organized in this essentially private way: *Augustus' bold introduction (Suet. *Aug.* 49. 3) of a public postal system for the whole empire was modelled rather on the Hellenistic kingdoms, and designed specifically for governmental purposes. The original system (Augustus' experiment made use of long-distance, rather than relay-, messengers called *iuvenes*) and its 1st-cent. development are still relatively little known (our best information derives from legal regulations for the system in the 4th cent.), but its developed form (the so-called *cursus publicus*) was clearly one of the largest-scale administrative initiatives of antiquity. It could only work through a system of local requisitioning of animals, vehicles, and provisions, and the system for arranging this (*vehiculatio*, in Greek *angareia*) rapidly became one of the most burdensome and unpopular forms of state imposition. *Nerva freed

Italy from it: a series of measures preserved on inscriptions from different provinces (most recently Galatia under Tiberius S. Mitchell *JRS* 1976, 106–31) attests the scale of the problem, the level of unrest, the state's concern, and the inefficacy of attempts to reform. The principal check, the limiting of use of the service to those with warrants (*diplomata*) was very prone to abuse, and even *Pliny the Younger defends his use of the system for his wife in a letter to *Trajan (*Ep.* 10, 120). Valid *diplomata* were very valuable documents. The appointment of supervisory officials (*a vehiculis*, later *praefectus vehiculorum*) does not seem to have helped, though the appointment of imperial contractors (*mancipes*, SHA, *Hadrian* 7. 5) relieved local magistrates of burdensome involvement in the running of the system, and various attempts to shift parts of the cost of the system, at least in some places, to the state, are attested.

The system was centred on the posting stations (*mansiones*, originally the larger and most important stations, and *mutationes*) and, naturally on the road network (some visual signalling was used, but with relatively simple content only, cf. Polyb. 10. 45. 6); many of the imperial *maps and itineraries were also probably adjuncts of the *cursus*. Any specialized personnel was military, first *tabellarii*, messengers like those used in the republic, then *speculatores* (scouts), eventually the more secret-agent-like *frumentarii* (lit. 'victuallers', 2nd cent.) and *agentes in rebus* ('agents', 284–305). The existence of this administrative infrastructure invited its use for other state purposes: it rapidly became linked with the wholesale movement of state goods, especially the food-supplies exacted by the development of the *annona* into a tax in kind (see FOOD SUPPLY), for which *Septimius Severus created the *cursus clabularis*, with provision of ox-carts, as opposed to the *cursus velox*; and with troop movements in general.

The government communication network (a better description than 'postal service') was thus potentially very effective (50 miles per day was a not uncommon speed for messages, but the news of the revolt of the Rhine army in 69 travelled to Galba at the rate of c.150 miles per day), and its existence is certainly one of the distinguishing features of the Roman empire. What is more problematic is the question of the density of written communications and their role in day-to-day government: the relationship between potential and actuality remains in need of clarification. NP

pottery, Greek

1. General

Pottery is a primary source of evidence throughout the Greek period. Pervasive and almost indestructible, its



pottery, Greek Athenian silver-gilt vessel in the form of a winged horse (c.450 BC) from the Scythian site of Aul Ulljap, N. of the Caucasus. From time to time, Greek production of fine pottery sought to imitate costly metal vessels, although the strength of this influence is controversial. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow

generally predictable development means that it provides a framework to which other arts can be related. The presence of clay in every region fostered local styles, whence trade patterns can be detected. Factors determining origin are clay, shape, and decoration, the latter varying from none (most cookpots, coarsewares, storage amphoras) to the elaborate mythological scenes exemplified by Archaic and Classical Athenian vases (see *IMAGERY*). Recent advances in clay analysis have further refined provenance studies. Regular inscriptions give names of potters and painters and clues to workshop organization, as do excavations like those in the Athenian Agora, the area of *Plato's *Academy, the Potters' Quarter at Corinth, or Figaretto on Corcyra (mod. Corfu). Sir John Beazley (1885–1970) adopted Renaissance attribution methods to reconstruct the careers of many Archaic and Classical Athenian vase-painters, and to gauge master-pupil relations and workshop patterns. The method has been criticized as unduly subjective, but has been extensively applied to Etruscan, S. Italian, Laconian, and Corinthian pottery (D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period* (1988)). Recent trends have moved from attributions towards the social significance of pot-

tery, with renewed interest in factors influencing shapes, imagery, and composition, especially wall-painting (see *PAINTING, GREEK*). Thus metalwork has been seen as a complete model for Classical vase shapes and decoration, although surviving examples do not permit this conclusion and literary sources are late. The *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (CVA) continues publishing vase collections worldwide. Recent advances in computing have facilitated access to extensive archives of Athenian (Oxford) and Corinthian (Amsterdam) vases; computers are now being used for profile and even figure-drawing.

2. Prehistoric

During the neolithic period, handmade burnished wares were characteristic over a wide area (e.g. Cnossus, Saliagos, *Thessaly). The surface is sometimes blackened or reddened and may have relief, incised or impressed decoration (sometimes with white or red paste fill); ripple (MN) and pattern (LN) burnish are especially popular on *Crete. On the mainland, painted (abstract linear) designs occur from an early stage; notable are the MN Sesklo (dark-on-light) and LN Dimini (light-on-dark and bichrome) wares.

In the early bronze age, dark-on-light painted wares with simple geometric designs dominate. On Crete, Ag. Onouphrios and Pyrgos wares (the latter with pattern burnish) were followed by the mottled Vasiliki ware. In the Cyclades, the Pelos phase (incised ornament) was followed by Syros (stamped and incised) with its characteristic sauceboats and frying pans. Mainland styles were dominated by burnished wares (initially similar to Cycladic). During the middle bronze age (when the fast wheel came into use), matt-painted wares were popular on the Cyclades and the mainland, and dark-on-light was fashionable on Crete. Influences of metalwork are widespread (eg. in mainland grey Minyan ware). During the late bronze age, dark-on-light returned, initially with a naturalistic, Minoan-influenced style (mainly floral and marine subjects), followed by more standard linear decoration uniform over a wide area. Hand-made burnished ware appeared during late LHIIIB, and there was a brief vogue during middle LHIIIC for the elaborate Close, Granary, and Pictorial styles. Thereafter Submycenaean wares were more austere Geometric (P. A. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean Pottery* (1993)). See *MINOAN CIVILIZATION*; *MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION*.

3. Historic

After the austere geometry of Submycenaean, the Proto-geometric and Geometric periods (1050–700 BC) saw the addition of new shapes and motifs (notably the meander). From restricted beginnings, decoration came to cover the whole vase in horizontal bands. This period is

characterized by local schools, notably Argive and Attic; here the 8th cent. saw the development of figure scenes, including funerary subjects (prothesis and ekphora), chariot processions and battles. From the 8th cent. onwards, it is possible to identify 'hands' such as the Dipylon Master (J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (1968)).

From the late 8th cent. the Geometric style developed into Orientalizing, with the addition of motifs including florals and animals (real and fantastic) which replaced Geometric patterns. Although silhouette continued, the black-figure technique (invented in Corinth c.720) was most innovative; here lines are incised into a silhouette, with the addition of red and white. The human figure was drawn with increasing naturalism, and mythological representations become complex. The chief 7th-cent. fabrics are Proto-Corinthian and Proto-Attic; contemporary is the peak of the island and East Greek schools (A. Lemos, *Archaic Pottery of Chios* (1991)). A mid-7th-cent. series of vases of various schools may reflect contemporary free-painting, using such elements as a brown paint for flesh and mass battle scenes (e.g. works of the Corinthian Chigi (MacMillan) Painter).

By 600, black-figure was fully established in Attica (J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black Figure* (1951/1986); J. Boardman, *Athenian Black-Figure Vases* (1974)), and by soon after 550 Corinth, Athens' main rival, had effectively ceased producing figured wares, continuing with the patterned 'conventionalizing' style. Athenian potters produced a wider range of vases, introducing such shapes as the volute- and kalix-krater, and a range of cups, such as the Siana, lip, band, and types A and B, which are among the finest of Attic potting. Notable among painters are Sophilos, the first whose name we know (c.580–570), Nearchus (c.570–555) and his son Tleson, and the rivals Execias and the Amasis Painter (c.560–525). The regular practice of inscribing vases is of inestimable value: the words *epoiesen* and *egrapsen* probably name the potter and painter, although it is possible that the former indicates the workshop owner, often the head of an extended family.

Around 525, the red-figure technique was invented at Athens, possibly by Psiax or the Andocides Painter (perhaps the same man as the black-figure Lysippides Painter) (M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* (1992); J. Boardman, *Athenian Red-Figured Vases: the Archaic Period* (1978), *Athenian Red-Figured Vases: the Classical Period* (1989)). Other innovations of this period include Six's technique, coral or intentional red, and white ground. In red-figure the decoration is left in the clay colour, and the background painted black; inner details are painted with lines of varying thickness. The use

of the brush rather than the engraver allowed greater fluidity of drawing. Accessory colours are used sparingly in the 6th cent., white becoming common towards its end. The first generation trained in red-figure (c.520–500) Beazley called the Pioneers (e.g. Euphronius, Phintias, Euthymides); they are characterized by adventurous anatomical depictions. Late Archaic vase-painting saw further advances by, for example, the Berlin and Cleophrades Painters (who preferred large vases), and the cup specialists Duris and the Brygos Painter. Black-figure continued in quantity until the end of the Archaic period and, for Panathenaic prize amphorae, until the 2nd cent. BC.

In the early Classical period, some vases of the Niobid Painter and others reflect the free painting recorded in literary sources as current in Athens and elsewhere in the works of such artists as Polygnotus and Micon (c.475–450). The later 5th cent. saw the ornate miniaturism of the Meidias Painter (L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter* (1987)) and others, often featuring boudoir scenes. There is a parallel, broader tradition exemplified by the Dinos Painter. White ground, at first mainly on cups, is used in the later 5th cent. for funerary lekythoi, often painted with delicate colours (D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (1975); L. Wehgartner, *Attische Weissgrundige Keramik* (1983)).

4th-cent. vases are characterized by greater use of accessory colours and gilding; red-figure ceased by c.320 but although much late work is poor, artists such as the Marsyas and Eleusinian Painters (c.350–330) gave unprecedented depth to their figures. In the late 4th cent., fineware production was restricted to cheap clay substitutes for the costly metal vessels which suited Hellenistic taste. Painted decoration was limited to floral scrolls and patterns: both light-on-dark and dark-on-light styles are found, but painted wares are secondary to the new metallic styles in which relief ornament predominates. Moulded reliefs may be added to wheelmade vases or vases may be thrown in a mould (e.g. the particularly widespread Megarian bowls). During the 3rd cent., the black ground colour inherited from Athens was modified in E. Greece into red or bronze, and thence developed terra sigillata, the standardized fine pottery of Roman times.

In Italy, painted wares imitating the contemporary Greek styles appeared from the 8th cent. BC, and by 525 native pottery was largely displaced by Greek (mainly Attic) imports and local copies. Independent schools of pottery in Apulia borrowed painted techniques from Greece, but remained local in style. Red figure production began in S. Italy about 440, perhaps introduced by immigrant Athenian potters. There are five main schools: Apulian, Lucanian, Paestan, Campanian, and Sicilian

(A. D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily* (1989)). A considerable output of vases, often large and elaborately decorated, continued into the early 3rd cent. Their inspiration was initially Athenian, but they increasingly diverged; their iconography owes much to the theatre, especially the 'phlyax' vases (A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (1971); O. P. Taplin, *Comic Angels* (1993)). In Gnathian (mid-4th to early 3rd cent.), the pot is painted black and decoration added.

In Hellenistic times, Apulia and Campania were the chief areas of production. Light-on-dark painted ware and vases with applied reliefs were most popular. *Alexandria was the principal source of inspiration, and Italy was long uninfluenced by E. Greek experiments in red glazes and moulded wares; after 30 BC, however, it took the lead with the appearance of Arretine ware. KWA/CAM

pottery, Roman Roman pottery was used for a wider range of purposes than in most periods of prehistory or the Middle Ages, providing a comprehensive range of vessels for table and kitchen functions, and for use in storage and transportation. At the top of the quality scale were mass-produced vessels with a smooth red glossy surface designed for the table, notably eastern and western *terra sigillata*, or Samian ware, whose Italian varieties (especially that from Arrezzo) were particularly widely distributed in the Augustan period. Elaborately decorated cups and beakers with coloured surface coatings were used alongside this dinner service. The majority of Roman pots were plain earthenware vessels designed for everyday household cooking and storage functions. More specialized were amphorae, used for transporting wine and oil, globular *dolia*, employed on farms for storage and fermentation, and *mortaria*, large bowls suitable for grinding and mixing. Moulded oil-lamps and terracotta figurines were manufactured in large quantities for domestic and ritual purposes. Many Roman buildings were constructed from bricks and roofed with ceramic tiles, while additional clay elements aided the construction of bath-buildings and vaulted ceilings.

The study of pottery plays an essential role in dating and interpreting excavated sites, and gives important insights into Roman industry. Details of technology and methods of manufacture, combined with analyses of patterns of production and distribution illuminates aspects of society and the economy. Pottery production ranged from a part-time activity that supplemented farming to full-time employment for specialized craft workers. Most vessels were formed on a potter's wheel and fired in carefully constructed kilns, although some widely distributed kitchen wares were handmade and fired in bonfires. Some

industries made ranges of forms, others concentrated on particular categories. Most Roman pottery seems to have been traded, rather than manufactured, for the exclusive consumption of individual households or estates. Distribution patterns of wares varied enormously; Italian *terra sigillata* could be found throughout the empire, whereas unspecialized kitchen wares might only supply a single town and its surrounding region.

The Roman empire incorporated many areas that already possessed well-established ceramic traditions—Celtic in the north-western provinces, Etruscan and Greek in central and southern Italy, Hellenistic and Egyptian around the eastern Mediterranean. The term 'Roman' may indicate new forms and wares introduced by trade or conquest, in contrast to indigenous 'native' pottery, but the term is best used broadly to mean pottery of Roman date. The kitchen and storage vessels made in most conquered areas were not markedly different from those of Italy, and they were normally adopted by the invaders once permanent garrison forts had been established. Studies of kiln sites show that some specialized vessel forms, such as flagons, were rapidly added to the repertoire of local potters. However, name-stamps on *terra sigillata*, lamps and *mortaria* all confirm that some manufacturers either migrated to new provinces or set up branch workshops, presumably to avoid high transport costs involved in supplying distant markets. We are particularly well informed about the diffusion of *terra sigillata* production from the eastern Mediterranean to Italy and the western provinces, for styles of decoration and name-stamps, combined with typological studies of the evolution of plain vessels, allow us to identify production centres that may then be corroborated by scientific analysis of clays.

Roman military units included skilled artisans who frequently established facilities for the manufacture of bricks and roof-tiles, commonly stamped the name of their unit or legion. If local pottery supplies were inadequate (e.g. in northern parts of the Rhineland or in northern Britain and Wales) they also turned their hands to potting. Since many soldiers had been recruited in Italy or heavily Romanized provinces, the majority of vessel forms made by military potters are closely comparable to those found in Italy itself, with the addition of some forms that reveal Celtic or other regional influence. Military production tended to be short-lived, for when frontier areas were stabilized, supplies could be brought safely from non-military sources in the hinterland. Alternatively, civilian potters might set up production in a military region in order to take advantage of new markets created by forts and the civilian settlements (*canabae*) which grew up around them.

From the end of the 1st cent. AD, sites around the Mediterranean were increasingly supplied with Red Slip Ware from North *Africa and Asia Minor rather than *terra sigillata* made in Europe. Although sharing common origins, these wares steadily diverged from those of the northern provinces. Recognizably 'Roman' forms and wares still dominated ceramics used around the Mediterranean as late as the 7th cent. AD. KTG

prayer Prayer was the most common form of expression in ancient religion. It could be formal or informal and was often accompanied by other acts of worship, e.g. *sacrifice or vow (the Greek word *euchē* meant both prayer and vow). The earliest instance of an independent formal prayer, namely the prayer of the priest Chryses to *Apollo in *Il.* 1. 37 ff., presents a complete set of the fixed constitutive elements of ancient prayer. These are: (1) *invocation*. The god is addressed with his (cult) name(s), patronymic, habitual residence, functions, and qualities. This part serves both to identify and to glorify the god. (2) The *argument* (in older literature called *pars epica*), consisting of considerations that might persuade a god to help, e.g. a reminder of the praying person's acts of piety, or a reference to the god's earlier benefactions or his natural inclination to help people. This part often expanded into a eulogy with narrative aspects, especially in hymns. (3) The *prayer* proper, the petition. For the great majority of both private and public prayers contain a wish. There is a large variation in 'egoistic' motifs ('Gebetsegoismus'). Drought, epidemics, or hail, for instance, can be prayed away (*apopompē*), but also passed on to enemies or neighbours (*epipompē*). This comes very close to the *curse, which, too, may contain elements of prayer: the term *ara* denoted both prayer and curse. Although feelings of gratitude were not lacking, the prayer of gratitude was extremely rare. It did exist but instead of terms for gratitude (*charis*, *gratia*) expressions of honour (*timē*, *epainos*, *laus*) were generally employed, glorification being the most common expression of gratitude, as in human communication. Private prayer often lacked these formal aspects, but in public cultic prayer too very simple invocations occurred, as e.g. in the famous Eleusinian prayer (see ELEMUSIS): *hue kue* ('rain, conceive' Hippol. *Haer.* 5. 7. 34. 87 Wendland). There were also linguistically meaningless sounds which accompanied certain dances and processions and which could be interpreted as invocations of the god, such as *ololue*, *thriambe*, *euhoi*, *paian*. They could even develop into the name of a god: the cry *iakche* became the divine name Iacchus. Most of our evidence for Roman prayer is late, preserved in Augustan (particularly Livy) and later writers.

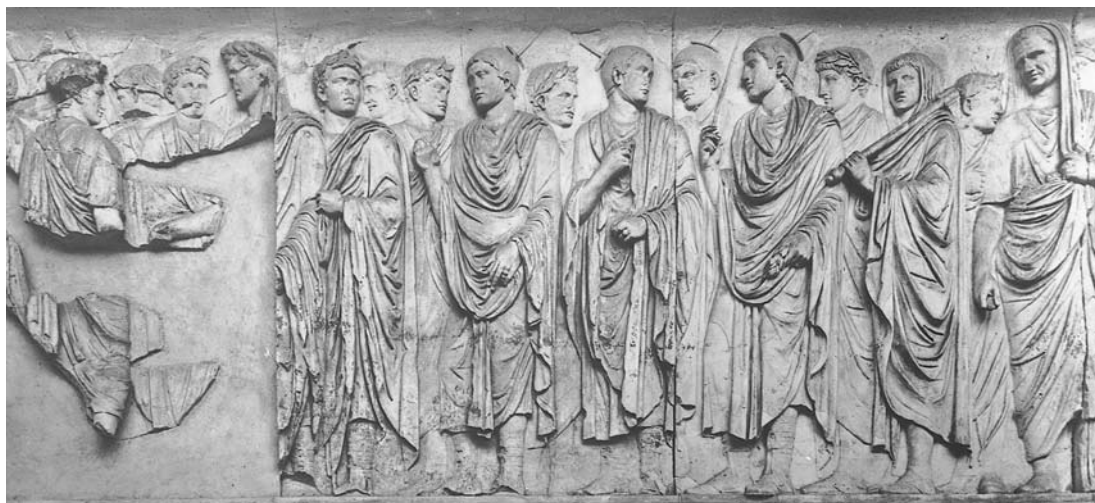
Although Greek influence is noticeable, especially with respect to the formal aspects, Roman, and generally Italic, prayers (*preces*) distinguished themselves by their elaborate accuracy. In order to summon the correct deity knowledge of divine names and use of precise language were crucial. Hence prayer books with traditional prayers were available for public ceremonies. If the precise identity of a god could not be ascertained, precautionary formulas such as *quocumque nomine* (by whatever name) or *sive deus sive dea* (whether god or goddess) had to bring help. The latter formula is so stereotyped that the expression *sive deus*, *sive dea* on a series of cippi (Degrassi, *ILLRP* I 291–3) and in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (J. Scheid, *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt*. Roma Antica 4 (1998) index s.v. *sive*) even seems to amalgamate into a new name of one deity, which should be written with a capital: *Sivedeussivedea*. Doubt deified. Prayers for individual use were often equally formulaic (cf. Cato, *Agr.* 132. 2), but both officially and privately less elaborate prayers occurred as well, e.g. *Mars vigila* ('Mars, wake up', Serv. at *Aen.* 8. 3).

Ancient prayer used to be spoken aloud. Silent or whispered prayer was reserved for offensive, indecent, erotic, or magical uses, but was later adopted as the normal rule in Christian practice. Kneeling down, though not unknown, was unusual, the gesture of entreaty being outstretched arms, with the hands directed to the god invoked (or his cult-statue). HSV

Presocratic philosophers, thinkers who lived not later than *Socrates. See e.g. ATOMISM; PYTHAGORAS; SOPHISTS.

priests (Greek and Roman) Cities in the Graeco-Roman world always had men and women, often of high rank, specially chosen for the service of the gods and goddesses. They might be serving for life or for a fixed term; they might be holding a hereditary position, or be publicly elected or selected by some other method, or the office might (at least in the Greek world) be put up for sale. The offices always carried honour, but often too, especially in later periods, the expectation of high expenditure by the holders. (See EUERGETISM.) The duties varied a great deal, from quite humble service to high authority and power.

Greek and Latin have several terms referring to these positions—*hiereis* and *sacerdotes* are only the most common; in English, 'priest' is used as a generic term for all of them, but implies a potentially misleading unity of conception and an analogy with the roles of priesthood in later religions. Pagan priests did not form a separate group or caste and seldom devoted their whole lives to religious activity; characteristically, they performed



priests (Greek and Roman) Scene from the religious procession depicted on the *Ara Pacis Augustae showing members of the family of *Augustus with *flamines*. These state priests were attached to specific deities and were distinguished by their peculiar hats. Fototeca dell'Unione Internazionale, American Academy in Rome

their religious duties on special occasions or when required and otherwise continued with the same range of social or political activities as other members of their social groups. Above all, there was no religious community, separate from the civic community, with its own personnel or power-structure. Nor did priests monopolize religious action or communication with the gods and goddesses: fathers of families, leaders of social groups, officials of the city, all had the power of religious action, with priests as advisers or helpers. So far as the city itself was concerned, it might well be the city authorities who took the religious decisions and the magistrates (elected officials), not the priests, who took religious actions on the city's behalf.

To this extent, there was not much difference between the pagan practice of Greece and of Rome; but differences appear on a more detailed examination. Greek cities have female as well as male priests, female for goddesses, male for gods. They do not form priestly groups or colleges, but are attached to particular cults and even to particular temples, sanctuaries, or festivals; there is an alternative pattern where priesthood is carried in families. Priests seldom act as advisers to individuals, who consult ritual experts (*exēgētai*) or diviners. They seem not to have been consulted on religious issues by the state, except the priests of an oracle speaking on behalf of a god or when special purifications or remedies were needed and a religious expert might be brought in.

In Rome on the other hand priests are (with the exception of the Vestal Virgins see VESTA) males, formed

into colleges or brotherhoods. They are not attached to particular deities or temples, but rather to special festivals (as the Luperci to the Lupercalia) or areas of religion (the *augures* to the taking of auspices). The *flamines* are a spectacular exception, perhaps preserving a more archaic and far closer relationship between priest and deity; they therefore provide the model for the priesthood of the emperors after death (the Divi; see RULER-CULT). The most senior colleges were above all expert advisers, consulted by the senate when religious problems were to be dealt with. The *pontifices* are also available to private individuals, in need of advice on the religious law. Their leading member, the *pontifex maximus*, came to be seen as the most prominent and influential of the priests, and, once united by *Augustus with the imperial power, the position—held by all subsequent emperors down to Gratian (367–83)—came to resemble that of a 'High Priest'.

In both Greece and Rome, the powers associated with priesthood were narrowly defined. They superintended particular cultic activities, but the financing of these activities was often carefully controlled by state officials and the priests controlled no great temple incomes or resources, as equivalent officers did in other parts of the ancient world. The city would often vote funds for religious expenditure and might regard the treasures stored in temples as state reserves to be used in case of emergency (see, famously, Thuc. 2. 13. 3–4) and repaid later. There might also at all periods be city officials taking overall responsibility for state religious expenditure.

In the imperial period, both in the east and west, priesthood became closer than ever to the expression of public power. The flamine in its new guise of an imperial priesthood became widespread in the provinces and cities, held by the leading members of the local élites as a mark of their authority and an opportunity for public generosity. Meanwhile, the emperor's image in priestly garb became one of the empire-wide expressions of his rule.

Apart from these official civic priesthoods, there was a great range of religious expertise available for private consultation—diviners of all sorts, magicians, and astrologers; these had no official recognition and often attracted criticism. The mystery-cults also had their priests, who might attain to great authority within a less controlled cultic environment than that of the civic priests; religious groups devoted to a particular cult might appoint priests of their own; the Bacchist movement of 186 BC (see BACCHANALIA) had priests and priestesses, differentiated from lay magistrates in the senate's decree; but the clearest example of this development is the figure of the Isis priest in Apuleius' Latin **novel* (*The Golden Ass* 11), who acts as mentor and spiritual adviser to the hero after his rescue from the spell that turned him into the ass. It seems clear that there were new currents within pagan religious life that corresponded to, if they were not imitating, the new religious types evolving at the same time amongst Jews and Christians. Nothing, however, in pagan religious life corresponded to the Christian hierarchic structure of deacons, priests, and bishops. See ORACLES. JN

prison Roman criminal law, like that of Athens, did not in general use public imprisonment of free persons as a form of punishment, although under the republic some criminals suffered private imprisonment at the hands of those they had wronged and, occasionally, a special kind of criminal might be detained either inside or outside Rome. The public prison (*carcer, publica vincula*) served normally only for a short incarceration, whether used as a coercive measure by magistrates against disobedience to their orders or for convicted criminals awaiting execution (though such detention lasted several years for Quintus Pleminius, c.200 BC). During inquiry in a criminal trial the accused person could be detained so as to be at the disposal of the authorities, but this was not necessarily in a public prison. However, under the emperors this was so extended that it almost became itself a penalty. Larger households had arrangements for imprisoning slaves, especially in workhouses (*ergastula*) in the countryside. These were also used for convicted debtors and (under the republic) thieves, as well as other free men improperly seized. AB/AWL

procurator signified an agent or, in legal proceedings, representative, and under the Principate came to be the distinctive term for the employees of the emperor in civil administration. They might be freedmen from the imperial *familia* (slave household), but the majority, especially of the holders of the more important posts, were normally **equites*. The principal types of procuratorial post were:

1. Praesidial procurators governed minor provinces such as Corsica, Judaea, Noricum, Thrace, and the Mauretaniae (see AFRICA, ROMAN). These governors had originally been called *praefecti*; thus Pontius Pilate (Pontius Pilatus) was officially entitled *Praefectus Iudaeae*, AE 1963, 104. However this term came to be reserved for the equestrian governors of **Egypt* and, from 198, Mesopotamia where legionary troops were stationed. Praesidial procurators commanded the auxiliary units in their provinces, exercised full civil and criminal jurisdiction, and supervised all fiscal matters. If at any time legionary forces were permanently stationed in such a province, the role of governor was transferred to a senatorial *legatus pro praetore* (e.g. Judaea from the time of the revolt of AD 66; see JEWS).

2. Procurators of imperial provinces, governed by *legati* (legates), supervised the collection of direct taxes, indirect taxes (when special officials were not appointed, see below (4)), and of the revenues accruing from imperial properties. They were also responsible for the commissariat and pay of the troops. They had small detachments of troops at their disposal and official entitlement to requisitioned transport.

3. Procurators of the public provinces, governed by annual proconsuls, were originally only in charge of the properties of the emperor. They came, by a process whose details remain obscure, to acquire responsibilities analogous to those of the procurators of the imperial provinces and, thus, to exercise joint supervision, with the proconsuls, of public taxation.

Both of these types of procurators (2 and 3) also acquired legitimate jurisdiction in fiscal litigation. Occasionally they are found exercising powers, in the realms of civil and criminal jurisdiction or of non-fiscal administration (e.g. supervision of construction of roads), which were routinely the preserve of senatorial governors. These occasional extensions of their role are probably best understood as matters of administrative expediency. Also both types of procurator might act in place of the senatorial governor of the province. The first known occasion was in Asia about 88 (after the execution of the incumbent proconsul), and this function became increasingly common from the first half of the 3rd cent.

4. Procurators of imperial estates were responsible for their general supervision. They issued regulations about the mutual obligations of *coloni* (tenant farmers) and *conductores* (lessees) and possessed wide policing powers.

5. Procurators responsible for the supervision of specific indirect taxes appear in the 1st cent. and more widely in the 2nd. Their responsibility normally encompassed a set of geographically contiguous provinces.

6. Throughout the first two centuries there was a steady accretion of procuratorial posts connected with the organization of matters such as the aqueducts, the *annona* (see FOOD SUPPLY), the mint, and imperial *ludi* or *familiae gladiatoriae*. (see GLADIATORS).

Entry to procuratorial posts followed normally on military service, either (for men who were already *equites*), the 'tres militiae' (*praefectus cohortis*, *tribunus legionis*, *praefectus alae*), or from the rank of *primipilus bis* (chief centurion of a legion for a second time) for men who had risen from the ranks. The 1st cent. saw the formation of the 'praetorian cursus' by which a *primipilus* went as tribune of a cohort successively in the three urban units (*vigiles* or fire brigade, urban, and praetorian cohorts), went to another legion as *primipilus bis*, and then moved to important procuratorships. Under *Hadrian we meet for the first time the junior equestrian post of *advocatus fisci* which served as a non-military point of entry to the equestrian cursus. A minority of the most successful procurators could hope to gain promotion to the major prefectures, Egypt, the *annona*, and the praetorian cohorts and from the late 1st cent. to the secretarial posts with the emperor, previously the preserve of imperial freedmen. Procurators were the direct appointees of the emperor and received a codicil of appointment (see AE 1962, 183 for a fine example).

By the reign of *Septimius Severus 163 procuratorial posts are attested; many of those only attested in the 2nd cent. may have existed earlier (our surviving evidence is seriously deficient). A regular hierarchy of promotion evolved (see CAREERS; CURSUS HONORUM) which by the mid-2nd cent. ran (after military service or the post of *advocatus fisci*) from minor procuratorial posts, to provincial procuratorships, praesidial procuratorships, 'secretarial posts', and major prefectures. In this evolution procuratorial posts came to be graded by level of pay—*sexagenarii* (those receiving 60,000 sesterces per annum), *centenarii* (100,000), *ducenarii* (200,000), and, rarely, *trecenarii* (300,000). The number and the duties of the freedmen procurators are ill known; but most probably, acted as assistants to equestrian procurators.

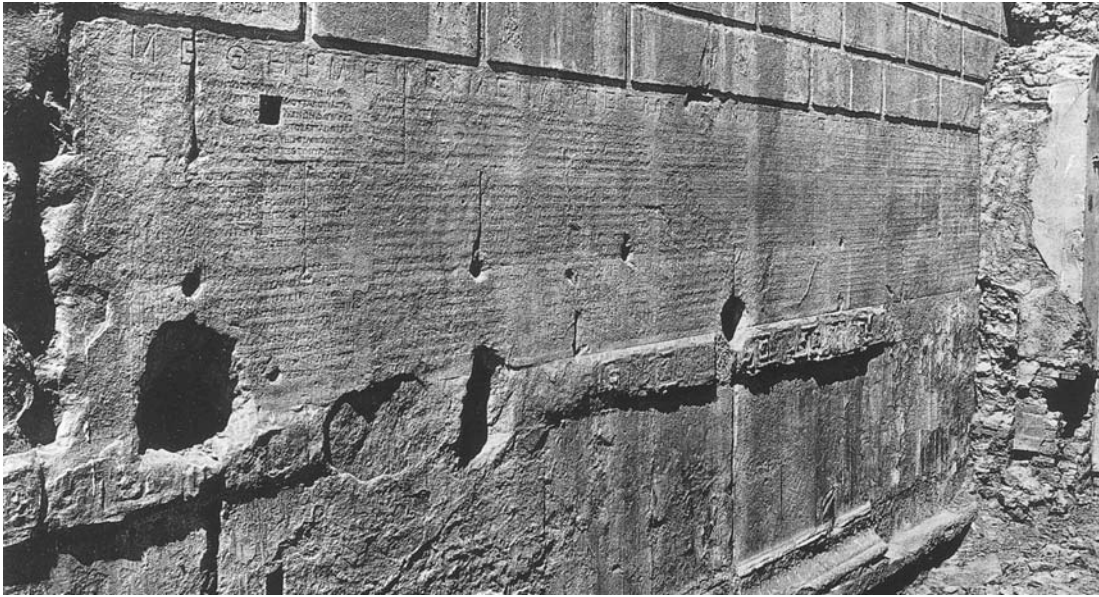
In the second half of the 3rd cent. equestrians steadily replaced senators as provincial governors, a process com-

pleted by *Diocletian (except for the surviving proconsulates of Africa and Asia); the word *praeses*, increasingly common for both types of governor in the 3rd cent., was now universal for equestrian governors. *Procuratores* survived as the officials in charge of imperial mints, mines, factories, and landed properties. see FINANCE, ROMAN; PROVINCIA/PROVINCE. GPB

propaganda is not easy to define. It means active manipulation of opinion and some distortion of the truth; it also perhaps aims at exclusive indoctrination of one set of opinions, contrast ideology (a value-system which may admit the possibility of other value-systems) or mentality (values unconsciously subscribed to rather than actively promoted). Propaganda has been divided (J. Ellul, *Propaganda* (1973)) into agitation propaganda and integration propaganda; the first seeks to change attitudes, the second to reinforce them. This division is helpful (see below) for the understanding of the ancient world.

Lacking modern techniques for the dissemination of information, the ancient world was spared some modern manifestations of propaganda; nor were conditions suitable for the emergence of professional governmental 'propaganda machines' of a modern sort (decision-making was amateur and theoretically in the hands of the citizens). There were however ways of making general proclamations. Thus Rome exploited *Delphi to make pronouncements adverse to King Perseus, *Macedonia's last king (*Syll.*³ 643); this builds on a long Greek tradition of making proclamations at Panhellenic *sanctuaries like Delphi and *Olympia. There were other less direct ways of moulding opinion; it has been suggested (Boardman) that vase-painting and architecture directly reflect *Pisistratus' foreign, domestic, and religious policies, and if so this would be integration propaganda; but the interpretation of the evidence is controversial (see IMAGERY). Pisistratan 'control' of vase-painters was hardly close enough to justify talk of propaganda.

The Spartan educational system or *agōgē* can also be seen as a kind of integration propaganda; equally, Sparta's policy of 'freeing the Greeks' was originally agitation propaganda, a way of undermining Athens' *Delian League. (The 'freedom of the Greeks' motif was later taken up by Hellenistic rulers and eventually by Romans down to *Nero. See FREEDOM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD. The 'agitation' element became less prominent over time). Classical Athens for its part used religion, myth (esp. Ionian themes), and manipulation of the past, exploiting different types of literary and artistic discourse, to promote its empire (see ATHENS (HISTORY); BARBARIAN; DELIAN LEAGUE). In particular,



propaganda Wall of the *temple of Roma and Augustus at Ancyra (Ankara), inscribed with a copy of the *Res gestae* of *Augustus, a first-person record of his achievements and expenditures. The emphases apparent in this piece of imperial self-advertisement (the justification of his superior personal authority, his benefactions, his military glory, etc.) offer a striking mix of agitation and integration propaganda. Photo: M. Schede, 1926, DAL, Istanbul, neg. no. R 23.490 + R 14.765

imperial Athens exploited and exaggerated the idea of *kinship (*syngeneia*) between states, and treated its subject allies as if they were all its Ionian colonists owing quasi-familial obligations: cf. *mētropolis* ('mother city'). But 'Athens' and 'Sparta' are abstractions and it is a question how far Athenian or Spartan individuals set out consciously to manipulate opinion. In any case Thuc. 6. 82. 3–4 is strikingly out of line (Euphemus at Camarina justifies Athenians' coercion of their Ionian 'kin' by reference to Ionian participation in *Xerxes' invasion).

Autocrats are more promising candidates for the title of propagandists. Hellenistic rulers promoted their regimes through sculpture and spectacle, but not all self-advertisement of this sort is strictly propaganda. We get closer with the Rome of *Augustus, who had the power, the wealth, and the motive to promote a specific set of values and beliefs, using art, architecture, coinage, sculpture, and literature, including and especially Augustus' own **Res gestae*. At the outset there was an 'agitation' element to his propaganda, which was aimed at Mark *Antony, but Augustan propaganda turned into the integrative type as opposition became less of a threat. But even the most loyal Augustan poets were not crude propagandists. Subsequent imperial propaganda tends to be of the integrative type, and takes sophisticated forms (thus the Persian Wars tradition, strictly a story of Greek

achievement, is taken over by Rome as a way of reconciling Greeks to Roman power). With the aggressive paganism of *Julian we perhaps encounter agitation propaganda again. SH

Propertius, Sextus, born between 54 and 47 BC, at Asisium (mod. Assisi), where his family were local notables (4.1. 121 ff.). His father died early, and the family property was diminished by Octavian's confiscations of 41–40 BC (4.1.127 ff.; see AUGUSTUS; PROSCRIPTION). In the two last poems of book 1 the poet notably identifies with the side vanquished by Octavian at Perugia (mod. Perugia) in 41 BC. It is the first sign of a political independence that continues throughout his life, despite the presence in his work of poems addressed to *Maecenas. As the Augustan regime toughened, Propertius' modes of irreverence become more oblique, but irreverence towards the government is maintained none the less: see e.g. 2. 7, 2.15. 41 ff., 3. 4. –5, 4. 9.

Propertius' first book was probably published before Oct. 28 BC; the latest events mentioned in books 2, 3, and 4 belong to the years 26, 23, and 16 respectively. Propertius was certainly dead by 2 BC (Ov., *Rem. am.* 764).

It is as a love poet that Propertius is best known. He celebrated his devotion to a mistress whom he called Cynthia (a name with Apolline and Callimachean

associations; see APOLLO; CALLIMACHUS). Apuleius says her real name was Hostia (*Apol.* 10) but that breaks the norm of metrical equivalence, Propertius himself describes her as an amalgam (3. 24. 5–6), and her social circumstances shift according to poetic need. Her name strikingly opens the collection (*Cynthia prima*) in a passage that also reworks an epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 12.101) by the Greek epigrammatist Meleager. This figures the poet as the slave of his mistress, and as having suffered defeat at the hands of Amor: both *servitium amoris* and *militia amoris* will be major themes in what follows. For Propertius, love is his life's occupation; it replaces the normal career move of a young equestrian (service in the cohort of a provincial governor, *militia*, notably in 1. 6). Typical too of his love poetry is his use of mythology, especially in book 1: he cites figures and events from myth as models for Cynthia's behaviour and as similes, but most characteristically in dissimiles: she exceeds the best and worst mythology can offer.

Book 1, consisting almost entirely of love poems, is addressed to a variety of people, most prominently a Tullus (1. 1, 1. 6, 1. 14, 1. 22; 3. 22) who seems to have been nephew to Lucius Volcacius Tullus, consul in 33 BC with Octavian. The opening poem of book 2 addresses Maecenas (2. 1; so too 3. 9); for some this is a sign of entry into the great patron's circle, but there is no external evidence for this as there is for *Virgil and *Horace, and both poems refuse requests to write as Maecenas wishes. The transmission of the Propertian text is nowhere good, but what we call 'Book 2' has suffered particular damage: many poems have been reduced to fragments, divisions between poems are often uncertain, and the whole is now generally agreed to be an accidental amalgamation of two original books. This is most unfortunate, for what we can read, still mainly love poems, is of the highest quality.

Book 3 explores the elegiac tradition more widely, beginning from the names of Callimachus and Philitas in the opening line, and developing poetic imagery in 3. 3 and 3. 9. While remaining grounded in the life of love, it touches on a very broad range of material: Roman history; art; philosophy; luxury; travel; the empire. It also engages with epic (3. 1, 12), the recently published *Odes* of Horace (3. 1–2, e.g.), epigram (3. 7), hymn (3. 17) and pastoral (3. 13). The concluding sequence recalls book 1 in various ways, and marks the end both of the affair with Cynthia and of his career as a love-poet (or so it seems).

The following book begins in a very different mode, with the poet introducing a visitor to *maxima Roma* (4. 1. 1); he describes himself as *Callimachus Romanus* (a Roman Callimachus) (4. 1. 64), but also, in the same line, as an Umbrian. He promises to write on *sacra* (4. 1. 69), apparently in imitation of Callimachus' *Aetia*; and half of the fol-

lowing poems are Roman aetiologies (2, 4, 6, 9, and 10). One (6) explains the origin of the Augustan temple of Apollo on the Palatine as a celebration of the victory at *Actium, but the style and the imitation of Callimachus introduce subtle irreverence; others are even less Augustan, especially 4. 2, an extended epigram on the Etruscan god of change, Vertumnus, and 4. 4, a sympathetic account of poems that resume something of his earlier manner, in particular the pair 4. 7–8, in which he is first visited by the ghost of Cynthia, now dead, and then by a Cynthia who is vibrantly alive and disrupts his attempt to party with two prostitutes; the first is modelled on the appearance of Patroclus' ghost in *Iliad* 22, the second on the return of Odysseus—with typical inversion of gender Cynthia is playing the role of the hero.

Propertius is the most distinctive of the elegists, and did the most to develop the poetry of obsessive love. But his style and his manner are not easy, and—perhaps owing to his Callimachean aspirations—he often seems to cultivate complexity and convolution. We should not be surprised that the rhetorician Quintilian (10. 1. 93) preferred *Tibullus, finding him 'refined and elegant'. However, some obscurities are due to the very corrupt manuscript tradition.

His vivid creation of his affair with Cynthia, his literary range, and his political independence make Propertius one of the most captivating of the Latin poets. ROAML/SJH

proscription, the publication of a notice, especially (1) a notice of a sale; (2) a list of Roman citizens who were declared outlaws and whose goods were confiscated. This procedure was used by *Sulla in 82–81 BC, and by Mark *Antony, *Lepidus, and Octavian (the future *Augustus) in 43–42 as a means of getting rid of personal and political opponents and obtaining funds in virtue, or anticipation, of special powers of inappellable jurisdiction conferred on them as *dictator and *triumviri* respectively. The proscribed were hunted down and executed in Rome and throughout Italy by squads of soldiers, and the co-operation of the victims' families and slaves and of the general public was sought by means of rewards and punishments.

Despite some wild exaggeration in ancient sources and modern calculations, Sulla's proscription, in part an act of revenge for massacres in 87 and 82 by *Marius, targeted no more than perhaps 520 persons. The lists were closed on 1 June 81. The sons and grandsons of the proscribed were debarred from public life until restored by *Caesar in 49. The impression left was profound, and similar conduct was feared from Caesar or *Pompey, whichever should win the Civil War: as it was, Caesar's clemency was made an excuse for the proscriptions of

the triumvirs (see above). Their lists included about 300 senators and **equites*; but many escaped, and some of these, including a fair proportion of senators, were afterwards restored.

TJC/RJS

prosopography is a modern term for the study of individuals, and is derived from the Greek *prosôpon*, one meaning of which is 'person'. There is no agreed or official definition of prosopography, which goes under different names in different disciplines (to the social scientist, prosopography in one of its manifestations is 'multiple career-line analysis': see L. Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, 1971, 46ff.). Prosopography, as used in ancient history, is a historical method which uses onomastic evidence to establish (i) regional origins of individuals and (ii) family connections, esp. via marriage-ties but also via *adoption (which leaves traces on nomenclature), between individual and individual and between group and group. (In Greece the *genos* and in Rome the *gens*, both translatable as 'lineage', constituted the basic large *kinship units; but 'group' theories of Roman politics, see below, presuppose units made up of more than one *gens*. Thus Scullard (below) posited a 'Fulvian-Claudian group' in late 3rd-cent. Rome, drawn from members of two *gentes*, the Fulvii and Claudii.) Conclusions about the origins and family connections of individuals then classically lead to inferences about their likely political sympathies and allegiances.

The prosopographic method is specially associated with Roman history, and in particular with the work of R. Syme (1903–89), who once wrote of 'the science (or rather the art) of prosopography' (*RP* 2. 711). Syme however had his German predecessors at one level (E. Groag, F. Münzer, and the editors of the first edn. of *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 1897–). Prosopography of the Syme–Scullard sort has always had its critics; for an early reply to such critics, see H. H. Scullard's preface to the 2nd edn. of his *Roman Politics 220–150 BC* (1973, but reprinted from *BICS* 1955). Scullard's book, first published in 1951 and much indebted to Münzer's *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* (1920), had argued for the existence and importance of family 'groups' at Rome in the late 3rd and early 2nd cents. BC. For a more cautious approach to this issue, but still retaining the central idea, see J. Briscoe, *Hist.* 1969, 67 ff., dealing with the mid-2nd cent. BC). But fundamental scepticism persisted; see for instance P. A. Brunt, *Gnomon* 1965, 189 ff. and K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (1983), ch. 2. One obvious line of criticism is that the prosopographic approach is too narrow. Thus it is alleged to neglect ideas in favour of 'matrimonial bulletins' (A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 1969, 287, apparently approved by Brunt, *PBA* 1994, 463, cf. *JRS*

1968, 231; see also Stone 63) or in favour of strictly economic evidence about ownership and transmission of property (Stone 59). These are however hardly objections to the prosopographic method itself, but rather to its mechanical and unimaginative implementation. Again, W. V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327–70 BC* (1979), 32 explicitly rejects the prosopographic approach of Scullard, by putting the emphasis on the fighting and military success which were the justification for election to political office which in turn made possible further military success, and so on. Another objection (Brunt 1965, see above) is that for the age of *Cicero, where political evidence of a direct sort is for once relatively plentiful, members of the same family go different ways, ties seem generally loose and loyalties changeable. As for individuals, 'we seldom have access to their minds'. Again, this is an argument for sophisticated and flexible use, not for abandonment, of the technique. More generally and recently, some of the assumptions about Roman political life made by Syme (and before him by M. Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility* (1969, Ger. orig. 1912)) are now disputed. Extensive use of prosopographic technique tended to go with a belief in the pervasiveness of *clientela* relationships and political friendships: the powerful individual or group (it was held) was capable of mobilizing vast *clientelae*. But see Brunt, *Fall of the Roman Republic* (1988), chs. 7, 8 for scepticism about the importance of domestic *clientela*. Finally (Stone; Hopkins) traditional prosopography can be criticized for undue attention to the doings of élites and exceptional individuals (Hopkins 41 speaks of the 'Everest fallacy', i.e. the 'tendency to illustrate a category by an example which is exceptional'); but the paucity of evidence for low-status groups and individuals is not a problem peculiar to prosopography but one which faces most attempts to investigate the ancient world. Notwithstanding the above-noted objections, it is arguable that Roman republican history in its human and political complexity cannot be understood without proper and expertly guided attention to prosopographical detail. The complexity can be grasped by a glance at the multiple entries under the name of any one of the great *gentes* (Aemilii, Corneli, Fulvii, Iulii, Sempronii, and so on). As for imperial Rome, prosopography, allied with epigraphy, has transformed understanding of the Roman governing class under the Principate, not only by documenting the gradual absorption of subject-élites into the *senate and order of **equites*, but also by providing the basis for estimates of the biological maintenance rates of senatorial families (cf. the statistical approach of Hopkins himself in the book cited above), and discussion of the relative claims of merit versus patronage in advancing individual

*careers. At a lower social level, present knowledge of the diffusion and activities of the *negotiatores* (Italian businessmen) owes much to prosopography.

Prosopography has made less impact on Greek history, though the example of *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* was followed by J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* for Athens (1901), P. Poralla, *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier* (1913) for Sparta, and by H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (1926), a massive study of the extended entourage of *Alexander the Great; see also now W. Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire* (1992) and *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great* (2006). But it was not till E. Badian's acute study of Harpalus, *JHS* 1961, that approaches more familiar from Roman history were applied to Alexander's court. In 1958 (reprinted with reply to critics, 2006) C. Habicht made remarkable use of prosopography in aspect (i) above—i.e. the study of the ethnic and regional origins of individuals, rather than aspect (ii), their marriage connections—for the illumination of *Seleucid policy towards indigenous personnel: for references see HELLENISM, HELLENIZATION. In Athenian history, J. K. Davies, the author of *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971, a family-based study of the Athenian 'liturgical class' i.e. those liable to perform liturgies—compulsory services to the state), has shown that there is a basic mutual incompatibility between 'Athenian history and the method of Münzer': *Rivista Storica Italiana* 1968, 209 ff. (in Italian). But simple prosopographic methods can, naturally, be used for Classical Athens; see for instance Dover, *HCT* 4. 276 ff. on the 'politics and prosopography' of the affairs of the Herms and Mysteries (see ANDOCIDES), with good general cautionary remarks at 288 on the dangers of believing 'that kinsmen and acquaintances consistently support each other's policies'. Another example is the association of Cleon with the tribute re-assessment of 425 BC (ML 69), the proposer of which was called Thudippus (a rare name). Now the 4th.-cent. orator *Isaeus reveals (9.17) a second Cleon, who is a son of a Thudippus, and it is a plausible inference that Thudippus married the daughter of the famous Cleon. Again, prosopography has shown that there is surprisingly little overlap between politics at deme (local) level and at city level (D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (1986), 325, cf. 237). Large differences nevertheless remain between Athenian and Roman politics, despite recent shifts (see above) in the study of Roman republican history and despite attempts actually to categorize Rome of the middle and late republic as a democracy with some affinities to the Classical Athenian model. But politics is not the only kind of history, and, as we have seen, there is more than one way of doing prosopography. Syme, for instance, was as much interested in

names as indicators of origin and of social as well as geographical mobility, as in the evidence they provided for family connections. He drew in particular on W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904). When P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (LGPN; so far 5 vols. in 6 fascicles, 1987–2010), is complete, the possibilities for the Greek social historian, interested in origins and migration and even religious history, will be enormous, though LGPN is not itself a prosopography. SH/AJSS

prostitution, sacred is a strictly modern, not ancient, term and misleading in that it transfers to the institution, or rather a variety of institutions, an adjective which in ancient sources denotes only the status of the personnel involved (sometimes also their earnings, which likewise became sacred on dedication). In the cult of *Aphrodite at Corinth, Strabo (8. 6. 20, C378; cf. 12. 3. 36, C559), admittedly writing long after the city's destruction in 146 BC, gives a total of over 1,000 *hetairai* (lit. 'companions', a category of female prostitute) dedicated by both men and women. Much earlier *Pindar (fr. 122; Chamaeleon fr. 31 Wehrli), in a *scolion* (drinking song) which explicitly anticipates a degree of moral opprobrium and seeks to forestall this with a coy invocation to 'necessity' (*anagkē*), celebrates the dedication of up to 100 by the contemporary Xenophon of Corinth (the figure given is strictly a total of limbs rather than of persons). The modern view that their professional activities were ritually significant is not borne out by the down-to-earth, matter-of-fact ancient term 'earning from the body' (*ergazesthai apo tou sōmatos*), elsewhere and no less casually also used of wet-nursing (see CHILDBIRTH). Dedication is also emphasized in the cult of Aphrodite at Eryx in *Sicily (Strabo 6. 2. 6, C272; once again a thing of the past by his time), some women being sent from outside the island; *Diodorus (4. 83. 6) emphasizes relaxation and entertainment rather than religious solemnity. In the cult of Ma (Bellona) at Comana Pontica (Asia Minor), *Strabo (559) says most but not all such women were sacred. In all these cases, the adjective denotes no more than manumission by fictive dedication of a kind already attested in the cult of Poseidon at Taenarum (southern *Peloponnese) in the 5th cent. BC (Schwyzer 52. 3–4).

A quite distinct institution, reported only from the margins of the Greek world, is the practice of premarital sex with strangers, sometimes sustained over a period of time, sometimes strictly delimited, but invariably presented as followed by a lifetime of strict conjugal fidelity, the *locus classicus* being *Herodotus' often hilarious description of Babylon (1. 199, not confirmed but not contradicted by cuneiform sources; some distinctive

features repeated in *LXX Epist. Jerem.* 42–43, c.300 BC). This is a one-off rite, compulsory for all, in the service of the goddess Mylitta, to whom earnings are dedicated, the act itself (by contrast with Corinthian practices) involving a strictly religious obligation (*aposiōsamenē* 199.4, cf. Justin (Trogus) *Epit.* 18. 5. 4 (*Cyprus), Val. Max. 2. 6. 15 (Numidian Sicca Veneria, Roman *Africa)). By contrast, Herodotus' picture of Lydian girls earning their dowries by prostitution (and giving themselves away in marriage, 1. 93) could be a strictly secular (economic) phenomenon; not only did the Lydians invent coined money, they were the world's first 'hucksters', *kapēloi* (ibid. 94).

Distinct again but poorly attested (that is to say indirectly and in the rather suspect context of tyrannical misdeeds) is the vow supposedly taken by the citizens of Locri Epizephyrii (S. Italy) to prostitute all their unmarried girls (*virgines*, Justin (Trogus) *Epit.* 21. 3. 2) in the event of victory over Rhegium in 477/6 BC, a one-off and clearly desperate measure which must if authentic be explained in quite different terms, perhaps connected with the highly unusual circumstances of the city's foundation. But oriental origins (or influence), so often invoked to exorcise the Hellenist's embarrassment at the Corinthian data (see ORIENTALISM), the real problem remaining the fact of their reception (and naturalization), however comforting on the Greek mainland, are certainly not applicable to Locri.

The *hiaran mistōma*, or 'contract-price of the [pl.] sacred (—)', mentioned in a number of inscriptions from the 4th-cent. archive of the temple of *Zeus at Locri (A. de Franciscis, *Stato e società a Locri Epizefiri* (1972), nos. 22, 30, 31) must certainly denote sacred lands, not sacred women: for the ellipse, cf. the *misthōsis tēs neas* ('rental of the new (land)') in F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées* (1969), no. 33, ll. 11–18 (Athens, 335/4–330/29 BC). SGP

prostitution, secular

1. Female

The prostitution of women (broadly defined here as the exchange of a female's sexual service, with or without her consent, for some other resource) may have arisen in Greece/Hellas out of contact with earlier near eastern manifestations both 'sacred' and secular. The Greek terms *porneion* (brothel) and *pornē* (whore) are related to *pernēmi*, to sell, as is the Latin term *meretrix* ('courtesan'). The exchange of sexual service for the economic benefits conferred by marriage is remarked upon by *Hesiod (*Works and Days* 373–5). In both Greece and Rome, prostitution was considered to be as necessary an institution as the institutions of marriage, concubinage, or slavery, and *Solon is credited with having founded

state brothels, staffed by *pornai* (enslaved foreign women) for the sexual relief of young men (fr. Ruschenbusch). Social attitudes and legislation generally stigmatized and disfranchised prostitutes both male and female; to be characterized as a prostitute in literature was a significant form of discreditation.

Greek and Roman authors emphasize both the economic perils and the physical pleasures of the transaction for men (Archil. 302W, Philemon, *Adelphoi* fr. 3KA, Hor. *Sat.* 1.2). Major written sources—fiction, the law, the orators, historiography—frequently set into collision medical, moralizing, regulatory, tolerant, and oppressive ideologies, and must be used with great care. Social attitudes and legislation generally stigmatized and disfranchised both male and female prostitutes; to be characterized as a prostitute significantly discredited an individual. Locales of prostitution seem to have been integrated into neighbourhoods rather than segregated into 'red-light districts', and many prostitutes worked at additional occupations. The iconography of sexual activity, especially on vases, is not unequivocal of the context. For most female prostitutes, conditions were coercive and slavlike; few attained iconic status. Much work remains to be done on this important feature of social history. See PROSTITUTION, SACRED. MMH

2. Male

Male prostitution was a common feature of ancient Greek and Roman societies, and to many ancient city-dwellers it was an unremarkable fact of social life. Male brothels, consisting of individual cabins (*oikēmata*: Aeschin. *In Tim.* 74, Diog. Laert. 2. 31, 105), were a familiar sight. Clients were chiefly male. Athens collected a tax from the earnings of both male and female prostitutes (*pornikon telos*: Aeschin. *In Tim.* 119), so male prostitution was evidently permissible, but in the case of Athenian citizens it entailed, at least by the 4th cent. BC, civic disqualification or disenfranchisement (*atimia* or 'loss of honour/status'): any male who sold his body to others for sexual use disqualified himself by that very act from taking part in public life (speaking in the Assembly, serving as a magistrate, or bringing a lawsuit, for example). Prostitution on the part of citizen males at Athens during the Classical period was possible, then, only if the prostitute had reached the age of majority and was his own master. Any parent or guardian who prostituted a boy still under his authority, any person who enticed an Athenian youth into prostitution by offering him money for sexual services, and anyone who acted as a procurer for an Athenian youth was considered to have 'defrauded him of the City' and incurred serious penalties as a consequence (including death, in the case of

procurers). An indictment for prostitution (*graphē hetairēseōs*), however, was not a prosecution for the crime of prostitution but an action designed to indict the defendant as a prostitute, to make him a non-person in social terms, and thereby to bar him from the exercise of civic rights; any male who did exercise those rights after having been so indicted could be put to death. Since love affairs between men and free youths conventionally involved gifts from the senior to the junior partner, the distinction between mercenary and non-mercenary relations could be blurred (Ar. *Plut.* 149–59), and a good-looking boy with many lovers or admirers needed to be careful about his reputation if he aspired later on to play a prominent role in public life. Many male prostitutes at Athens were therefore slaves or foreign residents. Prices varied from a mere one obol (Ath. 6. 241E) to four drachmae or more (Aeschin, *In Tim.* 158, *Anth. Pal.* 12. 239), though some writers mention fantastic sums (Lys. 3. 22–25, ps.-Aeschin. *Ep.* 7. 3).

The city of Heraclea in Pontus was notorious in the Classical period for male prostitution (Ath. 8. 351CD). We hear from Roman sources about adult men valued for the size of their penises and sought after as prostitutes by passive men (Juv. *Sat.* 9). The market in Classical Athens, by contrast, was for beautiful boys. See HOMOSEXUALITY. DMH

provincia/province 1. The etymology of the word *provincia* is obscure: it was mistakenly derived from *pro + vincere* by Roman antiquarians. Its basic meaning is the sphere in which a magistrate (perhaps originally a magistrate with **imperium*) is to function. See MAGISTRACY, ROMAN. By the 3rd cent. BC, the two consuls normally had their *provinciae* assigned by the **senate* or by mutual agreement (*comparatio*); later, allotment was normal. A law of Gaius **Gracchus* (123) provided that the senate was to decide, before the consular elections, in a vote protected against tribunician *intercession* (veto: see TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS), which *provinciae* were to be consular: this was to prevent personal or political influences on that decision. At the beginning of the year the senate would decide which *provinciae* were to be praetorian (and, before 123, consular): for these, the magistrates would then draw lots. Any others would be filled by designated promagistrates. By the late 3rd cent., a magistrate or promagistrate was expected to confine his activities to his *provincia*, except in emergencies or by special permission. By 171 this had become a formal rule, enforced by the senate (see Livy 43. 1): perhaps in the process of administrative reform that produced the law of Lucius Villius. It was at various times reaffirmed in legislation on provincial administration.

Originally the two consuls normally divided all duties between them. Since they had to campaign nearly every year, a praetor (see CONSUL) with *imperium* was appointed (traditionally in 367) and given the *provincia urbana* (affairs in the city, especially legal business and the presidency of the senate and legislative assemblies when necessary). Until c.100, when consuls began most often to stay in Rome, this remained his task, but he came to specialize in civil law and in the end to confine himself to this. A second praetor was created at the end of the First Punic War (264–241 BC), probably to supervise the newly won territory of Punic **Sicily* and perhaps later Sardinia. In 227 two new praetors were created for these overseas *provinciae* and the second praetor, though freely used in fighting in the Second Punic War (218–202 BC), was normally assigned to judicial duties in the city, in due course those affecting aliens (hence the popular title *praetor peregrinus*). Two more praetors were created in 198/7, to command in the two newly won territories in **Spain*, hitherto in the charge of private citizens with special *imperium*. Henceforth the word *provincia*, although it never lost its original meaning, was mainly used for overseas territories under permanent Roman administration, i.e. it came mainly to mean ‘province’; but the two city *provinciae* were the highest in prestige. By the 2nd cent. (and probably from the start) provincial commanders were attended by quaestors. The praetor of Sicily, where the territory of **Syracuse*, annexed in the Second Punic War (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.4), remained under its traditional administration, separate from that of the originally Punic province, was given two quaestors. Characteristically for Roman conservatism, he retained the two quaestors to the end of the republic, even after the administration of Sicily was unified, in the settlement of Publius Rupilius (consul 132) after a slave war, on the more profitable model of the old kingdom of Syracuse.

After 197 the senate was unwilling to create more praetors and, as a necessary consequence, on the whole to annex more territory. **Macedonia* was ‘freed’ after the battle of Pydna (168); Numidia was not annexed after Jugurtha’s defeat (see MARIUS); Transalpine Gaul (see GAUL (TRANSALPINE)), which provided the land connection with Spain, was not organized as a province until after the wars with the Cimbri and their allies had shown the danger this presented; **Cyrene*, bequeathed by its king (96), was not properly organized until the 60s; and the bequest of Egypt by Ptolemy X (87) was refused by **Sulla*. But some annexation became necessary, or was regarded as such: Macedonia and Africa (the territory of **Carthage*; see AFRICA, ROMAN) in 146, Asia after the war with Aristonicus (129), Transalpine Gaul after 100. Unwillingness to create more praetors meant that the

traditional city-state system of (in principle) annual magistracies was abandoned and promagistrates became an integral part of imperial administration. New quaestors were probably created, since quaestors, at that time not even guaranteed membership of the senate, did not endanger the political system. In 123–2, Gaius Gracchus, reforming the *repetundae* (provincial extortion) court, put a praetor in charge of it. Over the next generation, other *quaestiones* (standing courts) were established on this model, so that by c. 90 most, perhaps all, praetors were occupied in Rome during their year of office. Since consuls were not involved in routine provincial government, provinces were almost entirely left to promagistrates. As early as 114, the *praetor urbanus* *Marius was sent as proconsul to Spain after his year of office—a major innovation as far as our records go. By the 90s praetors serving in the city might expect to be sent overseas the following year. Major foreign wars, the Social War of 91–89 BC (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.5) and civil wars added to the strain on the system, and tenures of promagistrates increased until they could reach six years. This, combined with the growth of the client army (see MARIUS), posed a serious danger to the republic, as Sulla soon showed.

Sulla, after his victory, aimed at stabilizing the state under senate control. He added at least two *quaestiones*, but also added two praetorships (and raised the number of quaestors to 20). Consuls (it seems) were encouraged to go to prestigious provinces (like Cisalpina) at the end of their year. It was apparently Sulla's idea that ten magistrates with *imperium*, normally governing provinces after their year of office, would suffice to keep provincial tenures down to a year or at most two. But after 70 various factors—especially the rise of *populares* (popular politicians) with their programmes and ambitions and increasing, hence increasingly expensive, competition for the consulship—led to accelerated annexation. *Crete was annexed by Quintus Caecilius Metellus (Creticus) to end Cretan *piracy—and to prevent its annexation by *Pompey. *Cyprus was annexed to pay for Publius *Clodius Pulcher's corn distributions; Pompey annexed Syria and added Pontus to Bithynia, as well as first organizing several territories (e.g. Judaea) as dependencies of provinces. He claimed to have added 85 million denarii to Rome's previous revenue of 50 million (Plut. *Pomp.* 45. 4). *Caesar, for reasons of personal ambition, extended Transalpine Gaul to the Rhine and the English Channel. Yet men not seeking glory or fortunes were often unwilling to serve in provinces, and Sulla had omitted to make acceptance of a promagistracy compulsory, as a magistrate's *provincia* always had been. Thus exploitation of provincials for private gain became a necessary incen-

tive, tending to select those eager for it as provincial governors, while major wars and increasingly competitive ambitions for glory led to the granting of large *provinciae* with long tenure to men like Lucius Licinius Lucullus, Pompey, Caesar, and *Crassus. To stop the dangers inherent in this, Pompey, on the senate's advice, fixed an interval (perhaps of five years) between magistracy and promagistracy and made acceptance of provinces compulsory (52): thus men like *Cicero and Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus belatedly had to accept provincial service. But the plan was nullified when civil wars supervened. It was later essentially restored by *Augustus.

2. A province was not an area under uniform administration. In Sicily, cities that joined the Romans had been declared 'free' when the territory was taken over from Carthage, and 'free' cities, granted various degrees of independence, remained characteristic of eastern and some western provinces. Inevitably their rights tended to be whittled down: by the early 1st cent., the free city of Utica was the seat of the governor of Africa. Many governors were less than scrupulous in respecting the rights of free cities. Tribes could also be granted various degrees of self-government, and from the late 2nd cent. colonies of citizens were founded overseas (see COLONIZATION, ROMAN). A province was therefore a mosaic of territories with different statuses, from complete subjection to nominal independence, and provincial maps were kept in Rome to show this. Most provinces were annexed after wars, and in such cases the victorious commander would organize the peace settlement (including, if appropriate, annexation) with a commission of *legati* (legates) according to a *senatus consultum* (senatorial resolution). (Pompey, characteristically, refused to accept a commission, thereby causing serious anxiety regarding his political intentions.) This settlement, later confirmed by senate or people, was called the *lex provinciae*. (See Cic. 2 *Verr.* 2. 32, 40.) It settled boundaries (though provinces facing *barbarian tribes seem to have had no fixed external frontier), local constitutions, taxation, and the administration of justice, in ways and degrees that differed considerably from one province to another. The *lex* might later be amended in detail, but remained the basis for the organization of the particular province. In the few cases where annexation did not follow upon victory, we do not know what was done, but basic rules were certainly set up (e.g. for Cyprus when it was added to Cilicia (SE Asia Minor)).

Within the general framework, each governor issued his edict, normally based on his predecessor's and relevant parts of those of urban magistrates. But this was never compulsory. Quintus Mucius Scaevola in the 90s in Asia and Cicero, modelling himself on him in 51 in

Cilicia, introduced major judicial innovations. Scaevola's reforms were made mandatory for Asia by the senate, but any extension to other provinces was haphazard. The edict was not binding on the governor, at least until 67 and perhaps after. Within the limits set by the general framework, he held absolute *imperium* over non-citizens. In fact, he was a commander and not, in the modern sense, a governor or administrator. On his departure from Rome, no matter how peaceful his province, he and his lictors (official attendants) changed to military garb and his friends would escort him with prayers for his safety and success; and his return was accompanied by corresponding ceremonial. He could delegate his power to his quaestor and legates, and within limits to others. He was accompanied to his province by a large *cohors* (a military term) of military and civilian attendants and friends of his and of his officers, many of them young men thus gaining their first experience of public service and rule. Among them and provincial Romans, he would choose his *consilium* (panel of advisers), to advise on, and vouch for, his judicial and other activities. Having *imperium*, he could not be challenged during his tenure, no matter how he behaved, and he could protect the actions of his officers and *cohors*, and also those of businessmen and **publicani*, by armed force and sheer terror, for immense mutual profit. The chances of having him convicted in the *repetundae* court were slim, since he was rich and well connected: nearly all cases in the late republic ended in acquittal. Even conviction might not profit the provincials. The sum voted by the senate for the province offered further opportunities for profit: it was not expected that he would return the surplus, which was normally shared by him with his officers and *cohors*. As we have seen, these opportunities became an integral part of the system and were thus not subject to reform.

3. All indirect taxes were farmed by *publicani*. Direct taxes were originally collected by the quaestor, at greatly varying rates, though farmed at the local level. Gaius Gracchus arranged for the *decuma* (tithe on the grain harvest) of Asia, the wealthiest province, to be sold to *publicani* under five-year contracts. This system was apparently extended by Pompey to the provinces he organized. Asia remained a centre of exploitation and consequent resentment, due more to warfare and the actions of governors than to the *publicani*, though the latter offered easier targets for complaint. Lucius Lucullus tried to save it by restructuring its huge debts, and after further civil war and oppression Caesar greatly reduced its tax and restored its collection to the quaestor. There was no change in other provinces before Augustus.

4. In 27 BC, Augustus was given a large consular *provincia*, originally (it seems) Gaul, Spain, and Syria, which

he governed (after 23 as proconsul) through *legati pro praetore* and which contained nearly all the legions. Its finances were administered by **procurators*. The command was regularly renewed and the area changed over time. By the end of the reign the emperor's provinces were an accepted institution. The public (in fact, senatorial) provinces were governed by proconsuls, most (and within a generation all) of them without legions, but still with *imperium* and assisted by quaestors and legates. But the emperor had *imperium maius* (see IMPERIUM), which we find Augustus exercising as early as the Cyrene edicts. He also, of course, had to approve of all proconsular appointments, especially the most prestigious ones to Asia (see ASIA, ROMAN PROVINCE) and Africa. Egypt, though 'subject to the Roman people' (RG 27), was forbidden to senators and governed for the emperor by an equestrian prefect with legionary forces. Various minor provinces (e.g. Judaea and Noricum) were governed by prefects (later by procurators) without legions. Direct taxes were directly collected in all provinces; indirect taxes continued to be collected by *publicani*, now subject to strict regulation, but by the 3rd cent. AD were taken over by the central government.

The system established by Augustus was essentially maintained until well into the 3rd cent., although there were many changes in detail, some of them significant. **Britain* was annexed by **Claudius* and later extended, *Dacia* and *Arabia* by **Trajan*. (Other conquests proved ephemeral.) As expansion ceased, especially after **Trajan*, frontiers were gradually marked out and defended by garrisons (see LIMES). Various client kings were succeeded by governors and the subdivision of large provinces, begun by Augustus, was continued, especially since a constant supply of senior men was soon available. Supervision of municipal government, made necessary by AD 100 because of financial incompetence, was gradually extended and stifled civic tradition. The whole system was finally reorganized, after the strains of civil wars and invasions, by **Diocletian*.

In some provinces a *concilium* (assembly) of local notables had developed under the republic: it could serve as a vehicle for distributing the governor's messages and would propose honours for him; it might even occasionally complain about him to the senate. These *concilia*, extended to all provinces, became the organizations in charge of the imperial cult (see RULER CULT (Roman)), which grew out of the cult of the goddess Roma under the republic. The councils were headed by native high priests, who in due course could expect to gain citizenship; many of their descendants became *equites* or even senators. As more provincial notables gained the citizenship, the equestrian service and the senate were gradually

opened up to provincials, although over a long time-span and at very varying rates for different provinces. Among the lower classes, Romanization was spread by army service, while the grant of *ius Latii* ('Latin right', a status conferring some of the rights of citizenship) was extended among provincial communities; though the Latin language never spread to the east (see BILINGUALISM). By the time of *Caracalla's edict, a unitary Roman state was *de facto* already in existence. See FINANCE, ROMAN. EB

Ptolemy I (Ptolemaeus) Soter ('Saviour') (c.367–282 BC) son of Lagus and Arsinoë, served *Alexander the Great of Macedon as an experienced general and childhood friend. At Susa in 324 he married Artacama (also called Apame), daughter of the Persian noble Artabazus, whom he later divorced. He later married the Macedonian Eurydice (6 children) and subsequently Berenice I, mother of the dynastic line. After Alexander's death (323) he hijacked the conqueror's embalmed corpse and, taking it to Memphis in Egypt, established himself as satrap in place of Cleomenes. In the following year he took Cyrene and in 321 repulsed the invasion of Perdiccas. In the complex struggles of Alexander's Successors (Diadochi) he was not at first particularly successful. In 295 however he recovered Cyprus, lost in 306 to Demetrius Poliorcetes ('the Besieger'), and from 291 he increasingly controlled the Aegean League of Islanders. Ptolemy took the title of King (*basileus*) in 305; this served as the first year of his reign. Responsible for initiating a Greek-speaking administration in Egypt, he consulted Egyptians (the priest Manetho and others), exploiting their local expertise. The cult of Sarapis, in origin the Egyptian Osiris-Apis (see EGYPTIAN DEITIES), was probably developed under Soter as a unifying force. There are few papyri from his reign, but hieroglyphic inscriptions from the Delta (especially the 'Satrap Stele') present him as a traditional pharaoh. In Upper Egypt he founded Ptolemais Hermiou (mod. El-Mansha) as a second Greek administrative centre. Moving the capital from Memphis (S. of mod. Cairo) to *Alexandria, he brought Egypt into the mainstream of the Hellenistic world. DJT

Ptolemy I as historian

Ptolemy I wrote a history of the reign of *Alexander the Great. Much about it is obscure, notably its title, dimensions and even its date of composition. Apart from a single citation in *Strabo our knowledge of it is wholly due to *Arrian who selected it, along with Aristobulus, as his principal source. The work was evidently comprehensive, covering the period from at least 335 BC to the death of Alexander, and it provided a wealth of 'factual' detail, including most of our information about the terminology

and organization of the Macedonian army. The popular theory that Ptolemy based his work upon a court journal rests ultimately on his use of the Ephemerides (royal day-books) for Alexander's last illness. Rather the narrative, as it is reconstructed from Arrian, suggests that Ptolemy had propagandist aims (not surprisingly, given his skill at publicity). He emphasized his personal contribution to the campaign and tended to suppress or denigrate the achievements of his rivals, both important in an age when service under Alexander was a considerable political asset. There is also a tendency to eulogize Alexander (whose body he kept interred in state) and gloss over darker episodes like the 'conspiracy' of the Macedonian general Philotas. The king accordingly appears as a paradigm of generalship, his conquests achieved at minimum cost and maximum profit, and Ptolemy continuously figures in the action. His account is contemporary and valuable; but it is not holy writ and needs to be controlled by other evidence. ABB

Ptolemy II Philadelphus ('Sister-loving') (308–246 BC), son of Ptolemy I and Berenice I, born on Cos, first married *Lysimachus' daughter Arsinoë I, mother to Ptolemy III, Lysimachus, and Berenice, and then his sister Arsinoë II, who brought him her Aegean possessions. He became joint ruler with his father in 285, succeeding to the throne in 282. Externally, he expanded the Ptolemaic overseas empire in *Asia Minor and *Syria, fighting two Syrian Wars, against the *Seleucid king Antiochus I (274–271) and, with less success, against Antiochus II in 260–253; in 252 his daughter Berenice II was married to Antiochus II. The Chremonidean War (267–261) against Macedon in Greece and the western Aegean involved some Ptolemaic losses. *Cyrene, lost to Egypt in 306 BC, was re-established under Ptolemaic rule (250); Red Sea trading-posts were founded. Internally, an increasing number of Greek and demotic papyri illuminate a developing bureaucracy and control of the population through a tax-system based on a census and land-survey. Land, especially in the Fayūm, was reclaimed and settled with military cleruchs (colonists) and in gift-estates. It was a period of experiment and expansion. Royal patronage benefited *Alexandria; the Pharos lighthouse (see SEVEN WONDERS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD), Museum, Library (see LIBRARIES), and other buildings graced the city, which developed as a centre of artistic and cultural life. Honouring his parents with a four-yearly festival, the Ptolemaieia (279/8), Philadelphos further instituted a Greek royal cult for himself and Arsinoë II (see RULER-CULT (Greek)). DJT

publicani Since the Roman republic had only a rudimentary 'civil service' (and primitive budgeting methods, the collection of public revenue, except for the **tributum*,

was sold as a public contract to the highest bidder, who reimbursed himself with what profit he could, at the tax rate set by the state. In addition, as in other states, there were contracts for public works, supplies and services (*ultra tributa*). The purchasers of these contracts provided the logistic background to the Roman victories in the Punic Wars (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.4) and in the eastern wars of the 2nd cent. BC, and managed the building of the Roman roads. Roman expansion also expanded their activities; thus the traditional contracts for the exploitation of mines were extended to the vastly profitable Spanish mines (see e.g. Strabo 3. 2. 10. 147–8C, from Polybius), and the profits of victory also financed a boom in public construction. Tax collection expanded correspondingly, as more harbours and toll stations came under Roman control and much conquered land became *ager publicus* (public land). In Italy there seems to have been a basic shift in sources of revenue between 179 and 167, with indirect taxes (especially *portoria*, customs dues) collected by *publicani* taking the place of *tributum*. The increase in their opportunities led to some conflicts with the senate and the censors (magistrates), in which the latter always prevailed. (See e.g. Cato the Elder.)

In Sicily the main tax was collected according to the law of King Hiero II of Syracuse, which protected the population against serious abuse. In Spain, a *stipendium* (cash tax), originally to pay for the Roman troops, was collected by the quaestors. We do not know how the taxes were collected in the provinces acquired in 146 and originally in Asia, but in 123 Gaius Gracchus changed history by providing that the tithe of Asia was to be sold in Rome by the censors every five years. The sums involved were spectacular: the companies (*societates publicanorum*) had to become much larger and more complex in organization. Henceforth taxes far surpassed *ultra tributa* as sources of profit, especially when Pompey extended the Asian system to the provinces he organized. The wealthiest of the *publicani* gained a dominant role in the *repetundae* (provincial extortion) court and other *quaestiones* (standing courts) and in the *ordo* of *equites*. They became the most powerful pressure group in Rome, and they dominated finance in the provinces and allied states.

The companies, by special legislation, possessed privileges unknown in normal Roman company law. They consisted of *socii* (partners), who put up the capital and were governed by one or more *magistri*, one of them probably the *manceps* (successful bidder) who bought the contract. Provincial offices were run by a *pro magistro* (who might be an *eques*) and might have large staffs, including *familiae* of hundreds of slaves and freedmen. By the late republic they acted as bankers to the state (avoiding the

shipment of large sums in coin) and their messengers (*tabellarii*) would transport mail for officials and important private persons.

Complaints about their abuses were frequent. Proconsuls found it more profitable to co-operate with them in exploitation than to protect the provincials. The fate of Publius Rutilius Rufus (exiled 92) and Lucius Licinius Lucullus (command in Asia removed by stages 68–7) shows the risks of opposing them; but these cases were exceptional and partly due to personal character. Cicero showed that tactful and honest governors could gain their co-operation in relieving provincials of unbearable burdens in return for secure profits. Extortion by senatorial commanders and their staffs seems to have far surpassed any due to the *publicani*. In the late republic there was a market for unregistered shares (*partes*) in the companies in Rome, enabling senators (e.g. Caesar and Crassus), who were not allowed to be *socii*, to share in the profits of the companies and no doubt to be influential in running them. The largest companies now tended to form a cartel: thus the main company for Bithynia (NW Asia Minor) consisted of all the other companies.

The Civil Wars brought the companies huge losses, as their provincial *fisci* (treasuries) were appropriated by opposing commanders. They never recovered their wealth and power. Caesar somewhat restricted their activities by depriving them of the Asian *decuma* (tithe on the grain harvest). Under the empire, tribute came to be collected by quaestors and procurators, though *publicani* might be used at the local level. Other revenues continued to be in their hands and we have plentiful evidence for their elaborate organization. Complaints against them continued, but they had little political influence. Nero strictly regulated their activities, and from the 2nd cent. AD their place was increasingly taken by individual conductors (tax farmers). See FINANCE, ROMAN. EB

Punic Wars See ROME (HISTORY) §1.4.

punishment, Greek and Roman practice

According to Cicero (*Ad Brut.* 23. 3), it was a dictum of Solon's that a community was held together by rewards and penalties, and the ascription seems plausible, in so far as Archaic Greek law-codes (see LAW IN GREECE) already show the city asserting its authority in laying down penalties both for universally recognized crimes and for failure to perform the duties imposed by its statutes. Cicero himself argued that the instinct to take vengeance (*vindicatio*) is nature's gift to man to ensure his own and his family's survival (*Inv.* 2. 65). Both in Greece and Rome criminal law emerged as an attempt to circumscribe and replace private revenge. Accordingly, just as prosecution in many cases fell to injured persons or their relatives, so

the treatment of the convicted man was often closely related to his victims, for example in early homicide law and in matters of physical injury and theft. There are also the religious aspects of punishment, which extend beyond offences against the gods themselves—for example at Athens and Rome in relation to blood-guilt (see POLLUTION) and at Rome in relation to certain political offences.

In fixing penalties legislators were guided to some extent both by the severity of the offence and the intention of the wrongdoer. Another consideration was the *status of the convicted person. Punishment of slaves, for example, was harsher and more humiliating than that of free men (see SLAVERY). Two other factors should be borne in mind: first, limited financial resources made any great expenditure on punishment impossible in practice in the majority of communities, even if it was thinkable; secondly, the high value attached to official membership of a community through citizenship made the removal (or diminution) of this status, i.e. exile or loss of political rights, an effective form of punishment.

The supreme penalty, execution, had a two-way relationship to exile. One might escape execution by voluntary exile, whereupon the self-imposed penalty was aggravated by a ban on return (on pain of death) and confiscation of property. Alternatively one might be condemned to exile with loss of property with the threat of a full capital penalty for illegal return. A form of inflicting dishonour less severe than exile was the removal of some citizen-privileges (*atimia* at Athens, *infamia* at Rome), e.g. loss of the right to speak or vote in an assembly or of membership of the senate at Rome or in a Roman municipality.

Long-term imprisonment by the community is not usually found in Greek cities or under the Roman republic (see PRISON), but a similar effect might be achieved by selling delinquents into chattel-slavery or turning them into virtual slaves to the person they had offended (the fate of condemned thieves under the Roman republic). Under the Principate we find condemnation to the *mines, public works, or gladiatorial schools (see GLADIATORS, COMBATANTS AT GAMES) not only in Italy but the provinces.

Flogging was normally thought appropriate only for the punishment of slaves under Athenian democracy, not for that of free men. Whips were associated with tyrants; thus the Thirty (Spartan-sponsored oligarchy at Athens, 404 BC) had 300 whip-carriers. However, whips were used on free men elsewhere in the Greek world, notably at the *games. At Rome, apart from being an element in the traditional form of execution (symbolized in the *fascēs*, bundles of rods, carried before magis-

trates with capital powers, where the rods surrounded the axe), flogging was apparently inflicted on citizens at Rome as reprisal for disobedience to magistrates until the *lex Porcia*, probably passed by *Cato the Elder in 198 or 195 BC; even after this it remained a feature of military discipline and was employed on non-Romans anywhere.

Financial penalties were both employed to recompense injured parties, as in the Roman *lex de repetundis*, and as fines paid to the community, in some instances being deliberately made so large as to entail the financial ruin of the convicted person—an early example is the ruinous fine imposed on the Athenian general Miltiades in 489 BC (Hdt. 6. 136).

Punishments which seem to us barbarous and grotesque should not be assumed to be primitive. The Roman penalty for parricide (*parricidium*)—drowning in a sack with a dog, cock, ape, and viper (Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 70; *Dig.* 48. 9. 9)—must have been devised after a distinction was drawn between the killing of parents and grandparents and that of other relatives. A particularly recherché punishment under the Principate was the use of criminals as entertainment, when they were condemned to fight as gladiators or beast-fighters in the arena, often being forced to act mythological characters in dramas of blood which culminated in real death (S. Bartsch, *Actors in the Audience* (1994), 50 ff.).

Revenge, recompense, and the assertion of civic authority are the main themes in the Greek and Roman practice of punishment. The last involved rewarding the good and punishing the bad, hence encouraging citizens to virtue and deterring them from vice. To this extent only was punishment related to moral reform. AWL

pygmies, dwarves who live in *Africa, *India, Scythia, or Thrace. They are usually discussed in Greek mythology in connection with their fight against the cranes (geranomachy). *Homer (*Il.* 3. 3–6) says that the cranes flee before the winter to the (southern) stream of Oceanus and bring death to the pygmies. Hecataeus, who located the pygmies in southern Egypt, Ctesias, and the writers on India (e.g. Megasthenes) considerably elaborated the story. Pygmies disguise themselves as rams, or ride on rams and goats. They battle with the cranes to protect their fields (perhaps a reflection of the farmer's life), and conduct operations to destroy the cranes' eggs and young. Other mythographers invented explanations for the struggle, tracing the enmity to a beautiful pygmy girl transformed into a crane (Boeus in *Ath.* 9. 393e–f). Philostratus (*Imag.* 2.22) tells of an unsuccessful pygmy attack on *Heracles after he killed Antaeus.

The geranomachy is often shown in Greek art, first on the François vase c.570, where the pygmies are shown as midgets battling with clubs, hooked sticks, and slings, and riding goats. On later Archaic and Classical vases they become podgy and grotesquely proportioned. Some 4th-cent. vases show them with pelts and poses like giants; like them, they were earth-born (hence their defence of Antaeus). Pygmies appear on Hellenistic rhyta and, in isolated groups, on *gems. In Hellenistic and Roman art, they occur on Campanian wall-paintings as fully armed warriors with no deformity, and in Nilotic paintings and mosaics deformed, often in humorous confrontations with crocodiles or hippopotami. KWA

Pyrrhus of Epirus (319–272 BC), son of Aeacides and Phthia, most famous of the Molossian kings, chief architect of a large, powerful, and Hellenized Epirote state (*see HELLENISM*), and builder of the great theatre at the Zeus sanctuary at Dodona. After reigning as a minor from 307/6 to 303/2, he was driven out and followed for a time the fortunes of Demetrius Poliorcetes ('the Besieger'). With the support of *Ptolemy I, whose stepdaughter Antigone he married, and of Agathocles, tyrant of *Syracuse, he became joint king with Neoptolemus, whom he soon removed. Early in his reign he annexed and retained southern Illyria, probably as far as Epidamnus. He tried to emancipate Epirus from Macedonia. By intervening in a dynastic quarrel in Macedonia Pyrrhus obtained the frontier provinces of Parauaea and Tymphaea, together with Ambracia, Amphilocheia, and Acarnania. On the death of Antigone he acquired Corcyra (mod. Corfu) and Leucas (mod. Lefkas) as the dowry of his new wife, Lanassa daughter of Agathocles, and made alliances with the Dardanian chief Bardylis and the Paeonian king Audooleon, whose daughters he also married. Conflict with Demetrius (from 291), now king of Macedon, saw substantial gains in Thessaly and Macedonia, but these were largely lost later to *Lysimachus (284).

Appealed to by the Tarentines (as his uncle Alexander of Epirus and the Spartans King Archidamus III and Cleonymus before him), Pyrrhus went to assist them in their Hellenic struggle against Rome. With a force of 25,000 infantry, 3,000 horse, and 20 elephants he defeated the Romans at Heraclea (mod. Policoro) (280), though not without loss, and won the support of the Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians, and Greek cities of the south. He marched towards Rome, but prolonged negotiations failed to secure peace. In 279 he defeated the Romans again, at Ausculum, but again with heavy losses. Late in the same year he received an appeal from Syracuse and in 278 sailed to Sicily, where he fought the Carthaginians, then allies of Rome, and Mamertines. In 276 he abandoned the cam-

paign (perhaps by then a lost cause) and returned to Italy, whither he was urgently summoned by his allies in the south. After more losses (including eight elephants and his camp) in battle with the Romans at Malventum (renamed thereafter Beneventum) in 275, he returned to Epirus with less than a third of his original force. A garrison was left behind at Tarentum, signifying perhaps future intent, but the Italian manpower at Rome's disposal had triumphed decisively. Pyrrhus himself embarked upon a new attempt at Macedonia. Initial success and a brief time as king there in 274 gave way to unpopularity after he plundered the royal tombs at *Aegae, and in 273 he marched into the *Peloponnese. Following a failed attack on Sparta he went to Argos, where in 272 he died, struck on the head by a tile thrown from the roof of a house; in the same year Tarentum fell to the Romans. PSD

Pythagoras, Pythagoreanism Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, one of the most mysterious and influential figures in Greek intellectual history, was born in *Samos in the mid-6th cent. BC and migrated to Croton in c.530 BC. There he founded the sect or society that bore his name, and that seems to have played an important role in the political life of Magna Graecia (the Greek settlements of S. Italy) for several generations. Pythagoras himself is said to have died as a refugee in Metapontum. Pythagorean political influence is attested well into the 4th cent., with Archytas of Tarentum.

The name of Pythagoras is connected with two parallel traditions, one religious and one scientific. Pythagoras is said to have introduced the doctrine of transmigration of *souls into Greece, and his religious influence is reflected in the cult organization of the Pythagorean society, with periods of initiation, secret doctrines and passwords (*akousmata* and *symbola*), special dietary restrictions (*see ANIMALS, ATTITUDES TO*), and burial rites. Pythagoras seems to have become a legendary figure in his own lifetime and was identified by some with the Hyperborean *Apollo. His supernatural status was confirmed by a golden thigh, the gift of bilocation, and the capacity to recall his previous incarnations. Classical authors imagine him studying in Egypt; in the later tradition he gains universal wisdom by travels in the east. Pythagoras becomes the pattern of the 'divine man': at once a sage, a seer, a teacher, and a benefactor of the human race.

The scientific tradition ascribes to Pythagoras a number of important discoveries, including the famous geometric theorem that still bears his name. Even more significant for Pythagorean thought is the discovery of the musical consonances: the ratios 2:1, 3:2, and 4:3 representing the length of strings corresponding to the octave

and the basic harmonies (the fifth and the fourth). These ratios are displayed in the *tetractys*, an equilateral triangle composed of 10 dots; the Pythagoreans swear an oath by Pythagoras as author of the *tetractys*. The same ratios are presumably reflected in the music of the spheres, which Pythagoras alone was said to hear.

In the absence of written records before Philolaus in the late 5th cent., it is impossible to tell how much of the Pythagorean tradition in *mathematics, *music, and *astronomy can be traced back to the founder and his early followers. Since the fundamental work of W. Burkert (*Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (1972, Ger. orig. 1962)), it has been generally recognized that the conception of Pythagorean philosophy preserved in later antiquity was the creation of *Plato and his school, and that the only reliable pre-Platonic account of Pythagorean thought is the system of Philolaus. *Aristotle (*Metaph* 1.5; 14.3) reports that for the Pythagoreans all things are numbers or imitate numbers. In Philolaus (fr. 4) we read that it is by number and proportion that the world becomes organized and knowable. The basic principles are the Unlimited (*apeira*) and the Limiting (*perainonta*). The generation of the numbers, beginning with One in the centre, seems to coincide with the structuring of the cosmos. There must be enough cosmic bodies to correspond to the perfect number 10; the earth is a kind of heavenly body, revolving around an invisible central fire. This fact permitted Copernicus to name 'Philolaus the Pythagorean' as one of his predecessors.

Plato was deeply influenced by the Pythagorean tradition in his judgement myths, in his conception of the soul as transcending the body, and in the mathematical interpretation of nature. The *Phaedo* and the *Timaeus*, respectively, became the classical formulations for the religious and cosmological aspects of the Pythagorean world view. In the *Philebus* (16c) begins the transformation of Pythagoras into the archetype of philosophy. This view is developed by Speusippus, who replaces Plato's Forms by Pythagorean numbers. Hence Theophrastus can assign to Pythagoras the late Platonic 'unwritten doctrines' of the One and the Infinite Dyad, and these two principles appear in all later versions of Pythagorean philosophy.

In the 1st cent. BC, P. Nigidius Figulus revived the Pythagorean tradition in Rome, while in *Alexandria the Platonist Eudorus attributed to the Pythagoreans a supreme One, above the two older principles of One and Dyad. This monistic Platonism was developed by the Neopythagoreans: Moderatus of Gades in the 1st cent. AD, Nicomachus of Gerasa and Numenius of Apamea in the 2nd cent. Their innovations were absorbed into the great Neoplatonic synthesis of Plotinus, and thereafter no distinction can be drawn between Pythagoreans and

Neoplatonists. Porphyry and Iamblichus both composed lives of Pythagoras in which he is represented as the source of Platonic philosophy. CHK

Religious aspects of Pythagoreanism

Reliable tradition on the early form of Pythagoreanism, coming chiefly from *Aristotle and his school, presents Pythagoras and his followers as a religious and political association in south Italy (chiefly Croton) where they gained considerable political influence, until their power was broken in a catastrophe in about 450 BC. From then on, Pythagoreanism survived in two distinct forms, a scientific, philosophical form (the so-called *mathēmatikoi*), which in the 4th cent. manifested itself in the thinking of Philolaus and Archytas of Tarentum and the Pythagoreans whom Plato knew and followed, and a religious, sectarian form (*akousmatikoi*, those following oral teachings (*akousmata* or *symbola*)), which manifested itself in the migrant Pythagoristai of Middle Comedy. Since the analysis of W. Burkert (*Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (1972, Ger. orig. 1962)), it has been universally recognized that scientific Pythagoreanism is a reform (by Hippasus of Metapontum around 450 BC) of an earlier religious way.

Despite the existence of many pseudepigraphical Pythagorean writings thought to date from Hellenistic times, the continuation of any form of religious Pythagoreanism after the Classical age is disputed. But see above on Neopythagoreanism and Neoplatonism. The hexametrical collection of life rules, under the title 'Golden Words' ascribed to Pythagoras himself, appears in this period.

While among the philosophical disciplines of the *mathematici*, arithmetic, theory of number, and music are prominent and influential, the doctrines of the *acusmatici* laid down rules for a distinctive lifestyle, the 'Pythagorean life'. The originally oral *akousmata* (collected by later authors; a list in Iamb. *V. Pyth.* 82–6) contained unrelated and often strange answers to the questions 'What exists?', 'What is the best thing?', 'What should one do?' Prominent among the rules of life is a complicated (and in our sources not consistent) vegetarianism, based on the doctrine of metempsychosis and already ascribed to Pythagoras himself during his life-time (Xenophanes, DK 21 B 7); total vegetarianism excludes participation in sacrifice and marginalizes those who profess it, at the same time all the more efficiently binding them together in their own sectarian group. Metempsychosis (see IMMORTALITY) and, more generally, an interest in the afterlife connects Pythagoreanism with Orphism; Plato associates vegetarianism with the Orphic life-style (*bios Orphikos* Plat. *Laws* 6. 783 C), and

authors from about 400 BC onwards name Pythagoreans as authors of certain Orphic texts.

See ANIMALS, ATTITUDES TO; ORPHEUS. FG

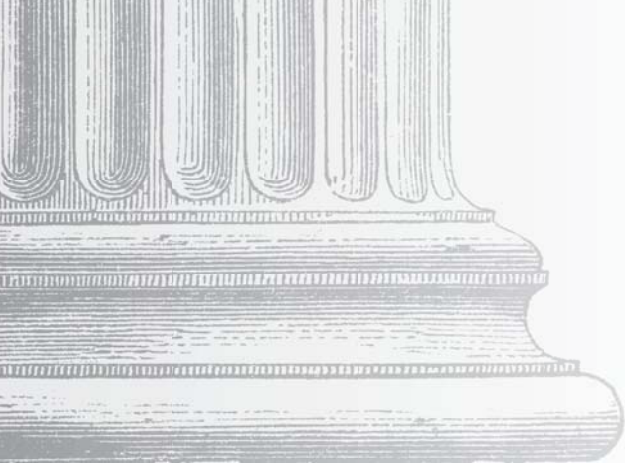
Pytheas (c.310–306 BC), Greek navigator of Massalia (Marseilles), author of a lost work 'About the Ocean', object of ancient distrust. From *Strabo, *Diodorus, and *Pliny the Elder mostly we learn that, sailing from Gades (Cadiz) past Cape Ortegal, the Loire, north-west France,

and Uxisame (Ushant), he visited Belerium (Cornwall) and the tin-depot at Ictis (St Michael's Mount), circum-navigated *Britain, described its inhabitants and climate, reported an island Thule (Norway or Iceland), sailed perhaps to the Vistula, and reported an estuary (Frisian Bight?) and an island (Heligoland?) abounding in amber. Pytheas calculated closely the latitude of Massalia and laid bases for cartographic parallels through north France and Britain. EHW/AJSS

Q



Quintilian (c.AD 35–sometime in the, 90s). *See* LITERARY CRITICISM IN ANTIQUITY §8; RHETORIC, LATIN.



R

race Greeks and Romans were avid observers in art and text of departures among foreigners (*allophyloi*, *alienigeni*) from their own somatic norms. But it is difficult to discern any lasting ascription of general inferiority to any ethnic group in antiquity solely on the basis of body-type. The explanation is partly conceptual: although *Aristotle realized that pigmentation was biologically transmitted (*Gen. an.* 1. 18, 722^a), popular *anthropology understood cultural variation among humankind in terms, not of nature (i.e. heredity), but nurture, and specifically environment (thus the Hippocratic *Air, Waters, Places* 12. 17–24; see **MEDICINE** §4), which shaped ‘customs, appearance and colour’ (Polyb. 4. 21), the sunny south generating blackness, the north ‘glacial whiteness’ (Plin. *HN* 2. 80. 189); thus, as *Strabo implies, it was only their poor soil which debarred the Arians of E. Iran from the pleasures of civilization (25. 32). Although profoundly ethnocentric and, along the way, idealizing one somatic norm (Graeco-Roman) over others, this outlook none the less inhibited the emergence of ‘white’ as a privileged somatic category (with ‘black’ as its antithesis), as did the fact that both Greeks and Romans defined themselves in opposition to a *cultural* construct, the *barbarian, which embraced mainly peoples of similarly pale skin-tone. A variety of ancient sensory responses can be detected to the physiognomies of Mediterranean blacks (usually from Nilotic or NW Africa and, whatever their hue, classed generally as *Aethiopes*, *Aithiopes*), ranging from the negative (e.g. the description of a negroid woman in the (?Virgilian) *Moretum*, ed. E. J. Kenney, 1984, ll. 31–5) to the admiring (the dignified negroid head-vases of Attic Greek *pottery, or the Mauretanian with skin ‘like Corinthian bronze’ of a Roman epitaph, *SEG* 40. 397); more problematic is the extent to which ancient colour-symbolism linked blackness stereotypically with the ill-omened—death, demons (in Christian thought), and so on. Less often remarked on are the hints of Roman somatic distaste for northerners, in particular the paleness (*pallor*) of the men and their su-

perior height (Caes. *B. Gall.* 2. 30. 4; 4. 1. 9). Racism must be distinguished from—even if somatic judgments may form an element in—*cultural* prejudice (ethnocentrism), which by contrast certainly *was* a historical motor in antiquity, shaping (e.g.) a Graeco-Roman *Orientalism to an extent, and in ways, which scholars have yet to map fully. See **ETHNICITY**; **JEWS**; **NATIONALISM**. AJSS

rape See **HETEROSEXUALITY**; **HUBRIS**; and E. M. Harris, *Classical Quarterly* 1990; S. Cole, *Classical Philology* 1984; S. Deacy and K. Pierce, *Rape in Antiquity* (1997).

reception ‘Reception’, in the specialized sense used within literary theory, is a concept of German origin, associated primarily with the Constance school of critics led by H. R. Jauss and W. Iser, and often subsequently used to replace words like tradition, heritage, influence, etc., each key-word having its own implied agenda (for a symbiotic relationship between reception and tradition, see Budelmann and Haubold in L. Hardwick and C. Stray (eds.), *Companion to Classical Receptions* (2008)). Studies of reception-history (*Rezeptionsgeschichte*) are studies of the reading, interpretation, (re)fashioning, appropriation, use, and abuse of past texts over the centuries. In providing a theoretical framework for such studies Jauss started from the proposition, previously advanced within German hermeneutics, e.g. in Hans-Georg Gadamer’s *Truth and Method* (1960; Eng. trans. 1975), that interpretation always takes place *within history*, and is subject to the contingencies of its historical moment; there is no permanently ‘correct’ reading of a text, but an ever-changing ‘fusion of horizons’ between text and interpreter. Thus reception-theory, like other modern theories of reading (including the ‘reader-response criticism’ associated with the American scholar Stanley Fish, with his dictum (*Is There a Text in This Class?* (1980)) that ‘the reader’s response is not to the meaning, it is the meaning’), stresses the importance of the reader, within the triangle

writer–text–reader, for the construction of meaning. So *Horace, as a man, as a body of texts, as an authority for different ways of living, has been diversely read in the west over the last 500 years, by scholars, poets, and ‘men of letters’, and our current images are shaped in response to that reception-history.

Some scholars argue that the proper meaning of a text is the meaning (meanings?) assigned by its original readers. Ancient theorists certainly stress the response of audiences; Aristotle makes the arousal of pity and fear crucial for tragic effect, while the rhetoricians expound the use of tropes and figures to control more effectively the reactions of auditors. Ancient *literary criticism is in that sense primarily *affective*, more concerned with emotional response than with interpretation. A famous anecdote describes the extraordinary impact of *Cicero’s *Pro Ligario* on a reluctant *Caesar (Plut. *Cic.* 39). But we know virtually nothing in detail about contemporary responses to ancient texts, so that appeals to them become circular arguments. Much of the evidence is from late antiquity; e.g. the 4th-cent. grammarian Servius’ commentary postdates *Virgil by several centuries.

Reception-study is necessarily of importance to all classicists, but the nature of that importance can be differently conceived. It can be seen as a historical study in its own right, casting fresh light on the past and underlining the difference of its hermeneutic practices from those of the present (most obviously in Neoplatonic readings of *Homer or Christian allegorizations of *Ovid). But, by revealing different perspectives on classical texts, reception-study can also change the way we look at the Classical world and its productions. Changing responses to antiquity can be seen as strategies for mediating cultural change and (re)negotiating relationships with the past which are significant for the receivers (so, e.g., Virgil was used in the Renaissance to justify princely rule or in the 19th cent. to underwrite British imperialism). Most readings are analysable in these terms, that is as readings which have been affected by post-classical interpretations and constructed in turn as a further link in the process of receptions (e.g. T. S. Eliot’s influential view of Virgil was partly based on his interpretation of Dante’s Virgil). Reception-theory has thus been among the main challengers of the view that ‘original’ meaning can be established with certainty and be invoked for evaluating subsequent texts and interpretations. Rather, it puts the emphasis on the nature of the relationships between the ancient text or artefact and its subsequent receptions. This allows for a complex process of mediation, not just by readers, viewers, and spectators but also by creative practitioners such as writers, painters, theatre and film directors (who respond not only to the ancient work but also to their

own artistic and cultural traditions), and by museum and gallery curators and their predecessors in the histories of collecting and display. Such inter-relationships are the subject of hotly contested debates about formal and contextual aspects of the ancient material and its receptions and about the balance between aesthetic and historical judgements. Investigation of the theories and practices of reception has been made even more challenging by the increase in volume and range of relevant material from the second half of the 20th cent., sometimes in contexts of dissent or liberation (Africa, Eastern Europe, Ireland), sometimes in the negotiation of new cultural identities (South Africa, South America), and sometimes through new media. The effects of this influx have included a refocusing of analysis on aspects of the ancient material that have been marginalized and thus on the practices of reception within antiquity. This in turn has also informed work on transmission, on the analysis of transhistorical and cross-cultural dynamics, and on cross-genre adaptations. There has been renewed attention to the role of classical texts and ideas in debates in the public sphere (including past and present international relations, social attitudes, political thought, and the histories of empire, gender, sexuality, and slavery). Dialogue between the ‘original’ and the subsequent texts and ideas, in which each affects perceptions of the other, is increasingly an approach of choice, but no single theory of reception has proved able to provide for all the possible applications. Patterns of interaction may involve overt or covert allusions to Greek or Roman material. They include looser association of figures and images from myth and history as well as crafted intertextualities and so reception scholarship increasingly moves across boundaries of discipline and tradition. This raises key questions concerning what can be said to be distinctively ‘classical’ about classical reception in terms of methods and focus and about what it can contribute to the wider spheres of intellectual and cultural history. Investigation of the selection, use, reworking, and interpretation of Greek and Roman material in different contexts requires detailed analysis of particular examples of practice. This entails commitment to research at the intersections between times, places, languages, and forms and a determination to ask specific (if sometimes awkward) questions concerning what continuities and differences were made, how, by whom, to whom, why, and with what effect. On that basis the various strands in classical reception scholarship provide a field for comparison between movements, watersheds, and paradigms within and across cultures, as well as contributing to analysis of the ancient texts and contexts. *See also* ARCHITECTURE; ART, ANCIENT ATTITUDE TO; COMEDY; DANCE (RECEPTION);

EMOTIONS; EPIC; FILM; HISTORIOGRAPHY; LITERARY THEORY AND CLASSICAL STUDIES; LYRIC POETRY; OPERA; PHILOSOPHY; POPULAR CULTURE; SCHOLARSHIP, HISTORY OF CLASSICAL; SCULPTURE; TRAGEDY; TRANSLATION. CAMa/LH

reciprocity (Greece) The idea that giving goods or rendering services imposed upon the recipient a moral obligation to respond pervaded Greek thought from its earliest documented history. Linguistically, the idea is most commonly signalled by the preposition *anti*, either by itself or attached to a noun or verb.

Reciprocity was one of the central issues around which the moral existence of the Homeric heroes revolved; see HOMER. In the poems, it is consistently implied and sometimes plainly stated that a gift or service should be repaid with a counter-gift or a counter-service. This need not be forthcoming immediately, and may not be in the same category as the original gift or service. In the long run, however, allowing for slight temporary imbalances, the gifts and services exchanged must be equal in value and bestow equal benefits upon both parties. In making this assumption the Homeric world differs significantly from that of the Old Testament, in which God rather than the recipient is said to requite both good and bad deeds. Gain, profit, and loss belonged in Homer to the world of traders, or to that of aristocrats engaged in plunder and spoliation. Reciprocity aimed at the forging of binding relationships (see FRIENDSHIP, RITUALIZED; MARRIAGE LAW) between status equals, from which a long series of unspecified mutual acts of assistance could be expected to flow.

The assumption of equivalence did not extend into the realm of hostile encounters. Here there was no taking of an eye for an eye. Instead, what Dover has called the 'head for an eye' principle prevailed: upon being provoked, offended, or injured, the hero was expected to give free rein to his passionate desire for revenge. Although the more peaceful alternative of material compensation for an insult or an injury was also available (see e.g. *Il.* 9. 634), over-retaliation was undoubtedly the norm.

A system of thought striving at equivalence of give and take faces a practical difficulty: how to assess the values of exchangeable items with any precision. It is presumably this difficulty that precipitated the invention, at some time after Homer's day, of *coinage.

The *polis brought about a threefold change in the operation of reciprocity. Firstly, it turned communal interest into a new standard of individual morality, reinterpreting the norms inherited from the past accordingly. When *Themistocles tells King Artaxerxes I of Persia, 'I deserve to be repaid for the help I gave you' (*Thuc.* 1. 137), *Thu-

cydides makes it clear that the first half of this reciprocal action gave rise to the suspicion that its other half was to be Themistocles' recruitment to the Persian court. This, in turn, posed a threat to the community to which no Athenian could be indifferent. In Homer no moral norms which compete with the unhindered exercise of reciprocity are visible. Secondly, the polis promoted the ideal of communal altruism: the performance of actions beneficial to the community but potentially detrimental to the individual performing them (e.g. nursing the sick during a plague or donating money as liturgies (compulsory services to the state)). The pre-polis equation dictating equivalence of give and take here breaks down in favour of individual sacrifices for the benefit of the community. (Individual benefit derived from communal benefit is of another order.) Thirdly, the polis in general, and Athens in particular, endorsed the ideal of self-restraint as a means of checking hostile encounters. When provoked, offended, or injured, the citizen was expected to refrain from retaliating or taking revenge, relinquishing the right to inflict punishment to the civic authorities. GH

records and record-keeping, attitudes to Greeks and Romans kept records on stone or bronze, lead, wooden tablets (waxed or whitened), papyrus (see BOOKS, GREEK AND ROMAN), ostraca (potsherds), even precious metals. The different materials often bear certain associations and reflect ancient attitudes to records: e.g. bronze documents in Athens have religious associations, as do the bronze tablets of Roman laws. Stone inscriptions promised permanence and importance, publicly visible reminders of the decree (etc.) they record: in *Athens, matters of particular concern to the gods went up on stone (e.g. the tribute lists). Athenian inscriptions are read and referred to, but they may also serve as memorials of the decision they record, so that their destruction signifies the end of that transaction (e.g. *Dem.* 16. 27); inscribed laws are often dedicated to a god. The relation of the inscribed records to those in the archives is therefore complex. Some scholars believe that archival texts are the originals, the inscriptions merely copies, and that there were always archival copies. The situation changes in the Hellenistic period, but the terminology, even then, is inconsistent and inscribed texts are treated as authoritative, indicating a less archive-oriented attitude to records. Archive organization, where we have evidence, is often primitive, and not all archive documents are preserved: in Classical Athens certain documents are destroyed when the transaction is complete (e.g. records of state debtors), or for political reasons (e.g. *IG* 1³ 127, 27?ff, for *Samos), or as a *damnatio memoriae* (erasing the memory of enemies of the state), as in Rome. Cer-

tain information was not recorded at all. However written documentation increasingly takes over from memory and oral proof in Athens during the 4th cent., and the archives came to be used more extensively.

Romans generally attach more importance to written record than Classical Greece, and archives are more sophisticated. The public inscriptions, especially those on the Capitol, have powerful symbolic value, however (see Suet. *Vesp.* 8. 5), as well as being fundamental records: as in Greece, their removal would annul the transaction they record (e.g. Plut. *Cic.* 34. 1). The extent of centralization may have been exaggerated, and evidence for reforms in the *aerarium* (treasury) imply negligence, falsification, and loss of documents (Plut. *Cat. Min.* 16–18; Dio 54. 36. 1, 57. 16. 2). *Cicero lamented the lack of a proper guardianship and public record of the laws (*Leg.* 3. 20. 46). The extent to which the *aerarium* was really used for reference is controversial; senatorial writers consulted individuals or private records (including private collections of laws) as well as state archives. Political facts may lie behind these differing attitudes to written record. Apart from the *senatus consulta* (decrees of the *senate), there were no official records of senatorial business until *Caesar proposed the *acta* (official record of proceedings) be published (59 BC, Suet. *Iul.* 20; rescinded, *Aug.* 36). Provincial cities keep their own copies of relevant documents, sometimes not reliably (cf. *Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10. 65–6, 72–3, who sends back to *Trajan for accurate versions). Even in the elaborate bureaucracy of the late empire, it has been argued (Mommsen) that the Theodosian Code (408–450) was partly compiled not from a central imperial archive but from individuals, law schools, and provincial archives.

See also ARCHIVES.

RT

religion, Greek (see page 652)

religion, Jewish (see page 654)

religion, Roman (see page 657)

religions, ancient, cognitive anthropology of

The genealogy of cognitive anthropology includes, among others, N. Chomsky's argument that cultural input underdetermines mental output; C. Lévi-Strauss' analysis of ethnographic data in terms of fundamental structures of the mind; S. Guthrie's programmatic proposal for a cognitive anthropology of religion; and H. Whitehouse's groundbreaking cognitive anthropology of a Papua New Guinean village. Since historical, like ethnographic, evidence represents products of human minds, the empirically testable theories proposed by cognitive scientists, who seek to map innate traits common to the mental

functions of *Homo sapiens*, promise insights that may help historians connect the dots of their fragmentary, incomplete, even contradictory, data—material and textual—with greater confidence than has previously been the case. Insights from cognitive anthropology into the dynamics of the Roman ritual system provide an instructive example.

Official Roman religion was characterized by its frequent repetition of rituals, the conduct of which was supervised by a hierarchy of religio-political authorities: domestically by the *paterfamilias* (male head of the family), socially by the *magister* (president) of the *collegia* (religious associations), and at the state level by public priests. After 12 BC, all the 'fixed and formal' practices of Roman religion became subject to prescribed and precise regulations (Plin. *HN* 28. 11) controlled by 'the knowledge of the *pontifices*' (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)) (Val. Max. 1. 1. 1a-b). These carefully prescribed repetitions functioned cognitively to encode official values of 'Romanness' into the semantic memory of practitioners. Over time, however, repetitive practices tend to become tedious conventions that require an increasingly enhanced scale of pageantry in order to retain the attention of their practitioners until an effective limit to their emotional responses and constraints of resources is reached, at which point their didactic efficacy begins to diminish. Such a ceiling effect and subsequent deflation in the ritual system of official Roman religion, associated with an increasingly controlled and routinized orthopraxy, can be traced from the end of the republican period (Livy 25. 1–2).

In contrast to the repetitive rites of official Roman religion, mystery religions, documented in the west from the end of the 1st cent. AD, initiated their members but once or, as in the example of Mithraism, once per initiatory grade. From representations of these initiatory rituals, e.g., those preserved in the Mithraeum of Capua Vetere, it is clear that these rites were designed to puzzle, humiliate, even threaten initiates by altering their somatic states through fasting, or through an ingestion of alcohol or psychotropics, and by heightening their cognitive vulnerability by manipulations of light and dark and/or of sudden noises and rhythmic sounds, and by displays of exotic imagery and masks. As increasingly understood by neurophysiologists and cognitivists, such somatic and psychological techniques incite predictable neurochemical reactions that may be experienced, according to context, as 'religious', as L. H. Martin (*Religion and Theology* (2005), 349–69) has argued with respect to initiations into the Graeco-Roman mysteries and D. L. Smail (*On Deep History and the Brain* (2008)) has proposed for human history generally. Typically, such emotionally

[continued on p. 658]

RELIGION

Greek religion

Despite the diversity of the Greek world, which is fully reflected in its approach to things divine, the cult practices and pantheons current among different communities have enough in common to be seen as essentially one system, and were generally understood as such by the Greeks. This is not to say that the Greeks were familiar with the concept of 'a religion', a set of beliefs and practices espoused by its adherents as a matter of conscious choice, more or less to the exclusion of others; such a framework was not applied to Greek religion before late antiquity, and then under pressure from Christianity. Boundaries between Greek and non-Greek religion were far less sharp than is generally the case in comparable modern situations, but they were perceived to exist. The tone is set by *Herodotus (8. 144. 2), who characterizes 'Greekness' (*to Hellēnikon*) as having common temples and rituals (as well as common descent, language, and customs). Thus, despite his willingness to identify individual Persian or *Egyptian deities with Greek ones (a practice followed by most Greek ethnographers), and indeed despite his attribution of most of the system of divine nomenclature to the Egyptians (2. 50–2), he still sees a body of religious thought and practice which is distinctively Greek. Many modern scholars go further and see a certain overall coherence in this body which enables us to speak of a 'system' despite the lack of formal dogma or canonical ritual.

Origins

The system, then, as known to Herodotus, had clearly developed over a long period. The origins of some ritual acts may even predate the human species itself. More definitely, we can clearly trace some Greek deities to Indo-European origins: *Zeus, like *Jupiter, has evolved from an original Sky Father, while the relation between the Dioscuri and the Ásvins, the twin horsemen of the Vedas, is too close for coincidence. Another source of input will have been the indigenous religious forms of Greece, originating before the arrival of Greek-speakers. Sorting such elements from 'Greek' ones in the amalgam we call Minoan-Mycenaean religion is an impossible task; it is easier to trace Minoan-Mycenaean elements in the religion of later periods. See MINOAN CIVILIZATION; MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION. Most obviously, many of the names of the major Greek gods are found already in Mycenaean Linear B documents, but recent discoveries also indicate that some elements of classical cult practice have their roots in this period. It remains true, however, that the total complex of cult presents a very different aspect.

At various periods the religion of Greece came under substantial influence from the near east. Much in the traditions of creation and theogony represented for us in *Hesiod has very striking parallels in several West Asian sources, perhaps reflecting contact in the Minoan-Mycenaean period. Cult practice, however, does not seem to have been open to influence from the east much before the Geometric period, when we begin to find the construction of large temples containing cult images, a form which is likely to owe more to near eastern/West Semitic culture than to the bronze age in Greece. Elements of the classical form of sacrificial ritual can also be derived from the east. A final 'source' for later Greek religion is formed by the poems of *Homer and Hesiod, who though they did not, as Herodotus claims, give the gods their cult titles and forms (2. 53. 2), certainly fixed in Greek consciousness a highly anthropomorphic and more or less stable picture of divine society, a pattern extremely influential throughout antiquity despite its frequent incompatibility with ritual practices and local beliefs.

General characteristics

Turning to the analysis of Greek religion as it appears in the post-Geometric period, we find in common with most pre-modern societies a strong link between religion and society, to the extent that the sacred/secular dichotomy as we know it has little meaning for the Greek world. Greek religion is community based, and to the extent that the *polis forms the most conspicuous of communities, it is therefore polis based. The importance of this connection began to wane somewhat in the Hellenistic period and later, but to the end of antiquity it remains true to say that Greek religion is primarily a public religion rather than a religion of the individual. Reciprocally, religious observances contributed to the structuring of society, as kinship groups (real or fictitious), local habitations, or less obviously related groups of friends constructed their corporate identity around shared deities and cults. One major difference in the socio-religious organization of Greece from that of many other cultures concerns priestly office, not in the Greek world a

special status indicating integration in a special group or caste, but rather parallel to a magistracy, even where, as often, a particular priesthood is hereditary. *See* PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN).

Cult

Specific religious practices are described more fully under separate headings (*see also* RITUAL); the following is a very brief résumé. Probably the central ritual act in Greek cult, certainly the most conspicuous, is animal *sacrifice, featured in the overwhelming majority of religious gatherings. Its overlapping layers of significance have been much debated, but it is clear that sacrifice relates both to human–divine relations (the celebration of and offering to a deity) and to a bonding of the human community (the shared sacrificial meal). The act might take place at most times, but on certain dates it was celebrated regularly at a particular sanctuary, usually in combination with a special and distinctive ritual complex; the word ‘festival’ is loosely but conveniently applied to such rites, whether Panhellenic like the *games at *Olympia or intimate and secret like the Arrephoria (in honour of Athena Polias) in Athens. Festivals, at least those of the more public type, articulated the calendar year and provided an opportunity for communal recreation. A more specialized type of gathering was provided by rites known as *mysteries, participation in which was usually felt to confer special benefits, often a better fate after death. Secrecy was a prominent characteristic of these rites, and the experience was often a profoundly emotional one. There were of course more basic methods of communicating with the divine. Most obviously, *prayer was an indispensable part of any public ritual, but was also used on other occasions, often by individuals. Votive offerings were a very common individual religious act throughout the Greek world (*see* ART, ANCIENT ATTITUDES TO). On a day-to-day basis, individuals would greet deities whose shrines they were passing, and might also show piety by garlanding an image or making a personal, unscheduled, sacrifice—often bloodless, consisting of *cakes or other vegetarian foods, or a pinch of incense. Sometimes they might experience a divine epiphany in the form of a *dream or a waking vision. Both individuals and *poleis* might make use of various types of prophecies; methods were very various, but generally the process was understood as another form of divine–human communication.

Gods and other cult figures

The pantheon certainly showed some local variations, but presented a recognizable picture throughout the Greek world. Zeus, *Demeter, *Hermes, for instance, were names to which any Greek could respond. Again, the fundamental qualities or ‘personality’ of a deity remained to some extent consistent across different areas of Greece, but exceptions spring readily to mind; *Persephone (Kore), typically an Underworld goddess, is at Locri Epizephyrii (in S. Italy) more concerned with human fertility and the life of women, while the normally strong connection of *Artemis with her brother *Apollo is virtually absent in her Arcadian manifestations. Looking at this another way, we might speak of a multiplicity of deities in different locations, who share their name with others of partially similar character. This analysis, although incomplete, accounts better for the existence of certain local deities who are not, or not completely, identified with the great Panhellenic gods. Thus for instance at Aegina and elsewhere we find Damia and Auxesia, clearly goddesses very roughly of the Demeter-Kore type, but too different to be readily identified with them. Cretan Britomartis appears both as herself and as a form of Artemis. More generally, we might ask in what sense, and to what extent, *Hera of *Samos is identical with Hera of Argos, or indeed within the same city whether Apollo Pythios is ‘the same’ god as Apollo Agyieus. From one point of view it could be said that every sanctuary housed a ‘different’ god. On the other hand, the desire to schematize was clearly a strong centripetal force, as was the anthropomorphizing concept of the gods exemplified and promoted by the Homeric poems and their milieu. The boundaries of divine individuality could be drawn in quite different ways depending on context and circumstance.

An anthropomorphic view of the gods also encouraged a concept of a divine society, probably influenced by west Asian models and very prominent in Homer. Prayer formulae locate deities in their sanctuaries or favourite place on earth, but much mythology creates a picture of a group of gods living more or less together in (albeit rather eccentric) family relationships. Since their home was traditionally Mt. Olympus (N. Greece), the gods most prone to this presentation were the ‘Olympians’, by and large those who were most widely known and worshipped. Sometimes these deities were schematized into the ‘Twelve Gods’, a group whose composition varied slightly and might include such figures as *Hades/Pluto (widely known, but not situated on Olympus) and Hestia, the hearth (Olympian, but scarcely personified), whose presence is partly due to their Homeric or Hesiodic status as siblings of Zeus. (The twelve on the Parthenon frieze are *Aphrodite, Apollo, *Ares, Artemis, *Athena, Demeter, Dionysus, *Hephaestus,

Hera, Hermes, *Poseidon, Zeus.) However, any local pantheon would also exhibit deities who were not so universally known or who, though the object of widespread cult, were scarcely perceived as personal mythological figures. As examples of the former we could adduce Eleusinian Da(e)ira or Arcadian Despoina ('Mistress'); of the latter, such well-known divinities as Gaia/Ge (who seems scarcely affected by her presentation in Hesiod) and Kourotrophos. There were also 'new', 'foreign' gods such as Adonis or Sabazius who were difficult to place in the pre-existing framework of divine personalities; and there were deities like the Cabiri who had a Panhellenic reputation although their cult remained confined to a very few locations. More localized still were the 'minor' figures of cult such as nymphs and heroes, for here there was much less tendency to assimilate figures with others more universally known. True, local heroes were sometimes identified with characters in Panhellenic mythology, but such identifications often remained speculative and were by no means the invariable rule. Nymphs and heroes were generally thought of as residing in one specific place, and though in that place their powers were often considerable, they were usually perceived as ranking lower than gods. They were however a characteristic and indispensable part of the circle of superhuman beings.

Later developments

The above sketch is based mainly on evidence from before the 3rd cent. BC. Much of the picture is applicable also to Greece in the Hellenistic and Roman periods; religious thought and practice were constantly evolving rather than undergoing sudden transformation. But during the period of *Alexander the Great and his Successors (Diadochi), the Greek world acquired a vastly greater geographical extent, and at the same time the significance of the *polis* was gradually changing. These changes inevitably had an influence on religious development. Overall, it seems that many distinctive local practices were giving way to wider trends. It is easy to exaggerate the extent to which this occurred; *Pausanias, writing in the 2nd cent. AD, still found a vast diversity of cult in old Greece. On the other hand, it is undeniable that the worship of certain 'new' deities was steadily gaining in popularity over the Greek world as a whole. One of the most spectacular examples is the cult of Tyche (Chance, Fortune), while also conspicuous in the later period were Egyptian and Anatolian deities such as Isis, Sarapis, and Men, whose cults showed a large admixture of Greek elements. The payment of divine honours to rulers (*see* RULER-CULT), originating with Alexander, soon became standard, modifying pre-existing religious forms in a new direction. EKE

Jewish religion

Judaism in Graeco-Roman antiquity is better known than any other ancient religion apart from Christianity, primarily because of the survival to modern times of traditions about ancient Judaism through rabbinic and Christian literature. However, this same factor creates its own problems of bias in the selection and interpretation of evidence.

The main sources of knowledge about Judaism are the Old and New Testaments and other religious texts preserved in Greek within the Christian Church: the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, and the writings of Philon of Alexandria and *Josephus. The works composed in Hebrew and Aramaic produced by the rabbis after AD 70 stress rather different aspects. A fresh light has been shone on Judaism by the chance discovery of Jewish papyri in Elephantine and especially by the *Dead Sea Scrolls, which revealed the incompleteness of the later Jewish and Christian traditions even about the 1st cent. AD, the period for which most evidence survives. Pagan Greek and Latin writers emphasized the aspects of Judaism most surprising to outsiders but many of their comments were ignorant and prejudiced.

Many of the basic elements of Jewish worship were shared with other religions of classical antiquity. The prime form of worship was by sacrifices and other offerings in the Jerusalem Temple. In this respect the Jewish cult differed from most in the Greek and Roman world only in the exceptional scrupulousness of its observance; in the assumption of most Jews that sacrifices were only valid if performed in Jerusalem, even though this meant that the sacrificial cult was for many only known from a distance; in the role of the priestly caste, who inherited the prerogative to serve in the sanctuary under the authority of an autocratic high priest who at certain periods also operated as political leader of the nation; and in their strong sense of the special sanctity of the land of Israel and the city of Jerusalem and its shrine.

Of the special elements of Judaism noted in antiquity, most striking to pagans was the insistence of Jews that they could worship only their own deity because their God was jealous of worship of other gods. Equally strange was the lack of any cult image and the insistence of most Jews by the Hellenistic period that Jewish sacrificial worship was only permitted in the Jerusalem Temple, despite the existence of Jewish temples at Elephantine in Egypt in the 5th cent. BC and at Leontopolis in the Nile delta from the mid-2nd cent. BC to AD 72, and the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim, which was destroyed only in the 120s BC.

Jews were in general believed by outsiders to be specially devoted to their religion, a trait interpreted sometimes negatively as superstition, sometimes positively as philosophy. The foundation of this devotion lay in the Torah, the law governing all aspects of Jewish life which Jews considered had been handed down to them through Moses on Mt. Sinai as part of the covenant between God and Israel. The Torah is enshrined in the Hebrew bible, and pre-eminently in the Pentateuch (the first five books). Jews treated the scrolls on which the Torah was recorded with exceptional reverence; if written in the correct fashion, such scrolls were holy objects in themselves. The covenant, marked by circumcision for males, involved the observance of moral and ethical laws as well as taboos about food and sacred time (especially, the sabbath).

The main elements of Judaism as here presented were already in place by the 3rd and 2nd cents. BC, when the final books of the Hebrew bible were composed, but the Jewish religion was to undergo much change over the following centuries. One new development was the gradual emergence of the notion of a canon of scripture treated as more authoritative than other writings.

Agreement about the authority of particular books did not lead to uniformity, or even the notion of orthodoxy. The Hebrew bible left many opportunities for diversity of interpretation. The extent of variety, at least up to AD 70, is clear from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Disagreements may have been fuelled in part by diverse reactions to the surrounding Hellenistic culture. The continuation of variety after c.AD 100, after which Christians ceased to preserve Jewish texts and Judaism is known almost only through the rabbinic tradition, is uncertain.

From the 2nd cent. BC self-aware philosophies began to proclaim themselves within Judaism: Pharisees, *Sadducees, and Essenes, and perhaps others. These groups differed on correct practice in the Jerusalem cult as well as on quite fundamental issues of theology, such as the role of fate and the existence of an afterlife. However, apart perhaps from the Dead Sea sectarians, who saw themselves as the True Israel, all these Jews believed that they belonged within a united religion: Josephus, who described the three main Jewish philosophies in detail (*BJ* 2. 119–66; *AJ* 18. 11–22) elsewhere boasted that Jews are remarkable for their unanimity on religious issues (*Ap.* 2. 181). The earliest followers of Jesus are best considered in the context of such variety within Judaism.

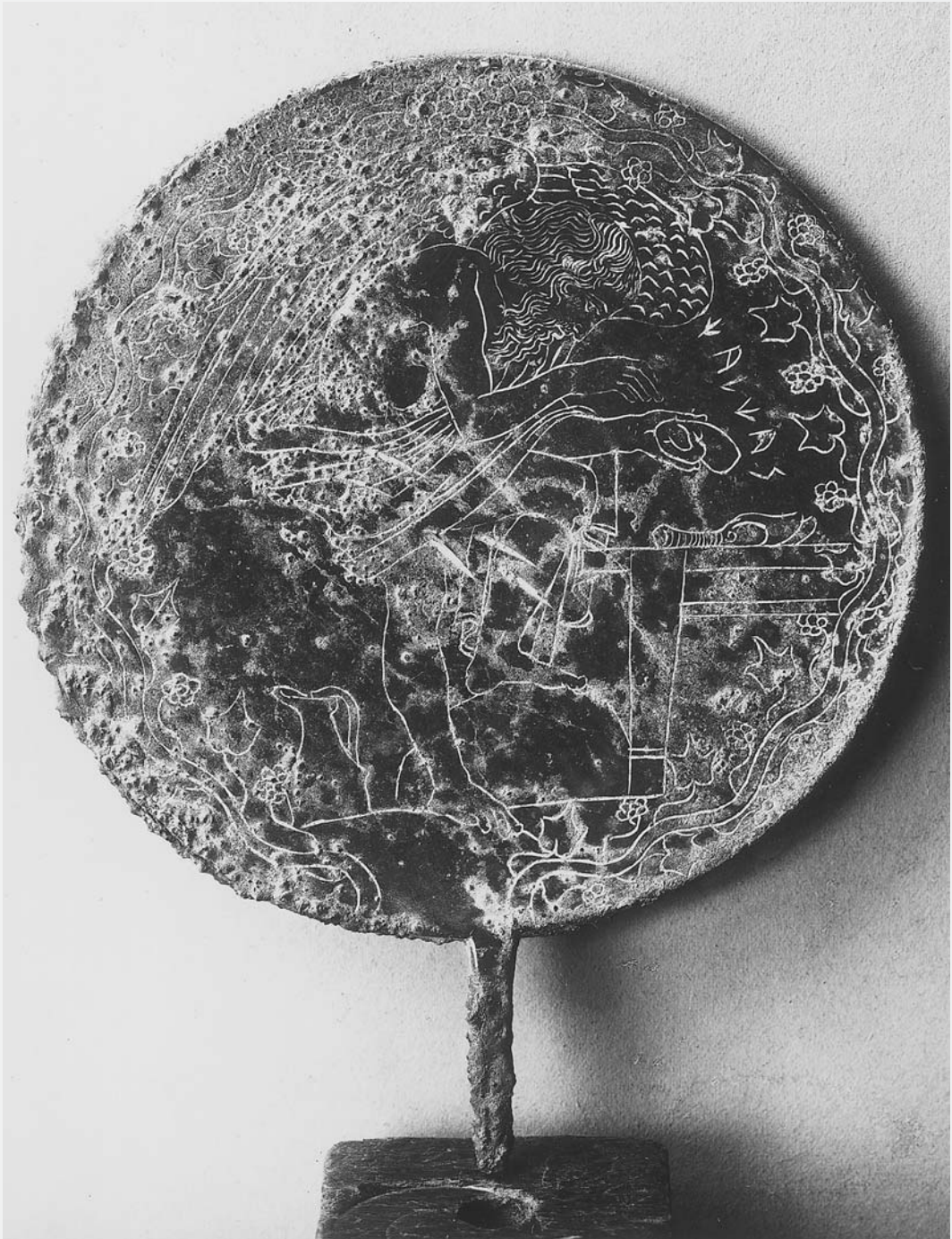
In the Hellenistic and early Roman periods some aspects of the biblical tradition were particularly emphasized by Jews. Ritual purity as a metaphor for holiness was stressed by Jews of all persuasions: *mikvaoth* (ritual baths) have been excavated in many Jewish sites in the land of Israel, both Pharisees and Essenes elaborated complex elucidations of the biblical purity rules, and restrictions on the use of gentile foodstuffs became more widespread.

Some Jews indulged in speculation about the end of days, which was variously envisaged as a victory of Israel over the nations under God's suzerainty or the total cessation of mundane life. In some texts a leading role was accorded to a messianic figure, but ideas about the personality and function of a messiah or messiahs varied greatly, and the extent to which messianic expectations dominated Judaism in any period is debated. Much of the extant eschatological literature is composed in the form of apocalyptic, in which a vision is said to have been vouchsafed to a holy seer. All the apocalyptic texts from the post-biblical period are either anonymous or pseudepigraphic, reflecting a general belief that the reliability of prophetic inspiration had declined since biblical times.

Religious ideas of all kinds within Judaism were generated or confirmed by study and midrash (a type of exegesis) of the biblical books. According to Josephus in his defence and summary of Judaism in *Ap.* 2. 181–220, Jews were uniquely concerned to learn their own law. The primary locus of teaching was the *synagogue, where the Pentateuch was read and explained at least once a week, on sabbaths. Special buildings for such teaching, and probably for public prayer, are first attested in Egypt in the 3rd cent. BC. In the late Roman period some synagogue buildings were designed with monumental architecture similar to pagan temples and were treated as sacred places.

The increased ascription of sanctity to synagogues was in part a reaction to the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple by Roman forces under *Titus in AD 70 (see *JEW*S). The destruction, at the end of the great Jewish revolt of AD 66–70, was eventually to have important consequences for the development of Judaism, although new theologies were slow to emerge: Josephus in the 90s AD still assumed that God is best worshipped by sacrifices in Jerusalem, and about a third of the Mishnah (collection of legal opinions), redacted c.AD 200, is concerned with the Temple cult.

In the diaspora the Temple had in any case always dominated more as an idea than as an element in religious practice, since only occasional pilgrimage was ever possible. The synagogues at Dura Europus (Mesopotamia) and Sardis (W. Asia Minor) may reveal Judaisms based on synagogue liturgy. An honorific inscription probably of the 4th cent. AD from *Aphrodisias in Caria reveals that, in that Jewish community at least, gentile God-fearers may have participated in Jewish religious institutions.



religion, Roman An engraved Etruscan mirror showing the mythical diviner Calchas observing the liver of a sacrificial victim (c.400 BC). When the need arose the Roman state would summon Etruscan diviners (haruspices, members of the Etruscan aristocracy) to explain prodigies and portents. Generally, the religious expertise of the *Etruscans made a lasting impression on the Romans. National Archaeological Museum of Athens / TAP Service, Athens

The Judaism of the rabbis differed from other forms of Judaism mainly in its emphasis on learning as a form of worship. Rabbinic academies, first in Yavneh (Jamnia) on the coast of Judaea immediately after AD 70, but from the mid-2nd cent. mainly in Galilee and (from the 3rd cent.) in *Babylonia, specialized in the elucidation of Jewish law, producing a huge literature by the end of antiquity. Their most important products, were the Mishnah, composed in Hebrew c.AD 200, and the two Talmuds, redacted (mainly in Aramaic) in Palestine in c.AD 400 and in Babylonia in c.AD 500; but they also produced a large corpus of midrashic texts commenting on the bible, and they or others in late antiquity engaged in mystical speculation which probably formed the basis of the Hekhalot texts which are preserved in the medieval rabbinic tradition. See CHRISTIANITY. MDG

Roman religion

The historiography of Roman religion might be said to begin with *Varro's *Human and Divine Antiquities* (47 BC), of which the second half, 16 books on Divine Antiquities, codified for the first time Roman religious institutions: priests, temples, festivals, rites, and gods. This work, which may have had the unsettling effect of enabling people to see how imperfectly the existing system corresponded to the 'ideal' of the past, was extremely influential on traditionalists, and provided ammunition for Christians such as St *Augustine in the *City of God*. Nineteenth-cent. scholarship on Roman religion, in attempting a diachronic history down to the age of Varro, assumed an ideal phase, in which religion was perfectly attuned to the agricultural year, from which republican religion was a sorry decline: politics increasingly obtruded on religion, and scepticism was rife. This decline model, which still underlies the two standard handbooks of Wissowa and Latte, has become increasingly unpopular. In its place scholars now recognize the dynamic changes of republican religion, including its position in public life, and also the continuing significance of public religion in the imperial age.

Defining 'Roman religion' is harder than it might seem. The emphasis of scholars has generally been on the public festivals and institutions, on the ground that they provided the framework within which private rituals were constructed; only those committed to a protestant view of personal piety will argue that public rituals lack real religious feeling or significance. The geographical focus of the phrase changes radically over time, from the regal period when Rome was an individual city-state through to Rome's acquisition of an empire stretching from Scotland to Syria. Two related themes run through that expansion: the role of specifically Roman cults outside Rome, and the religious impact of empire on Rome itself.

Our knowledge of the early phase of Roman religion is patchy, and subject, like all early Roman history, to later myth-making. For the regal period archaeology casts some light, for example on the extent of Greek influence in the area; many, though not all, the principal festivals of the regal calendar are attested in the calendar of the late republic. For the republic, archaeological evidence, for example of temples, remains important, and the literary tradition becomes increasingly reliable, especially from the mid-4th or 3rd down to the 1st cent. BC. It becomes possible to produce a diachronic history of the changes to the public cults of the city of Rome, such as the introduction of the cult of Magna Mater (204 BC; see CYBELE; PHILHELLENISM), the suppression of the *Bacchanalia (186 BC), the creation in Italy and the provinces of *coloniae* (Roman citizen-colonies) whose religious institutions were partly modelled on those of Rome, and the increasing divine aura assumed by dynasts of the late republic.

The Augustan 'restoration' of religion (see AUGUSTUS) was in reality a restructuring, with the figure of the emperor incorporated at many points. Some 'ancient' cults were given a fresh impetus, while Augustus also built major new temples in the city (*Apollo; *Mars Ultor), which expressed his relationship to the divine. This Augustan system remained fundamental to the public religious life of Rome to the end of antiquity. The religious life of the city also became increasingly cosmopolitan under the empire, with a flourishing of associations focused on gods both Roman and foreign, some within individual households, others drawing their membership from a wider circle. In the high empire the civic cults of Rome operated alongside associations devoted to Isis, *Mithras, Jahveh, or Christ. Outside Rome, civic cults of the Greek east continued to offer a sense of identity to Greeks under Roman rule, but hardly fall under the rubric 'Roman religion'; civic cults in the Latin west, however, took on a strongly Roman cast. Pre-Roman gods were reinterpreted and local pantheons modelled on the Roman. In the 3rd and 4th cents., there was an increasing conceptual opposition between Roman religion and Christianity (cf. CHRISTIANITY), but elements of the Roman system proved to be enduring: in Rome the Lupercalia were still celebrated, if in a different form, in the late 5th cent. AD.

See also RELIGION, GREEK; RULER-CULT; also individual deities.

SRFP

salient experiences become encoded in the episodic memory system of individual participants, forge a long-term bond between them, and contribute to local group stability. The attraction of the mysteries, in other words, may well have been the cognitive effects of their ritual actions and the small-scale sociopolitical consequences of such effects rather than a communication and mastery of any shared corpus of ‘mystery knowledge’.

The conclusion about local autonomy and variation among the mystery religions is supported by an absence of any evidence whatsoever for a centralized administration for any of the mysteries that might monitor and control either an orthodoxy or an orthopraxy—a historical conclusion about the sociopolitical features of such groups now confirmed—and explained—for historians by cognitive anthropologists. Cognitive anthropologists further argue that the one-off but high arousal ritual practices of initiatory groups complement routinized practices of large-scale societies in which they are embedded to produce a balanced ritual system that might give expression to the diversity of minds that populate empires. In other words, cognitive anthropology can help historians organize and integrate their ambiguous data, hypothesize the significance of their often equivocal sources, and even contribute to inferences about past minds, which, as C. Starr historians (*A History of the Ancient World* (1965), 27) argued, is the necessary concern of all.

LHM

Res gestae (of *Augustus). Augustus left four documents with the Vestal Virgins (*see* VESTA) to be read, after his death, in the senate (Suet. *Aug.* 101). One of these was a record of his achievements (*Index rerum a se gestarum*), in the style of the claims of the *triumphatores* of the Roman past, which was to be erected on bronze pillars at the entrance of his mausoleum in the Campus Martius at Rome. This is known to us from a copy, updated after Augustus’ death, which was piously affixed (with a Greek translation) to the *antae* of the front of the *cella* of the temple of Roma and Augustus at Ancyra (mod. Ankara), capital of Galatia and therefore centre of the imperial cult of the province. Small fragments of other copies have been found at Apollonia and Antioch in Pisidia (also in the province of Galatia); it is likely but not established that copies were widely set up in the provinces.

As it stands, the document seems to have been composed immediately before Augustus’ death, but it is certain that it was in existence in some form in AD 13 and likely that it existed considerably before that. It is remarkable for the claims that it makes for the legality and constitutional propriety of Augustus’ position, and plays

down a number of considerations, relating especially to the period before *Actium, which might be seen less favourably.

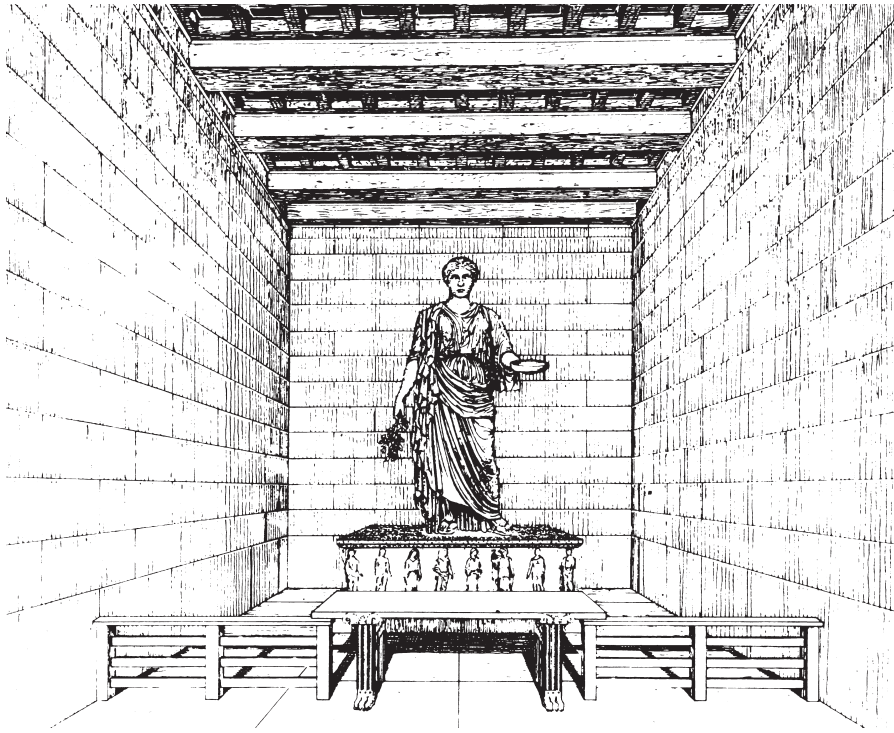
The emphases are extremely interesting: first, the bestowal of honours on Augustus by the community is stressed, consensus being a striking theme; second, the expenditures made, as a great benefactor, by Augustus, are outlined (this is announced in the opening words, which entitle the document a Record of the Achievements and Expenses of the Divine Augustus); third, the military achievements of the age, with the emphasis on *imperium and the personal glory of Augustus, a historic and unthreatening boast in terms of Roman politics; and a final summary of the position with a justification of the superior *auctoritas* which all of this entailed, and particular notice, accordingly, of the title *Pater Patriae* (‘Father of the Fatherland’). This is a record in the tradition of self-advertisement used by great men under the republic, and not a royal manifesto; it omits anything which might suggest an unconstitutional overall guidance of Roman decision-making, and is not a complete record of either his legislation or his administrative innovations. The document illustrates very well the speciously libertarian traditionalism which *Tacitus so deftly punctures in the opening chapters of the *Annals*; but it is also a very important source for a great deal of detail not attested elsewhere.

NP

Rhamnus (*see* ◀Map 1, Cc▶), an Athenian deme (rural district) of moderate size on the north-east coast of Attica, overlooking the narrow waters to the island of Euboea. It was the site of an important fort, constructed in the 5th cent. BC and enlarged in the 4th, on an acropolis by the coast and including a *gymnasium and *theatre within its walls. A road lined with a series of monumental tombs runs inland from this acropolis to the sanctuary of the goddess Nemesis with its two 5th-cent. temples. The late 5th-cent. temple of Nemesis is relatively well preserved, and it has been possible to reconstruct its entablature and a large part of the famous cult statue, attributed to the sculptor Agoracritus, with its base. Neolithic and late bronze age finds have also been made at the sanctuary site. The epigraphic record from 5th–3rd-cent. Rhamnus gives uniquely rich coverage of the interactions between garrison troops and local population.

CWJE/RGO

rhetoric, Greek The art of public speaking (*rhētorikē* (sc. *technē*)) was vitally important in ancient city-states, and it was generally supposed to be teachable, at least to some extent. This article surveys the development of this teaching in the Greek-speaking world, and offers a summary of the system in which it was generally organized.



Rhamnus Reconstructed drawing of the late 5th-cent. BC cult-statue by Agoracritus (a follower of Phidias; see SCULPTURE, GREEK) in the *temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus. Like some other Athenian demes (country villages), Rhamnus resembled a mini-*polis in its array of public buildings. Gregorian Etruscan Museum, Vatican City / Archivi Alinari-archivio Alinari, Florence

The concepts and terminology of rhetoric are almost entirely Greek: the Romans provided a wider field of activity for the teachers, and certain new emphases in response to practical needs.

Effective speaking of course existed long before any theory or teaching. Later rhetors wisely referred pupils to the speeches in *Homer (see Quint. 10. 1. 46 ff.), and his descriptions of the oratory of the heroes (see LITERARY CRITICISM IN ANTIQUITY) were taken as evidence that 'rhetoric' was known in his day. In fact, the teaching of these skills probably began (as *Aristotle thought) under the pressure of social and political needs in the 5th-cent. democracies of Syracuse and Athens (see GORGAS). Even if the first mode of teaching was primarily by example (as in the demonstration pieces of Gorgias, Thrasy-machus, and *Antiphon), this presupposes some theory of the parts of a speech (prologue, narrative, argument, counter-argument, epilogue) and some discussion of probable arguments and the value of different kinds of evidence. The early teachers cannot be responsible for the brilliant achievements of Attic orators from *Lysias to *Hyperides; these are due to individual genius and political stimulus. Behind the great orators, however, stood

the mass of average Athenians, dependent for their success in life, and often for their personal safety, on the exertions of speechwriters (*logographoi*; Lysias and *Demosthenes both wrote speeches for others) or on the teaching they could pick up themselves. The large jury-courts made forensic oratory almost as much a matter of mass appeal as deliberative speeches in the assembly, but there were naturally substantial differences between these two genres which the teachers recognized. Ceremonial speeches (like the public funeral speeches) again made different demands—less argument, more emotion, more ornamentation. The *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* gives an idea of the type of teaching available in the late 4th cent.: systematic, but arid, and with no attention to basic principles. But questions about the status and value of rhetoric were already being asked; and both *Isocrates and the philosophers made important contributions. Isocrates wrote speeches for litigants, and is credited (probably wrongly) with having written a textbook. His importance is as an educator, whose 'philosophy' (*philosophia*) was distinct from the *sophists' logic and rhetoric and also from the dialectic and mathematics of *Plato. He wished to give his pupils the right moral and political at-

titudes, and his method was to make them write about such things and criticize and discuss his own work (5. 17 ff., 12. 200 ff.). This was to make a claim for instruction in writing and speaking, under the name of 'philosophy', as a complete education in itself. For Plato, Isocrates' approach was hardly more valid than that of the sophists and rhetoricians of the previous age. He attacks them all (*Gorgias*, *Phaedrus*) as deceivers and perverters of the truth. A 'philosophical' rhetoric, he says (*Phaedrus* 271c ff.), would be based on an adequate psychology; this at least would have some value. Plato's hint was taken up by his pupil, Aristotle, who gave instruction in rhetoric as well as in philosophy, and wrote the most influential of all treatises on the subject. This work, the *Rhetoric*, the product of many years and some changes of mind, deals in its three books with three main topics: (a) the theory of rhetorical, as distinct from philosophical, argument—*enthymeme* and example; (b) the state of mind of the audience and the ways of appealing to their prejudices and emotions; (c) style, its basic virtues (clarity, appropriateness), and the use of metaphor.

Much of what Aristotle left inchoate (delivery (*hypokrisis*), the virtues and types of style) was developed by his pupil Theophrastus (see LITERARY CRITICISM IN ANTIQUITY).

When forensic and political oratory became less important, under the Hellenistic monarchies and later, rhetoric still continued; outliving its original function, it became the principal educational instrument in the spread of Greek culture. Isocrates' attitudes triumphed. We know little about the technical rhetoric of Hellenistic times. Hermagoras, with his doctrine of types of issue (*staseis*), is probably the most important figure. The philosophical schools, especially the Stoics (see STOICISM), were also concerned with the subject. It is the *Rhetoric* of Philodemus (d. c. 45–40 BC) that gives us our best Greek evidence for the discussion of wider questions, e.g. whether rhetoric is an art, and whether forensic and epideictic oratory can be regarded as species of the same activity. The stimulus of Rome, where significant political activity was in the hands of an aristocracy eager to learn, led to a revival of rhetoric in the 1st cent. BC (see RHETORIC, LATIN). The work of people like Apollodorus of Pergamum, Apollonius Molon, Theodorus of Gadara is only to be understood against a Roman background. With the revival of a more independent Greek literature in imperial times, Greek rhetoric (especially epideictic) took on a new lease of life; success in the schools might lead to a brilliant career as a sophist; see SECOND SOPHISTIC. The bulk of the extant works on rhetoric comes from this period, or later. The last great systematizer was Hermogenes of Tarsus (2nd

cent. AD); his work and the voluminous later commentaries on it (especially those of Syrianus) afford the best extant synthesis in Greek, though R. Volkmann (*Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer* (2nd edn. 1885)) was surely right to find in the more humane Roman Quintilian the only 'Ariadne's clue' to the labyrinth of confusing terminology and theory.

Volkmann (and e.g. J. Martin (*Antike Rhetorik* (1974))) are able to set out a description of ancient rhetorical teaching which would be roughly valid for the whole Hellenistic and Roman period, because the conservatism of the educational system ensured that, whatever refinements individual teachers or schools introduced, the main lines of instruction remained the same. The basic divisions of a speech (prologue, etc.) and the basic classification of oratory (forensic, deliberative, epideictic) go back, as we have seen, to the 4th cent. BC. They continue to fulfil a useful function in all later writers; but the method of organizing the whole subject which prevailed later derives ultimately from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, and comprises five divisions:

1. 'Invention' (*heuresis*) is the most important, and corresponds essentially to Aristotle's 'proofs' (*pisteis*). It teaches how to 'find' (*heuriskein*) things to say to meet the question at issue. The central doctrine is that of 'issue' (*stasis*, Lat. *status*), developed by Hermagoras and refined by many later writers. Hermagoras distinguished four 'issues': 'conjecture' (*stochasmos*), e.g. 'Did X kill Y?'; 'definition' (*horos*), e.g. 'Was it murder?'; 'quality' (*poiotēs*), e.g. 'Was it honourable or expedient?'; 'transference' (*metalepsis*), e.g. 'It was all Y's fault.' Such analyses, obviously useful to advocates and debaters and for interpreting the orators, inevitably led into great scholastic complexities, as in Hermogenes or Sopater.

2. 'Disposition' (*oikonomia*) comprises prescriptions for the division of subject-matter within the 'parts' of a speech, and some common-sense advice about arrangement—e.g. 'put your weakest points in the middle.'

3. Diction (*lexis, phrasis*) was the area where rhetoric comes closest to literary criticism as it was practised in ancient times. Not only types of style, but figures, tropes, word-order, rhythm, and euphony were discussed. Figures (*schēmata*), at least in the developed systems (see GORGIAS), were generally regarded as deviant or unnatural (*para physin*) forms of expression or thought; tropes (*tropoi*) were similarly deviant (abnormal, non-literal) uses of words, such as occur in metaphor, metonymy, hyperbole, etc.

4. Delivery (*hypokrisis*) was clearly a vital skill, and ancient taste approved of much artifice in pronunciation and gesture, so long as the orator's dignity was preserved.

5. 'Memory' (*mnēmē*) was also a subject of instruction and various forms of 'arts of memory' were taught, involving memorization of visual features (e.g. columns in a colonnade) and the trick of associating these with the points to be made. It was bad form to read from a text, and speeches in court could be very long.

Naturally, the order in which these skills were taught did not follow this pattern. One cannot teach 'invention' and 'diction' quite separately. There was however a recognized course of exercises, and if we look for the influence of rhetorical teaching on literary practice, it is here that it is principally to be found. DAR

rhetoric, Latin Oratory at Rome was born early. Rhetoric—speaking reduced to a method—came later, an import from Greece that aroused suspicion. *Cato the Elder, himself a distinguished speaker, pronounced *rem tene, verba sequentur*, 'get a grip on the content: the words will follow'; and rhetoricians professing to supply the words risked expulsion (as in 161 BC). But Greek teachers trained the Gracchi; the satirist Lucilius teased Titus Albucius for the intricacy of his Graecizing mosaics in words; and *Cicero marks out Marcus Aemilius Lepidus Porcina (consul 137) as the first master of a smoothness and periodic structure that rivalled the Greeks. In the last quarter of the 2nd cent. prose rhythms based on contemporary Hellenistic practice appear unmistakably in the orators' fragments. In 92 BC Latin rhetoricians came under the castigation of the censors; Cicero for one wanted to be taught by them, but was kept by his elders to the normal path of instruction in Greek exercises, doubtless declamation. The respectable orator Marcus Antonius (consul 99) wrote a *libellus* that showed knowledge of Hermagoras' *status*-lore. Soon came both the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De inventione*: the former a complete manual, the latter, closely related to it, only partial, but both evidence of the sophisticated declamation-based rhetoric taught by Greeks in Rome in the 80s.

Cicero never came nearer than this to writing a rhetorical handbook, though his *Partitiones oratoriae* and *Topica* handled aspects of the subject. In his major rhetorical work, the *De oratore* (55), dialogue form militates against technical exposition; moreover, Cicero was concerned to inculcate his idea of the philosophic orator, with the widest possible education, able to speak 'ornately and copiously' (1. 21) on any topic, and this naturally went with criticism of those who thought that one could become an orator by reading a textbook. Nevertheless, the *De oratore* contained much traditional material; as did the later *Orator* (46 BC), in which Cicero contrasted the 'perfect orator', well educated and com-

manding every kind of style, modelled on Demosthenes and, implicitly, on Cicero himself, with the so-called Atticists, contemporaries who had a narrower and more austere ideal of oratory. Cicero thus was here defending his own oratorical practice, especially in the matter of word-play and rhythm; and this practice, no less than the precepts educed from his rhetorical works, was carefully studied by later rhetoricians.

The *Philippics* of Cicero, however, were the last examples of great oratory used to influence political action at Rome. Oratory of course went on under the Principate, but its practical effect was mainly in the lawcourts. Declamation continued to dominate the schools, fascinating even grown men; and it increasingly imparted a crisp style not only to public oratory but also to literature in general. As in the period after the death of *Demosthenes, rhetorical theory, which had always concentrated on forensic oratory, was if anything encouraged by the new political climate. The dispute of Apollodorus of Pergamum and Theodorus of Gadara about the rigidity with which rhetorical rules were to be observed was typical of the new mood; and Gaius Valgius Rufus brought Apollodorus' precepts to Latin readers. The first half of the 1st cent. AD was marked by the contribution of Cornelius Celsus (early 1st cent. AD), whose encyclopaedia went into some detail on rhetoric, and by Rutilius Lupus' translation (of which part survives) of a Greek work on figures. A little later the elder *Pliny the Elder wrote a (lost) work giving detailed instructions on the education of an orator.

The massive *Institutio* of Quintilian (d. 90s AD) takes account of this earlier work, if only to reject it; but, more important, it looks back over it to Cicero, and amidst all its detail retains Cicero's enthusiasm for a wide training and his dislike of trivial technicality. There was much in the *Institutio* that reflected contemporary conditions, especially its concern with declamation; but it maintained, in defiance of history, the ideal of the 'good man skilled in speaking' (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*: Cato the Elder's phrase), whose eloquence should guide the senate and people of Rome (12. 1. 26). For a more realistic assessment of oratory under the early empire we have to look to *Tacitus' more or less contemporary *Dialogus*. Despite all this, the *Institutio* retained interest, particularly in the Renaissance, as a handbook on style and a repository of rhetorical wisdom.

Halm's collection of *Rhetores Latini Minores* may illustrate the ossification and puerility of Latin rhetoric after the 1st cent., in the pat question-and-answer of Fortunatianus and the derivative compendium of Julius Victor. Oratory of this period is represented by the *Panegyrici Latini* that have come down to us; and the

letters of Cornelius Fronto in the 2nd cent. reflect the new importance of eulogy. From the schoolroom we have the extravagances of the *Major Declamations*. Rhetoricians continued to flourish, and even found themselves celebrated in the poetry of Ausonius; their pupils were in demand as barristers and imperial officials. Many of the Church fathers started out teaching the subject; and rhetoric was turned to Christian uses in the *De Doctrina Christiana* of St *Augustine and *Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*.

For a summary of ancient rhetorical doctrine, which was usually Greek in origin but found some of its best surviving expositors in Latin, see RHETORIC, GREEK. See also TOPOS. MW

Rhodes (see ◀ Map 1, Ed D), largest island of the mod. Dodecanese (c. 1,400 sq. km.), lying close to the mainland of Caria.

The earlier prehistory of Rhodes is unclear, but by the 16th cent. (LM I) the Minoans (see MINOAN CIVILIZATION) had established a settlement at Trianda on the north-west coast, presumably to facilitate trade between *Crete and the eastern Mediterranean. The Minoans were followed in the 14th cent. (LH IIIA₁) by Mycenaean, apparently from the *Peloponnese, whose numerous chamber-tomb cemeteries suggest a more thorough colonization of the island. The grave offerings, from the cemetery at Ialysus in particular, indicate considerable prosperity.

Dark-Age Rhodes was settled by Dorian Greeks who formed three city-states, Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. Their development in the Archaic period was typical for the time and place: they sent out colonies (Gela in Sicily and Phaselis in Lycia (SW Asia Minor) were Lindian foundations), they were ruled by local tyrants, they submitted to Persia in 490. In the 5th cent., they were members of the Athenian Confederacy (see DELIAN LEAGUE), and all appear in the Athenian tribute-lists. The cities revolted from Athens in 412/11, perhaps under the influence of Dorieus, an Ialysian aristocrat of the Diagoridai clan who had been exiled by Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War and turned to Sparta. In 408/7 the three cities renounced their independent political status, synoecized (see SYNOECISM), and founded a *federal state, Rhodes. The reason for this decision was probably commercial rather than military. Existing alongside the new federal capital (also called Rhodes) built on the northern tip of the island in Ialysian territory, the cities retained autonomy in local civic and religious matters and continued to be inhabited, although in the course of time much of the population would naturally have moved to the capital.

Rhodes remained loyal to Sparta until 395, when the pro-Athenian faction drove out the Diagoridai. Severe internal *stasis* (civil war) between rival factions continued, but the next decades saw the establishment of the democratic constitution and probably also the organization of the population into demes divided among the three old cities. Rhodes became a member of the Second Athenian Confederacy (see ATHENS (HISTORY)) in 378/7, but was detached from it by the intervention of the Carian satrap Mausolus, eager to extend his influence into the Aegean. The Social War against Athens broke out in 357 and Rhodes was granted independence, only to suffer Carian domination until the arrival of *Alexander the Great in 332. Relations with Alexander are obscure, but an unpopular Macedonian garrison was installed on Rhodes.

Rhodes flourished in the age of the Successors (Diadochi) of Alexander. The foundation of new cities in the east meant the transfer of trade to the eastern Mediterranean, and Rhodes with its five harbours was ideally placed for this commercial traffic. The famous year-long siege of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorcetes ('the Besieger') in 305/4 (Diod. Sic. 20. 81–8; 91–100) arose when Demetrius tried to win the Rhodian fleet and dockyards for himself, thereby threatening a favourable Rhodian alliance with the Ptolemies of *Egypt. The Rhodians resisted heroically. Demetrius was forced to withdraw after wasting a year, and from the sale of his siege equipment the Rhodians financed the Colossus, a 33 m. tall statue of their patron god *Helios (see SEVEN WONDERS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD). Rhodes' survival on this occasion increased its prestige and self-confidence, so that throughout the 3rd cent. it successfully avoided subservience to any of the larger powers, although close political and commercial ties with Egypt were maintained. By the second half of the century the distinguished Rhodian fleet replaced the Ptolemaic navy as the enemy of piracy on the high seas and as protector of the island communities.

Rhodes owned substantial territory on the opposite mainland or *peraea* (some probably acquired by the old cities before the synoecism). The communities which were integral parts of the Rhodian state became demes assigned to one of the three old cities and their citizens ranked equally with those of the island. This so-called 'Incorporated Peraea' is distinct from outlying territory which was controlled by Rhodes, the 'Subject Peraea', the population of which were not citizens of the Rhodian state and were governed by Rhodian officials. In time Rhodes gained control of the islands of Syme, Carpathos, Casos, Nisyros, Telos, Chalce, and Megiste (Castellorizo), and these were also incorporated as demes of the old cities in the Rhodian state.

Rhodes (with *Pergamum) played a role in the first major intervention of Rome in eastern affairs. It co-operated with Rome (not previously an ally) in the wars against Philip V of Macedon and *Antiochus III, and was rewarded after Apamea (see SELEUCIDS) with territory in Caria and Lycia (SW Asia Minor). Ancient sources vividly attest the *stasis* (civil strife) between the pro- and anti-Roman factions in the Rhodian assembly in the complex political manoeuvrings of these years. Rome punished the equivocal attitude of Rhodes in the Third Macedonian War by depriving it of this extra territory and more besides, and by proclaiming *Delos a free port (167), thereby ending Rhodian commercial supremacy as the centre of the Mediterranean transit trade. Rhodes sought safety within an unequal alliance with Rome (164), which effectively ended its political independence and role as a major Mediterranean power. It successfully withstood a siege by *Mithradates VI in 88, but was captured and pillaged by Gaius Cassius Longinus in 43. Nevertheless, under Roman rule Rhodes retained her democratic constitution and social cohesiveness, and traditional civic life continued in the capital as well as in the three old cities. Rhodes remained prosperous and was known as a centre of cultural activity. The Rhodian school of Stoic philosophy (see STOICISM) boasted Panaetius and Posidonius among its distinguished members, and *Cicero studied there. There was a flourishing school of local sculpture, and the epic poet *Apollonius of Rhodes was a native. *Strabo (14. 2. 5 [652]) lavishly praises the city and Rhodian civic institutions, *Dio of Prusa (Dio Chrys. Or. 31) the pre-eminent wealth of the city, and [ps.] Aristides (25 [43]) its outstanding beauty before the severe *earthquake damage of c.AD 142.

Much of the ancient city, built on a rectangular grid, lies under the medieval walled town of the Knights of St John and the modern town, but identifiable remains include stretches of the city wall, several temples, harbour installations, the acropolis, a stadium, odeum, and extensive necropolis areas which have produced rich finds. CBM/EER

'Riace warriors', two masterpieces of Greek bronze-casting, from (it seems) an ancient shipwreck; found off the toe of Italy in 1972. Standing nudes, 1.97–8 m. high, they originally held weapons; on technical grounds they are thought to come from the same workshop. A dating round the mid-5th cent. BC is gaining ground; later dates have advocates. Attempts to see in them famous lost works are, by their nature, highly speculative. See SCULPTURE, GREEK. AJSS

ritual Both definition and interpretation of ritual are highly debated among social scientists. On a minimal def-

inition (at least in the context of Greek and Roman cultures), ritual could be seen as symbolic activity in a religious context. A ritual (or ceremony) is composed of several single acts, the rites. Ritual is an activity whose imminent practical aim has become secondary, replaced by the aim of communication; this does not preclude ritual from having other, less immediate practical goals. Form and meaning of ritual are determined by tradition; they are malleable according to the needs of any present situation, as long as the performers understand them as being traditional. As to interpretation, in an era where often loosely associated Frazerian meanings dominated the field, the seminal work of A. van Gennep (*Les Rites de passage* (1909, Eng. trans. 1960)) made it clear that rituals with seemingly widely different goals have common structures; this developed the insight, deepened by structuralism, that in ritual, structures are prior to meaning. French sociology (E. Durkheim) and British social anthropology (E. E. Evans-Pritchard) saw society as the main frame of reference for the interpretation of ritual meaning; V. Turner analysed the anti-structural aspects of Van Gennepian ritual. Insights from social anthropology have been applied to classical studies by J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (1911, 1927), and W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (1979), and, in the tradition of French sociology, by J.-P. Vernant and his followers. More recently, scholars have begun to underscore the communicative aspects of ritual (E. Stavrianopoulou, *Ritual and Communication in the Ancient World* (2006)). A more critical reflection on what it means that most of our sources are literary texts with their specific agenda has barely begun, in the wake of P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual* (1996) on the use of ritual in late antique and medieval texts (A. Barchiesi, J. Rüpke, and S. Stephens, *Rituals in Ink* (2004)).

The study of ritual in Greek and Roman religion, as in most religions of the past, is hampered by lack of sufficient data. Social anthropology developed its interpretative models with societies where the rituals are documented in all their details, both the ordinary and the uncommon ceremonies and rites. Ancient sources, local historians and antiquarians, as well as sacred laws, recorded only the exceptional and aberrant rituals, not the familiar and ordinary ones which were part of daily life; and because they recorded only the salient features, entire scenarios are very rare. Further, instruction in the correct performance of ritual was part of an oral tradition, from generation to generation or from priest to priest, esp. in the Greek sacerdotal families like the Eumolpidae in *Eleusis or the Iamidae in *Olympia, or in the collegia (religious associations) in Rome. See PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN). Elaborate ritual texts such as those known



'Riace warriors' Warriors 'B' (left, thought to represent a younger man) and 'A' National Archaeological Museum of Reggio Calabria / Archivi Alinari-archivio Alinari, Florence. The nipples and lips are coated in copper, teeth are silver. Ancient bronzes like this were kept bright to resemble gold. The dull patina of museum-bronzes is the result of time and neglect. National Archaeological Museum of Reggio Calabria / Archivi Alinari-archivio Alinari, Florence

from near eastern, notably Hittite, sources are therefore absent in Greece and Rome. The exception, the Greek magical papyri, confirm the rule; magical rituals were transmitted in books from one practitioner to another one because these individual practices lacked any organizational form. But the magical papyri, combining different religious traditions, are of only limited value for a study of Greek and Roman ritual; see MAGIC.

Neither Greek nor Roman cultures analysed ritual as a specific category of religious activity. In Greek, the closest equivalent is *teletē*, but this term tended to be used in a much narrower sense for specific rituals of an exceptional nature, like those of the mystery cults (see C. Zijderfeld, *TEΛΕΤΗ: Bijdrage tot de kennis der religieuze terminologie in het Grieks* (1934)); other terms, as the frequent *hiera*, 'sacred things', or (*theōn*) *therapeia*, 'service (of the gods)' (Pl. *Resp.* 427b), are much wider; a term often used in Attic texts, *ta nomizomena*, 'what is customary', underscores the importance of tradition (J. Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique* (1958)). In Rome, the closest equivalents are *caerimonia* and *ritus*; both, however, rather mean subjectively the 'manner of a religious (or profane) observance'. Categorization of rituals in both cultures is diverse and inconsistent; its use in modern scholarship needs more reflection than it usually receives, as in the case of the much overused dichotomy Olympian (see RELIGION, GREEK) versus chthonian (gods of the earth) rituals which builds on late antique scholarship, was introduced into 19th-cent. scholarship by Carl Otfried Müller, and does not really correspond to ancient reality.

The central rite of Greek and Roman religion is animal *sacrifice. Whatever the theories about its origin, Greek and Roman analysis understood it as a gift to the gods; the myth of its institution by the trickster Prometheus (Hes. *Theog.* 535–616) explained less its function as communication between man and god than the deficiency of something which should have been a nourishing gift from man to god. Beyond this indigenous interpretation, ordinary animal sacrifice with its ensuing meal repeated and reinforced the structure of society and was used to express the societal values; changes of ritual reflected changes in values. Specific significations went together with specific forms of the ritual: the change from ordinary sheep or goat sacrifice to extraordinary sacrifice of bovines expressed a heightening of expense, festivity, and social status (religious reformers exposed the fundamental lack of moral values in such a differentiation, Philostr. *VA* 1. 11); more specific animals were used for specific deities, chiefly as a function of their relationship to the central *polis values (dog sacrifice to Enyalios (see

ARES), Hecate, or Robigus). Holocaust sacrifice, which destroyed the entire animal, was offered in marginal contexts, but not only with extraordinary animals.

Besides animal sacrifice, there existed different kinds of bloodless sacrifice. A common gift was the cake (see CAKES), in specific forms which again were determined by the character of the divinity and its position in society (C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* (1829), 1050–1985, gives a still useful *pemmatologia sacra*). Other sacrifices comprised fruits or grains, often mixed and even cooked as a specific ritual dish *kykeōn* in *Eleusis, 'hot-pot' of the Pyanopsia or Thargelia festivals, *puls* in Rome), as a function of the specific value of the festival. Libation (pouring a liquid offering) was used combined with animal sacrifice, but also as a ritual of its own. Again, the use of different liquids was determined by the function of the ritual; the main opposition was between mixed wine, the ordinary libation liquid as it was the ordinary drink, and unmixed *wine, milk, *water, oil (see OLIVE), or honey. Already Peripatetic (Aristotelian) cultural theory explained many of the substances as survivals from an earlier period without wine libations and animal sacrifice.

Another important group are purificatory rituals. Their aim is to remove *pollution, either on a regular basis, as in the ritual of the *pharmakos* (scapegoat) of the Greek Thargelia or in the festivals of the Roman month Februarius which derived its name from *februa*, a twig bundle used in purificatory rites, or in specific cases, to heal misfortune caused by pollution, as in the rites to cure epilepsy (see ps.-Hippocrates, *De morbo sacro*; cf. MEDICINE §4), or in the many rites instituted by oracles to avert a *plague. Cathartic rituals precede any new beginning; therefore they belong to New Year cycles (Februarius precedes the new beginning of the Kalends of March) or initiatory rites. The forms of apotropaic rituals vary from ritual washing to holocaust sacrifices, and many forms used are not specific to cathartic rituals. A common idea, though, is to identify the pollution with an object and then to destroy it, by either burning it entirely (holocaust sacrifice of pigs) or expelling it (*pharmakos*; cure of epilepsy, where the *katharmata*, the unclean substances, are carried beyond the borders of the *polis*).

A further group of rituals which has attracted scholarly interest is *initiation rituals, or rather rituals which can be seen as transformation from rituals which, in a hypothetical earlier phase of Greek or Roman society, fulfilled the function tribal initiation fulfils in ethnological societies; in them, the Van Gennepian tripartite structure is particularly visible. In historical Greece, the possible transformations were many. One group of rituals retains the

function of introducing the young generation into the community; beside the rituals in the archaic Spartan and Cretan societies, the institution of the *ephēbeia* (see GYMNASIUM) belongs to this group. Other rituals concentrate upon a few elected members, like the Arrephori in the cult of the Athenian Athena, or the Roman Salii, where some rites preserve traces of their respective practical functions, namely to initiate women into weaving as the main female technology, or to initiate young men into armed dancing as training for hoplite (heavy infantryman) combat. A specific group of rituals whose roots, at least partly, lie in initiation, are the *mystery cults of Eleusis, Samothrace, and the Theban and Lemnian Cabiri; here, earlier initiation into a family group or a secret society has been transformed into a Panhellenic ritual by emphasizing and elaborating the anti-structural aspect. Less attention has been given to other rituals, such as processions or rituals of divination and healing. Processions were a standard element of sacrificial rituals; they can be conceptualized as being either centripetal (leading from the periphery to the city centre, such as the Panathenaic procession in Athens or the triumphal procession in Rome, that both preceded a sacrifice to the central city divinity) or centrifugal (leading from the centre outward to a countryside or border shrine, such as the procession of the Athenian Mystera from the Agora to the sanctuary in Eleusis, or the Roman *pompa circensis* from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus). Divinatory rituals sought access to divine knowledge (mostly, but not exclusively about the future) through a specialist who was able to contact a divinity or a hero, using mediumistic techniques or other randomizing devices. Healing rituals are often divinatory rituals, such as incubation, or modern scholars regarded them as magical, such as the ritual described in Cato, *Agr.* 140, with the somewhat dubious justification that similar rites appear in the *PGM*.

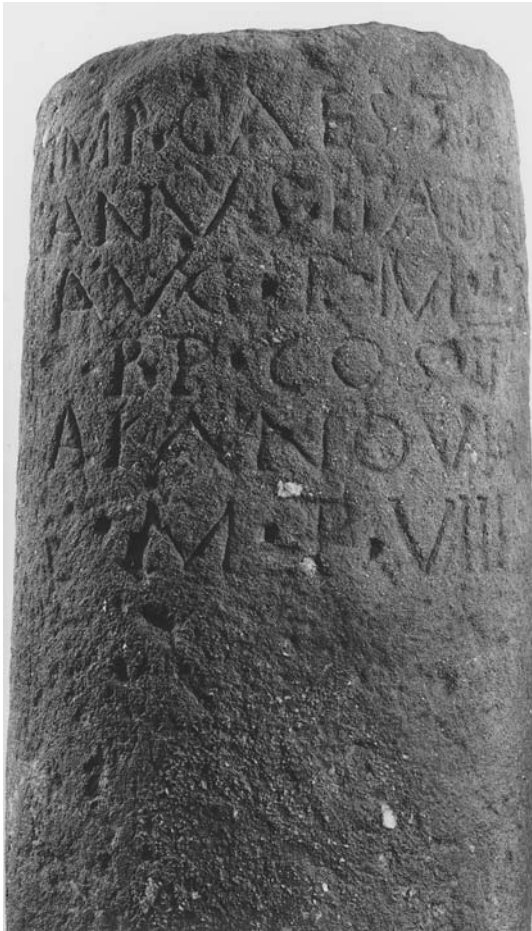
The social function of ritual was used by Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors alike to legitimate and base their rule on a religious foundation; in *ruler-cult, traditional forms like sacrifice were taken up to express these new concerns; modern negative judgements of such cults misunderstand the fundamental social and political meaning of much of ancient religion, where refusal of such rites by Christians was rightly understood as refusal to recognize the political supremacy of the ruler. See CHRISTIANITY. FG

roads Ancient road-theory divides into two categories: the art of enhancing communications through built or dug works; and the planning and maintaining of large-scale communications networks based on such works.

Ramps, cuttings, stone pavements, zig-zags, and pull-offs are found on local roads from Archaic Greek times, and were clearly designed to facilitate wheeled traction: there are Mycenaean precursors, and parallels in many parts of the Mediterranean, such as Etruria. Improved routes for specialized purposes such as the haulage-route to Athens from the marble quarries of Mt. Pentelicon, or the *diolkos across the isthmus of Corinth, are found, and fine paved processional ways like the Athenian Sacred Way or the approaches to great *sanctuaries like *Delphi. The technological repertoire was greatly increased by the deployment of arched construction on a large scale, which made bridges and viaducts feasible; and where labour was cheap, and petrology favourable, major cuttings and tunnels could be contemplated. Such things, like the deployment of the older road technologies on any very large scale, required large-scale organization, intercommunity co-operation, voluntary or enforced, and very large resources, all of which escaped the Greek world of the Archaic and Classical periods.

The Royal Road of the Achaemenid Persian empire did not, in all likelihood, comprise a continuous line of built structure; but what the scope of Persian power made distinctively possible along this 1,600-mile stretch was the vision of a line joining distinct regions. This second category of ancient road-theory is first and foremost a way of looking at the layout of the world and expressing the power of the state or the individual in relation to it. The manifold technologies of improving the route are deployed in the service of that aim.

In this the road-building of the Roman republic was strikingly original. Between 312 (the date of the first stretch of the via Appia) and 147 BC (when the via Postumia joined Adriatic to Tyrrhenian and spanned Cisalpine Gaul) Roman planners had perfected a way of turning the military journey-routes (*itinera*) of commanders with *imperium into a theoretically sophisticated network which formally linked Roman communities with Rome, and (linked as the road-building and city-foundation alike were with land-division: see CENTURIATION) spectacularly expressed Rome's power over the landscape. The system already involved using the available technological skills to make showily straight connections across natural obstacles, and that was a precedent taken up with enthusiasm in the road plans of Gaius *Gracchus. Around the same time the first large-scale application of milestones (though they are attested on Thasos in the 5th cent.), docketing and measuring the domains of Rome, and the first really ambitious roads of the provincial empire are found, notably the via Egnatia linking the Adriatic with the Aegean and eventually the Bosphorus, and the



roads Milestones, usually cylindrical and about 1.8 m. (6 ft.) high, were a feature of Roman (not Greek) road-building. Typically, this example from N. Wales in *Britain is inscribed with the name of the emperor (*Hadrian) and the distance (eight Roman miles) from the nearest important centre (Caerhun). © The Trustees of the British Museum

via Domitia running from the Alps across the Rhône and Pyrenees into *Spain.

The origins of the idea remain obscure: locally the layout of Roman roads resembles *Etruscan practice, for instance in preferring to follow the summits of long ridges, but in the crucial scale of the geographical vision, which is already there in the via Appia, even the Royal Road does not really provide a precedent. The ancient routes of west central Italy like the via Salaria and via Latina, which may have an economic origin, are a possible precedent, but their date is uncertain.

The early emperors made road-building their own. *Augustus rebuilt the via Flaminia as the highway to his

provincia in the settlement of 27; *Claudius commemorated his triumphal journey back to Rome from *Britain by piously completing the road which his father Drusus had begun on his own military expeditions across the Alps. The imitation of their practice by governors, and of both by municipal benefactors, spread a dense capillary net of roads across the whole empire. While the routes of Augustus and Claudius were single highways (*Agrippa's great highway from Lugdunum (Lyons) to the Channel should also be mentioned), there is a growing sense of the application of a blueprint (developed long before in Italy), of boxing in territories with crisscross roads on a huge scale. These are the *limites* which were eventually to give their name to the frontier works of the empire (*see* LIMES). Strategic road-building on a scale large enough to cross provincial boundaries reaches its peak under the Flavians, Trajan and Hadrian, with the systematic reshaping of the networks of Anatolia and the whole eastern frontier, eventually down to Aqaba. Something similar happens in the Balkans at the same period. NP

Romanization originally meant the spread of Roman civilization to Italy and the provinces. The term was coined in the 19th cent. and used unreflectively until the 1960s, when scholars influenced by post-colonialism started to question its underlying assumptions. In recent years its fitness to describe the complex processes of interaction between the dominant culture of Rome and the local cultures of the empire has been hotly debated, although an alternative term has yet to win broad consensus. A famous passage in Tacitus (*Agr.* 21) suggests that the imperial state did, sometimes, deliberately promote Roman culture in the provinces as a tool of *imperialism. That same culture, however, was itself profoundly shaped by interaction with neighbouring peoples and cultures, especially *Hellenism. Today's exploration of the relationship between Roman and non-Roman cultures emphasizes the responses of the ruled as much as the rulers, and 'ordinary' provincials as well as élites. It engages with a range of ideas and models, including integration, acculturation, resistance, identity, and *creolization. AJS

1. In the west

Romanization describes the processes by which indigenous peoples incorporated into the empire acquired cultural attributes which made them appear as Romans. There has been considerable recent debate about the continued utility for the term, which is now considered outmoded by many. Since the Romans had no single unitary culture but rather absorbed traits from others, including

the conquered, the process was not a one-way passing of ideas and styles from Roman to indigene but rather an exchange which led to the metropolitan mix of styles which characterized the Roman world. Styles of art and architecture, town-planning and villa-living, as well as the adoption of Latin and the worship of the Roman pantheon, are all amongst its expressions. The result of Romanization was not homogeneity, since indigenous characteristics blended to create hybrids like Romano-Celtic religion or Gallo-Roman sculpture.

Its manifestations were not uniform, and there is debate over the relative importance of directed policy and local initiative. Rome promoted aspects of her culture to integrate the provinces and facilitate government with least effort. Provincial centres like Tarraco in *Spain and Lugdunum (Lyons) in Transalpine Gaul (*see* GAUL (TRANSALPINE)) were created to promote loyalty to the state through the worship of Roman gods, and their priesthoods became a focus for the ambitions of provincials. *Tacitus (*Agr.* 21) states that Gnaeus Iulius Agricola in *Britain promoted public building and education for these purposes. Roman culture was also spread less deliberately by Roman actions. Mass movements of soldiers brought goods and ideas to newly conquered areas, while the construction of new *roads in their wake speeded communication and facilitated further cultural exchange. *Trade both within and beyond the frontiers brought Roman culture to new peoples. Equally, conquered people themselves sought to acquire Roman goods and values to curry favour with their conquerors and confer or maintain status within their own societies. In Gaul local aristocrats were obtaining Roman *citizenship in the Julio-Claudian period, establishing for themselves a new status in relation to Rome and their own peoples. Emulation of Roman customs and styles accompanied their rise. Thus in Claudian Britain, the client-king Togidubnus probably constructed the highly sophisticated Roman villa at Fishbourne, and presided over a client kingdom where a temple of Neptune and Minerva was built. This copying of things Roman by indigenes was probably the most important motive for these cultural changes. MJM

2. In the east

No ancient writer provides any general description or explanation of the impact of Roman culture and institutions on the eastern provinces of the empire. The term Romanization is best applied to specific developments which can be traced to the patterns of Roman rule.

Military

The language used by the legions and most auxiliary regiments, both officially and privately, was Latin. Building

inscriptions, gravestones, dedications, and casual graffiti provide evidence for a Latin-speaking culture in and around fortresses and also in towns that were accustomed to heavy military traffic on the roads to the eastern frontiers.

Administrative practices

The staff of a provincial governor or of a provincial procurator was too small to have any significant effect on the culture of the communities where they resided or which they visited. Many officials, in any case, were Greek-speaking by birth or by inclination. Latin, however, seems to have been widely used for the administration of imperial estates; Latin gravestones are the rule for the freedmen and imperial slaves who ran them.

Citizenship and law

Roman *citizenship spread rapidly in the Greek east, and became almost universal with the Antonine constitution of AD 212. Roman citizens were notionally entitled to be tried or to conduct cases within the framework of Roman law. This will have swiftly led the Greek cities and other communities of the east to bring their own legal practices into conformity with Roman law.

Urbanization and architecture

The most characteristic form of Roman town, the colony, was introduced on a large scale to the Greek east. *Caesar and *Augustus settled veterans in colonies in Macedonia, Asia Minor, and Syria. The practice of introducing new settlers became rare under their successors, but existing communities were often raised to the status of colonies, particularly from the Severan period through the 3rd cent. More important than the practice of founding colonies (*see* COLONIZATION, ROMAN) was the fact that Roman provincial administration could only function in regions where an infrastructure of self-governing cities existed. Since much of the area between the Aegean and the Euphrates, especially the interior of Asia Minor, was only thinly urbanized in the Hellenistic age, Roman rule led to the creation of hundreds of new cities. Although these had the constitution and institutions of Greek *poleis* (*see* POLIS) they owed their existence directly to Roman control (*see* URBANISM). Civic culture, both in colonies and cities, also underwent radical changes. Since civic independence was now a thing of the past, much more emphasis was laid on the externals of city life, above all splendid public buildings, which were the hallmark of a Roman city, especially in the 1st and 2nd cents. AD. Certain building types reflected specific Roman influence: temples and other structures associated with the Imperial cult often dominated both old and newly founded cities; not only *amphitheatres (which were relatively infre-

quent in the Greek east) but theatres were built to accommodate gladiatorial shows and other forms of public entertainment; above all, the *baths, *aqueducts, and spectacular fountain-houses (*nymphaea*), which were present everywhere and served almost as a defining characteristic of city life, were specifically Roman supplements to the existing character of a city.

Language

Although no attempt was made to introduce or impose Latin as the spoken language of the population of the eastern provinces, it was the language of the army, of administration, and of the lawyers. During the 3rd and 4th cents. the attractions of a local career in a city were far outweighed by the prospect and possibilities of imperial service, as a soldier, an officer, or as a member of the imperial administrative cadre. Knowledge of Latin was effectively a precondition for anyone who wished to enter this world. The law school at Berytus (Beirut), whose students needed to master the language as well as the niceties of Roman law, provided a focal point where members of the Hellenized upper classes of the later Empire acquired these two essential elements of the new, Romanized culture.

Religion and cult

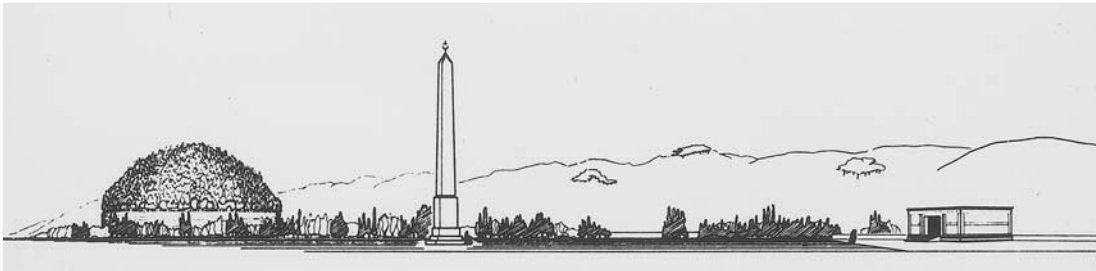
Specifically Roman cults, such as that of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus or of the Capitoline Triad (Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva) made little impact on the Greek east outside military camps. The Roman *ruler-cult, however, whose origins lay in a collaboration between the Roman authorities, especially provincial governors, and the upper classes of the eastern provinces, and which evolved a new form of politico-religious expression within the framework of imperial rule, had an enormous impact. Imperial temples and other buildings often dominated the cities; priesthoods and other offices concerned with the cult be-

came the peak of a local political career; games and festivals in honour of the emperors dominated civic calendars. Much of the 'Romanness' of a city of the eastern provinces during the imperial period could therefore be traced directly to the institution of emperor-worship. SM

Rome (history) (see following page)

Rome (topography) (see ◀ Map 3, Bb ▶) The Tiber valley at Rome is a deep trough, from 1 to 3 km wide, cut into the soft tufa floor of the river's lower basin. The edges of the trough are formed by steep weathered cliffs, seamed and even isolated by tributary streams. In this way the famous hills of Rome were formed: the Caelian, Oppian (not counted as one of Rome's Seven Hills), Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal were flat-topped spurs, while the Capitol, Palatine, and Aventine were cut off from the main hinterland. On the valley floor itself the river meanders in an S-shaped curve, the northern twist containing the Campus Martius and skirting the Vatican plain, the southern curve skirting the Capitol, forum Boarium, and Aventine, and enclosing Transtiberim, a smaller plain at the foot of the Janiculum ridge. Just below the middle of the S-curve the river runs shallow and divides at Tiber island. The ford here was the only feasible crossing-point between Rome and the sea, or for many miles upstream; so hills and spurs provided the natural strongholds suitable for defended settlement, and traffic across the heavily populated Latian plain concentrated at the Tiber ford, which was to be the key to Rome's predominance.

Recent excavations in the centre of Rome have transformed our knowledge of the city in its earliest phases, revealing the presence of bronze age occupation on the Capitol, possibly also on the Palatine, and iron age settlement on these and on many of the other hills, notably the Esquiline and Quirinal. Adult burial ceased on the edge



Rome (topography) Reconstructed drawing of the northern Campus Martius in Rome showing the area's transformation by the public works of *Augustus. The obelisk (centre) formed the gnomon (pointer) of a great sundial, with the *Ara Pacis (right) at the end of one of its meridians. Augustus' grandiose mausoleum is on the left. Drawing by Ulrike Hess, from *Römische Mitteilungen* 83, 1976, p. 353

[continued on p. 685]

HISTORY OF ROME

Rome (history) (see ◀Map 3, Bb▶)

1. From the origins to 31 BC

1. *The origins of Rome*

Surviving literary accounts of the beginnings of Rome are based entirely on legend. The stories provide evidence of what the Romans at various times thought about their own origins and how they liked to see themselves. The developed version of the story contained two main legends, those of *Aeneas and *Romulus, which were artificially combined at an unknown date (but certainly before 300 BC). Although both legends are very ancient, they are, as far as we can tell, quite unhistorical, although certain incidental details (e.g. the idea that Romulus founded his settlement on Rome's Palatine hill) are consistent with the archaeological facts.

The archaeological evidence now available shows that one or more villages were established on the hills of Rome (including the Palatine) from the end of the bronze age (c.1000 BC). These communities were similar to other hilltop settlements that have been identified throughout Latium Vetus, whose cemeteries provide evidence of a distinct form of material culture known as the *cultura laziale*. In the earliest phases (10th and 9th cents. BC) the settlements were small, isolated villages consisting of a few thatched huts. During the 8th and 7th cents. they grew in size and sophistication, with the development of external trade (including contacts with the Greek world), specialized craft production, and the emergence of a wealthy aristocracy. At Rome the Palatine settlement expanded by 700 to include the Forum valley and possibly the Quirinal hill, and the main cemetery moved from the Forum to the Esquiline. Towards the end of the 7th cent. the Forum was laid out as a public meeting place (see FORUM ROMANUM), and monumental buildings made their first appearance. At this point Rome was transformed into an organized city-state.

As befits a frontier town on an important river crossing, Rome seems to have had a mixed population, including Sabines, Greeks, and, it seems, large numbers of *Etruscans. Two of the kings were traditionally of Etruscan origin, but this does not mean that Rome was conquered by the Etruscans or that it became in any other sense an 'Etruscan city'; this is a false deduction from the fact that it shared the same (Hellenizing) material culture as the cities of southern Etruria (see HELLENISM, HELLENIZATION). Although heavily influenced by contacts with the outside world (including Greece and the near east, as well as Etruria and Campania), Rome remained fundamentally a Latin city. This is borne out by an ever-increasing body of Latin inscriptions, which also prove incidentally that Roman culture had been literate from probably before 600 BC.

What passes for the history of Rome at this early period is recorded in literary sources of the 1st cent. BC and later, which are unlikely to contain much reliable information about events hundreds of years earlier. According to the sources the city was originally ruled by kings, which is likely enough, but no confidence can be placed in the complex dynastic history or the dating of the canonical seven: Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius *Tullius, and *Tarquinius Superbus. With the exception of the eponymous Romulus these names may be those of genuine kings, but the notion that their reigns occupied the whole of the period from the 8th cent. BC to the end of the 6th is unacceptable. The conventional foundation date, fixed at 753 BC by *Varro, is the result of artificial manipulation, and does not accord with any archaeological starting point; the earliest settlement is much earlier than 753, and the formation of an urbanized city-state considerably later. It is necessary to suppose either that the regal period was much shorter than the conventional 250 years, or that there were more kings than the conventional seven. As it happens there are good reasons for doing both, since alternative traditions record the names of kings not in the canonical list (e.g. Titus Tatius and Mastarna).

The detailed narratives of their reigns must be regarded largely as fictitious elaboration; but it is nevertheless possible that some elements are based, however dimly, on genuine memory. For instance, accounts of the Roman conquest of the Alban hills region (traditionally attributed to Tullus Hostilius) and the lower Tiber valley (Ancus Marcius) describe an extension of Roman territory that must have occurred before the end of the 6th cent. Similarly the organization of the calendar and the major priesthoods, traditionally the work of Numa, can be dated with some confidence to the 6th cent. or even earlier. The belief that the Roman monarchy was elective rather than hereditary is unlikely to

be an invention, and many institutions associated with the election process, such as the *interrex*, the *lex curiata de imperio* (see IMPERIUM), and the ceremony of inauguration, were probably genuine relics of the time of the kings. The earliest institutions of the state, the three pre-Servian tribes and the 30 *curiae* (groupings for voting), of which only residual traces survived in the later republic, almost certainly go back to the early monarchic period (tradition ascribes them to Romulus). The centuriate reform attributed to Servius Tullius, as it is described in the surviving narratives, belongs to the middle republic, but a simpler system dividing the citizens according to their capacity to arm themselves may well be a genuine reform of the 6th cent.; it is also likely that the innovation of locally based tribes is of pre-republican origin.

The last two kings are presented as tyrants—illegal usurpers who adopted a flamboyant and populist style of rule similar to that of the contemporary Greek tyrants (see TYRANNY). Like the latter, they pursued an ambitious foreign policy, patronized the arts, and embarked on extensive and grandiose building projects. In view of the extent to which 6th-cent. Rome was subject to Greek influence, this need not surprise us; moreover the archaeological evidence confirms that Rome was indeed a powerful, sophisticated, and cosmopolitan city at this time—in the well-known phrase that has recently become something of a cliché: *la grande Roma dei Tarquini* ('the great Rome of the Tarquins'). Finally, *Tarquinius Superbus is said to have created a miniature 'empire' in Latium, a state of affairs that is also presupposed in the first Carthaginian treaty (Polyb. 3. 22); this coincidence between the annalistic tradition and an apparently contemporary document tends to confirm the authenticity of both.

2. *The early republic and the 'Conflict of the Orders'*

The portrayal of the later kings as tyrannical populists is consistent with the story that the last of them, Tarquinius Superbus, was expelled in an aristocratic coup, and replaced by a republic under two annually elected *consuls. These basic elements of the traditional story are more credible than an alternative modern theory that the monarchy was not overthrown in a sudden coup, but slowly faded away, the king being gradually reduced to a purely ceremonial figure (the *rex sacrorum*, king for sacred rites), and replaced as ruler by a supreme magistrate (see MAGISTRACY, ROMAN), variously defined as *dictator, *magister populi*, or *praetor maximus*. The dual consulship, on this view, was a later development.

The principal objection to this ingenious theory is that it conflicts with the evidence of the *Fasti*, the list of consuls preserved in a number of sources (with only minor variations) and widely regarded as authentic. The *Fasti* list the two consuls of each year going back to around 500 BC (the version of the *Fasti Capitolini*, based on the researches of *Varro, places the beginning of the list, and therefore the beginning of the republic, in 509 BC; this Varronian system of dating, though incorrect in places, is conventionally followed by modern historians). A late 6th-cent. date for the beginning of the republic is likely to be correct in general terms, and seems to be confirmed by independent Greek sources.

In this connection it is worth noting that the sources for the republic are in general more soundly based than for the preceding monarchic period. The accounts we can read all date from the late republic and early empire (the most important ones from the second half of the 1st cent. BC). These sources are in their turn based on earlier accounts, now lost, the earliest of which were written at the end of the 3rd cent. BC. Where the earliest Roman historians obtained their material is largely a matter for conjecture, but their sources undoubtedly included the following: accounts of Greek historians, oral memory, the traditions of the great noble families (at least partly preserved in written form), and public documents such as laws, treaties, and senatorial decrees. It is also evident that they had access to archival documents in chronicle form, above all the *annales maximi*, a chronicle kept by the *pontifex maximus* (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)), which included the magistrates of each year together with other information about public events. Naturally the 5th-cent. notices were meagre and uncertain, and the later literary narratives introduced much secondary elaboration and perhaps even invention; but there is no reason to doubt that a basic structure of documentary material lies behind the accounts of our sources for the history of the republic.

During the early republic power rested in the hands of an aristocratic clique known as the patriciate (see PATRICIANS). Patricians were members of certain privileged clans (*gentes*) which had probably obtained special status under the kings. This would seem to follow from the fact that only patricians could hold the office of *interrex*, an obvious relic of the monarchy. The patricians had an exclusive hold on all the chief religious offices, and it was they who gave their assent (the *auctoritas patrum*) to decisions of the *comitia* (assembly) before they became binding. Most consuls were patricians, but it appears from the *Fasti* that they did not have a monopoly of political office until the middle of the 5th cent.

The early republic appears to have been a period when Rome experienced military difficulties and economic recession. Not surprisingly it was the poorer citizens who suffered most, especially without the protection of the kings who

had relied on their support. Debt, land-hunger, and food shortages are recorded as the main grievances. Some of these poorer citizens are said to have taken matters into their own hands in 494 BC, when they withdrew from the city and formed their own alternative state. The **plebs*, as they were called, formed an assembly (the *concilium plebis*), elected their own officers (*tribuni plebis* (see TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS) and aediles), and set up their own cult (of Ceres, Liber, and Libera). For the next two centuries this remarkable plebeian organization fought to improve the lot of its members, by passing resolutions (*plebiscita*), by backing the authority of the tribunes, whose sacrosanctity enabled them to frustrate the actions of magistrates through personal intervention, and if necessary by secession.

The principal demands of the *plebs* were for debt relief and a more equitable distribution of economic resources, especially land. Tradition maintained that the codification of the *Twelve Tables in 450 BC was also a product of plebeian agitation. The plebeian organization was gradually recognized, and obtained a limited right to pass plebiscites binding on the whole people (in 449, extended in 339). Its membership seems to have increased, and to have come to include growing numbers of wealthy and politically ambitious citizens. In the 4th cent. (if not earlier) these richer plebeians began to use the organization as a means to break down the exclusive privileges of the patricians. It was only at this secondary stage that the struggle became a direct conflict between patricians and plebeians.

In 367 BC the Licinio-Sextian laws made plebeians eligible for the consulship, and in 342 the rule was established that one of the two consuls must be a plebeian. A similar rule was extended to the censorship in 339, the same year as the *auctoritas patrum* was reduced to a formality; and in 300 the major priestly colleges were divided between the two orders. By these and similar measures the plebeians were gradually reintegrated into the state, a process that was completed in c.287 BC when plebiscites were made binding on the people and became equivalent to laws.

The plebeians also succeeded in obtaining relief from debt (by a series of measures in the 4th cent.), and particularly from the institution of debt-bondage (*nexum*), which was abolished by statute in 326. They also gained increased access to *ager publicus* (public land) by limiting the amounts an individual could hold (a *lex Licinia Sextia* of 367 set the maximum at 500 *iugera*). But the most important factor in the emancipation of the *plebs* was the redistribution of newly conquered territory in allotments to poorer citizens. It was the programme of colonization and settlement during the late 4th cent. that did most to relieve the burdens of the poor and to end the plebeian struggle as a radical movement.

The main political result was the rise of the nobility, consisting of both patricians and plebeians, who formed a new ruling class based on tenure of office and descent from former office-holders. By the mid-4th cent. a hierarchy of magistracies had been established, resulting from the gradual creation of additional offices alongside the consulship: the quaestors (before 447), the censors (443), the praetor and curule aediles (367). Successful nobles expected to hold a succession of these offices, and a rudimentary *career pattern (*cursus honorum*) was established. With the end of the plebeian struggle and the integration of its institutions, the posts of plebeian tribune and aedile became equivalent to magistracies, and were frequently held by young plebeian nobles who used them as stepping-stones to the consulship. After the *lex Ovinia* in the later 4th cent. the *senate became an independent body of permanent life-members, most of them ex-magistrates, and took an increasingly important role in the routine administration of the state and the formation of policy. This was in part an inevitable consequence of the increasing complexity of government as Rome expanded at the expense of its neighbours.

3. *The Roman conquest of Italy*

After the fall of the monarchy Rome was faced with a revolt of the Latins which led to the battle of Lake Regillus and the treaty of Spurius Cassius Vecellinus (493 BC). The result was a military alliance which enabled Rome and the Latins to resist the incursions of threatening neighbours, the Sabines, Aequi, and Volsci. By the second half of the 5th cent. the regular raids by these peoples gradually ceased, and the Romans (with allied support) were able to take the offensive. During the last years of the 5th cent. they were engaged in the conquest and colonization of southern Latium. They also gained the upper hand against the Etruscan city of Veii, a long-standing rival, which they captured and destroyed in 396. Rome's advance continued in the 4th cent., despite the sack of the city by a Celtic war-band in 390 (Varronian; the true date is probably 386), which proved only a temporary setback. Rome's recovery was rapid, and in the following decades the setting of Roman military activity shifted to Samnium and Campania in the south, and to the territory of Tarquinii and Caere in the north. Relations with the Latins also deteriorated, as the Romans' imperialist intentions became clear. The great Latin war which broke out in 341 BC was crucial, and the Roman victory and subsequent settlement (338 BC) marked a decisive stage in the process of Roman expansion.



Rome (history), §3.2 The city wall of Rome, constructed by the emperor Aurelian in AD 271–5 in anticipation of a sudden barbarian inroad, and repaired and elaborated by later emperors. The refortification of the capital, part of a more general fortification of the cities of the empire, reflects the military stress of the 3rd cent. AD. Fototeca dell'Unione Internazionale, American Academy in Rome



Rome (history), §1.3 Bronze statuette of a Samnite warrior, 6th–5th cent. BC. Organized as a confederation and led to war by a generalissimo, the Samnites were the Romans' doughtiest foes among the peoples of *Italy. © RMN-Grand Palais (Louvre Museum)

The Romans followed up their victory by further conquests and a programme of colonization which led to the foundation of Cales (334) and Fregellae (328); the second of these colonies provoked the great conflict known to moderns as the Second Samnite War (327–304), in which the Romans, after a major setback at the Caudine Forks (321 BC), strengthened their hold on Campania, made alliances in northern Apulia, Etruria, and Umbria, and advanced into central Italy, where they overcame the Hernici and Aequi, and made alliances with the Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, Frentani, and Vestini. These military alliances greatly extended the warlike capacity of Rome, which by 300 was the dominant power in Italy. A few years later the Samnite leader Gellius Egnatius succeeded in forming an anti-Roman alliance of Samnites, Gauls, Etruscans, and Umbrians, but their joint forces were destroyed at Sentinum in 296, a battle that decided the fate of Italy. In the following decades, which are poorly documented in the surviving literature, Rome completed the conquest of peninsular Italy by forcing all its peoples to become allies, either by defeating them in war or compelling them to surrender in advance. The last to succumb were the Greek cities of the south, particularly Tarentum, which in 280 BC summoned *Pyrrhus of Epirus to Italy to lead the war against Rome. The defeat of Pyrrhus in 275 was a turning point, not only because it was virtually the final act in the Roman conquest of Italy (Tarentum held out for a few years, but was captured in 272), but because it brought Rome to the attention of a wider world; the defeat of a powerful king with a fully trained professional army by a hitherto unknown Italian republic created a sensation in the Hellenistic east. A new world power had emerged.

The final stages of the conquest had been completed extremely quickly; barely fifty years elapsed between the outbreak of the Second Samnite War and the fall of Tarentum. And yet the Romans' hold over the Italian allies proved remarkably thorough and lasting. Their success was partly due to the policy of founding colonies throughout the peninsula (19 were established between 334 and 263), on strategic sites linked by a network of well-constructed military roads. A second factor that secured the loyalty of the allies was Rome's support for local aristocracies, who saw the oligarchic republic as their natural ally, and relied on Roman backing to keep them in power at home. Finally, the cohesiveness of the system of alliances was a result of continuous and successful warfare, in which the allies took part and from which they gained a share of the profits. The system was a remarkably effective military machine. War was its *raison d'être*, and its inevitable product. This fact bears directly on the much debated question of Roman imperialism. Roman *imperialism was the result of continuous war, and continuous war was the result of the Roman system of alliances in Italy.

4. Roman imperialism and its consequences

It was inevitable that, after completing the conquest of peninsular Italy, the Romans would embark on military adventures beyond its borders. Less than a decade after the fall of Tarentum they became involved in a major overseas war, when they challenged the Carthaginians for the control of Sicily. In spite of immense losses Rome finally emerged as the victor in this First Punic War (264–241 BC), and *Sicily became the first province. A second was added shortly afterwards, when Sardinia was seized from an enfeebled Carthage (238). Twenty years later the Second Punic War began when the Romans declared war over the Saguntum affair and *Hannibal invaded Italy (218). In spite of spectacular victories in the field Hannibal failed to win over Rome's Italian allies, most of whom remained loyal, and was gradually worn down; he withdrew from Italy in 204 and was finally defeated at Zama in 202.

As a result the Romans obtained further provinces from the former Carthaginian possessions in Spain, and were drawn into imperialistic ventures in the eastern Mediterranean. They also resumed the conquest of northern Italy, which had begun in 224 but had been interrupted by Hannibal's invasion (*see GAUL (CISALPINE)*). In the period to c.175 BC Roman armies overran the Po Valley, Liguria, and the Istrian peninsula. At the same time they were engaged in fierce fighting in Spain, which continued intermittently until 133 and led to the conquest of Lusitania and Celtiberia, although the north-west corner of the Iberian peninsula remained unconquered until the time of Augustus. Finally, campaigns in southern Gaul from 125 to 121 BC resulted in the conquest of Gallia Narbonensis (Provence).

During the same period Rome became increasingly involved in the affairs of the eastern Mediterranean. The first Roman venture east of the Adriatic was in Illyria during the 220s. A Second Illyrian War occurred in 219, and was viewed with alarm by the Macedonian king, Philip V. In 215 Philip made an alliance with Hannibal, which provoked the Romans into the so-called First Macedonian War (214–205), a half-hearted affair to which they were unable or unwilling to commit large military forces. After Zama, however, they felt free to give more attention to the east, and embarked on the Second Macedonian War in 200. Roman troops invaded the Balkans and defeated Philip at Cynoscephalae (197), but these forces were withdrawn in 194 after *Flaminius had confined Philip to Macedonia

and pronounced 'the freedom of the Greeks.' Roman efforts to control events in the Greek world by diplomacy and threats were eventually unsuccessful, however, and further military interventions occurred in 191–188, when the Romans invaded Asia Minor and defeated *Antiochus III, and in the Third Macedonian War (171–167), when the kingdom of Macedon was destroyed by the Roman victory at Pydna. Finally, in the 140s, Roman armies crushed revolts in *Macedonia and Greece, which were made into provinces ruled directly from Rome. The Romans emphasized their dominance by ruthlessness, the most brutal example of which was the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC. In the same year Carthage was destroyed after a Third Punic War (149–146), and its territory became the Roman province of Africa (see AFRICA, ROMAN). Further annexations occurred in Asia (133; see ASIA (ROMAN PROVINCE)), Cilicia (101), and *Cyrene (96).

The successful pattern of overseas conquests had dramatic effects on all aspects of life in Rome and Italy. In the first place it consolidated the power of the patrician-plebeian élite, which dominated the senate and virtually monopolized the senior offices of state. The plebs were happy to acquiesce in this as long as they benefited from the proceeds of military conquest, as were the Italian allies. Secondly the growth of empire vastly increased the wealth of the upper classes, which began to adopt luxurious and increasingly sophisticated habits. The influence of Greek culture became pervasive, and wealthy Romans began to affect the leisured style of the great centres of the Hellenistic world; see HELLENISM. Architecture and the visual arts flourished, as the Romans imitated all the trappings of Greek civilization. One of the results was the development of Roman literature on the Greek model, including drama, epic poetry and, not least, historiography.

But overseas conquests also had unforeseen and sometimes damaging effects on the economy and society of Italy. The conspicuous consumption of the élite was fuelled by investment in Italian land. This led to the growth of large landed estates in Italy, worked by war captives who were imported as slaves. The slave-worked estates introduced new methods of farming, designed to provide absentee landlords with an income from the sale of cash crops (a regime described in the handbook *On Agriculture* by *Cato the Elder). Large-scale grazing was also a profitable form of investment, particularly in southern Italy, where much land had been made available by the devastations and confiscations associated with the Hannibalic War. Some of the land in question was technically *ager publicus* (public land), but the Roman government turned a blind eye to its expropriation by the rich, and did not enforce the legal limits on the size of holdings.

There has been much discussion about the nature of these large estates, the extent of their spread in various regions of Italy, their impact on existing agrarian structures, and their effect on the growth of urban markets. The result of modern research, involving new theoretical models and the use of archaeological evidence, has been to produce a complex picture of varying types of land-use, tenure, and labour exploitation. Nevertheless, it is probable that our sources (particularly Appian, *Civil Wars* I) are right to stress that one of the effects of the changes was large-scale peasant displacement. This had alarming implications for the government, because small peasant proprietors formed the backbone of the Roman army; the situation was aggravated by the fact that prolonged military service in distant theatres made it increasingly difficult for such men to maintain their farms. Roman and Italian peasant-soldiers were thus the victims of their own success, and were driven off the land to a life of penury and unemployment. Since the law laid down a property qualification for army service, the displaced and impoverished peasants were no longer available for recruitment. The result was a manpower crisis, as well as discontent and growing social tension, which came increasingly to threaten the longstanding political consensus. See AGRICULTURE, ROMAN.

5. *The Roman revolution*

The widening gulf between rich and poor eventually gave rise to social conflict and political breakdown. In 133 BC a tribune (see TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS), Tiberius *Gracchus, introduced a land reform which proposed to enforce the ancient and long-neglected limit of 500 *iugera* on holdings of *ager publicus*, and to redistribute the reclaimed surplus in allotments to the poor (see AGRARIAN LAWS AND POLICY). Not surprisingly there was furious opposition, and Gracchus was eventually murdered in an outbreak of political violence instigated by the *optimates* (conservative senators). Ten years later his brother, Gaius *Gracchus suffered the same fate, when he attempted to bring in a series of reforms, which ranged far more widely than his brother's single law. Gaius' legislation embraced provincial administration and taxation, the urban grain supply, judicial reform, and the extension of Roman citizenship to the Italian allies. His aim was to ensure that all citizens, not just the ruling class, should benefit from the proceeds of empire, and that those who governed it should be made accountable for their actions. But his efforts were in vain; most of the measures that he succeeded in passing into law were repealed after his murder (121 BC).

In the following generation Rome faced military difficulties in every part of the empire. These included a war in Africa, a slave revolt in Sicily (103–101 BC; an earlier revolt there had been crushed in 132), and an invasion of Italy by migrating German tribes, the Cimbri and Teutones. In attempting to respond to these crises the ruling oligarchy showed itself corrupt and incompetent, and they were only resolved by allowing an able and ambitious parvenu, *Marius, to hold an unprecedented succession of consulships, and to recruit a professional army from the proletariat.

These measures solved the military problems, but had fatal long-term consequences, because they provided the poor with a means to redress their grievances, and ambitious nobles with the chance to gain personal power by means of armed force. Matters were brought to a head in the aftermath of the Social War (91–89 BC), the revolt of the Italian allies who had taken up arms in order to obtain the Roman citizenship, and by an invasion of the eastern provinces by *Mithradates VI of Pontus, who was welcomed as a liberator by many provincial communities. These events created political chaos at Rome. *Sulla, the consul of 88, was appointed by the senate to lead an expedition against Mithradates; but the plebeian assembly, at the bidding of the tribune Publius Sulpicius, overturned this arrangement and gave the command instead to Marius. Sulla responded by marching on the city and imposing his will by force. Marius was driven out and Sulpicius murdered. But when Sulla and his army left for the east, Marius and his followers marched on the city in their turn, massacred their opponents and seized power (87 BC). When Sulla returned after defeating Mithradates at the end of 83, the stage was set for a full-scale civil war between his army and those of Marius' successors (Marius himself had died in 86).

After a series of extremely bloody encounters, Sulla emerged victorious and set himself up as dictator in 81. He purged his opponents by means of the notorious *proscriptions and attempted to reform the constitution, in particular by strengthening the position of the senate and abolishing most of the powers of the tribunes. These efforts were ineffectual, however, since they addressed the symptoms, not the cause, of the problem, and the same lethal trends continued. A fresh series of military crises in the 70s (*see* SERTORIUS, QUINTUS) brought the popular generals *Pompey and *Crassus to power. As consuls in 70 they repealed most of Sulla's laws and restored the powers of the tribunes.

These events, combined with scandals such as the trial of Verres, ex-governor of Sicily (*see* CICERO) left the senate with little power and even less authority, at a time when military difficulties and economic crises continued to afflict the empire. In 67 Pompey was given (by a tribunician plebiscite) an overriding command against the pirates, and in 66 was appointed, again by plebiscite and in place of Lucius Licinius Lucullus, the senate's commander, to take charge of a war in the east against Mithradates. This he quickly brought to an end, and settled by a complete reorganization of the east, annexing territory, founding cities, and disposing kingdoms. In Italy meanwhile social unrest and discontent erupted in the conspiracy of *Catiline (63), which was ruthlessly put down by the consul *Cicero, who himself portrayed the outcome as a triumph for moderation.

In 62 Pompey returned, a conquering hero, to a magnificent triumph and what he no doubt hoped would be a life of ease and dignity as Rome's leading statesman. If so he was disappointed, since the *optimates* (the conservative ruling class), led by Lucullus and *Cato the Younger, frustrated his efforts to gain the land allotments he had promised as a reward for his veterans. The effect was to drive Pompey into an informal pact with Crassus and *Caesar, sometimes called (in modern books, not in the ancient sources) the First Triumvirate. This alliance proved irresistible. Pompey had overwhelming popular support, Crassus had unlimited money, and Caesar, who was even more unscrupulous than his partners, turned out to have the brains. As consul in 59 Caesar enacted all the measures his partners wanted, and rewarded himself with a special command in Gaul, which he proceeded to conquer in a brilliant (if brutal) campaign (58–51 BC).

In Rome during the 50s the senate was powerless in the face of the dynasts, but the latter had less control over the tribunes, as the activities of Publius *Clodius Pulcher demonstrated. Towards the end of the decade order threatened to break down completely, and in 52 Pompey was appointed sole consul when riots prevented elections. By this time relations between Pompey and Caesar were becoming strained (Crassus had been killed in battle in 53). Fear of Caesar drove Pompey and the *optimates* closer together, as they attempted to frustrate Caesar's aim of passing directly from his Gallic command to a second consulship. Caesar refused to lay down his arms, and in 49 he invaded Italy at the head of an army and once again plunged the empire into civil war. Pompey, who presented himself as defender of the republic, had some initial successes, but was eventually beaten at Pharsalus (48), and was murdered after fleeing to Egypt. Caesar then overcame the republicans in Africa and Spain, before returning to Italy where he became consul and dictator for life.

Caesar embarked on a series of grandiose and visionary schemes, but his monarchical tendencies went against republican tradition and offended the nobles. On 15 March, 44 BC, he was stabbed to death by a group of senators led by *Brutus and Cassius. The conspirators were unable to restore the republic, however, because Caesar's chief aides, Mark *Antony and *Lepidus, had the support of his armies; in 43 they joined together with Caesar's heir, the 19-year-old Caesar Octavian (*see* AUGUSTUS), to form a Triumvirate (a formally constituted board of three for the organization of the state), whereupon they divided the empire between them, and purged their opponents (including Cicero) by reviving Sulla's device of proscriptions. Lepidus was soon squeezed out, and the empire was uneasily divided between Octavian and Antony until 31 BC, when the issue was finally decided in Octavian's favour at the battle of *Actium. Mark Antony and his mistress *Cleopatra VII committed suicide, leaving Octavian in complete control of the Roman empire. TJCO

2. From Augustus to the Antonines (31 BC–AD 192)

1. Augustus and the foundation of imperial rule

After victory over the forces of Mark *Antony and *Cleopatra VII at *Actium (31 BC) and the subsequent annexation of Egypt in the summer of 30 BC, Octavian (*see* AUGUSTUS) and his generals were masters of the Mediterranean world. To create a system of permanent rule they needed both to gain the acceptance of their power by the majority of the senatorial and equestrian élite, even if a majority of die-hard republicans could not be won over, and to maintain the loyalty of the soldiery. The armed forces in turn were to revert to their traditional role of war against foreign enemies. The great and successful wars of conquest initiated by Augustus and *Agrippa became one of the key sources of legitimacy and prestige of the new regime (*see* below, §3).

Octavian and his key political allies (such as Agrippa and Titus Statilius Taurus) proceeded cautiously and by trial and error in their search for an enduring political settlement. Already in 32 BC 700 senators (out of a total of about 1,000) had sworn a personal oath of loyalty to Octavian. In 28 BC Octavian and Agrippa assumed censorial powers, completed the first full census of the citizen body since 69, and revised the rolls of the *senate. One hundred and ninety 'unworthy' members were removed. Grants of special powers by senate and people, most notably in 28 and 23 BC, ensued, which formalized and legitimated Augustus' pre-eminent position. Augustus, 'revered', was a title conferred on Octavian in 27 BC. Augustus' most important right was that of directly appointing all senior army officers and the governors of key (especially military) provinces. At all times he ensured that any new powers were formally voted to him and made a great show of rejecting anything which hinted at monarchy or dictatorship. Among his fellow aristocrats he portrayed himself as 'first among equals'. The lessons of *Caesar's fate had been well learnt. In the years up to his death in 13 BC Agrippa acted as almost co-regent of the empire. He was also the recipient of grants of special powers in 23 and 18 BC. Together they took active measures to reconstruct the state's financial infrastructure. Both men spent long periods touring the provinces especially in the decade after the political settlement of 23 BC. In the long term their most important administrative innovation was the introduction of provincial censuses which were designed to map out the resources of the provinces and provide a more rational framework for the assessment and levying of direct taxation, 'the sinews of the state'. *See* FINANCE, ROMAN.

The senate, from whose ranks generals and most provincial governors were drawn, remained the most important political element in the state, even though its corporate powers were restricted through the *de facto* transfer of the formulation of fiscal and military policy to Augustus and his advisers. The new regime also saw the entrenchment of the equestrian order (*see* EQUITES (Imperial period)) as the empire's second estate. At Rome important new positions of public authority (the prefect of the corn supply, the prefects of the praetorian guard) were created and allotted to equestrians. In the provinces equestrian administrators (*procuratores*; *see* PROCURATOR) oversaw fiscal affairs. In the armed forces young equestrians came to form the junior officer corps as commanders of auxiliary units and as military tribunes in the legions. Augustus and his advisers thus exercised rule over the empire through the collaboration of the political élite. In turn the public careers of individual senators and equestrians were dependent on the favour of the emperor. Loyalty brought reward and success, disloyalty (real or imagined) disgrace, even execution.

The land question in general and the material demands of the veteran troops in particular had fatally undermined oligarchic rule in the late republic (*see* AGRARIAN LAWS AND POLICY). Augustus and his advisers took determined and decisive steps to resolve this problem. Mass demobilization immediately followed the end of the civil wars. Land in Italy and the provinces was purchased, via the vast private resources of Octavian Augustus, and distributed to these veterans. In the medium term the practice of routine distribution of land or cash to veterans was established. The cre-

ation of a special military treasury (*aerarium militare*) in AD 6, funded by a new tax on inheritances, marked the culmination of this development. The process of overseas civil and military colonization, first adumbrated by Caesar and taken to its logical conclusion by Augustus, brought about the transfer to the provinces of about 250,000 adult male Italians, roughly one fifth of the total free adult male population of Italy. In a parallel process vast resources were also expended to underpin the material interests of the free population of Rome. The regular distribution of free rations of grain, acquired by provincial taxation, became a normal feature of imperial Rome. Augustus also used his own personal fortune to make periodic distributions of cash to the inhabitants of Rome. On his own account hundreds of millions of sesterces were spent in this way between 30 BC and his death, a sum greater than the total annual revenues of the Roman state in the early 50s BC.

2. High politics, the succession, and the emperors

The resolution of the land question via overseas *colonization and the underpinning of the material livelihood of the massive population of Rome removed from the political agenda two issues which had dominated the history of the late republic. Under the emperors high politics came to centre on two interconnected issues, namely the relationship of individual emperors to the political élite, and the imperial succession. Extreme tension between sections of the political élite and the emperor, expressed most dramatically in treason-trials and executions, became the hallmark of high politics under Augustus' immediate successors, *Tiberius (AD 14–37), *Gaius or Caligula (37–41), *Claudius (41–54), and *Nero (54–68), the Julio-Claudian dynasty. This tension derived structurally from the claim that the emperor was only first among his aristocratic equals, from lingering republicanism, and from the absence of any established law of succession. Consequently leading aristocrats, especially if connected by blood or marriage to the imperial family, could be regarded as threatening an individual emperor's rule. The contingent factor of the personalities and backgrounds of the Julio-Claudian emperors sharpened this structural tension. So the suspicious Tiberius had become Augustus' chosen successor only by default after the death of Augustus' two grandsons; the autocratic Caligula is said to have made senators kiss his feet; Claudius was completely without experience of public life at his accession; Nero came to power at the age of 16. Each turned to court-favourites to buttress their position. But the open use, especially, of imperial slaves and freedmen as confidants merely served to strengthen the antagonism of the political élite.

The first imperial dynasty succumbed to insurrection and civil war in 68. Nero had both profoundly alienated the political élite by converting the imperial role into a vehicle for indulging his private interests (e.g. singing and chariot-racing) and fatally neglected to cultivate the armed forces and their commanders. When Gaius Iulius Vindex, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, revolted, support for Nero melted away. His suicide in June 68 opened the way to civil war as leading senators vied for the purple. After the brief reigns of Galba (68–9), Otho (69), and Vitellius (69), order and stability were restored by *Vespasian (69–79).

The new Flavian dynasty initiated by Vespasian was short-lived. His elder son *Titus ruled for two years (79–81) and was succeeded by Vespasian's younger son *Domitian (81–96). Under Domitian, who liked to style himself 'Lord and God', tension quickly resurfaced. A serious *putsch* was attempted by the governor of Upper Germany in 89, and in September 96 Domitian was murdered in a palace coup. The senate nominated as his successor a leading, if elderly, senator *Nerva (96–8).

The ensuing 90 years represented a high-water mark of stability. The succession problem was resolved by the chance that a series of emperors had no surviving sons. So Nerva adopted *Trajan (98–118). Trajan adopted *Hadrian (117–38), and Hadrian adopted *Antoninus Pius (138–61). All had been leading senators before their accession. The transfer of key political offices at Rome (such as those in charge of imperial correspondence and finances) from freedmen to senior equestrians further served to ameliorate relations between emperors and the élite. In 161 Marcus *Aurelius, adopted son of Pius, succeeded and immediately associated his adoptive brother Lucius Verus (161–9) as co-emperor. Two tests of political stability now ensued. First, incursions by the Parthians in 162 and by northern tribes from 166 precipitated a period of intense and systematic military campaigning more serious than any seen since the reign of Augustus (see below, § 3). Secondly, the problem of the succession resurfaced. Marcus had a surviving son, *Commodus. Commodus was made co-emperor in 177 and succeeded in March 180. His reign reawakened political tensions reminiscent of the 1st cent. He quickly abandoned his father's senior advisers and placed his trust in confidantes of servile status. Like Nero he used the imperial role to indulge his private whims, most notably fighting as a *gladiator. The result was predictable. On New Year's Eve 192 he was assassinated in a palace *coup*. Official propaganda justified his murder by claiming that he intended on New Year's Day 193 to murder the incoming consuls and leading senators.

Whatever the vicissitudes of high politics the rulers of Rome in the two centuries from the accession of Augustus achieved two great objectives. Militarily they further extended the empire and protected it from external assault. Politically they maintained uninterrupted administrative control over its vast territory. Fission and secession, the normal fate of great pre-industrial empires, were conspicuous by their absence.

3. *The army and military policy*

The Roman imperial armed forces were a formidable institution. The state routinely mobilized an average c. 350,000 men. The army was the largest element in the state's budget. It was the guarantor of the empire's security, the means for its further expansion. In the last analysis the security of any emperor depended on the loyalty of the troops and their commanders.

Augustus for the first time in Roman history had created a fully professional army with fixed terms and conditions of service. The troops swore a personal oath of loyalty to the reigning emperor. Above all, the loyalty of the troops was grounded in a system of material rewards (pay and donatives) which privileged them in comparison to the mass of the free inhabitants of the empire. Although no emperors could count in principle on the absolute loyalty of all their military commanders (recruited as in the republic from the senatorial and equestrian orders), a variety of devices limited the potential for revolt. All senior commanders were personally appointed by the emperor. Tenure of key positions, such as legionary commander or governor of a military province, was normally restricted to three years, while no military governor normally had above three legions under his command. That only two civil wars (68–9 and 193–7) occurred up to the end of the 2nd cent. is testimony to the success of these devices.

After twenty years of civil war Augustus put his new model army to the most traditional of Roman purposes, conquest and expansion. By the end of his reign the classic geographic contours of the empire had been set. Augustus had inherited a fundamentally Mediterranean empire; the main objectives of the campaigns fought under his auspices were conquest and expansion in continental Europe. Campaigns under Augustus and then Agrippa ensured the final subjugation, after 200 years, of Spain in 19 BC. All efforts were then directed to the north. By 14 BC all the Alpine regions were under Roman control; in the same year a series of campaigns began which led to the conquest of the Balkan peninsula up to the Danube. Roman control was also extended beyond the Rhine up to the Elbe. In AD 6 large-scale preparations were made for further expansion via the invasion of Bohemia by two army groups. These preparations were interrupted by a serious revolt in Pannonia which took three years of hard fighting, under the command of Tiberius, to suppress. Celebration of this victory in AD 9 was cut short by the news of the loss of three complete legions in the area between the Rhine and the Elbe. Attempts at continued expansion were then abandoned and the line of the Rhine–Danube *de facto* became the empire's northern frontier.

Augustus, despite the great conquests of his reign, left to his successors the advice to keep the empire within its current territorial limits. For nearly a century they adhered, in general, to this advice. Consolidation, rather than conquest, came to epitomize Roman policy. Some new accretion of territory occurred through the assimilation as provinces of previously client territory (Cappadocia in AD 17; the Mauretaniae in 42. Thrace in 46, all of Judaea by 44, Commagene in 72, and Nabataea in 106). On the northern frontier an important development was the occupation under the Flavians of the Rhine–Danube re-entrant. The only clear exception to this process of consolidation was Claudius' invasion of Britain in 43. Britain was never to be fully conquered. In the longer term its garrison of three legions represented an anomalous diversion of resources to a strategically unimportant area.

The reign of Trajan marked a temporary return to determined expansionism. In the north two major expeditions were mounted on the Danube in 101–2 and 105–6 which saw the annexation of Dacia and its attendant gold-mines. In the east Trajan was the first emperor to try to destroy the military capacity of the Parthian kingdom and to annex territory east of the Euphrates. The expedition of 113–17 was at first successful, but a serious revolt in Mesopotamia in 116–17 and the death of Trajan in 117 led his successor Hadrian to abandon the attempt. No major campaigns against external enemies occurred again until the reign of Marcus Aurelius when invasion from the east and then from the north posed a classic two-pronged strategic threat. In 161 the Parthian king declared war and invaded. The counter-expedition of Lucius Verus of 162–66 was militarily successful although no attempt was made to repeat Trajan's plan of annexing Mesopotamia. In 166–7 northern tribes breached the weakened defences on the Danube, and triggered the so-called northern wars of Marcus Aurelius. By the time of Marcus' death at Vienna in 180 plans had probably been made to annex further territory north of the Danube. Commodus, however, opted for peace, and by his death the territorial extent of the empire was very much, with the exception of Britain and Dacia, as Augustus had left it in AD 14.

Given the limited number of major expansionary campaigns the prime function of the Roman armed forces became the routine defence of the empire. For the first time the territorial empire acquired clearly demarcated frontiers, especially to the north (Rhine–Danube) and the east (Euphrates). The majority of legions and auxiliary units came to be stationed on or near the frontiers in permanent fortified positions. Artificial barriers, such as Hadrian's wall (*see* WALL OF HADRIAN), were sometimes constructed when the frontiers were not naturally delimited. An elaborate network of roads was built up to facilitate communications and the movement of troops and supplies. The frontiers, natural or artificial, functioned as symbolic demarcation of direct Roman rule and as barriers to minor incursions rather than as major obstacles to serious attacks (*see* LIMES). Across time there was also a significant shift in the strategic disposition of Rome's forces. Under Tiberius there were eight legions stationed on the Rhine, six in the Balkans/Danube theatre, and only four in Syria. By the accession of Hadrian only four remained on the Rhine, twelve were now stationed in the Danube area, and six in the east. This shift of forces to the Danube–Euphrates axis represented a significant step in the process culminating in the removal of the capital of the empire from Rome to Byzantium.

4. *Running an empire*

The mature empire of the 2nd cent. embraced a territory of about 5 million sq. km. with a population conventionally estimated at about 55 million. Despite rudimentary technology and limited means of communication the territorial integrity of the empire was not seriously threatened in our period. The two great Jewish revolts of 66–74 and 132–5 (*see* JEWS) represented the only exceptions to this generalization. The principal aims of imperial rule were to maintain internal order and to extract resources, via taxation, to underpin state expenditure, especially the funding of the massive standing army. Given these limited aims, no large-scale bureaucratic apparatus was elaborated, and routine administration was predicated on the co-operation of the local élites of the provinces.

At the apex of the exercise of public authority stood the emperor. The emperor was the key source of binding rules affecting individuals, corporate groups, and the subject population as a whole; he adjudicated serious disputes and granted ideal and material privileges to both individuals and corporate groups (especially cities). His court was the supreme tribunal of the empire both at first instance and at appeal. Decision-making by the emperor was normally mediated through the mechanism of an advisory body, the *consilium principis*, whose members were drawn from the senatorial and equestrian élite. Although the senate also maintained some parallel authoritative powers they were comparatively limited in scope.

The empire was divided administratively into a series of territorial circumscriptions, of unequal size and population, called provinces (44 at the time of Trajan). In each province a governor of senatorial status exercised overall responsibility, although Egypt and some minor provinces had equestrian governors. For fiscal purposes governors were normally aided by equestrian officials called procurators. The number of élite Roman officials allotted to the provinces was very small, about 160 in the mid-2nd cent., and each had only a small administrative apparatus to help him. Consequently routine administrative activity was devolved on local cities and their magistrates and councils who formed the prime intermediary mechanism linking the state to the mass of its subjects. Each province operated administratively as an agglomeration of civic units, each unit having responsibility for the territorial hinterland and population attached to it.

In the fiscal sphere the Roman officials exercised a supervisory and adjudicatory authority. They organized the periodic censuses, made global tax-assessments for each city, and adjudicated disputes which arose in the processes of assessment and collection of taxes. In turn each city had the responsibility of collecting its own tax-assessment. The individual paid to the city, the city paid to the state. Provincial governors had supreme authority for the maintenance of order and monopolized the legitimate use of violence. Only they had the right, through both formal proceedings and summary jurisdiction, to impose capital penalties. Their tribunal operated as the prime mechanism for the resolution both of private disputes, especially those concerning Roman citizens and individuals of high social status, and of disputes between rival civic communities over their ideal and material rights. The local civic authorities underpinned the governor's role in four distinct ways. They were responsible for hunting down serious criminals (e.g. brigands, Christians, rustlers) and holding them for trial by the governor. Within their own territories they exercised a lower-level jurisdiction to resolve minor private disputes and to punish minor crimes. Administratively they supervised the internal affairs (e.g. raising and reallocating local revenues, supervising public buildings, regulating local markets) of their own cities. Finally each province had a provincial council whose members were recruited from individual cities' élites. The provincial councils had a double function. They were responsible for the organization of the religious ceremonies and festivals associated with the imperial cult, and members of the council acted as high-priests

of the cult, a role of great prestige; diplomatically the councils could send embassies to the emperor to make representations about matters of common interest to a province or to lay accusations of misgovernment by Roman officials. This crucial intermediary role of the local élites of the provinces was recognized by privileges they came to acquire in the social order.

5. *The social order*

The imperial social order was deeply stratified and characterized by a marked congruence of wealth and status and by very limited opportunities for upward social mobility. At the apex of the social pyramid stood three aristocratic orders namely (in descending rank) the senatorial order, the equestrian order, and the local élites of civic councillors and magistrates. Each had differential property-qualifications for membership; each possessed distinct status symbols in terms of dress and legal privilege. Below stood the vast mass of the humble free and the slaves, the latter in strict law the chattels of their owners. Although the total number of slaves is not known, the probable proportion in Egypt of 10 per cent (inferred from census-data) is a reasonable estimate for the whole empire.

The most important social development of our period was the process by which the local élites across the empire came to acquire a common and coherent privileged status. At first the local élites were rewarded by individual grants of Roman citizenship. In the course of the 2nd cent. a series of imperial rulings granted all local councillors and magistrates a bundle of legal privileges (e.g. less severe and degrading punishments for serious crimes) which set them apart from the mass of the provincial population. In turn new recruits into the equestrian and senatorial orders normally came from the ranks of local élites. Only two institutionalized avenues of upward social mobility, namely the army and the emancipation of slaves, existed. The economic and social status of the soldiery was enhanced by the material rewards of service and by the privileges granted to veterans. Furthermore a small minority of ranking legionaries could achieve the post of centurion and, even more spectacularly, the post of chief centurion, which automatically conferred equestrian status. Private owners had the right to emancipate their slaves, and a small minority of *freedmen (ex-slaves) are found entering the ranks of the local élites.

Within this stable social order dissent and desperation among the poor and immiserated expressed themselves primarily in *brigandage and *piracy. No serious political ideologies of opposition existed or were developed, while the state for reasons of internal security tightly regulated freedom of association. The most important ideological developments occurred in the religious sphere notably through the dissemination of Mithraism and Christianity. But even by the late 2nd cent. the nascent world-religion had had only a limited impact. It remained primarily an urban phenomenon, and even then most widely spread in the empire's Mediterranean heartlands. Christian ideology and practices had scarcely touched the north and north-west of the empire or rural areas in general.

By the late 2nd cent. 'the immeasurable majesty of the Roman peace' (as the elder Pliny had termed it) still appeared settled and unchallenged. The political and institutional characteristics of Roman rule, even the territorial extent of the empire itself, were little different from the situation at the end of Augustus' reign. It was to be the combination of the intense civil wars that ensued on the murder of Commodus, and the advent of new and aggressive enemies to the north and east of the empire which were to put the imperial state to its first great test in the 3rd cent., to transform its political and institutional structures and to open the way for the triumph of the new world religion. GPB

3. From Septimius Severus to Constantine (AD 193–337)

1. *Political and dynastic history*

The period from the Severans to Constantine the Great begins and ends with strong government, separated by a period of political instability and military stress through which shine the heroic achievements of great (but short-lived) individual emperors. *Septimius Severus (193–211) rose to power in civil wars reminiscent of those of 68–70. Proclaimed in Pannonia, he at once marched to Italy to suppress Marcus Didius Severus Iulianus, after which he quickly defeated his rivals Pescennius Niger in the east and Decimus Clodius Septimius Albinus in the west. After a determined and in some ways ruthless reign which did not endear him to senatorial opinion, he was succeeded at York by his son *Caracalla, who was killed in 217 during an eastern campaign by the supporters of his praetorian prefect Marcus Opellius Macrinus, the first candidate of equestrian rank to achieve the imperial dignity. Macrinus was quickly displaced by an eastern relative of Severus' wife, the eccentric religious innovator *Elagabalus, and he in 222 by *Severus Alexander, whose persistent ineffectiveness eventually alienated the army. His assassination in 235 and replacement by a tough military officer from Thrace, Gaius Iulius Verus Maximinus, was an uncomfortable reminder that

what the Roman empire needed was not dilettante sportsmen, exuberant child priests, or likeable youths, but disciplined officers who knew armies. The period from Maximinus to the rise of *Diocletian in 284 is traditionally known as the 'period of anarchy' of the Roman empire, and this is true if one takes as a criterion the traditional historian's task of reconstructing a narrative of events in the correct order—a task made infinitely more difficult by the deficiencies in the ancient narrative sources. In this half-century there were at least eighteen 'legitimate' emperors, and far more if one counts the numerous usurpers of the period. Nearly all met violent deaths after short reigns. What does emerge from the period, in the response of Diocletian (284–305), is a conception of the imperial office as divisible, authority in different regions being devolved to separate emperors who, instead of fighting each other for sole power, would concede each others' dignity and collaborate. This conception is at the heart of the so-called tetrarchy, in which Diocletian first (in 285) shared his power as Augustus with a single colleague, Maximian, and (in 293) added to the Augusti two Caesars who would both share the burden of warfare and government and ensure an orderly succession. The first of these aims was achieved by Diocletian, but the second was not, as the planned succession was disrupted by the ambitions of rival contenders. From the complicated series of civil wars, executions, and suicides following the joint retirements of Diocletian and Maximian in 305 emerged the figures of (the newly converted) Constantine in the west, and Licinius in the east. It was they who in 312 jointly issued the so-called 'edict of Milan' restoring peace to the church after the persecutions of Diocletian and Galerius, and restoring to Christians their confiscated property, but Constantine's defeat of Licinius at Chrysopolis in 324 put him and his sons in sole control of the Roman empire.

2. *Military policy and government*

Despite political difficulties and frequent military reverses the territorial integrity of the Roman empire was maintained with surprising success. Septimius Severus had converted his early civil war against Pescennius Niger into a war of conquest in which he annexed Mesopotamia; this provided a solution to the problem of Armenia, a perennial cause of conflict between Rome and Persia. The rise of the Sasanian dynasty in Persia under Ardashir I (c.223–c.240) and especially Sapor I (c.240–c.270) posed new problems for the Roman empire in the east. The campaign against Persia of *Gordian III ended in defeat and the emperor's death, some thought by treachery of his praetorian prefect Philip, who succeeded him (244). In the mid-250s Sapor's invasion of the empire resulted in his penetration of Roman territories (*Antioch was occupied for a time), and in 260 in the capture of the emperor Valerian, but no territory was permanently lost, and the campaign of Galerius in the last decade of the century resulted in a settlement weighted heavily in favour of Rome. On the lower Danube the empire was confronted, also in the 250s, by invasions of Goths, who penetrated parts of Thrace and Asia Minor (this was when the ancestors of the Gothic missionary Ulfila were taken prisoner); the death of the emperor Decius took place in battle against this new enemy. In the 260s and 270s much was achieved in the name of Rome by the usurping regimes of Postumus and his successors in Gaul (260–74), and in the east by the Palmyrene 'empire' of Septimius Odaenathus and Zenobia (see PALMYRA). Both rebellions were suppressed by Aurelian (270–5), another of the great Illyrian emperors of the 3rd cent.; but Aurelian was obliged to abandon Dacia to Gothic occupation. The only other territorial cession made in the period was the abandonment, also by Aurelian, of the *Agri Decumates*, the re-entrant angle between Rhine and Danube annexed in the Flavian period.

The principle of the devolution of imperial power, referred to in §1 above, is clearly inherent in these events. The rise of the Gallic and Palmyrene empires under Gallienus (sole ruler 260–8) secured frontiers which he could not have defended himself while also maintaining control in Italy and Illyricum. The situation that obtained under Gallienus, when the Balkans and Italy (with the addition of Africa), and separate administrations among the Gauls and in the east, were financed and governed independently of each other, clearly anticipates the regional prefectures of the 4th cent. Also anticipated in the 3rd cent. is a progressive increase in the number, and reduction in the size, of provinces. After Diocletian there were more than 100 of these, compared with fewer than 50 in the time of Trajan. They were governed to an increasing extent by equestrian rather than senatorial governors. By a supposed decree of Gallienus, indeed, senators were formally excluded from military commands in order to keep them away from armies. Whether the edict is historical or not, it represents a process of change that can be traced in the developing career patterns of senators and equestrians. The army itself underwent considerable changes, the distinction between legionaries and auxiliaries disappearing as the emperors made increasing use of barbarian federates for their field armies. It was also much enlarged, a process that continued into the 4th cent. It is however far from clear that one can talk of a 'militarization' of the Roman empire, and still less so that one can assign the beginning of such a process to Septimius Severus. The legal and financial benefits offered to the army by that emperor are not out of line with their times. The right to contract

legal marriages, for example, recognizes the long custom of soldiers to acquire 'common law' wives and raise children with them in stable unions.

3. *The economy*

The economic history of the 3rd cent., like its political history, is one of distress and recovery, the extent of both being debated by historians. The conventional picture is of a monetary decline leading to the brink of collapse, and of a transition to a largely natural economy in which the emperors secured their needs and paid their salaries by requisitions in kind rather than from the products of monetary taxation. The rampant inflation of the later part of the period can in part be attributed to the emperors' own debasement of their coin in order to meet the ever-increasing prices caused by its diminishing value as currency. But *Diocletian and *Constantine I were able to restore a stable gold currency based on the *solidus* minted first at 60, then at 72 to the pound. This coin, one of the most successful ever produced, was the foundation of the late Roman and Byzantine monetary economy (see COINAGE, ROMAN). The picture is also one of urban decline, but with many variations and exceptions. Britain, largely exempt from the wars of the period, does not seem to have suffered from it, and over the longer term the prosperity of frontier regions benefited from the shift from the centre to the periphery of those resources necessary for defence. As the emperors spent more of their time in the frontier regions, their presence acted as a stimulant to the economies of these regions. And the cities which were promoted by the emperors—such as Trier, Serdica, Naissus, Thessalonica, Nicomedia, and of course Constantinople—both became great and contributed to the economic development of their hinterlands. The *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212, in which Caracalla extended Roman *citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Roman empire, is presented by the historian Cassius Dio as inspired by fiscal motives; but another effect was to remove this once great privilege from the status of gift or grant to communities and individuals, and to make the city of Rome marginal to their social and legal position. Fulfilling a long development, the *civitas Romana* was now without any ambiguity citizenship of the Roman empire and not of its capital.

4. *Culture*

The Severan period saw the continued efflorescence of the literary culture known as the '*Second Sophistic' (the inventor of the phrase, the biographer of the sophists Philostratus, published his work under Alexander Severus). Literary accomplishment was still important in the relations of cities with their rulers through embassies, and literary men were still rewarded and promoted to imperial office. Most notable is the juristic culture of the Severan Age, with great *lawyers like Ulpian (Domitius Ulpianus) and Papinian (Aemilius Papinianus) (both of whom were killed in the dynastic upheavals of the later Severan period), but this is one of the great continuums of Roman culture. Preserving and systematizing the case law of the later 1st and 2nd cents. as propounded in imperial judgements, the Classical jurists were themselves preserved for posterity by the codifications of Justinian (see JUSTINIAN'S CODIFICATION). The middle and later years of the century produced the philosopher Plotinus and his pupil and biographer Porphyry; and the historian Dexippus of Athens attests the continuing prestige of a great intellectual capital despite the physical impact of the Herulian invasion. Of immediate relevance to the future, the Christian church expanded considerably. At its opening Tertullian of Carthage preached opposition to the world and secular culture, at the end of it *Eusebius of Caesarea documents the expansion of the Church and its acceptance, in the conversion of Constantine, by the empire and the world-order. See CHRISTIANITY. In the mid-3rd cent. Cyprian, later executed in the persecution of Valerian, attests 87 bishops in North Africa, and in Rome seven deacons looked after the interests of 1,500 widows and orphans.

4. *The Late Empire*

1. *Political and dynastic history*

The three sons of Constantine who emerged from a co-ordinated killing of the more distant claimants at their father's death in 337 competed among themselves for pre-eminence; Constantine II, who succeeded in Gaul (with Britain and Spain), was eliminated in 340 by his brother Constans II, who had inherited Illyricum. He was in turn defeated by the usurper Magnentius (350), and he by the surviving brother Constantius II (353). Constantius, preoccupied in the west, appointed Gallus Caesar to deputize in the east, and after Gallus' execution (354) tried to rule as sole emperor. Again, however, he was confronted by usurpation while he himself was committed to war with Persia, and reluctantly accepted his cousin *Julian as Caesar in Gaul. Julian's military successes and his army's growing discontent at his treatment by his senior partner led to his proclamation against Constantius, but he was spared a war which he would prob-

ably not have won by Constantius' death (361). Julian's famous attempt to restore the pagan cults of the Roman empire was cut short by his death in Persia (363), and the short reign of Jovian was succeeded in 364 by the firm military government of the brothers Valentinian and Valens. Valens' death at Adrianople (378) brought to the throne Theodosius I, a former general whose successes both in foreign and in civil war have tended to be overshadowed by his pro-Nicene religious policies and by his religious confrontations with St Ambrose. The accession of Valentinian and Valens had been followed by a division of the resources of eastern and western empires, and this was repeated after Theodosius' death in 395. Theodosius' sons Arcadius (in the east) and Honorius (in the west), and their respective successors Theodosius II and Valentinian III were, however, weak emperors, coming to power in their minority, surrounded by powerful courtiers and—especially in the west—by competing warlords and barbarian leaders who cared little for imperial authority. The ascendancy over emperors of such figures as Stilicho, Bonifatius, Flavius Aetius, and Ricimer well presages the replacement of the imperial office by the kings of Italy, Odoacer and Theoderic. In the east, the death of Theodosius II was followed by a disruptive period of competition, but the competitors were on the whole vigorous, effective war leaders, and under Anastasius (491–518), Justin I (518–27), and his formidable nephew and successor Justinian (527–65) the Byzantine empire was able to hold its own and even, under Justinian, to attempt to make good its losses by reconquest.

2. *Military policy*

The 4th-cent. west was threatened on the Rhine front by the Germanic federation known as the Alamanni, and on the Danube by the Quadi and their allies and, in particular, by the Goths. The Alamanni succeeded in occupying large areas of eastern Gaul, but the ground was recovered by the early campaigns of Julian (356–60) and maintained by the strenuous work of Valentinian, both in campaigning and in a building programme well attested by archaeology. In the east, traditional Roman policy, of containing Persian aggression and responding by measured counter-attacks (with tremendous sieges), was followed by Constantine (who died while setting out on a Persian campaign) and Constantius II, but broken by the invasion of Persia conducted by Julian with disastrous results; Jovian was forced after Julian's death to cede to the Persians much of what had been gained by the success of Galerius. Under Theodosius I Armenia was partitioned between Rome and Persia, and thereafter relations between the two powers took on a more familiar pattern until the time of Justinian. The real crisis of the Roman empire was generated on the Danube, as the Goths, under pressure from the Huns, negotiated or forced their way across the river, a process leading to the momentous defeat at Adrianople. Despite the treaty concluded in 382 by Theodosius I, the Romans were never able fully to recover, and the ensuing fragility of their command of the Balkans is the most important strategic consideration in the division of the empire into eastern and western parts. In the 5th cent., the west was overrun by mainly Germanic invaders—Goths and then Franks in Gaul, Goths and Suebi in the Spanish peninsula, Vandals in North Africa—permitting greater or lesser degrees of Roman continuity. The Gallic upper classes and church preserved much of what was important to them—including the Latin language—and the reign of Theoderic the Ostrogoth in north Italy marks something of a cultural high point. Despite pressure from the Avars and other northern peoples, the eastern empire retained its territorial integrity until the expansion of Islam in the early 7th cent. Justinian's programme of recovery of the western provinces was in the short term successful, but it is debatable whether the recovery of Gothic Italy benefited or impoverished its inhabitants, and Justinian's prolonged campaigns there were shortly followed by the invasions of the Lombards from the north.

3. *Government*

The military and administrative achievements of later Roman government were based on structural reforms and changes that make it look very unlike the government of the early empire. It was a strongly bureaucratized state, with large and systematically organized departments of administration staffed (often, no doubt, over-staffed) by career officials who spent their lives in a service characterized by demarcations of duties and by hierarchies of seniority within and between departments. It has been calculated that more than 30,000 men were employed in the civil branches of the service, but this figure must be set beside the vast size of the empire and the greatly increased level of governmental intervention required for its administration; since the military stresses of the 2nd and 3rd cents., the 'consensual' mode of government of the early empire had been replaced by one much more authoritarian, although the appearance of 'consent' was maintained through well-organized acclamations. The old aristocracies of Italy and the west, willing participants in the government of the early empire, largely stood aloof except in so far as was required to defend their essential interests; in the east they were more effectively drawn into government as its agents and allies. The foundation of Constantinople had much to do with this different pattern in the east. The whole institution of government was

glorified, from the emperor to his lowliest official, by an elaborate system of ceremonial which has its culmination in Byzantine handbooks, and is beautifully expressed in visual imagery (the Ravenna mosaics).

There was a price to pay—the late Roman penal code was one of an unprecedented brutality, little moderated by Christianity. The later Roman empire enjoyed a stable currency in precious metals and limited inflation, regular taxation, good transport, and, despite the occasional local shortage, an adequate flow of supplies. Until the last decades of the 4th cent. in the west and for much longer in the east, its borders were maintained intact, trade between its regions and with the outside world flourished, and despite well-documented *corruption its administrative and legal systems were generally effective. Cities maintained their prosperity and even, in the east, increased it, and the countryside was productive and free of major disruption and banditry. Educational and cultural centres were maintained, and the period was marked by an efflorescence of literary and artistic culture, both Christian and pagan; it produced the Gallic panegyrists, the history of *Ammianus Marcellinus and the poetry of Ausonius and Claudian, the speeches of Libanius and Themistius, the letters of Symmachus, Christian exegesis exceeding by an order of magnitude everything that had been produced before, and mountains of documentary material. In the 5th cent. Sidonius Apollinaris and the Greek church historians in the 5th cent. are followed in the 6th by Cassiodorus and the histories of Procopius, not to mention those monuments to Roman juristic culture, the Theodosian Code and the codifications of Justinian (*see* JUSTINIAN'S CODIFICATION).

4. *The impact of Christianity*

It is hard to exaggerate the importance of the conversion to Christianity of Constantine, and after him the Roman empire. Constantine's hopes that loyal bishops would deliver to him obedient tax-paying cities were disappointed by the levels of mutual disagreement (of which his historian Eusebius might have warned him) within the Christian church. The emperors of the whole period were haunted by this problem, which they tended to exacerbate by taking sides themselves. Paganism also proved unexpectedly recalcitrant, especially in its associations with Classical culture and established patterns of life such as public games (*see* GAMES). But Christianity gave common ground in a literate culture to rulers and ruled, and provided for imperial ideologists such as Eusebius a rhetoric of power, and a model of imperial as deriving from divine authority. It gave to bishops an enhanced secular role, exemplified in their appointment as arbitrators in civil jurisdiction, an activity well-documented in the letters of bishops like Basil of Caesarea and *Augustine of Hippo. The consequences, in an influx of Christian 'converts' using their religion to advance their personal and family interests (some Roman senatorial families were among the worst offenders), were clearly seen by some Christian writers—such as Jerome, who proposed to write a history of the church in which he would show how it had become materially richer and more powerful but poorer in virtue. At the beginning of the 4th cent. Eusebius could offer a Christian triumphalism, in which the conversion of Constantine and the participation in government of pious Christian magistrates were seen as providential and the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy; at the beginning of the 5th, Augustine, having used the imperial power to force Donatist schismatics into the Catholic church, developed in the *City of God* a theory of a mixed earthly society of the virtuous and the wicked, whom only God could separate. As a reading of Ammianus Marcellinus or the Theodosian Code will show, the conversion of Constantine to Christianity did not bring about Heaven on earth, and many a Christian sermon—such as Ambrose on usury—will cause one to doubt whether it brought earth much closer to Heaven. It could indeed be a double-edged weapon, but as an instrument of power it appealed to emperors and churchmen alike.

JFMA

of the Forum valley in the 9th cent. BC; the paving of the area (late 8th/early 7th cent. BC, according to recent research) suggests an early date for Rome's development as a unified community. During the regal period, the city grew to become one of the most substantial centres in the Mediterranean. Projects traditionally associated with the kings include the Regia in the Forum, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the temple of Diana on the Aventine, and the pons Sublicius which replaced the Tiber ford.

The Forum was the centre of civic life in Republican Rome; political, religious, legal, and commercial activities took place in a square which was also surrounded by housing and shops. As the city grew, however, the Palatine became the predominant centre of aristocratic housing, and the shops largely moved to the periphery of the Forum and to the Velabrum, though the Forum itself continued to be a centre of financial activity. Popular housing was concentrated in overcrowded and squalid

areas such as the Subura. As Rome's power in Italy and overseas grew, the Campus Martius (where the *comitia centuriata* (centuriate assembly) met) was increasingly characterized by competitive building, as rival aristocrats sought to impress gods and voters with temples. Similarly, the construction of basilicas around the forum in the 2nd cent. BC provides an indication of aristocratic rivalry, while at the same time their architectural style demonstrates the Hellenization of the public spaces of the city. Meanwhile, *aqueducts were built to provide the city with an adequate water-supply, together with bridges, quays, and newly paved roads. The rise of the dynasts in the 1st cent. BC was likewise reflected in the buildings of the city; *Sulla reconstructed the Curia (senate house) to reflect the increasing authority he granted to the senate; *Pompey built Rome's first permanent stone theatre, together with an impressive portico, on the Campus Martius, while of *Caesar's grandiose schemes, including a plan to divert the Tiber, only the forum Caesaris, Basilica Iulia, and the Saeptra remain, finished by *Augustus.

Most of the surviving monuments of ancient Rome are, however, largely the work of the emperors, whose re-buildings or additions transformed or eclipsed the older monuments. Augustus built a new forum Augustum, decorated with statues of Roman heroes and members of the gens Iulia; his house on the Palatine was associated with the new temple of *Apollo, while many new monuments in the Campus, including the Mausoleum, were erected by him or M. *Agrippa, or by his *virii triumphales*. The combination of Saeptra, Pantheon, and Agrippa's baths rivalled Pompey's theatre and portico for scale and grandeur. The eastern end of the Forum Romanum was remodelled, with the temple of the Divine Iulius a new focal point, but ancient cult buildings were respected and in many cases restored; and the city was divided into fourteen new *regiones*. Tiberius' contributions to the urban landscape were limited, the Castra Praetoria on the outskirts of the Viminal reflecting the growing importance of the praetorians in the city. *Gaius and *Nero, however, both sought to expand the imperial palace beyond Augustus' relatively modest habitation, Gaius developing the corner of the Palatine overlooking the Forum. When Nero's first palace, the Domus Transitoria, was destroyed in the fire of AD 64, he built another, the lavish Domus Aurea (Golden House), on a site which extended from the Palatine to the Esquiline. The effect of these building schemes was to drive the residential quarters off the Palatine to the villas and parks of the Quirinal, Pincian, and Aventine, and to make both emperors highly unpopular with the Roman élite; the Flavians spent much energy in returning the site of the Domus Aurea to the people of Rome, by re-

placing it with the *Colosseum and baths of Titus, and removing many of its treasures to the new temple of Peace, where they were displayed together with spoils taken from Jerusalem. Later, the baths of Trajan were built on the site. Domitian rebuilt the Palatine palace, further extending it to overlook the Circus Maximus; two new fora were built by *Nerva and *Trajan. The centrepiece of the latter was Trajan's Column; the complex also included the 'Markets of Trajan', which deliberately separated the commercial functions of the Forum from the ceremonial. Hadrian sought to establish parallels between his rule and that of Augustus (and thereby legitimate his authority) by erecting a new Mausoleum, and rebuilding the Pantheon and baths of Agrippa in the Campus; his creation of a new temple to Venus and Roma (a deity worshipped in the provinces, but not previously in the city) demonstrated that Rome had now become the capital of an empire, not Italy alone.

Then followed a pause in building activities: the Antonines could afford to live upon the prestige of their predecessors, adding only triumphal monuments and temples of the deified emperors. Later building schemes, apart from repairs, take the form of isolated monumental buildings; particularly significant in their impact were the great *thermae* (see BATHS), which tended to be on the outskirts of the city, near residential areas, *Caracalla picking the low ground outside porta Capena, *Diocletian and *Constantine I choosing the Quirinal. Alexander Severus' *thermae Alexandrinae* were an enlargement of Nero's baths in the Campus. The *basilica* of Maxentius, the noblest experiment in vaulting in the ancient world, was constructed on the Velia. The city had now reached the climax of its development; soon it was to give way to Constantinople as imperial capital. IAR/FC/JRP

Romulus and Remus, mythical founders of Rome. In its normal form (Livy 1. 3. 10 ff.; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 76. 1 ff.; Plut. *Rom.* 3 ff.; more in Bremmer in *Roman Myth and Mythography* (1987), 25 ff., which article is an excellent summary of the whole matter, with relevant literature) the story runs thus. Numitor, king of Alba Longa, had a younger brother Amulius who deposed him. To prevent the rise of avengers he made Numitor's daughter, R(h)ea Silvia, a Vestal Virgin (see VESTA). But she was violated by *Mars himself, and bore twins. Amulius, who had imprisoned her, ordered the infants to be thrown into the Tiber. The river was in flood, and the receptacle in which they had been placed drifted ashore near the Ficus Ruminalis. There a she-wolf (Plut. *Rom.* 4 adds a woodpecker, both being sacred to Mars) tended and suckled them, until they were found by Faustulus the royal herdsman. He and his wife Acca Larentia brought

them up as their own; they increased mightily in strength and boldness, and became leaders of the young men in daring exploits. In one of these Remus was captured and brought before Numitor; Romulus came to the rescue, the relationship was made known, they rose together against Amulius, killed him, and made Numitor king again. The twins then founded a city of their own on the site of Rome, beginning with a settlement on the Palatine; Romulus walled it, and he or his lieutenant Celer killed Remus for leaping over the walls. He offered asylum on the Capitol to all fugitives, and got wives for them by stealing women from the Sabines, whom he invited to a festival. After a successful reign of some 40 years he mysteriously vanished in a storm at Goat's Marsh and became the god Quirinus.

This legend, though probably as old as the late 4th cent. BC in one form or another (the Ogulnii dedicated a statue of the she-wolf with the twins in 206 BC, Livy 10. 23. 12; see further C. Duliere, *Lupa Romana* (1979); F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano: Periodo repubblicano e augusteo* (1985) 89 ff.), cannot be very old nor contain any popular element, unless it be the almost universal one of the exposed children who rise to a great position. The name of Romulus means simply 'Roman', cf. the two forms *Sicanus* and *Siculus*; Remus (who in the Latin tradition replaces the Rhomos of most Greek authors), if not a back-formation from local place-names such as Remurinus ager, Remona (Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 380), is possibly formed from *Roma* by false analogy with such doublets as *Kerkura*, *Corcyra*, where the *o* is short. The origin of the legend of Romulus and Remus has often been debated since the 19th cent. (see C. J. Classen, *Historia* 1963, 447 ff.). The discussion focuses above all on three problems: the antiquity of the myth, its meaning, and the death of Romulus. The majority opinion today is that the legend of the twins already existed by the beginning of the 3rd cent. BC (T. Cornell, *PCPS* 1975, 1 ff.), but some scholars, e.g. J. Bremmer, have no hesitation in dating its origin to the first quarter of the 6th cent., while the comparativists liken it to the Vedic Nāsatya-Ashvin (Dumézil, *ARR* 253 ff.; R. Schilling, *Rites, cultes, dieux de Rome* (1971), 103 ff.) or the creation (B. Lincoln, *HR* 1975–6, 121 ff., and *Priests, Warriors and Cattle* (1981)). Interpretations vary. It is agreed that the myth narrates the foundation of Roman institutions, one version even making Romulus a Greek *ktistēs* (city-founder); but scholars vary in the weight they give to the schemata known from *anthropology (e.g. the bands of youths: Bremmer), the Indo-European concept of twins (Dumézil, Lincoln), or the political realities of the republican period (Cornell, Wiseman, Balsdon). As to the different versions of the death of Romulus (sudden disappearance or murder followed by dismem-

berment), light has yet to penetrate. The assimilation of Romulus to the god Quirinus could go back, like the tradition about his apotheosis, to the 3rd cent. BC (von Ungern-Sternberg, 103 f.). Romulus did not receive cult.

See also HELLENISM.

HJR/JSch

ruler-cult

I. Greek

The essential characteristic of Greek ruler-worship is the rendering, as to a god or hero, of honours to individuals deemed superior to other people because of their achievements, position, or power. The roots of this lie in Greece, though parallels are to be found in other near eastern societies.

In the aristocratic society of the Archaic age, as in the Classical *polis* of the 5th cent., no person could reach a position of such generally acknowledged pre-eminence as to cause the granting of divine honours to be thought appropriate: posthumous heroization, rather than deification, was the honour for city-founders. The first case of divine honours occurred in the confused period at the end of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC), when *Lysander, the most powerful man in the Aegean, received divine cult on *Samos. There are some other, 4th-cent. examples.

Ruler-cult in a developed form first appears during the reign of *Alexander the Great, and is directly inspired by his conquests, personality, and in particular his absolute and undisputed power. Alexander's attempt to force the Greeks and Macedonians in his entourage to adopt the Persian custom of prostration before the king (*proskynēsis*), which for the Persians did not imply worship, was an isolated and unsuccessful experiment without consequence. Much more important is his encounter with the priest of Ammon at Siwa (Egypt's Western Desert) in 331 BC. The priest seemingly addressed Alexander as the son of Amon-Ra, the traditional salutation due to any Pharaoh of Egypt, but the prestige which the oracle of Ammon then enjoyed throughout the Greek world had a decisive effect, not only on the Greeks, but also and in particular on the romantic imagination of the young king himself. It is probably the progressive development of these emotions which caused Alexander in 324, when he ordered the restoration of political exiles, to apply pressure on the Greek cities to offer him divine cult; some cities certainly responded, though contemporary evidence remains thin. Alexander also secured heroic honours for his dead intimate Hephaestion, as official recognition of his outstanding achievements.

The cults of Alexander's Successors (Diadochi) are found in various different contexts. The principal context

was that of the Greek cities dependent on particular kings, both ancient cities and those founded by the king himself. The cities acknowledged benefactions received from a king by the establishment of a cult, with temple or altar, priest, sacrifices, and games, modelled on that granted to the Olympian gods (*isotheoi timai*). Rulers were also honoured by having their statues placed in an already existing temple. The king was thought to share the temple with the god (as *sunnaos theos*, 'temple-sharing god'), and thus to partake in the honours rendered to the deity and, on occasion, in the deity's qualities.

The other main context was that of the court itself. The Greek monarchies of the east in time created their own official cults. The dynastic cult of the Ptolemies at *Alexandria (a cult founded by 285/4) in its developed form by the end of the 3rd cent. BC consisted of priests of Alexander, of each pair of deceased rulers, and of the reigning king and queen. In 280 Antiochus I deified his dead father *Seleucus I and dedicated to him a temple and precinct at Seleuceia in Pieria in *Syria; *Antiochus III extended a court cult throughout his newly reconquered Seleucid empire, with high priests of the living king and his divine ancestors in each province of the empire. In the later dynastic cult of the Attalids (see PERGAMUM) the kings were deified only after death.

Cults are also found outside strictly Greek contexts. In Commagene (SE Asia Minor) a complex cult, organized by the Commagenian king Antiochus I (1st cent. BC; see NEMRUT DAG) round different cult centres, was a blend of Greek and Persian traditions. In Egyptian temples cult of the Ptolemies continued on the model of Pharaonic practice. Incorporation of Greek practice might, however, be controversial: the erection of a statue of the Seleucid Antiochus IV in the Temple at Jerusalem stimulated the writing of the Book of Daniel, with its attack on Nebuchadnezzar's demand for worship, and was one factor that provoked the Maccabean Revolt (see MACCABEES).

Even within Greek contexts, at the outset there were debates about the propriety of divine honours for human beings, though the cults gradually became an accepted practice. That it became accepted does not prove it was essentially a political and not a religious phenomenon: to press the distinction is to deny significance to the creation of a symbolic system calqued on the cult of the gods. Those responsible for the cults, whether at court or in cities, were attempting to articulate an understanding of the power of the king.

CFE/SRFP

II. Roman

The offering of divine honours to humans was not indigenous to Italy. The Romans had long sacrificed to the ghosts of the dead (*manes*) and conceived of a

semi-independent spirit (*genius*) attached to living people. But the myth of a deified founder, *Romulus, may have been invented only in or after the 4th cent. BC, under Greek influence, and developed in the new political circumstances of the late Republic. From the time of Marcus Claudius Marcellus' conquest of *Syracuse in 212 BC, Roman officials received divine honours in Greek cities; a notable instance is the 'liberator' of Greece, *Flaminius (c.191 BC), whose cult survived into the imperial period. At Rome such honours are met only from the late 2nd cent. BC, and then exceptionally, e.g. those offered privately to *Marius (101 BC) and popularly to the demagogue Marius Gratidianus (86 BC). Under Stoic influence (see STOICISM) the idea that worthy individuals might become divine after death appeared in *Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (c.51 BC) and in the shrine he planned for his daughter Tullia (d. 45 BC). Though the evidence is controversial, *Caesar as dictator in 45–44 BC probably received divine honours, based on Roman models (cults of *Alexander the Great and Hellenistic kings took different forms). After his assassination the triumvirs, supported by popular agitation, secured from the senate his formal deification in 42 BC as Divus Iulius.

Worship of emperors and members of their families has two aspects, the worship of the living, including identification with the gods, and the apotheosis of the dead. It took different forms in different contexts: Rome; provincial assemblies; towns; and in private. At Rome *Augustus and later 'good' emperors avoided official deification in their lifetimes; *Gaius (Caligula) and *Commodus were exceptional in seeking to emphasize their own divinity. Augustus was *divi filius* (son of the deified one), and enjoyed a mediating role with the divine, as implied by his name, and as a result of becoming *pontifex maximus* (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)) in 12 BC. He also in 7 BC reorganized the cults of the 265 wards (*vici*) of the city: henceforth the officials of the wards, mainly *freedmen, worshipped the Augustan Lares and the *genius* of Augustus. The worship appropriate for a household was now performed throughout the city. Poets played with the association of Augustus with the gods, and assumed that he would be deified posthumously. In AD 14 Augustus' funeral managed both to evoke, on a grand scale, traditional aristocratic funerals and to permit his formal deification by the senate; it was the precedent for all subsequent emperors up to *Constantine I. After *Livia in AD 41, imperial relatives, male and female, could also be deified posthumously. After Constantine's avowal of *Christianity, it became increasingly difficult for traditional practices to continue: Christ alone had combined human and divine, and the prevalent doctrine, formulated by *Eusebius, was that the emperor ruled by divine favour.

In the Greek east provincial assemblies (*koina*) were permitted to establish cults of Roma and Augustus: the precedent was set in Asia (*see ASIA, ROMAN PROVINCE*) at *Pergamum and in Bithynia at Nicomedia in 29 BC. In 'civilized' western provinces provincial assemblies (*concilia*) followed the Roman model, on the precedent of Hispania Tarraconensis which was granted permission to establish a temple and a priest (*flamen: see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)*) to Divus Augustus at Tarraco in AD 15. Assemblies in more recently conquered western provinces had cults of the living Augustus and Roma (Three Gauls at Lugdunum (Lyons), 12 BC; Germany near Cologne (Colonia Agrippinensis), 8–7 BC?); these centred on altars, not temples, and had *sacerdotes* not *flamines* (the title indicating that they were not Roman priesthoods).

Below the provincial level different forms of cult are found, depending in part on local traditions. In the (non-Greek) Egyptian temples Augustus and other emperors were accorded the position of high priest, like the Ptolemies and the Pharaohs before them. In Greek contexts, in Egypt and the rest of the Greek east, emperors were generally accommodated within the context of the ordinary cult of the Olympian gods (*see RELIGION, GREEK*). In cities throughout the east living emperors were granted temples and cult statues, priests and processions, sacrifices and games. At first the cult focused specifically on Augustus, and then often became a general cult of the emperors. Though some cults of Hellenistic kings did survive through to Roman times, the imperial cult was more varied and more dynamic than Hellenistic cults had been. Towns in Italy and the west also established cults of the living Augustus (not his *genius*) and his successors; some, especially *coloniae*, chose to follow the Roman model.

Private households in Rome and elsewhere included associations of worshippers of Augustus (*Tac. Ann.* 1. 73), who will mainly have been the slaves and freedmen of the house. *Ovid in exile makes great play of his piety in praying at dawn each day before his household shrine with images of Augustus, Livia, *Tiberius, *Germanicus, and Drusus (*Pont.* 4. 9). In Italy and the west there were also the Augustales, a high-ranking status for Roman freedmen, whose officials are sometimes associated with the imperial cult.

The significance of the imperial cult has been much debated. Was it a form of *Graeca adulatio* (*Tac. Ann.* 6. 18: divine honours to a human as Greek adulation), a system that was really political and not religious? On the other side it has been argued that to impose a distinction between religion and politics is anachronistic and Christianizing, and that it is illegitimate to undercut the implicit meanings of the rituals by claims about insincerity and flattery. The way forward is to investigate the different ritual systems that honoured the emperor in their different social and cultural contexts. As the cult was in general not imposed from above, it is essential to examine the contexts from which it sprang and which gave it meaning. There is a profound difference between a Greek city with its stable Olympian pantheon within which the emperor was accommodated and a town in Gaul whose pre-Roman pantheon was restructured on Roman models before the emperor found a place in it. Focus on actual divinization of the emperor is also too narrow. There was a whole range of religious honours, only some of which placed the emperor unambiguously among the gods. In some sense there was no such thing as 'the imperial cult'. *See CHRISTIANITY.* MH/SRFP



S

Sabbath The practice of resting from secular work every seventh day was widely recognized in the ancient world as a peculiarity of the Jews, for whom it was grounded in a divine instruction (Exod. 20:8–11). By the Hellenistic period, the Sabbath had also become for Jews the main day for assembly in *synagogues for instruction in the Torah. Greek and Roman writers frequently misunderstood the practice and ridiculed what they saw as superstition or idleness, especially when Jews refused to fight on the Sabbath. Josephus claimed that in his day there was no city or nation to which the Jewish custom of abstaining from work on the seventh day had not spread (*Ap* 2.282), but such adoption of the practice may have occurred without reference to Jews or Judaism. MDG

sacred laws The category ‘sacred laws’ is one within which modern scholarship on Greek religion assembles inscriptions which in various ways regulate the conduct of cult. Many have a broadly policing function: fines or other punishments are imposed for the cutting of wood or pasturing of animals or lighting of fires within a sanctuary, or disorderly conduct at a festival. Some deal with other aspects of sanctuary management such as the positioning and care of votive offerings. Some prescribe the ritual activities such as processions or sacrifices to be conducted at new or reorganized festivals; the financing of cult is often a concern. Many define the duties and perquisites of priests and priestesses. A distinctive sub-class is the ‘sale of priesthood’ text, from those parts of the east Greek world where some priesthoods were so allocated; each time a sale was to occur, a job description was published which functioned as a cross between advertisement and contract. Calendars listing month by month the sacrifices to be offered by a particular city or sub-group within one are also conventionally included among sacred laws. Legally all the classes mentioned so far are decrees of the civic body concerned and have the force of law. But other so-called sacred laws have a more advisory function: they lay down the largely unenforceable rules of purity to be ob-

served by visitors to sanctuaries, or by priests, or draw attention to small particularities of sacrificial practice in the cult concerned. Such regulations probably normally derived from ritual experts such as exegetes, and violations of them were punished by gods, not men. But these two broad classes of sacred law are not absolutely distinct: regulations on the conduct of funerals, for instance, blend advisory and enforceable elements.

What sacred laws are not is a do-it-yourself guide to the conduct of ritual. Those of the policing type are only incidentally concerned with ritual at all; those that advise about ritual assume a broad familiarity with the mechanics and pick out unusual features. The rare exceptions where a ritual is spelt out in detail seem to be products of innovation and a consequent need to be explicit: a uniquely detailed calendar from Cos, for instance, dates from shortly after an event which will have required a re-writing of the island’s sacred calendar, the *synoecism of 366 BC (*RO* 62).

The Greeks sometimes spoke of ‘sacred laws’, and a few of those which appear in modern collections apply the term to themselves. But the modern class, as we have seen, contains disparate elements, and it is not clear that modern usage tracks ancient at all closely (nor that ancient usage was any more rigorous than modern). RCTP

sacrifice, Greek Sacrifice was the most important form of action in Greek religion (*see* RELIGION, GREEK), but we should note at once that there is no single Greek equivalent to the English word ‘sacrifice’. The practices we bring together under this heading were described by a series of overlapping terms conveying ideas such as ‘killing’, ‘destroying’, ‘burning’, ‘cutting’, ‘consecrating’, ‘performing sacred acts’, ‘giving’, ‘presenting’, but not at all the idea present in ‘it was a great sacrifice for him’. As occasions for sacrifice Theophrastus distinguished ‘honour, gratitude, and need’ (in Porphyry, *Abst.* 2. 24), but his categories do not correspond to fixed types, and in fact the rite could be performed on almost any occasion.

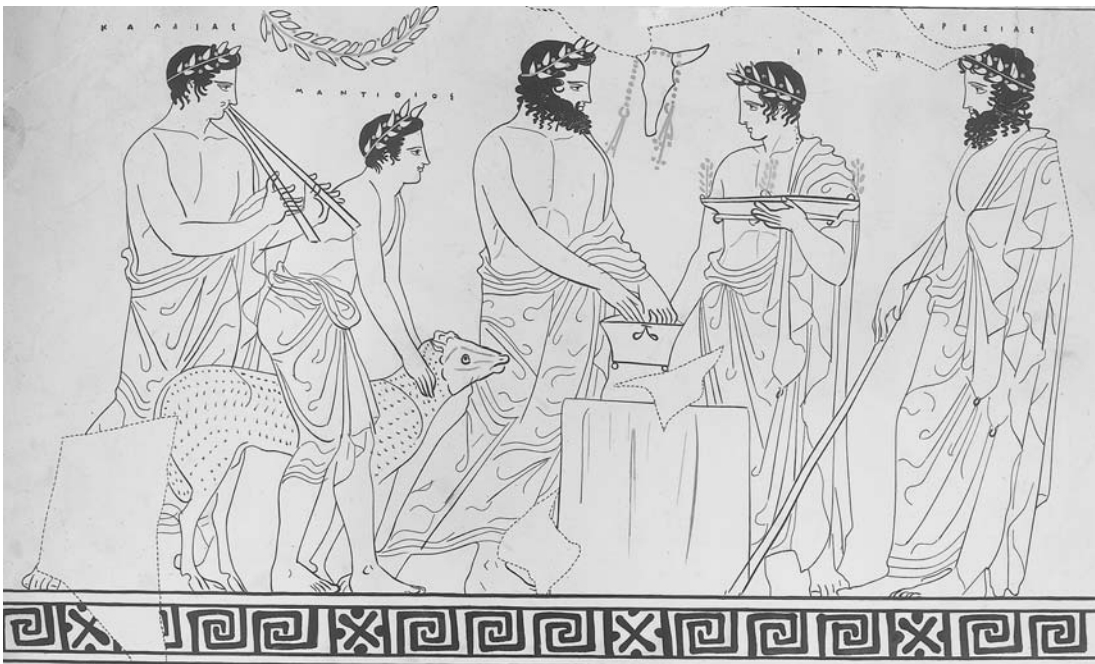
Vegetable products, savoury *cakes above all, were occasionally 'sacrificed' (the same vocabulary is used as for animal sacrifice) in lieu of animals or, much more commonly, in addition to them. But animal sacrifice was the standard type. The main species used were sheep, goats, pigs, and cattle. In a few cults fish and fowl were offered, wild animals still more rarely; dogs and horses appear in a few sacrifices of special type that were not followed by a feast. Human sacrifice occurred only in myth and scandalous story. The choice between the main species was largely a matter of cost and scale, a piglet costing about 3 drachmae, a sheep or goat 12, a pig 20 or more, a cow up to 80. Within the species symbolic factors were sometimes also relevant: the virgins *Athena and *Artemis might require unbroken cattle, fertile Earth a pregnant sow.

The most important step-by-step accounts of a standard sacrifice are a series of Homeric scenes, of which the fullest is *Od.* 3. 430–63; *Eur. El.* 774–843; and *Ar. Birds* 938 ff. Attic practice differs or may have done from Homeric in several significant details, but the basic articulations of the rite are the same in all sources. Vase-paintings and votive reliefs provide extremely important supplementary evidence, though by their nature they very rarely depict the full succession of actions as a sequence. Three main stages can be distinguished:

1. Preparatory. An animal was led to the altar, usually in procession. The participants assembled in a circle, rinsed their hands in lustral water, and took a handful of barley grain from a basket. Water was sprinkled on the victim to force it to 'nod' agreement to its own sacrifice. The main sacrificer (not necessarily a priest) then cut hair from the victim, put it on the altar fire, and uttered a *prayer which defined the return that was desired (e.g. 'health and safety') for the offering. The other participants threw forwards their barley grains.

2. The kill. The victim's throat was cut with a knife; larger victims had been stunned with a blow from an axe first. Women participants raised the cry known as *ololygē*. In Attic practice it was important to 'bloody the altar'; small animals were held over it to be killed, the blood from larger ones was caught in a bowl and poured out over it.

3. Treatment of the meat, which itself had three stages. First the god's portion, typically the thigh bones wrapped in fat with (in Homer) small portions of meat cut 'from all the limbs' set on top, was burnt on the altar fire. *Wine was poured on as it burnt. (Further portions for the gods were sometimes put on a table or even on the knees or in the hands of their statues; in practice, these became priests' perquisites.) Then the entrails were roasted on



sacrifice, Greek A sacrificial scene from an Athenian pottery bowl (c.400 BC). The moment shown is preparatory. While a participant calms the victim, the priest is about to sprinkle water on the sheep to force a 'nod' of assent. The Kleophon Painter or his circle. Mixing bowl (bell krater), ceramic, Red Figure. Height: 42.3 cm (16 5/8 in.); diameter: 47 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catharine Page Perkins Fund, 95.25. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

skewers and shared among all the participants. Finally the rest of the meat was boiled and distributed (normally in equal portions); in contrast to the entrails, this boiled meat was occasionally taken away for consumption at home, though a communal feast on the spot was the norm. Omens were often taken both from the burning of the god's portion and from the condition of the entrails.

A distinction is drawn in Herodotus (2. 44) between sacrifice to the gods, *thuein*, and to heroes, *enagizein*. It used to be common to draw a contrast between the normal Olympian sacrifice outlined and a 'chthonian' ('earthly') type which supposedly diverged from the other systematically: the victim would be dark, not light; it would be killed with its head pressed down into a low pit or hearth, not drawn back over a high altar; the accompanying libations would be 'wineless'; and, above all, the animal's flesh would not be eaten. But it is now clear that these divergences from the standard type more often occurred individually than as a group, and also that they might be present in 'Olympian' sacrifice, absent (largely or wholly) from sacrifice to chthonian gods or heroes.

There were also certain 'quasi-sacrifices' which contained several of the actions listed above and could be described by some, though not all, of the group of words that denote sacrifice. The killing of animals to ratify an oath, for instance, followed many of the stages mentioned under 1 and 2 above; stage 3, however, was omitted entirely, the carcass being carried away or thrown into the sea (cf. Hom. *Il.* 3. 245–313, 19. 250–68). And similar quasi-sacrificial ritual killings occurred in certain purifications and before battle.

Explicit early reflection on sacrifice is sparse. (But see *too ANIMALS, ATTITUDES TO.*) The division whereby men received most of the meat was explained by a trick played on *Zeus by the man-loving god Prometheus at the time of the first sacrifice (Hes. *Theog.* 535–61). The rite of Bouphonia (part of the Attic festival Dipolieia) raised the issue of the institution's moral legitimacy: an ox sacrifice was followed by a 'trial' at which guilt for the killing was eventually fixed on the sacrificial axe or knife. *Plato's Euthyphro no doubt echoes popular usage in describing sacrifice as a form of 'gift' to the gods (*Euthyphro* 14c).

Until recently, interpretations were largely divided between those which saw sacrifice (perhaps with reference to its hypothetical origins among prehistoric hunters) as a dramatization of killing, violence, and the associated guilt, and those for which it was a way of legitimizing meat-eating by treating the taking of life that necessarily precedes it as a ritual, i.e. a licensed act: the former approach stresses that rituals such as the Bouphonia raise the issue of sacrificial guilt, the latter that they resolve it. Sacrifice is normally killing followed by eating, but where

does the emphasis lie? In the vast majority of cases, clearly, on the eating; but all the uneaten sacrifices and quasi-sacrifices have to be set aside if the institution is to be understood by reference to the communal feast alone. Recently it has been questioned whether 'sacrificial guilt' and the legitimacy of killing were important issues in the Greek experience of sacrifice at all. RCTP

sacrifice, Roman Roman sacrificial practices were not functionally different from Greek, although there are no sources for them earlier than the 2nd cent. BC, and the *modalités* of Roman sacrifice were complex, since several rites existed (Roman, Greek, and Etruscan). In any case, as in the Greek world, sacrifice was a central act of religion. The expression *rem divinam facere*, 'to make a thing sacred', often abridged to *facere* ('to sacrifice'), and the etymology of the words designating sacrificial activity, *sacrificare*, *sacrificium* (*sacrum facere*, 'to perform a religious ceremony'), show the importance of these acts and signal that sacrifice was an act of transfer of ownership. On its own or part of larger celebrations, the typical sacrifice embraced four phases: the *praefatio*, the *immolatio*, the slaughtering, and the banquet.

1. After the purification of the participants and of the victims (always domestic animals) chosen in accordance with the divinity's function and the context, a procession led them to the altar of the divinity. There the presiding figure celebrated the *praefatio* ('preface') on a portable hearth (*focus*, *foculus*) set up beside the sacrificial altar (*ara*). This rite consisted of offering incense and *wine, and, according to the ancient commentators, was the equivalent of a solemn salutation affirming the superiority of the gods. At the same time this rite opened a ritual space and announced what was to follow.

2. The second stage of the sacrifice was the *immolatio*. The presiding figure poured wine on the victim's brow, sprinkled its back with salted flour (*mola salsa*, whence *immolare*), doubtless prepared by the *Vestals, and finally passed a sacrificial knife over the victim's spine. According to ancient commentators and the *prayer spoken during this rite, immolation transferred the victim from human possession into the divine.

3. Once this transfer was effected, the sacrificers (*popae*, *victimarii*; cf. Gk. *mageiroi*) felled the victim, butchered it, and opened the corpse, now on its back. The presiding figure then performed the *extispicina*, the inspection of the *exta* (vital organs: the peritoneum, liver, gall bladder, lungs, and, from the beginning of the 3rd cent. BC (Plin. *HN* 11. 186), the heart), to decide if they were in the good shape which would signal the deity's acceptance (*litatio*) of the sacrifice. If the victim was unacceptable, the sacrifice had to begin again.



sacrifice, Roman A Roman marble relief of the 1st cent. AD depicts the special type of sacrifice (*suovetaurilia*) concluding the Roman ritual of purification and averting evil known as *lustratio*. In the republic this ceremony—denoting a new beginning—concluded the taking of the census of Roman citizens and marked the arrival of a new army-commander. © RMN-Grand Palais (Louvre Museum) / Hervé Lewandowski

4. The banquet comprised two phases. Once acceptance was obtained, the sacrificers beheaded the victim, set aside the *exta*, and prepared them for offering: the *exta* of bovines were boiled in cooking pots (*ollae extares*), those of ovines and the pig-family were grilled on spits. This cooking done, the *exta* were offered to the divinity (*porricere; pollucere* for Hercules), i.e. burnt, basted with *mola salsa* and wine, sometimes along with pieces of meat designated on the victim in advance (*magmentum*). This was done on the altar if celestial divinities were in question; offerings to aquatic deities were thrown into the water, those for epichthonic or chthonic divinities were placed on the ground or in ditches. Offerings for the *di manes* (spirits of the dead) were made on a pyre itself resting on the ground (*ILS* 139, 16 ff.; *CIL* 11. 5047). When the offering to the deity had been consumed, the rest of the victim was seized (*profanare*) by the presiding figure, no doubt by imposition of the hand, and thus rendered fit for human consumption. In principle all sacrifices, except those addressed to divinities of the Underworld, were followed by a sacrificial banquet (*cena, visceratio*). But the procedures at these banquets are ill-understood, because of both the complexity of communal banquets in Rome's strongly hierarchical society, and the enormous numbers having the right to take part (e.g. the citizens). Sometimes the banquet was celebrated (doubtless on behalf of all) by just the immediate participants and their helpers, along with those possessing privileges in a particular sanctuary (e.g. the flute-players at the temple of Jupiter); sometimes the banquet united the chief sections of society (e.g. the Roman élite for the epulum

Jovis); sometimes the meat was sold in butchers' shops (i.e. it was accessible to all); sometimes, finally, it was eaten at great communal banquets, ultimately financed by benefactors. At the *ara maxima* of Hercules, sacrificial meat had to be eaten or burnt before nightfall, a requirement giving rise to a very generous form of sacrificial banquet even if the cult's foundation-myth barred one of the families in charge of the cult, the Pinarii, from taking part.

In public sacrifices conducted in accordance with Greek ritual (*Graeco ritu*), the details of which are very poorly known, the conduct of the presiding figure was different. While in the Roman rite he wore the *toga praetexta, draped in such a way as to allow a flap of cloth to cover the head, in the Greek ritual he sometimes removed the praetexta before proceeding with the *immolatio*, and for the rest of the proceedings; he certainly sacrificed with head uncovered, sometimes wearing a laurel-wreath. The commentators on the Secular Games show that sacrifice according to the Greek rite was not different functionally from the Roman rite. Only the *immolatio* differed, since the presiding figure burnt hairs cut from the animal's brow and offered crowns, and in addition the *exta* were called *splanchna* (G. Pighi, *De ludis saecularibus* (1965), 154 f.); but it is not known whether the rules for the division of the victims differed from the 'Roman' ones. At any rate, Roman sacrifices according to the 'Greek ritual' were much more complicated than has been thought, although the state of the sources prevents a full understanding of them. Of sacrifices according to

Etruscan ritual we know even less, save that the inspection of the *exta* (*haruspicio*) permitted divination. Even if they had no special name, the sacrificial rituals of certain cults of the imperial age differed from traditional sacrifices, at least to judge from the evidence of imagery. If we are to believe the sources, the *taurobolium* (or *criobolium*) in some way reproduced the myth of Attis (the youthful consort of *Cybele), by creating a central role for blood and for the setting aside of the testicles of the sacrificial victim. Of Mithraic sacrifice, represented on numerous altars of *Mithras, too little is known for comparison with traditional Roman sacrifice. All that can be said is that Mithraic imagery emphasizes violence where representations of traditional sacrifice underline calm.

Communal sacrifices were celebrated by those who exercised power in the community in question: the *paterfamilias* (male head of the family), magistrates and *priests, and the presidents (*magistri*) of clubs. In spite of a few exceptions, women could not sacrifice on behalf of the whole community. Many sacrifices were part of much larger celebrations, and in certain cases the sacrifices themselves were celebrated in more spectacular fashion (e.g. at the *lectisternium*, the ritual feeding of the gods). There were innumerable occasions for sacrifice, including regular acts of homage shaped by sacred calendars and the ritual obligations of the city and its constituent associations, thanks-offerings and contractual sacrifices in payment of (*vota*, vows). Faults and involuntary oversights committed in the celebration of the cult, or the involuntary deterioration of the patrimony of the gods, were expiated by *piacula*, sacrifices the purpose of which was to present excuses for past or imminent action (e.g. maintenance works in a sanctuary).

By way of a global view of what traditional Roman sacrifice articulated and realized, it can be understood as establishing—with the help of a solemn sharing of food—a hierarchy between three partners: gods, humans, and animals. To the gods was assured absolute priority in the course of a symbolic feast, during which they shared with humans an animal victim or a vegetable-offering. The different Roman myths which commented on sacrificial practices—those concerning the *instauratio* (repetition of a religious ceremony) of the cult of the Ara Maxima, the two groups of Luperci, and the Vinalia, as well as those revealing the origin of sacrifice (*Ov. Met.* 15. 60 ff.; *Fast.* 1. 335 ff.)—all insist on the fact that, by the privilege of priority, essential in Roman society, and the quality of the offerings (the *exta*, seat of the animal's vitality, the incense and the pure wine, all reserved for the immortals), sacrifice fixed the superiority and immortality of the gods, along with the mortal condition and the pious submission of their human

partners, at the expense of the animal victims. At the same time the sacrificial rite was capable of expressing, by the right to take part in the banquet and by the privilege of priority, the hierarchy among mortals. jsch

Sadducees, a religious group within Judaism attested in Judaea from the 2nd cent. BC to the 1st cent. AD. The Sadducees are described by *Josephus and are mentioned in the New Testament and in rabbinic texts, usually as opponents of the Pharisees in matters concerning law or theology. According to the generally unfavourable picture given by Josephus, their distinctive tenets consisted in a refusal to accept the unwritten religious traditions championed by the Pharisees, an unwillingness to ascribe human fortunes to the operations of fate, and unwillingness to accept the notion of life after death. Josephus also accused them of harshness in judgement and claimed that they had little influence over the people.

Josephus stated that Sadducee beliefs were attractive to the rich and prestigious in Judaeian society. This assertion, together with the evidence of Acts 5: 17 and the probable derivation of the name 'Sadducees' from Zadok, the ancestor of the high priests in earlier times, has led many scholars to identify the Sadducees with the ruling priests in Jerusalem. Some overlap between these groups is certain, but some influential priests (including high priests) were not Sadducees, and there is no reason to doubt that some Sadducees were not priests.

Some of the legal views ascribed to Sadducees in early rabbinic texts have been paralleled in sectarian writings found among the *Dead Sea Scrolls, but the view that the Qumran sectarians should be classified as a type of Sadducee is not widely held. See RELIGION, JEWISH. MDG

Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus), Roman historian, probably 86–35 BC. A Sabine from Amiternum, he probably derived from the municipal aristocracy. The earliest certain information of his career concerns his tribunate in 52 (see TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS), when he acted against *Cicero and Titus Annius Milo (*Asc. Mil.* 37, 45, 49, 51 C). He was expelled from the senate in 50; the anonymous *Invectio in Sallustium* 16 alleges immorality, but the real grounds were probably his actions in 52. He now joined *Caesar, commanding a legion in 49. As praetor in 46 he took part in the African campaign, and was appointed the first governor of Africa Nova. On his return to Rome he was charged with malpractice, allegedly escaping only on Caesar's intervention (*Cass. Dio* 43. 9. 2, *Inv. in Sall.* 19). With no immediate prospect of advancement, Sallust withdrew from public life—the proems of both *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Iugurthinum* defend that decision—and turned to historiography.

In his first two works he avoided the usual annalistic presentation, preferring the monograph form introduced to Rome by Coelius Antipater. The first, the *Bellum Catilinae* (c.42/1 BC), treats the conspiracy of *Catiline, 'especially memorable for the unprecedented quality of the crime and the danger' (*Cat.* 4. 4). This is set against, and illustrates, the political and moral decline of Rome, begun after the fall of *Carthage, quickening after *Sulla's dictatorship, and spreading from the dissolute nobility to infect all Roman politics (*Cat.* 6–14, 36–9). There are no doubts about the guilt of the 'conspirators', and Sallust so far accepts the assessment of Cicero, who must have been one of his principal sources (supplemented by oral testimony, *Cat.* 48. 9). But Cicero himself is less prominent than might be expected; the heroes are Caesar and *Cato the Younger, the two examples of *virtus* ('excellence') which stand out from the moral gloom of their day (53–4), and their speeches in the final debate are presented at a length which risks unbalancing the whole (51–2). Sallust's even-handedness between the two men would have struck contemporaries familiar with the fiercely polarized propaganda since Cato's death.

The second monograph, the more ambitious and assured *Bellum Jugurthinum* (c.41–40 BC), again emphasizes moral decline. The Jugurthian War is chosen 'both because it was great, bloody, and of shifting fortunes, and because it represented the first challenge to the arrogance of the nobility' (*Jug.* 5. 1): a strange judgement, but one which reflects the work's interest in the interrelation of domestic strife and external warfare. The military narrative is patchy and selective. Politics are presented simply but vigorously, with decline again spreading from the venal nobility. This decline is presented more dynamically than in *Cat.*, as several individuals fail to live up to promising beginnings: Jugurtha himself, *Marius, Sulla, and even Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, who comes closest to being a hero. Speeches and especially digressions divide the work into distinct panels, and implied comparisons—Gaius Memmius and Marius, Metellus and Marius, Marius and Sulla—further plot the changes in political and military style. For sources Sallust perhaps used a general history and the autobiographies of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, Publius Rutilius Rufus, and Sulla; some geographical notions, but not much more, may derive from Posidonius. Little seems owed to the 'Punic books' mentioned at 17. 7.

Sallust's last work, the *Histories*, was annalistic. It covered events from 78, perhaps continuing Sisenna, though it included a retrospect of earlier events. The last datable fragment, from book 5, concerns the year 67, hardly his chosen terminus. Speeches and letters survive entire, though the other fragments are scrappy. He again

emphasized the decline of the state after Sulla, and was not generous to Pompey.

The 'Invective against Cicero' ascribed to Sallust in the manuscripts and cited as genuine by the rhetorician Quintilian (4. 1. 68, 9. 3. 89) is not appropriate to Sallust in 54 (its ostensible date); its author was probably an Augustan rhetorician. The authenticity question is more difficult with the two 'Letters to the elderly Caesar', purportedly of 46 (or 48) and c.50 BC, but they too are most likely later works, probably *suasoriae* (declamations) of the early empire.

Sallust's leading theme is decline, and recent studies have shown some subtlety in his treatment of morality; his characters also have vigour, even if they seldom convince. The interpretation of Roman politics is often crude; but if the *nobiles* (élite of senators descended from consuls) come in for most criticism, this is because they set the pattern; their more popular opponents were no better. The choice of the monograph form was enterprising, and the use of particular episodes to illuminate a general theme is deft; he shows an increasing grasp of structure; the rhetoric, especially in speeches and letters, has concentration and verve; and the man has style. The influence of *Thucydides is pervasive, though he cannot match his model's intellectual depth. Many stylistic features are also owed to the Roman tradition, particularly *Cato the Elder. The characteristics are noted by ancient writers (*testimonia* in Kurfess edn., pp. xxviff.): archaisms, 'truncated epigrams, words coming before expected, obscure brevity' (*Sen. Ep.* 114. 17), *recherché* vocabulary, rapidity. He won many admirers in later antiquity and was the greatest single influence on *Tacitus. CBRP

Samaritans were the inhabitants of Samaria, who saw themselves as the direct descendants of the northern Israelite tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, left behind by the Assyrians in 722 BC. But Jewish accounts claim they were brought in by the Assyrians. Their cult on Mt. Gerizim, while similar to Judaism, developed separately. According to Ezra, they opposed the building of the Jewish Temple and the walls of Jerusalem after the return from Babylon. They contributed troops to *Alexander the Great's Egyptian campaign, but he destroyed their city when they revolted against his governor. They then fled to Shechem, which became their chief religious centre. It was rededicated to Zeus Xenios under Antiochus IV, and destroyed by the Jewish king John Hyrcanus in 107 BC. In the New Testament, Samaritans are among the early recipients of the gospel. Continuing violence between them and Galilean Jews was the cause of Pontius Pilate's recall. In AD 67 Vespasian massacred large numbers at

Mount Gerizim to forestall revolt. Subsequently, Hadrian constructed a large temple to Zeus Hypsistos there. An identifiably Samaritan *synagogue on *Delos attests to a Samaritan diaspora. They have maintained their separate identity until now. Their Pentateuch is an important early textual witness. TR

Samos (see ◀Map 1, Dc▶), an important *polis on the large Aegean island of the same name (476 sq. km.), only 1.8 km. from Asia Minor. Though western Samos is dominated by Mt. Kerkis (1, 433 m.; ancient Cerceteus) and the centre by Mt. Karvounis (1, 153 m.)—whose ancient name (Ampelus) implies viticulture—Samos has arable slopes and coastal plains, and was considered fertile. Wheat was grown in the *peraea* (mainland territory) in Asia Minor, possibly by a serf population. Exports included olive oil and Samian Earth (a clay used in fulling); Samian transport amphorae (enclosed jars) are a distinct type.

The city was in the south-eastern lowlands, at modern Pythagorio (or Tigani); 8 km. to the west along a sacred road, at the site of a bronze age cult, lay the Heraion or sanctuary of Hera, the city's patron goddess. Both sites have Mycenaean remains. Samos was reputedly Carian (from SW Asia Minor) before Ionian Greeks arrived, perhaps in the 10th cent.; Classical Samians spoke a local version of Ionic Greek. The first Hera temple (early 8th cent.) was one of the earliest stone temples in Greece, receiving lavish dedications as an emerging élite developed overseas contacts. Samians colonized Cilicia (SE Asia Minor), the Propontis (mod. sea of Marmara), and the Black (Euxine) Sea, helped found *Cyrene, and built a temple at Naucratis (see COLONIZATION, GREEK).

Detailed history is lacking before the tyranny of Polycrates (c.550–522). His warships dominated nearby islands and towns, and his court was frequented by artists and poets (including Ibycus and *Anacreon). Refugees from the tyranny included the philosopher *Pythagoras, who settled in Italy; others founded Dicaearchia (mod. Pozzuoli). Polycrates probably commissioned the three constructions mentioned by *Herodotus (3. 60), all of them still extant: a long harbour mole, the resplendent fortification walls, and a tunnel over 1 km. long, driven through the acropolis by Eupalinus of Megara to bring piped water into the city (see AQUEDUCTS). A new Hera temple begun earlier by the artist Rhoecus had proved unstable: its replacement, by Theodorus, probably dates to Polycrates' reign (like the colossal *kouros*, or nude male statue, recently found there). Though never finished, it was the largest Greek temple known to Herodotus.

The Persians killed Polycrates and installed tyrants friendly to themselves. Many Samian captains deserted

the Ionians at Lade. Prominent in the *Delian League, Samos contributed ships until its revolt in 440, which took *Pericles eight months to suppress. Cleruchs (citizen colonists) were installed, and the ruling élite remained pro-Athenian in the Peloponnesian War (431–404). For a time Samians shared Athens' radical democracy: in 405 they even received Athenian citizenship. After the war *Lysander installed a decarchy and received divine honours. After the fall of his regime Samos was generally pro-Athenian until the satrap Mausolus of Caria renewed Persian domination. In 365 the Athenians again cleruchized the island, allegedly expelling the entire population. Liberated by *Alexander the Great's 'Exiles' Decree', Samos was disputed between the Successors (Diadochi); the historian Duris became tyrant of his own city. From 281 it was a Ptolemaic base; after being attacked by Philip V it came under Rhodian hegemony (see RHODES), confirmed by Rome in 188.

In the period after Alexander, power once more lay with a landed élite. They redesigned the town and built fine houses; the Heraion saw its first major additions since Polycrates. Samos suffered occasional wheat shortages, but continued to exploit the *peraea* as well as Corsiae (the nearby Phoúrnoi islets), Icaros, and Amorgos. Exports to *Alexandria, documented on papyri, were perhaps aimed at Greeks: Samian émigrés there were numerous and included intellectuals such as Aristarchus, Asclepiades, and Conon the mathematician.

In 129 Samos became part of the Roman province of Asia (see ASIA, ROMAN PROVINCE); élite contacts with Rome were cultivated. The Heraion suffered at Verres' hands; his prosecutor *Cicero was later honoured in Samos. Octavian turned down a request for tribute remission, but as *Augustus he declared Samos free. Though *Vespasian reduced the island's privileges, its prosperity increased in Roman times, to judge by the new public buildings (including a bath complex, gymnasium, and basilicas) and the expansion of rural settlement into the west. DGJS

sanctuaries Sanctuaries in the Greek world were areas set aside for religious purposes and separate from the normal secular world. The boundary (*peribolos*) might be an actual wall, but more often would be indicated by boundary markers. Traditional Greek and Roman worship was not restricted to initiates (except for the *mysteries at *Eleusis and elsewhere) who had to be accommodated in closeable buildings suitable for private ritual: the open space of the sanctuary was where the worshippers congregated to observe and participate in the ritual which was enacted on their behalf; for this, the main requisite was sufficient space.

The festivals which were the occasion for such worship were normally annual, though sanctuaries would be accessible for individual acts of worship and the performance of vows. Within the sanctuary space were the buildings and other structures dedicated to the use of the god, especially the altar at which the burnt *sacrifice, essential to the religious functioning of the sanctuary, was made. Other buildings responded to various religious needs, and are not always found. There is normally a *temple to house the image which was the god, which watched and so received the sacrifice. The temple was itself both an offering to the god, and a store-room for votive offerings. The open area of the sanctuary round the altar was the place where, at the god's festival, worshippers would witness the sacrifices. The meat from these was then divided amongst them, and normally consumed within the sanctuary: some sanctuaries had laws which stipulated that the meat had to be consumed within their boundaries. Most worshippers seem to have feasted *al fresco*, but certain sanctuaries contained special dining-rooms (*hestiatoria*) for at least a privileged section of the worshippers. Other religious functions accommodated include contests of song and dance, as well as athletic ones (*see GAMES*). Specialized structures (*see THEATRES (GREEK AND ROMAN), STRUCTURE; STADIUM*) eventually developed for these.

The size and arrangement of a sanctuary depended on the importance and nature of the cult. In large sanctuaries it is often possible to distinguish between an innermost sacred area round the altar as place of sacrifice and the temple as the abode of the god, and an outer area given over to human activity, the feasting and contests. As a result theatres and stadia are often on the periphery. In healing sanctuaries, such as the Asclepieion (*see ASCLEPIUS*) at Epidaurus, or the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropus, buildings where those seeking the god's cure might spend the night in the sanctuary were normally adjacent to the temple itself. In some sanctuaries the distinction between the two areas is clearly marked: at Olympia a wall was eventually built round the innermost sanctuary, leaving outside gymnasium, stadium, and the course for the chariot races. Here and at Epidaurus a vaulted passage leads from the inner area into the stadium. In other sanctuaries the distinction is not so clear cut. At the sanctuary of *Poseidon at Isthmia the original running track has been found very close to the temple; later it was removed to a nearby valley which perhaps afforded a better locality for the spectators.

Though undoubtedly there were shrines and religious places in the Greek settlements of the *Mycenaean civilization, the sanctuaries of the Classical period develop at

the earliest in the 8th cent. BC, as far as can be judged from the archaeological evidence. Reasons for the choice of a sanctuary site are quite unclear. Some are based on places of late bronze age occupation, though it is not known whether this in any way denotes continuity of cult or rather a sense of awe inspired by the visible remains of an earlier age. Natural features such as springs may be the attraction; *water is an important element in the performance of cult. A spring in the sanctuary, or its vicinity, was often embellished with a fountain-house. Water may have to be provided artificially, as at Perachora, or by the construction of wells. It was needed for ritual purification, but also, when feasting buildings were provided, for more normal cleaning purposes. Sometimes the reason for the location of a sanctuary may be nothing more than an awareness of some unusual character of a place. Shrines in bronze-age *Crete (*see MINOAN CIVILIZATION*), in the palaces and elsewhere, were often aligned with 'peak sanctuaries' on a prominent visible mountain top; the idea that similar alignments may explain Classical sanctuaries has been promoted, but is unconvincing. Some sanctuaries are developed for particular communities, and each *polis would possess one of major significance to it, dedicated to its protecting deity. Others belong to less important gods, or serve only limited sections of the community, classes in society, or villages outside the urban centre of the state. Within the polis-context, the location of major extra-urban sanctuaries could serve to demarcate a community's territory in the face of competing claims by neighbours (as argued by de Polignac and others). Other sanctuaries develop to serve more than one community, up to the 'international' sanctuary such as *Delphi or *Olympia which attract support and worshippers from all over Greece.

The earliest stages of the sanctuaries, where known, are often small and simple. Increasing popularity, larger numbers of worshippers, and the acquisition of greater wealth lead to discernible expansion. Control over the sanctuary, and responsibility for its development, rests extensively with the community at large (*see POLIS*), through its political bodies, supervising finance, approving and supporting building programmes, and passing all necessary legislation for the conduct of its affairs. Immediate direction is often vested in groups of officials (who have a religious function but are not *priests): in democratic Athens, and elsewhere, the accounts were scrutinized and published as inscriptions. Smaller sanctuaries were of lower, or minimal, public concern. Many major sanctuaries were not limited to single cults. The acropolis of Athens within the surrounding walls and the gateway, the Propylaea, was a sacred area, the pivot of



sanctuaries This small shrine (2nd cent. BC?) of *Artemis at Messene in the SW *Peloponnese, crowded with bases for statues, was one of several cult-places within a sanctuary-complex dedicated to *Asclepius. The statues, as their inscribed bases show, commemorated service by priestesses and other female servitors of the goddess. Antony Spawforth

which was the altar to *Athena. *Pausanias lists a whole succession of cult-places within the sacred area, including, for example, a precinct of Brauronian Artemis (see ARTEMIS; BRAURON; ATHENS (TOPOGRAPHY)). Asclepius at Epidaurus shared his sanctuary with his father, Apollo (probably the original owner), as well as Hera.

The sanctuary would contain 'sacred property'. This might include the utensils and other paraphernalia of sacrifice and feasting, recorded on inscriptions. These both belonged to the god and were used by the god, or his worshippers. They include, at times, valuable plate, in gold or silver, which in itself constitutes a special offering, but is still essentially a possession to be used. Other offerings are often described as votives, strictly gifts made in response to the successful outcome of a vow, but even with these there may be a related purpose. A statue may well constitute an offering, but is also a commemoration, of service by priests or priestesses (especially those whose office was temporary), of successful achievement whether by the community in war or the individual in athletic contest. In 'international' sanctuaries, individual cities might dedicate '*thesauroi*'; the term means treasury, but this is a misleading translation, since they are not mere storehouses but offerings in their own right, often dedicated to the god to commemorate a victory in war. Some sanctuaries are oracular and thus needed to provide for the appropriate consultation process; these might require modification of the temple plan (as at Delphi) with perhaps, in addition, special office-type buildings, as at Didyma.

The sanctuaries of the Roman period represent an essential continuation of these concepts. An important right, confirmed by the Roman authorities in a limited number of cases, is that of asylum, though strictly all sanctuaries, being sacred places, offered potential refuge. In the early 5th cent. BC the regent Pausanias, condemned by his fellow Spartiates, sought refuge in the sanctuary of Athena Chalchioecus, where he could not be put to death, or even allowed to die when he was starved out. In form, Roman sanctuaries are often more regularly planned, a characteristic inherited from Hellenistic architectural concepts, typified by the sanctuary of Artemis at Magnesia ad Maeandrum (W. Asia Minor) in its redeveloped, 2nd-cent. BC form. Such sanctuaries are normally a strict rectangle in plan, surrounded by porticos round the boundaries, and with formal gateway buildings which can be closed. The temple, with its altar directly in front, is placed within the resulting courtyard, and often situated to the back of it. The Severan marble plan (see FORMA URBIS) of the city of Rome shows several such sanctuaries for which other archaeological evidence is inadequate; but this form also characterizes the so-called imperial fora, such as those of Caesar, Augustus, and Trajan, which are essentially courtyard sanctuaries. See FORUM; ROME (TOPOGRAPHY). This concept, of the chief temple in its precinct, which continues over a road and frequently a barrier to form the civic forum, is typical of towns in the western Roman provinces.

In Roman *Syria these precincts assume a complex form: large rectangles with formal entrances on all four

sides, the principal 'Golden Gate' to the east and the whole structure embellished with towers. The formalism of such sanctuaries may owe something to local cult needs, and the political significance of the priests who control them, but the underlying concepts are general to the entire Classical world. *See* BOOTY; MARKETS AND FAIRS; PAINTING; PRIESTS; SCULPTURE; TEMPLE. RAT

sanitation

Greek

Developed arrangements in Greek towns for sanitation are a relatively late phenomenon, coming in with the planned cities in the 4th cent. BC. Scenes of the *symposium on Greek vases depict the use of the chamber-pot, whose contents would be thrown out of the house, probably into open channels along the road surfaces. No recognizable system of drainage exists in Athens, other than the canalized stream which flows through the area of houses west of the Areopagus. The houses of Olynthus (N. Greece) provide evidence for bathrooms and tubs, with terracotta drainpipes leading the waste away from the house and along the streets. What appears to be a fixed latrine was found in house A vii 9; it had an extended spout passing through the wall of the house, to empty directly onto the street. A similar example has been found in the Xenon at Nemea. The streets of Pella (Macedonia) have substantial covered sewers into which all waste from the adjacent houses drained. Such arrangements also existed at Priene (W. Asia Minor), in conjunction with a piped water-supply, though only four actual latrines were found in the houses. The fullest evidence comes from the houses at *Delos; by the later Hellenistic period houses generally have a recognizable built-in latrine, linked to covered drains running along the streets. The latrines empty into narrow channels, and are flushed by water used to wash down the floors. *Antioch had a sewage system, emptying into the river Orontes (Polyb. 5. 58), while excavations at *Alexandria have produced evidence for drainage systems in the streets. RAT

Roman

Despite Roman proficiency in hydraulic engineering, sanitation through the provision of a clean water-supply and the hygienic removal of human and other waste was a low priority. The role of impure *water and ordure in causing *disease was little understood, and sewage was abhorred rather because it was noisome and might 'taint' other substances.

Private water-supplies were usually obtained from wells, and also from cisterns in dry climates. Only the

wealthy could afford to tap the public *aqueducts. Domestic sanitation was provided by the cesspit (which might be near the well). Multi-storey buildings (*insulae*) could be linked by gravity-fed pipes to a main cesspit. Night-soil was taken out to be spread on the fields. Chamber-pots, empty amphorae (transport jars), and the public gutters were also commonly used.

City aqueducts afforded a supply of drinkable water to street fountains. Covered sewers and drains were usually multi-purpose, combining sanitation with land and rainfall drainage, as in the Cloaca Maxima (Great Drain) of Rome. Excess aqueduct water was used to flush these sewers. Open sewers and gutters ran down the centre or sides of streets. Bath-houses commonly contained latrines, using their water-supply. The latrines consisted of benches with holes over drains. Water for users' cleanliness was supplied in basins or channels. At Rome large urinal pots stood at street corners, the contents being used by the fullers (*see* TEXTILE PRODUCTION). When these were taxed by *Vespasian the pots were nicknamed after him.

The army understood the value of hygiene in maintaining military effectiveness. Some temporary camps had cesspits; permanent forts had a clean water-supply and latrines which flushed outside the defences. ASEC

Sappho, lyric poet. Born on *Lesbos in the second half of the 7th cent. BC, she was hailed in antiquity as 'the tenth Muse' (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 506), and her poetry was collected into eight or nine books (arranged mainly by metre) by Alexandrian editors. Only two whole poems (one completed by a recent discovery) and some substantial fragments survive, culled from quotations in other writers or from papyrus finds.

Most of her poems were for solo performance, and many refer to love between women or girls. Other subjects include hymns to deities and apparently personal concerns such as her brother's safety (fr. 5). Wedding songs, and snatches from a lament for Adonis (fr. 140) are clearly for several singers. Fr. 44, describing the marriage of *Hector and Andromache, is unusual in its narrative length and proximity to *epic.

Little about her life is certain: biographies (*POxy.* 1800, *Suda*, 'Sappho') are late and sometimes contradictory. She may have had some involvement in the aristocratic power struggles of Lesbos (fr. 71), leading to a period of exile in Sicily (*Marm. Par.* 36). She was probably married, though only a brother and (probably) a daughter, Cleis, figure in the poems. The story of her suicide for love of Phaon is almost certainly fictional.

Her sexual inclinations have occasioned much speculation from antiquity to the present. From Attic

comedy onwards she was credited with an implausible selection of male lovers. She is described as a lover of women only in post-Classical times, and in later European tradition was often regarded as heterosexual. See HOMOSEXUALITY.

Her own poetry remains the major source for the controversial question of how she related to the companions (fr. 160) who formed her audience. An important parallel is *Alcman's *partheneia* (maiden-songs) written for girls' choruses, in which the singers praise each other in erotic terms. Sappho often calls her companions *parthenoi* (girls). This, and the frequent references to partings and absence in her poems, suggest that most of her circle shared their lives for only a limited period before marriage. Homoeroticism was probably institutionalized at this stage of life, as it was elsewhere for young men. The group's preoccupations—love, beauty, poetry—are indicated by the divinities most often invoked in Sappho: *Aphrodite, the Graces, and the *Muses.

But despite the likely socializing and religious function of her group, Sappho herself emerges from the poems as far from the chaste headmistress figure constructed by 19th- and early 20th-cent. German philology. In fr. 1, the poet names herself in a prayer enlisting Aphrodite's help in winning the love of an unresponsive girl. In fr. 16 the singer links her own love for the absent Anactoria with that of Helen for Paris, and fr. 31 famously charts the singer's despair as she watches a beloved girl sitting next to a man. Sappho's love poetry differs from that of male writers in the almost complete absence of a sharp distinction between lover and beloved.

Poems such as these reveal an accomplished poet who can achieve effects of great subtlety beneath an apparently simple surface; other, less complex poems (frs. 102, 114) seem influenced by folk-song. Like her contemporary *Alcaeus she writes in a literary Aeolic dialect (see GREEK LANGUAGE). Her work was admired in antiquity for its euphony (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 23) and she was credited with musical invention; the Sapphic stanza was used by later poets such as *Horace. Notable imitations include *Catullus 51, 61, and 62, while Ovid's imaginary epistle from Sappho to Phaon (*Her.* 15) was the progenitor of many subsequent fictions about her. MWil

satire (Lat. *satura*) was first classified as a literary form in Rome. 'Satire, at any rate, is all our own,' boasted Quintilian (10. 1. 93) of the genre that depicted Rome in the least flattering light. Originally simply a hotch-potch (in verse, or in prose and verse mixed), satire soon acquired its specific character as a humorous or malicious exposé of hypocrisy and pretension; however, it continued to be

a hold-all for mismatched subjects, written in an uneven style and overlapping with other genres. The author himself figured prominently in a variety of shifting roles: civic watchdog, sneering cynic, mocking or indignant observer, and social outcast.

Name

Satura is the feminine of *satur*, 'full'; and was transferred to literary miscellanies from *lanx satura*, a dish crammed with first fruits, or from *satura*, a mixed stuffing or sausage. *Juvenal, for example, claims (1. 86) to be filling his writing tablets with a *farrago* (mixed mash) of urban vice. Mixture and variety remained constant features of satire: many satirical techniques—parody, exaggeration, deflation, caricature—depend on incongruous juxtapositions, and satirists were self-conscious about the uneven qualities of their writing. Shared elements of irreverence and burlesque gave rise to an alternative, though false, derivation, from *satyri*, 'satyrs': hence *Horace's pose as Priapus (*Sat.* 1. 8) and the punning title of *Petronius Arbiter's satirical novel *Satyrica*, 'Adventures of Satyrs'. Livy's assertion (7. 2) that variety shows called *saturae* were an early form of Roman drama looks like a spurious attempt to link Roman satire with Greek satyr-plays. In the 2nd cent. BC, while the first satires were being written, the name *lex per saturam* was given to any suspiciously mixed political bill, which increased the reputation of satire as a dubious concoction. Both Horace (*Sat.* 2. 1. 1–2) and Juvenal (6. 635) speak of transgressing a 'law' of satire, partly as a pun on these bills, partly as a joke, as satire was a law unto itself, and partly in earnest, as satire was genuinely constrained by external laws. Finally, a bogus link was drawn with the similar-sounding festival of the Saturnalia, the Romans' temporary season for free abuse, which satire often adopted as a dramatic context (Hor. *Sat.* 2. 3. 2. 7; Petron. *Sat.* 44, 58, 69).

Influences

Greece

The idea of the satirist as a vindictive member of society originated with the iambics of *Archilochus and Hipponax. Athenian Old Comedy, especially that of *Aristophanes, was often cited as a model for outspoken abuse of other citizens (e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 4. 1–5; see COMEDY (GREEK), OLD). However, both iambics and comedy also inspired defensive apologies with which Roman satirists deflected charges of spite on to their critics.

The Hellenistic diatribe, a lecture which popularized moral philosophy with jokes, parody, fables, and split dialogue, was also a strong influence (Horace acknowledges a specific debt to the itinerant philosopher Bion of Boryst-

thenes, *Ep.* 2. 2. 60). Its conscious mixture of serious and humorous elements (also known as *spoudogeloion*) lies behind Horace's laughing candour (*ridentem dicere verum*, 'to tell the truth smiling' *Sat.* 1. 1. 24) as well as the bitterer invective of Persius (AD 34–62) and Juvenal. The *Cynic philosopher Menippus of Gadara was associated with so-called Menippean satire, a mixture of prose and verse which inspired experiments by *Varro, Petronius, and *Seneca; he also presides over several of the satirical dialogues of *Lucian.

Rome

Satire, for the Romans, enshrined a national characteristic, blunt free speech, and was later a reminder of the republican past. They were proud of traditional social outlets for satirical feeling—the Saturnalia, *Fescennini* (songs of ribald abuse at weddings), lampoons, pillorying of army commanders after a triumph. Yet in practice literary satire only pays lip-service to these. It was dangerous to write undiluted satire in all periods of Roman history, right from the *Twelve Tables' ban on malicious imprecations (*mala carmina*); and libel usually carried severe penalties. That is why satire is more of a discussion of the limits imposed on aggression, and why satirists tend to equivocate rather than take risks. Roman satire's bark was always worse than its bite.

Development

*Ennius wrote the first *saturae*, up to six books in various metres, of which only 31 lines survive. A sideline from his monumental *Annales*, they were miscellanies of Hellenistic culture which, though not noticeably acerbic, contained many ingredients of later satire in embryo: animal fables, moral censure, ethical dialogue, and the self-conscious presence of the author himself.

Lucilius (d. 102/1 BC), according to ancient tradition, was the true father of satire: he specialized in outspoken criticism of contemporaries, and fixed the hexameter as the conventional satirical metre. His prolific writings (30 books, of which about 1,300 lines survive) reveal a strong autobiographical element and an earthy, conversational style which is less spontaneous than it seems. Already the satirical personality is split between moral censor (e.g. in the mock 'trials' of Lentulus Lupus and Mucius Scaevola and the exposure of urban dinner-parties) and rollicking adventurer. Horace thought Lucilius prolix, but admired him for stripping the skin off a corrupt society. He was unanimously held up as a symbol of Republican liberty, especially during the civil wars, but in reality he owed his freedom of expression to his patrons, *Scipio Aemilianus and Laelius.

Varro added a new dimension to the principle of variety with his 150 books of Menippean satires, in verse and prose mixed, also now in fragments. Their titles—e.g. 'False Aeneas', 'Split Varro', 'Socratic Hercules'—give a clue to their hybrid contents—a dash of philosophy, with a pinch of dialogue and humour thrown in' (*Cic. Acad.* 1. 8).

At the end of the republic, satire became yet more constrained. Horace's *Satires* (or *Sermones*, 'Conversations') are a sensitive gauge of the political changes through which he lived. Book 1, ten satires written during the transition from civil war to new civic order, is a tight blend of ingredients based on principles of moderation, finesse, and inoffensiveness, in direct contrast with Lucilius. Although Horace rejects the venom of traditional satire ('black squid-ink' and 'Italian vinegar', *Sat.* 1. 4. 100, 1. 7. 32), and claims to be satisfied with his humble status, the odd trace of nostalgia for republican free speech remains below the surface. In Book 2, eight satires written in the more restricted environment of the Augustan regime, Horace symbolically hands over Saturnalian opportunities for free speech to pundits on various controversial themes: gastronomy, legacy-hunting, Stoic philosophy (see STOICISM). The book ends on an unsatisfying note with an unfinished feast.

In imperial Rome, satirists risked reprisals from their capricious rulers. The tyranny of *Nero, surprisingly, was a fruitful period. However, Persius switches his focus from political to philosophical freedom, and confines his secrets to a hole in the ground or a darkened study. His six poems are puzzlingly disjointed Stoic diatribes, where satirical language reaches a new pitch of concentration. Two Menippean satires date from the same time. The courtier Petronius' picaresque novel, *Satyricon*, is a loosely Epicurean mock-epic (see EPICURUS), where the narrator appears to be pursued by a wrathful Priapus; but it is hard to find any strong moral basis when Encolpius himself is a victim of the decay he observes in society. The longest extended fragment, the 'Cena Trimalchionis', dissects a tasteless Saturnalian dinner hosted by an ex-slave. *Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* ('Pumpkinification') is an inverted apotheosis-myth, depicting the emperor *Claudius as a carnival king, prematurely senile, with filthy habits and a penchant for dicing. It is significant that it was probably written for the first Saturnalia of Nero's reign, not during the lifetime of its subject. Two lines survive from the Flavian satirist Turnus, exposing one of Nero's own crimes, the murder of Britannicus, after the event.

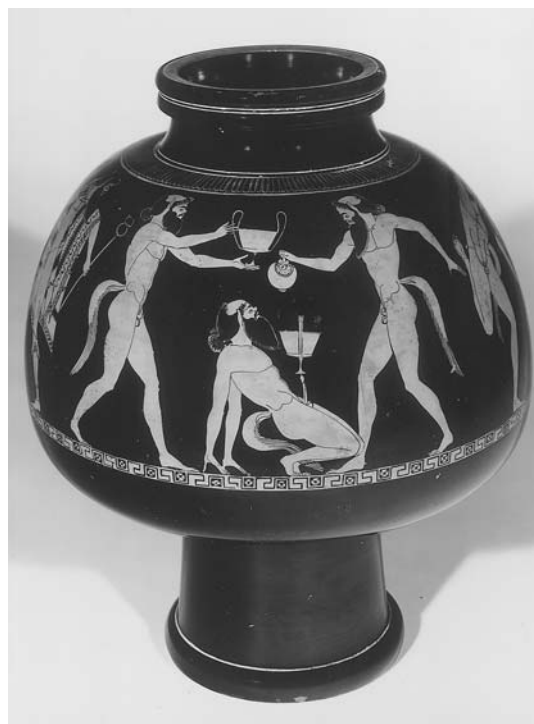
With Juvenal, imperial satire seems to have been stretched to its full potential. His sixteen satires, spanning the reigns of *Domitian, *Nerva, *Trajan, and *Hadrian, take in not only a bloated metropolis but also the ends of the earth. The satirist now adopts a posture of savage

indignation: only hyperbole is adequate for describing the depravity of modern Rome, where vice has reached mythic proportions. Despite his sense of outrage, Juvenal's moral standpoint is strangely unstable: his language swells into tragic bombast, then plunges just as dramatically into bathos. These extremes of indignation are best seen in Satire 3, on the tottering city of Rome, the monstrous Satire 6, on women, and Satire 10, on ambition, with its striking images, such as that of the statue of *Sejanus melted down into chamber-pots. However, Juvenal's claim to be returning to Lucilius is another rhetorical posture: most of his victims are either stereotypical ones—women, homosexuals, foreigners—or ghosts from the reign of Domitian.

*Lucian gave a satirical flavour to Greek dialogue, which he claims to have corrupted under the influence of iambics, Old Comedy, and the Cynicism of Menippus ('a dog who laughs when he bites'). Although he specialized in fantastical, timeless perspectives on terrestrial folly (seen from above and below in *Icaromenippus* and *Menippus*), his own viewpoint as a subject-Greek inspired some pointed satires on Roman culture (e.g. *Nigrinus*, *De Mercede Conductis*).

The history of Roman satire reached an apt conclusion two centuries later with the last classical Menippean satire, *Julian's *Caesars*, a character assessment of his dead predecessors written (in Greek) by the emperor himself. EJG

satyrs and silens are imaginary male inhabitants of the wild, comparable to the 'wild men' of the European folk tradition, with some animal features, unrestrained in their desire for sex and wine, and generally represented naked. The first mention in literature of 'silens' is as making love to nymphs in caves (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 262–3); of 'satyrs' it is as 'worthless and mischievous' (*Hes. fr.* 123). On the Attic François vase (c.570 BC) the horse-human hybrids accompanying *Hephaestus (with *Dionysus) back to Olympus are labelled as silens. It seems that in the course of the 6th cent. BC the (Attic-Ionic) silens were amalgamated with the (Peloponnesian) satyrs (so that the names were used interchangeably) to form, along with nymphs or maenads, the sacred band (*thiasos*) of Dionysus. It is a *thiasos* of young satyrs that, in the 5th cent., forms the chorus of satyric drama, with Silenus (in keeping with the ancient belief in individual silens) as father of the satyrs. In vase-painting satyrs are at first present in a limited number of myths (the Return of Hephaestus, the Gigantomachy (see GIANTS), etc.), but in the 5th cent. this number grows considerably, at least partly under the influence of satyric drama.



satyrs and silens Satyrs at play on an Athenian pottery winecooler (early 5th cent. BC). The scene conveys the (simultaneous) desire for both wine and sex which the Greeks attributed to these 'wild men' of *Dionysus. © The Trustees of the British Museum

People dressed up as satyrs, e.g. at the Athenian Anthesteria festival, where their frolics are depicted on the 'Choes' vases. Also at the Anthesteria was the procession in which Dionysus arrived in a ship-cart accompanied by satyrs, who are prominent also in great processions at *Alexandria (Ath. 196a–203b) and Rome (Dion. Hal. 7. 72). In contrast to this public presence, satyrs also conducted mystic *initiation (e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 815c, and the paintings at the Villa of the Mysteries at *Pompeii; see MYSTERIES). To be initiated might be to join a satyric *thiasos*, a community of this world and the next. Hence the occurrence of satyrs in funerary art throughout most of antiquity.

Analogous to this contrast is the ambiguity of the satyrs as grotesque hedonists and yet the immortal companions of a god, cruder than men and yet somehow wiser, combining mischief with wisdom, lewdness with skill in music, animality with divinity. In satyric drama they are the first to sample the creation of culture out of nature in the invention of *wine, of the lyre, of the pipe, and so on. Silenus is the educator of Dionysus. King Midas of Phrygia extracted from a silen, whom he had

trapped in his garden, the wisdom that for men it is best never to have been born, second best to die as soon as possible (Hdt. 8. 138; Arist. fr. 44). And Virgil's shepherds extract from Silenus a song of great beauty and wisdom (*Ecl.* 6). This ambiguity is exploited in *Alcibiades' famous comparison of *Socrates to the musical satyr Marsyas (Pl. *Symp.* 215).

At first somewhat equine, the satyrs become progressively more human in appearance (though from the Hellenistic period more caprine than equine, perhaps through association with *Pan), and may decorate a pastoral landscape or embody, for the visual artist, the charm of a not quite human body, as in the sculpted sleeping satyr known as the 'Barberini Faun'. Popular belief in the presence of satyrs in the wild no doubt persisted throughout antiquity (e.g. Plut. *Sull.* 27), as did the practice of imitating them in urban festivals, which was banned in Constantinople in AD 692.

RASS

scholarship, ancient

Greek

In one sense of the term scholarship began when literature became a central element of education and the prescribed texts had to be explained and interpreted to pupils in a class. An early reflex of this activity is the reported invention by Theagenes of Rhegium (late 6th cent. BC) of the allegorical method of interpretation, which could be used to deny the literal meaning of supposedly objectionable passages of *Homer. But scholarship, like literary criticism, was slow to develop in the Classical period. In the Peripatos *Aristotle and his disciples were not primarily concerned with literature or history, but their discussions of Homer and concern with the chronology of Athenian dramatic festivals were a step forward. Recognizably scholarly work, including the composition of books or pamphlets about literary texts, began early in the 3rd cent. BC in *Alexandria under the patronage of the Ptolemies (see PTOLEMY I; PTOLEMY II); to what extent the ideals of the Peripatos were influential, possibly through the influence of Demetrius of Phalerum (late 4th cent. BC), is a disputed question. The Museum, where scholars enjoyed good working conditions, became a centre where literary topics were discussed regularly; according to one report a record was kept of the discussions. The library (see LIBRARIES) acquired a virtually complete collection of books written in Greek, to which *Callimachus wrote an enormous bibliographical guide, and it looks as if copies of the classics, such as Homer, which reflected the results of work done in the Museum, came to be regarded as standard. Between c.285 and 145 BC a series of Alexandrian scholars, who variously

combined one or more of the professions of poet, tutor to the children of the royal family, and librarian of the Museum, brought scholarship to a high level. They edited texts by comparing different exemplars, commented on them by writing either notes on difficult passages or extended running commentaries, and composed innumerable treatises on individual problems, some of them historical and antiquarian rather than literary. Questions of authenticity also had to be addressed. The leading figures in this process were Zenodotus, Callimachus, *Eratosthenes, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus. Not all their decisions about puzzles in Homer win the approval of a modern reader, and they seem to have been too prone to reject lines as being unworthy of Homer or inconsistent with the context; but luckily they did not remove such lines from the texts in circulation. Good copies of leading authors were often equipped with a kind of *apparatus criticus* in the margin; this consisted of signs indicating e.g. the dubious status of a line of verse, or some point of general interest in the text, on which the reader could expect to find guidance in a note in a separate book containing a commentary. During part of the Hellenistic period there was also a rival school in Pergamum, but very little is known in detail about it, and it does not seem to have achieved the prestige of the Museum.

Much ancient scholarship can be seen as the response to the difficulties created by the handwritten book (see BOOKS). Different copies of the same text diverged. Although this was most notable in the case of Homer, it was true of all texts in some degree, and even by Hellenistic times a number of passages in other classical authors had become obscure or unintelligible. Scribal error was recognized as a factor to be reckoned with; the term *graphikon hamartēma* (lit. 'mistake in writing') is found e.g. in Harpocration (2nd cent. AD), and the Homer scholia discuss variant readings, while from time to time we find that scholars ventured upon emendation in passages they believed to be meaningless. The best critics, however, did not content themselves with the removal of obvious corruptions. They devised principles of interpretation, a famous case being the maxim traditionally but perhaps wrongly attributed to Aristarchus, that one should interpret an author by reference to his own usage elsewhere (*Homēron ex Homērou saphēnizein* (lit. 'clarify Homer through Homer')). Another good rule was that a unique word should not be deleted from a poetic text just because it was unique. They also attempted aesthetic appreciation: the scholia on Homer contain some remarks of this kind which a modern reader will agree with and respect. These notes employ such concepts as poetic licence, the scale, structure, unity, and variety in the

composition of the epic, the characterization and the stylistic level. Since none of the works of the greatest scholars survive, and there is very little left even of what their lesser contemporaries and successors wrote, it is hard to write a convincing account of the development of scholarship; to concentrate on the relatively few known facts about the leading figures risks neglect of all the achievements that cannot be safely attributed to an individual. Our main source of information is the material known as scholia, i.e. notes written in the margins of ancient and medieval copies of our texts.

From late Hellenistic and Roman times there is less to report about literary scholarship. As specimens of what scholars wrote we have the *Technē grammatikē* of Dionysius Thrax ('the Thracian') (though many authorities now believe it to be a product of late antiquity), the short essay on allegory in Homer by Heraclitus, and a substantial papyrus fragment of a work by Didymus on *Demos-thenes, which does not cast a flattering light on his standards of scholarship. In the Roman empire literary life altered under the influence of the new fashion of Atticism, and much effort was spent on compiling manuals that would ensure accurate imitation of the classics, such as the extant lexicographical guides of Pollux, Phrynichus, and Moeris. The grammatical writings of Herodian and Apollonius Dyscolus, especially the latter's long book on syntax, were also a serious contribution to their subject. The Christians soon learned to adopt the techniques that had served the pagans well, and we find in Origen much that is reminiscent of Alexandrian philology, both in the handling of details—he needed to establish the text of the Septuagint—and in the use of the allegorical method. The later rival school of *Antioch was if anything even closer in its adherence to Alexandrian methods.

Early in the 3rd cent. AD we find the first important representative of another group of scholars whose work is extant in substantial quantities, the commentators on *Plato and Aristotle. From Alexander of Aphrodisias, who began lecturing on Aristotle c.AD 198, to the middle of the 6th cent. the philosophical schools in *Athens and Alexandria (the latter had no connection with the Museum, by now defunct) were highly productive. There are two other developments dating from late antiquity which deserve mention. One is the invention, perhaps to be credited to Procopius of Gaza (c.500), of the *catena*, which is made up of short excerpts from two or more existing commentaries on a given book of the Bible, with the name of each author normally prefixed to each excerpt. This type of compilation is akin to, though it was not necessarily the model for, the scholia. The formation of the extant corpora of scholia probably took place in

late antiquity, and the process may have been continued in the early centuries of Byzantium. Original works of Hellenistic and later scholarship were the raw material for this process, and once a compilation had been made from them they were discarded. Unfortunately the scholia do not often name the authorities responsible for the views or information presented, nor do they give what look like verbatim quotations. This is the main reason why, given the loss of the original texts, it is still so difficult to reconstruct the history of scholarship from material that does in large part ultimately derive from such texts.

For a short account, see L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*³ (1991). The only longer account which is reasonably up-to-date is R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (1968), reviewed by N. G. Wilson, CR 1969, 366–72. On literary criticism in the Homeric scholia, see N. J. Richardson in CQ 1980, 265–87; on scholia more generally, N. G. Wilson, GRBS 47 (2007), 39–70. For late antiquity, see N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 2nd edn. (1996). NGW

Latin

The origins of scholarship at Rome are lost to view, along with much of Rome's earliest scholarly writing. *Suetonius' attempt (*Gramm.* 2) to trace Rome's first experience of Hellenistic scholarship to the visit of Crates of Mallos around 167 BC is more colourful than reliable; it no doubt captures, however, the *kind* of contact that was influential in the course of the 2nd cent., when a 'great flock' of learned men came to Rome from Greece (Polyb. 31. 24. 6 f.). By the end of the 2nd cent. and the start of the 1st not only was there substantial learning displayed in the *Didascalica* of Accius and the satires of Lucilius, but Lucius Aelius had developed what would be the three main foci of Roman scholarship: 'antiquities', treating the institutions and beliefs of Rome and her neighbours; literary studies, including questions of authenticity and literary history (but little that we would recognize as 'literary criticism'); and the more or less systematic study of language, especially (in this early period) etymology and semantics. Aelius, Rome's first true scholar, in turn influenced *Varro, Rome's greatest scholar, whose antiquarian research (*Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum*), study of Latinity (*De lingua Latina*), and investigations of literary history (*De poetis*) provided a model and a resource for all other scholars (e.g. Cornelius Nepos, Verrius Flaccus) and some authors of imaginative literature (e.g. *Ovid).

Varro and Aelius, who were not professional teachers, established a tradition of 'amateur' scholarship that continued throughout later antiquity and included (to note

only authors of works still extant) *Pliny the Elder, who extended the methods of antiquarian scholarship to the investigation of the natural world (*Historia Naturalis*); Aulus *Gellius, whose *Attic Nights* gathered edifying or beguiling excerpts from his varied reading; Censorinus, who wrote on the reckoning of human life and time (*De die natali*) in the 3rd cent.; Nonius Marcellus (4th cent. AD?), whose encyclopedic dictionary (*De compendiosa doctrina*) embraces both linguistic oddments and *Realien*; and two 5th-cent. authors, Macrobius (*Saturnalia*) and Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*), whose learned compilations are cast (respectively) as an elaborate dialogue and an allegory. Though arising from different motives in different milieus, all such works are alike in suggesting which elements of their culture the authors thought it worthwhile to explain and preserve for their posterity.

The transmission of culture was also central to the second main stream of Latin scholarship, which arose from the schools of *grammaticē* and rhetoric that began to proliferate in the 1st cent. BC. Here commentaries on literary texts and handbooks surveying grammatical and rhetorical doctrine were the chief staple. Precepts on Latin rhetoric were being compiled as early as the 80s BC, when the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was written; the main surviving example of the genre is Quintilian's great survey of the education suitable for an orator (c.AD 95). Quintilian's older contemporary Remmius Palaemon wins the credit for writing the first *ars grammatica* of which we are specifically informed, though examples of the type almost certainly existed by the mid-1st cent. BC. Commentaries on literary texts, especially those read in schools, are also attested for the 1st cent. BC, though it is not until Pomponius Porphyrio's commentary on Horace (3rd cent. AD) that we have an example surviving in something resembling its original form. In later antiquity the teachers Aelius Donatus (mid-4th cent. AD), Servius (late 4th–early 5th cent.), and Priscian (late 5th–early 6th cent.) are the emblematic figures: the first as author of commentaries on *Terence and *Virgil and of two highly influential grammars (the *Ars minor* and the *Ars maior*), the second as author of extant commentaries on Virgil and Donatus' *artes*, the third as author of the greatest compilation of Latin linguistic knowledge to survive from antiquity.

See also LITERARY CRITICISM IN ANTIQUITY; SUETONIUS. RAK

scholarship, history of classical (see following page)

Scipio Aemilianus (Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus (Numantinus)), born 185/4 BC as second

son of Lucius Aemilius Paullus (consul 182), adopted as a child by Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of *Scipio Africanus, as his elder brother was by a Quintus Fabius Maximus. In 168 he fought under Paullus at Pydna (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.4). Back in Rome, he met *Polybius, who became his friend and his mentor in preparing him for a public career. (See esp. Polyb. 31. 23 ff.) In 151, though asked by the Macedonians, as Paullus' son, to settle their problems that soon led to the war with the royal pretender Andriscus, he instead volunteered for arduous service as a military tribune under Lucius Licinius Lucullus (consul 151) in Spain, thus persuading others to volunteer. In the fighting he won a major decoration, the *corona muralis* (for the first man to scale an enemy wall in battle). When sent to request *elephants from the Numidian king Masinissa, he renewed Africanus' patronal relations with him and vainly tried to mediate peace between him and *Carthage after a battle he had witnessed. In 149 and 148 he served as a military tribune under Manius Manilius in Africa and again distinguished himself both in the fighting, where he won a rare distinction, the *corona graminea*, a grass crown for a soldier who raised a siege (Plin. *HN* 22. 6 ff., 13), and in diplomacy, persuading a Carthaginian commander to defect. After Masinissa's death he divided the kingdom among his three legitimate sons according to the king's request. Coming to Rome to stand for a lower magistracy (the aedileship) for 147, he was elected *consul, contrary to the rules for the *cursus honorum* (Roman career path), by a well-organized popular demand that forced the senate to suspend the rules. He was assigned *Africa by special legislation and, after restoring discipline and closing off the enemy's harbour, he overcame long and desperate resistance and early in 146 captured Carthage after days of street-fighting. After letting his soldiers collect the booty, he destroyed the city and sold the inhabitants into slavery. Anyone who should resettle the site was solemnly cursed. With the help of the usual senate commission he organized the province of Africa and after giving magnificent games returned to celebrate a splendid triumph, earning the name 'Africanus' to which his adoptive descent entitled him. He distributed some captured works of art among cities in Sicily and Italy (Cic. *Verr.* passim; *Syll.*³ 677; *ILLRP* 326).

Probably in 144–3 he headed an embassy to the kings and cities of the east, perhaps even as far as the territory contested between Parthians and *Seleucids (Lucil. 464 Marx), with Panaetius as his personal companion. After his return he presumably guided senate policy in those areas, especially towards *Pergamum, the Seleucids, and the *Jews. (We have no evidence on its formulation and little on its execution.) In 142 he was censor with Lucius

[continued on p. 709]

HISTORY OF CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP

scholarship, history of classical (from the Renaissance) Classical texts formed the core of the arts curriculum in medieval schools and universities and were central to two of the three higher faculties, law and medicine, as well. But modern classical scholarship—the systematic effort to collect and study the written and material remains of the ancient world as a whole—came into being in 14th-cent. northern Italy. Here teachers of rhetoric began to teach from *Cicero rather than the ‘modern’—i.e. medieval—texts they had previously used. Formal imitation of the classics became systematic. Scholars began to see classical Latin texts as distinctively better than later ones: they copied, read, and studied a wide range of literary and historical texts that had generally not been read in the Middle Ages. Access to new material created new questions: problems of attribution and dating that had not interested medieval scholars cropped up and new techniques were devised to solve them. Before 1320 Giovanni de Matociis of Verona had established in a formal essay that the Pliny who wrote the *Natural History* could not have written the *Letters* as well (see PLINY THE ELDER; PLINY THE YOUNGER). He also wrote a history of the Roman emperors in which he drew on the evidence of coins as well as that of the ancient historians.

The poet and philosopher Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 1304–74) knitted these technical threads together into the programme for a new scholarship. Convinced that ‘all history was but the praise of Rome’ and that he himself lived in an inferior, ‘dark’ age, he dedicated his life to the study and imitation of the ancients—by which, as a list of his favourite books that he drew up reveals, he meant Romans like *Livy and *Virgil and St *Augustine. Thanks to his connections with the papal curia, which spent much of the 14th cent. in Avignon, and with influential Italian clerics and statesmen, he gained access to the treasures of both Italian and northern libraries. Petrarch assembled a remarkable library of his own: his copy of Livy, for example, brought together from diverse sources three decades (groups of ten books; see LIVY), the bulk of the text that survives today, and though he never learned Greek, he had manuscripts of *Plato and *Homer. He studied and annotated his books with care and intelligence, hunted for other texts that they mentioned, and explored the ruins of Rome as well as its literary canon. His own works—which included an epic, bucolics, philosophical dialogues, historical compilations, and lively letters modelled on those of Cicero—represented a dramatic effort to revive the main genres of Latin literature. He insisted that the literature, history, and moral philosophy of the Classical world could form a more solid and satisfactory basis for education and a better model for modern writers than the technical philosophy of Aristotle and his medieval commentators, which dominated the universities of northern Europe and were also becoming fashionable in Italian universities. He thus provided both a model for classical studies and a new justification for them: both proved vastly influential.

For the next century, Italian humanists followed the lines Petrarch had laid down. They hunted little-known classical texts all over Europe, copying what they discovered and stealing what they had no chance to copy; gradually they assembled what remains the basic canon of Latin texts. They established schools, both in republican Florence and Venice and at the courts of Ferrara, Mantua, and Milan, where young men could master the grammar and literature of classical Latin and learn the lessons of ancient history and moral philosophy. The correction of textual errors became a fashion and gave rise to sharp debates. Before the middle of the 15th cent. Lorenzo Valla wrote the first modern manual of classical Latin usage; unmasked a medieval legal text, the *Donation of Constantine*, as written in a non-classical Latin and therefore forged; and brilliantly corrected the text (and the content) of Livy. Meanwhile specialist antiquaries like Cyriacus of Ancona explored ancient sites and filled notebooks with drawings of ruins and texts of inscriptions. The study of Greek revived as well, first of all in Florence, where Emanuel Chrysoloras taught for three years from 1397. He also produced a practical Greek grammar. Unsystematic but energetic efforts at translation brought Plato and *Lucian, Homer and *Aristophanes into Latin, and a modest command of Greek became part of the normal scholar’s arsenal.

From the middle of the 15th cent. new public libraries like that of the Vatican gave the new canon of classical texts permanent homes. The support of patrons like Cosimo de’ Medici and Pope Nicholas V made possible the translation of the major works of Greek prose: Plato and Plotinus were translated for the Medici by Marsilio Ficino, *Thucydides and *Herodotus for Nicholas V by Valla. The invention of printing ensured the survival, first of the major Latin works and, from the 1480s, of the Greek classics as well. Meanwhile commentators tried, at increasing length, to remedy the

corruptions, explain the difficulties, and emphasize the beauties of the classical texts. Much of the scholarly work of this period was done too rapidly. Angelo Poliziano, who devised before his early death in 1494 the basic principles of textual criticism, insisting that before trying to correct a given text one must examine all the manuscripts and eliminate from consideration those copied from other extant ones, argued this thesis so forcefully precisely because he held that the editions of his time were based on randomly chosen manuscripts, silently emended and wilfully explained. With few exceptions, he was right.

None the less, by the end of the 15th cent. many central techniques of classical scholarship had been formulated and applied. Poliziano's *Miscellanea* of 1489, Ermolao Barbaro's *Castigationes Pliniana*e of 1492–3, and many less ambitious works deployed a vast range of Greek and Latin sources to correct and explicate texts and solve problems in every field of ancient culture. Poliziano showed how to compare Latin writers systematically with their Greek sources. More generally, he and others insisted that only the philologist could correct and explicate classical texts—even the technical classics of law, medicine, and philosophy, which had long been the province of professional practitioners of those disciplines. A new critical and historical method had come into being. At the same time, however, classical scholarship revived old myths and created new ones. Ficino, Pico, and others developed from their reading of Neo-Platonic texts like the *Hermetic Corpus* what became the popular theory that the Greek philosophers had derived their central ideas from the Egyptians and Chaldeans. And the papal theologian Annius of Viterbo, who published what he described as the fragments of the lost histories of Berosus, Manetho, and others in 1498, embedded in a huge commentary, foisted actual forgeries on a Europe-wide public. Spanish and English readers delighted in his meticulously argued demonstration that their nations were directly descended from exiled Trojans.

The later 15th and 16th cents. saw all of these new methods and interests spread to northern Europe. Some northern scholars—like Beatus Rhenanus—continued the technical efforts of Poliziano and others, working with librarians and printers to produce clean editions of texts based on the best sources. Others continued the more contentious effort to show that humanistic methods could be applied to all ancient texts. Guillaume Budé wrote the first full humanistic commentary on the *Digest*, founding what became a French speciality. Biblical scholarship developed even more rapidly. Valla had already argued that the text of the New Testament needed the same sort of critical treatment as the classics. The great Dutch scholar Erasmus, who printed Valla's New Testament commentary, produced and printed a full new Latin translation of the New Testament, with a Greek text to support it. He also argued that the historical and philological methods of the humanists could yield the best understanding of the biblical text. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation, though Erasmus and others initially saw them as a threat to the humanities, ultimately reinforced their enterprise. Catholics and Protestants alike accepted the need to study the Bible in its original languages, while Protestant academies and Jesuit colleges both adopted and systematized the humanist curriculum.

In the second half of the 16th cent. scholarship in several technical disciplines reached maturity. Textual criticism, of Greek as well as Latin, found many original practitioners, like Jean Dorat, and a few theorists, like Francesco Robortello, who wrote the first manual of the art. Denys Lambin and others drew up spectacularly detailed commentaries on the central Latin texts and their Greek literary background. Students of Roman history and Greek poetry and philosophy compiled the first collections of fragments of authors whose works had been wholly or partially lost. Antiquarians and Roman lawyers like Antonio Agustín, Carlo Sigonio, and Jacques Cujas traced the development of the Roman constitution and legal system over the centuries, from the *Twelve Tables to the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, which received critical editions and elaborate commentary (see JUSTINIAN'S CODIFICATION). Antiquaries also collected, organized, and published the first corpora of inscriptions and wrote systematic treatises on virtually every aspect of ancient social and cultural life. Justus Lipsius, for example, reconstructed the military and organizational practices of the Roman army. Systematic descriptions made the main ancient ruins and artworks of Rome and other cities widely known: especially important were the Roman consular *Fasti* and *Triumphs*, discovered and reassembled in the 1540s, which inspired Sigonio and others to rework the chronology of Roman history. Joseph Scaliger and other chronologists extended this enterprise, establishing what remains the chronological framework of ancient history, Greek and near eastern as well as Roman. They also reconstructed the central ancient calendars and their development.

By the end of the 16th cent. most of the classical texts now known had been printed, an enormous technical literature had been produced, and central problems of ancient political and literary history—like that of the origins of Rome—had begun to be studied in a critical, open-minded way that owed little to ancient precedent. The Dutch universities—above all Leiden, where Lipsius taught and Scaliger enjoyed the first full-time research post created in the modern world—became centres of classical research, with remarkable libraries and publishing facilities. At the same time, however, the historical texts forged by Annius of Viterbo still outsold Herodotus. Jean Bodin, who wrote the first

manual on how to read and assess the sources of ancient and modern history, took central theses from them. The myth of a glamorous Egyptian *prisca philosophia* found adherents across Europe. Though a few scholars, like Isaac Casaubon, saw that the *Hermetic Corpus* was neither Egyptian nor ancient, most continued to treat it as the source from which Plato drew his central theses.

The 17th and 18th cents. saw the gains of the Renaissance consolidated, especially in the Netherlands. Huge collections of historical and antiquarian treatises enabled readers to follow the growth of debate over Athenian festivals or the Roman constitution, and variorum editions collected the results of textual criticism and explanatory comments, text by text. Some new texts, like *Petronius Arbiter's *Cena Trimalchionis*, were discovered: textual critics like Gronovius and Heinsius continued to explore manuscript traditions and propose brilliant conjectural emendations; and a vast range of late Greek texts, like those of many Church Father and Byzantine historians, saw print for the first time. The good money of the genuine ancient historians gradually drove Anniius' bad money off the market. Much attention was also paid to relics that did not come from Classical Greece or Rome—like the Egyptian obelisks, sometimes adorned with hieroglyphic inscriptions, found in Rome, in which many scholars thought they could see the relics of the *prisca philosophia*, or the Roman catacombs, in which ecclesiastical historians found the visual remains of an ancient world very different from that presented in the literary canon. Enormous effort went into assembling and interpreting the sources of the history of ancient philosophy, but debate still raged over the extent of the Greek thinkers' debt to the ancient near east.

Despite this intense continued activity, the significance of classical learning was challenged more profoundly than ever before. Bacon, Galileo, and Descartes insisted, in different ways, that knowledge of nature had more to offer than knowledge of texts, and that a modern philosophy and curriculum could not rest on the study of books written in what had actually been a more primitive time. The rise of modern languages and literatures challenged the pre-eminence of the classics. A reading public grew up which felt less at ease with Greek and Latin than with French, English, or Italian. And the undeniable fact that many issues in ancient literature, history, and philosophy had remained the objects of endless debate for centuries called the intellectual validity of classical studies into question. The scholarly response to this challenge took varied forms. Some antiquaries and archaeologists claimed—not without exaggeration—that their first-hand study of material remains rested on the same methods of exact measurement as the experiments of the scientists. The late 17th and 18th cents. certainly witnessed an intensive effort to explore and record Greek as well as Roman ruins, as well as the vastly important excavation of *Herculaneum and *Pompeii. Textual criticism benefited from the systematic efforts of Mabillon, Montfaucon, and Maffei to date manuscripts systematically, on the basis of their materials and script.

But the most profound changes took place in what had traditionally been seen as the central areas of classical studies. Historians like Giambattista Vico and Jacobus Perizonius and philologists like Jean Leclerc and Richard Bentley worked in radically different contexts and from radically different assumptions. All of them agreed, however, that the study of the ancient world must become as modern as the New Philosophy. The scholar must read the classics in a critical spirit; must eliminate or alter any passage in a text, however familiar, if the evidence of the manuscripts and of 'reason' did not support its presence; must abandon the traditional narrative of Roman history or the traditional view that Homer had written elaborate works of high literature, if the sources, rationally considered, did not justify them. It became clear that every text—even those of the Old and New Testaments—had changed over time, thanks to human action and intervention: also that the ancients themselves had not fully understood the development of their languages, literatures, and societies. The modern Dutch or English scholar knew his ancient texts too well to believe that they encompassed all knowledge—or even all the tools needed to analyse them. Homer himself, long seen as the first and greatest of classics, was re-imagined as a primitive poet, more like a modern Bedouin than a modern Englishman.

This approach, with its stress on the otherness of the Greek and Roman past, might seem to undermine the value of classical studies. In later 18th-cent. Germany, however, it became the core of the intellectual programme that restored classical scholarship to a central position in higher education. The art historian Winckelmann, the Göttingen professor Heyne, and his brilliant, rebellious pupil Friedrich August Wolf admitted that the ancient world was very different from their own. Only by dropping all familiar assumptions and undertaking a comprehensive study of every aspect of antiquity, from literature to history to archaeology and religion, they held, could a scholar hope to interpret a given text or solve a given problem. But they also insisted that this exercise had a unique intellectual value. By working his way into every nook and cranny of ancient life, by coming to understand the Greek spirit as a whole, the scholar—and the student—would develop his own sensibility and intellect in a uniquely rich and rewarding way, for which the study

of the natural world offered no parallel. The value of this new approach was dramatized by a series of brilliant, iconoclastic publications, including Winckelmann's *History of Art in Antiquity*, Wolf's *Prolegomena to Homer*, and Barthold Georg Niebuhr's *History of Rome*. It won the support of the reformer of Prussian education, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and found institutional homes in the Prussian universities and Gymnasien. And it led to the creation of new methods and new literatures in every field: to the production of vast new series of publications, from corpora of Roman and Greek inscriptions and the Teubner texts to classical journals in which specialized results could be presented and debated; to the rise of a newly rigorous textual criticism; to the effort, never wholly successful, to create histories of Greece and Rome that integrated the traditional historian's effort to provide a narrative account of central events with what had been the antiquarian tradition of systematic analysis of laws, institutions, and rituals.

The German classicists were not, in fact, so original as they claimed. Their approach to textual criticism was modelled on that of 18th-cent. biblical scholars, and their efforts to write a new history of the ancient world came after the pioneering models established by two English amateurs, Edward Gibbon and George Grote. England, France, and Italy continued to foster partly or wholly independent scholarly methods and enterprises. In the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, however, the comprehensive programme known as *Altertumswissenschaft* gradually put its stamp on classical studies throughout the western world. Even the sharpest critics of particular German scholars—like A. E. Housman—generally learned their trade by mastering what they saw as the core of the German tradition. Even Hitler's expulsion of the Jews, which did incalculable harm to German scholarship, paradoxically conveyed its methods and results to universities and scholarly communities in France, England, the United States, and elsewhere.

The new scholarship proved as fertile a ground for debates and polemics as the old. Schools developed, whose members proved incapable of seeing outsiders' points of view, and both substantive and methodological questions proved capable of serving as the occasions of philological warfare. The increasing specialization and technicality of the new scholarship also provoked criticism—most notably and influentially from Friedrich Nietzsche, himself a product of it. Meanwhile the competition of modern forms of secondary education chipped away, slowly but inevitably, at the central position of classical studies in the university. None the less, classical scholarship finished the 20th cent. in a condition that would have been recognizable 200 years before: as an interdisciplinary, rigorous, and creative enterprise.

ATG

Mummius (consul 146), who mitigated some of his severity. They restored the Aemilian Bridge (pons Aemilius) over the Tiber and adorned the Capitol.

In 136 he secured the rejection of the peace in Spain negotiated for Gaius Hostilius Mancinus (consul 137) by his cousin and brother-in-law Tiberius *Gracchus. This deeply offended Gracchus, even though Scipio saved him from personal disgrace. In 135, again by special dispensation and without campaigning for the office, he was elected consul 134 and sent to Numantia, with an army consisting chiefly of his own clients because of the shortage of military manpower. He starved Numantia into surrender in just over a year, destroyed it, and sold the survivors into slavery, returning in 132 to celebrate a second triumph and acquire the (unofficial) name 'Numantinus'. By approving of Gracchus' murder he incurred great unpopularity. It was increased when, in 129, defending the interests of Italian clients holding public land, he was responsible for a senate decree that paralysed the agrarian commission by transferring its judiciary powers to the consuls, usually hostile or absent. When, soon after, he was found dead, various prominent persons, including his wife (Gracchus' sister) and Cor-

nelia (Gracchus' mother), were suspected of responsibility, though the funeral laudation written by his friend Gaius Laelius (consul 140) specified natural death. (See E. Badian, *JRS* 1956, 220.)

His personal morality and civil and military courage made him an unlikely friend of *Cato the Elder. But he was a patron of poets and philosophers, with a genuine interest in literature (he was himself an able orator) and in Greek philosophy, as transmitted by Polybius, which he combined with a traditional aristocratic Roman outlook. He believed in the 'balanced constitution', with the people entitled to choose their leaders (Polyb. 6. 14. 4 and 8: hence his willingness to accept extraordinary appointments) and to take charge of criminal trials (Polyb. 6. 14. 5 ff.: hence his support for the ballot law of Lucius Cassius Longinus Ravilla (as tribune 135)). But he could foresee the ultimate fall of Rome (Astin 251 f.; cf. Polyb. 6. 9. 12 ff.), which could be delayed by stopping signs of decay, especially the decline in aristocratic morality (see *ORF*⁴ 21, esp. nos. 13, 17, 30, and cf. Polyb. 6. 8. 4 f.) and the danger of the democratic element, under the tribunes (cf. Polyb. 6. 16. 5 ff.), leading the state into anarchy and tyranny (cf. Polyb. 6. 9. 2 ff.—and an aristocratic Roman fear

of a leader's excessive popularity producing *regnum*, 'monarchy'). Utterly ruthless towards Rome's enemies, he believed in loyal patronage (both for Rome and for himself) over client-friends, whether monarchs like Attalus II of Pergamum and Masinissa or Italian allies. Cicero, in *De republica*, depicts him as the ideal Roman statesman (cf. also *De senectute* and *De amicitia*) and sets him in a group of aristocrats and their cultured clients (esp. *Amic.* 69) that modern scholars turned into the Scipionic Circle.

EB

Scipio Africanus (the elder), (Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus), son of Publius Cornelius Scipio (consul 218 BC) and nephew of Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus, husband of the daughter of Lucius Aemilius Paulus (consul 219), father of Publius Cornelius Scipio (the father of *Scipio Aemilianus), and one other son, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, and of two daughters, one married to Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum and the other to Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, father of the Gracchi (Tiberius *Gracchus and Gaius *Gracchus). He was born in 236 BC and is said to have saved his father's life at the battle of the Ticinus in 218 and, as military tribune, to have rallied the survivors of the battle of Cannae (see HANNIBAL) at Canusium. He was curule aedile 213, and in 210 was appointed by the people to the command in Spain, the first person to have received consular *imperium without having previously been *consul or praetor. In Spain he resumed the aggressive policy of his father and uncle; in 209 he captured Carthago Nova (mod. Cartagena), the main Carthaginian supply base in Spain, by sending a wading party across the lagoon, which, he had discovered, normally ebbed in the evening. In 208, employing tactics which marked a major break with traditional Roman practice, he defeated the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal Barca at Baecula (Bailen), north of the Baetis (Guadalquivir). When Hasdrubal escaped towards the Pyrenees and the route to Italy, he decided not to pursue him. In 206 he defeated Mago and Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo at Ilipa, just north of Seville. Thereafter only mopping-up operations remained in Spain; a mutiny in his army was quelled, and the ring-leaders executed. Scipio crossed to Africa to solicit the support of Syphax, and met Masinissa (another Numidian leader) in western Spain.

Elected consul for 205, Scipio wanted to carry the war to Africa. Opposition in the senate was led by *Fabius Maximus and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus (consul 237), but he was assigned Sicily with permission to invade Africa if he saw fit. Denied the right to levy new troops, he crossed to Sicily accompanied only by volunteers, returning to southern Italy to recapture Locri (Epizephyrii); the sub-

sequent behaviour of the commander Quintus Pleminius briefly threatened Scipio's own position. In 204 he landed in Africa, began the siege of Utica, and wintered on a nearby headland. Hasdrubal and Syphax encamped a few miles to the south; in the course of feigned peace negotiations Scipio discovered the details of their camps, which were made of wood or reeds, and in the spring of 203 a night attack led to their destruction by fire and the death of large numbers of Carthaginian troops. Later Scipio defeated Hasdrubal and Syphax at the battle of the Great Plains, c.120 km. (75 mi.) west of Carthage. He now occupied Tunis, but was forced to use his transport ships to block a Carthaginian attack on his fleet at Utica, losing 60 transports. During an armistice, peace terms were agreed, and accepted at Rome, but in the spring of 202 an attack by Carthage on Roman ships, and subsequently on envoys sent by Scipio to protest, led to the resumption of hostilities. Hannibal had now returned to Carthage, and after further abortive peace negotiations Scipio defeated him at the battle of Zama (202); peace was concluded on Rome's terms. Scipio received the *cognomen* (surname) Africanus and returned to Rome to celebrate a triumph.

Scipio now had great prestige at Rome. The so-called 'Scipionic legend' (in its later form Scipio is the son of Jupiter) had already come into existence. The capture of Carthago Nova, when Scipio is said to have told his troops that *Neptune had appeared to him in a dream and promised him help, led to the belief that he was divinely inspired. The Iberians had saluted him as a king, but there is no evidence that he ever envisaged playing other than a traditional role in Roman politics. His success, however, meant that he had many enemies among the nobility, some alarmed by the stories circulating about him, others merely jealous of his success. He was elected censor in 199 but his tenure of the office was unremarkable: he became *princeps senatus* (senior senator), a position confirmed by the following two pairs of censors. Consul for the second time in 194, he wanted to succeed *Flaminius in Greece, believing that a continued military presence was necessary as security against *Antiochus III, but the senate voted that the army should be withdrawn. Scipio campaigned in northern Italy during his consulship, but achieved little. As an ambassador to Africa in 193 he failed, perhaps deliberately, to settle a dispute between Carthage and Masinissa; the story that he also went to Asia in that year and met Hannibal should be rejected. In 190 he volunteered to go to Asia as a legate under his brother Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes. He rejected a bribe, which Antiochus offered him in order to secure a favourable peace; shortly before the battle of Magnesia (188) Antiochus returned his captive son Lucius. He took no part in the battle itself because of illness,

but was chosen to present the Roman peace terms after Antiochus' defeat. At Rome there now began a series of conflicts between the Scipio brothers (and their allies) and their opponents, among whom *Cato the Elder was prominent, culminating in the much debated 'trials of the Scipios'. The accusations involved the embezzlement of public funds and, perhaps, the taking of bribes from Antiochus. It is probable that Publius was attacked in the senate in 187, and Lucius put on trial (in what way and with what result is uncertain), and that Publius was accused in 184, but avoided trial by retiring into voluntary exile at Liternum (in Campania), where he died the following year. JBR

sculpture, Greek (see following page)

sculpture, Roman (see page 715)

Second Sophistic is the term regularly applied in modern scholarship to the period c.AD 60–230 when declamation became the most prestigious literary activity in the Greek world. Philostratus of Athens (early 3rd cent.) coined the term in his *Lives of the Sophists*, claiming a link between the Classical *sophists and the movement whose first member he identified as Nicetes of Smyrna in the reign of *Nero (*Lives* 1. 19). The term *sophist* (*sophistēs*; verb *sophisteuein*) seems restricted to rhetors (public speakers; see RHETORIC, GREEK) who entered upon a career of public displays, though usage even in the *Digest* is erratic, and Philostratus' Dionysius of Miletus (*Lives* 1. 22) is simply *rhētor* on his sarcophagus at Ephesus (*Inschriften von Ephesos* 426).

On the evidence of Philostratus, whose 40 lives of imperial sophists include several Severan contemporaries, and of other literary and epigraphic texts, it is clear that for these 170 years declamation was not simply an exercise for teachers of rhetoric and their pupils but a major art form in its own right. It flourished especially in Athens and the great cities of western Asia Minor, above all *Pergamum, Smyrna, and *Ephesus. Rhetors (*rhētores*), whether resident teachers of rhetoric or touring eminences, would draw aficionados in large numbers to private or imperial mansions, lecture halls in libraries, *bouleutēria*, *odeia*, and even theatres. After a less formal discourse (*dialexis*, *lalia*) which acted as a prelude (*prolalia*), their formal speech (*meletē*) was more usually deliberative (Latin *suasoria*; see RHETORIC, LATIN) recreating a historical situation, invariably from before 323 BC (e.g. Artabanus urges *Xerxes not to invade Greece, *Lives* 2. 5, cf. Hdt. 7. 10), than forensic (*controversia*—e.g. should a man who both started and then halted civil war be rewarded or punished? *Lives* 1. 26), often involving tyrants, pirates, or rape. Rhetors also had opportunities to deliver diverse epideictic speeches: e.g.

Polemon of Smyrna's speech commemorating the dedication of the Athenian Olympeum in AD 131/2, or Aelius Aristides' praise of Rome (26 Keil) and lament (*monōidia*) for Smyrna devastated by an earthquake (18 Keil). Aristides also claimed to innovate in composing prose hymns to gods. Although many of *Dio of Prusa's over 70 surviving speeches are sophistic, of Philostratus' sophists only Aristides has a substantial surviving corpus (over 40 speeches, the longest running to 230 modern pages) which demonstrates the range covered by sophistic speeches: otherwise we have only a pair of Polemon's declamations ('Who was the best fighter at Marathon?'), a few by *Lucian, and perhaps one each from Herodes Atticus (below) and Adrianus of Tyre.

Many sophists, especially of those written up by Philostratus, were influential in their cities and even provinces, intervening to check civic disorder or inter-city rivalry (e.g. Aristides 23K), or dispatched as envoys to congratulate emperors on their accession or to win or secure privileges for their cities (and often themselves). We know of some omitted by Philostratus who, like his sophists, held city offices or were honoured with statues.

But for the majority teaching must have taken more time and energy than declamation, and it was to encourage education that *Vespasian gave rhetors, like *grammatici* and doctors, immunities from city offices, judicial service, and priesthoods whether city or provincial, immunities confirmed by his successors and extended to philosophers by *Nerva or *Trajan. *Antoninus Pius limited holders to between three and five according to the city's size (and excluded philosophers), though those deemed of special excellence (*agan epistēmōnes*) were supernumerary and, unlike the others, immune even when teaching outside their city. Emperors also established salaried chairs of rhetoric: Vespasian of both Greek and Latin at Rome, Pius allegedly throughout the empire (SHA *Pius* 11. 3). To the civic chair of Greek rhetoric then founded at Athens with a salary of a talent (*Lives* 2. 20, 600), Marcus *Aurelius added c.AD 170 an imperial chair salaried at 10,000 drachmae. From no later than *Hadrian the equestrian post (see EQUITES (Imperial period)) *ab epistulis Graecis* or secretary for Greek correspondence was, appropriately, often held by a distinguished rhetor, and this led to a procuratorial career (see PROCURATOR) and further rewards. Some posts, however, and the elevation of sophists to the senate, like their authority within city or province, may be as much attributable to their birth into their cities' governing élites as to their skill in manipulating enthusiastic audiences.

Competition for such distinctions encouraged professional quarrels in a breed already competitive. Such

[continued on p. 716]

GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

Greek sculpture

Origins (c.1000–c.600 BC)

Of Dark-Age sculpture, only small bronzes and terracottas survive; unpretentious at first, by the 8th cent. they tend to favour the rigorously analytical forms of contemporary vase-painting. Some wooden cult images certainly existed, though most were perhaps aniconic or semi-iconic. Yet *Homer describes an *Athena at *Troy that was probably life-size and fully human in form (*Il.* 6. 297 ff.); and a half-lifesize *Apollo, a Leto, and an *Artemis, bronze-plated over a wooden core, survive from Cretan Drerus (see CRETE) as confirmation (c.750). This *sphyrelaton* technique is near eastern in origin. On close inspection the works reveal a careful attention to proportions, a command of volume and mass, and a strong sense of articulation (based on the natural jointing of the core). Converting the flux of appearance into a regular, harmonious, yet visually credible form, this unknown artist is a true pioneer.

The Cretan *poleis* (see POLIS) were socially and politically precocious, and their eastern trade, in which Corinth soon joined, set off a new cycle of experimentation c.700. In sculpture, the most popular of these orientaling styles is usually called 'Daedalic' after the mythical founder of Greek sculpture, Daedalus. Diffused through terracotta plaques and popular in a wide variety of media and scales, Daedalic is characterized by a strict frontality and an equally strict adherence to stylized, angular forms; coiffures are elaborately layered in the Syrian manner. When employed on temples (Gortyn, Prinias), it often follows near eastern precedent in both placement and iconography.

Meanwhile, Cycladic sculptors were looking to Egypt, receptive to foreigners from 664. After c.650 the walking, kilted Egyptian males were adapted to form the *kouros* type, nude and free-standing—supposedly a 'discovery' of Daedalus (Diod. Sic. 1. 97. 5, etc.). Marble was the preferred medium, and adherence to the shape of the quarried block tended to make the finished work look like a four-sided relief. The type soon spread to east Greece and the mainland. In the earliest *kouroi*, as in their draped female counterparts, the *korai*, the Daedalic style predominated, but by c.600 its rigid stylization was breaking down as sculptors sought new ways of communicating male and female beauty, to delight the gods or to commemorate the dead.

Archaic sculpture (c.600–c.480 BC)

Archaic sculpture seeks exemplary patterns for reality, somewhat akin to the formulae of Homeric and archaic poetry. The aim was still to make sense of the phenomenal world, to generalize from experience, but in a more flexible and direct way. Each local school developed its own preferences in ideal male beauty. Naxians liked a sinuous contour and clear-cut, elegantly stylized anatomy; Samians massively rounded forms and powerfully articulated joints; Boeotians a craggy masculinity; and so on. Only in Athens did a thoroughgoing naturalism evolve, as a by-product of a desire to understand the tectonics of the perfect human body in their entirety. By c.500 Athenian *kouroi* were fully developed human beings, their anatomy closely observed, clearly articulated, and skilfully integrated with the underlying physical and geometric structure of the body.

Korai offered fewer opportunities for detailed physical observation, but just as many for displays of beauty appropriate to their subjects' station in life and value to a male-dominated world. Their sculptors concentrated upon refining the facial features, creating a truly feminine proportional canon, and indicating the curves of the body beneath the drapery. The mainland tunic or *peplos* offered little here, but from c.560 the possibilities of the more complex Ionian chiton and himation began to fascinate the eastern Greeks. Soon, refugees fleeing from the Persians helped the fashion to catch on elsewhere, particularly in Attica. Yet by c.500, serious interest in the behaviour of cloth had given way to a passion for novelty: sculptors now pursued a decorative brilliance enhanced by a lavish application of colour.

Both types could be adapted for cult statues, and the sources recount much work in this genre, often associated with the new stone *temples that now served as focal points of *polis* religion. Gold and ivory (*chryselephantine*) statues also begin to appear; several have been found at Delphi. From c.600, temple exteriors were often embellished with architectural sculpture, first in limestone, then in marble; treasuries for votives were soon enhanced in the same way. Mythological narratives first supplemented, then supplanted primitive power-symbols like gorgons and lions (Corfu (Corcyra), 'Hekatompedon', and Hydra pediments at Athens). Sculptors soon adapted their subjects to their frames,

whether triangular, rectangular (Ionic friezes at *Ephesus, *Samos, and *Delphi), or square (metopes of the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi and temples at *Paestum and Selinus); to carve pediments in higher relief and even in the round ('Old temple' pediments at Athens; Apollo temple at Delphi); and to dramatize the story by judicious timing, lively postures and gestures, and compelling rendering of detail.

By c.500 the drive to narrate convincingly had permeated virtually all sculptural genres, from gravestones to statue-bases. Hollow-cast bronze also began to replace marble, at least in free-standing sculpture. Its greater tensile strength now removed any technical restraint in the handling of narrative action poses. Only the *kouroi* and *korai* remained aloof—and look increasingly old-fashioned in consequence. A revolution was brewing, and could not be long delayed.

Classical sculpture (c.480–c.330 BC)

'The dynamic of the subject-matter'—the living body, unencumbered by arcane symbolism or religious inhibitions—had always played an important part in modifying the formulaic style, and surely contributed signally to its abandonment, but other factors also helped. Three stand out: a strong commitment to credible narration, prompting sculptors to think of the body as an integrated organism, not a mechanism assembled from discrete parts; a feeling that naturalism was a mixed blessing, requiring corrective measures to preserve the statue's monumentality; and a new quest for interiority, for exploring man's inner self. Around 480 even the automaton-like *kouros* gave way to more subtly mobile, narrative-oriented figures, monumental in physique and grave of countenance, pausing as if to think, like the 'Critius' boy, or resolute in action, like the Tyrannicides.

This more flexible, holistic, and contextual view of man was abetted by a simultaneous repudiation of late Archaic 'excess' in decorative patterning in favour of a rigorously applied doctrine of formal restraint. The new style strongly recalls the *sōphrosynē* or 'wise moderation' urged by the poets. This was an ethic much in vogue after the replacement of aristocracies at Athens and elsewhere by limited democracies, and particularly after the spectacular defeat of the hybriatic and excessive Persians in 490 and 480. This early Classical phase is often (appropriately) called 'Severe'.

Sōphrosynē is best exemplified in the sculptures of the temple of *Zeus at *Olympia, carved between 470 and 457 (Paus. 5. 10). Their themes bespeak *hubris* overcome by divinely inspired wisdom, and the participants act out their characters like participants in a tragedy. The expansive rendering brings power to the narrative, while a self-imposed economy of means allows bold distinctions in characterization, unhampered by distracting clutter. The same is true of bronzes like the Zeus from Artemisium and 'Riace Warrior A' (see 'RIACE WARRIORS'), whose carefully calculated postures are eloquent, respectively, of divine might and heroic potency; and of works known only in copy like the Discobolos (Discus Thrower) of Myron, whose swinging curves capture the essence of athletic endeavour.

Throughout, the aim is to find forms or modes that express the general or typical, yet are open to some variation for individuality's sake: witness the differences between the two 'Riace warriors'. Further progress was the work of two geniuses, Polyclitus of Argos and Phidias of Athens (active c.470–420). In his bronze *Doryphoros* or 'Spearbearer', Polyclitus created a new standard or canon (also written up as a treatise) for the youthful nude male. Powerfully muscled, proportioned with meticulous exactitude, composed around carefully-calibrated cross-relationships among the limbs, and finished with painstaking precision, it was a paradigm of measured humanity. The Mean personified, it was restrained yet limber, self-controlled yet ever-ready for action. Polyclitus produced many variations on this theme and future generations were to follow it 'like a law' (Pliny *HN* 34. 55).

Polyclitus was remembered as supreme in the rendering of mortals, Phidias as the unsurpassed interpreter of the divine, master of chryselephantine, and propagandist for Periclean Athens (Quint. 12. 10. 9; cf. PERICLES). In his Athena Parthenos and Zeus at Olympia he sought to convey the majesty of the gods by subtle manipulation of the rendering, and by surrounding them with mythological sagas to demonstrate their power. On the Parthenon (447–432) he extended this technique to the exterior sculpture. Athena's power and reach are proclaimed by a closely coordinated programme of narratives, and her chosen people, the Athenians, are exalted by a rendering unsurpassed in Greek sculpture for its fluency, grace, harmony of body and clothing, and perfection of formal design. In this way the typical became the citizen ideal.

Phidias' followers, active during the Peloponnesian War (431–404) both pressed his style to its limits and turned it to other ends, e.g. Agoracritus at *Rhamnus. The *Nike of another follower, Paonius, and the parapet of the Nike Temple on the Athenian Acropolis manipulate drapery to create a surface brilliance that seduces the spectator into believing that what he sees is truth: victory scintillates before his eyes. Hitherto a more-or-less objective analysis of reality, here sculpture becomes a vehicle for the subjective and rhetorical, initiating yet another phase of restless

experiment. The pendulum was to swing back somewhat with the 4th-cent. masters, but henceforth, as the ancient critics realized (Quint. 12. 10. 9), it is the phenomena that tend to coerce the sculptor, not vice versa. The war was not wholly to blame: the *sophists had done their work well, particularly in Athens.

Whereas in the Peloponnese the war only benefited the conservative pupils of Polyclitus, in postwar Athens, demand for sculpture was virtually restricted to gravestones, revived around 430 (see ART, FUNERARY, GREEK). Not until c.370 could the Athenians celebrate recovery by commissioning a bronze Eirene and Plutus (Peace and Wealth) from Cephisodotus, a work that exudes Phidian majesty and harmony. Also seeking new ways to the divine, Cephisodotus' son Praxiteles created his revolutionary Aphrodite of Cnidus, proclaiming the power of the love goddess through total nudity and a beguiling radiance of feature and surface. Meanwhile, his contemporary Scopas sought to perfect an acceptable formula for conveying the passions of gods and men.

Scopas was a leading sculptor in the team engaged by Mausolus of Caria for his gigantic tomb, the *Mausoleum. Its unparalleled magnificence announced the advent of the Hellenistic world; a pointer, too, was the hiring away of the best artistic talent by a '*barbarian' patron. The real revolutionary, though, was Lysippus of Sicyon (active c.370–310), who radically transformed Greek sculpture's central genre, the male nude. His Apoxyomenos or 'Body-scraper' not only rocks back and forth before our eyes and extends an arm into our space, but was planned according to a new canon which sought slimness, elegance, and the appearance of greater height (Pliny HN 34. 65). This and his minute attention to details made him popular as a portraitist, particularly with *Alexander the Great (reigned 336–323), from whose features he created a new ideal that was firmly rooted in reality. Greek portraiture, which had hitherto veered between slight modifications to standard types and a sometimes trenchant realism, was transformed at a stroke (see PORTRAITURE, GREEK).

Hellenistic sculpture (c.330–c.30) BC

The phenomenal expansion of the Greek world under Alexander created a bonanza of opportunity for sculptors. Lysippus' pupils and others were hired to create commemorative, votive, and cult statues for the new kingdoms. Portraitists were particularly in demand to render and where necessary improve the features of Successor kings (Diadochi), generals, and dignitaries.

Yet the political chaos after Alexander's death, together with the transformations being undergone by the independent *polis in old Greece, sculpture's homeland, undermined the art's social and religious foundations. Furthermore, Lysippus' commitment to the subjective had severely compromised whatever shared artistic values still existed; together with a feeling that little now remained to be discovered, this often tended to promote either eclectic blends of Scopaic, Praxitelean, and Lysippic (in portraiture) or a cautious neoclassicism.

Lysippus' school dominated the Peloponnese and was popular with the Successors, while more conservative patrons could choose the Athenians. As Athens declined, her sculptors increasingly sought permanent employment abroad: *Alexandria, *Rhodes, and the Asian cities were the main beneficiaries. In Alexandria, Attic-style gravestones were popular for a while, and the comfortably-off soon became avid consumers of grotesques; meanwhile, Ptolemaic royal portraits (see PTOLEMY I; PTOLEMY II) exude an aura of suprahuman calm. In *Pergamum, a liking for the vigorous realism of the local sculptor Epigonus, in monuments celebrating the defeats of the Celts and *Seleucids (237 and after), did not preclude the hiring of the Athenian Phryomachus to create cult-images, portraits, and battle-groups in a turbulent 'baroque' style derived from late 4th-cent. art. Style was now a matter of choice, and form could follow function—or not, as the patron wished.

The devastating wars of the years around 200 mark a watershed in Hellenistic sculpture. Following Pergamene precedent, the victorious Romans looted hundreds of statues and began to entice Greek sculptors west to work directly for them; realistic portraiture and Athenian neoclassical cult-images were most in demand. As the Roman market grew, Greek workshops also began to respond with decorative copies and reworkings of Classical masterpieces for direct shipment to Italy (see PHILHELLENISM).

Meanwhile the main beneficiaries of Rome's intervention, Pergamum and Achaea, celebrated in style. Eumenes II of Pergamum built the Great Altar, probably after Macedon's final defeat in 168, embellishing it with a 'baroque' Gigantomachy (see GIANTS) and a quasi-pictorial inner frieze narrating the life of the city's mythical founder, Telephus. He also installed a copy of the Athena Parthenos in the Pergamene library to advertise his claim to rule the 'Athens of the east'. Neoclassical sculpture was also favoured in the Achaean cities, where Damophon of Messene sought to update the style of Phidias. Athens preferred an even more rigid classicism, while on *Delos from 166 to *Mithradates VI's sack of 88 the Italian business community erected hard-boiled portraits of each other and bought dainty statuettes for their homes.

Attalus III of Pergamum willed his domains to Rome in 133, bringing its sculptural tradition to a close, but the most crushing blow was dealt by the Mithradatic Wars (88–66), which left Greece and Asia devastated and impoverished. Though some striking work was still produced, largely in portraiture, sculptors now moved to Italy in large numbers, creating the last of the great Hellenistic schools, but now on foreign soil and pledged to foreign masters. When the Carrara quarries (NW Italy) opened c.50 and *Augustus officially endorsed imperial classicism after *Cleopatra VII's defeat in 31, the west at last reigned supreme.

See IMAGERY; SCULPTURE, ROMAN.

AFS

Roman sculpture

Roman sculpture was produced in a variety of materials (bronze, marble, other stones, precious metals, terracotta) but it is marble that is seen as typically Roman because so much that survives is in this medium. Sculpture was used for commemorative purposes (for display in public and in private contexts, especially the tomb), for state *propaganda, in religious settings, and for decorative purposes, and various different forms were developed: statues and busts, relief friezes and panels, and architectural embellishments.

Early sculpture in Rome (e.g. the bronze she-wolf of c.500 BC) was heavily influenced by *Etruscan work, and Etruscan sculptors would appear to have worked in Rome in the regal period and the early republic. Rome's contacts with the Greek world, at first with the colonies of southern Italy and later through wars of conquest in Greece and Asia Minor, resulted in a knowledge of and growing taste for Greek sculpture: at first statues arrived as war *booty, but growing demand created a flourishing trade in new work. The taste for sculpture in the Classical Greek style was fostered by the Augustan regime (see AUGUSTUS), and had periodic revivals, most notably in the reign of *Hadrian, but from the late republic onwards there were developments in subject-matter and style that are distinctly Roman, though



sculpture, Roman Roman marble relief with youth and horse. Although from the 2nd cent. AD, it imitates the Classical style of the Parthenon sculptures at Athens. It was found in the Tibur villa of the philhellene *Hadrian, under whose patronage neoclassicism flourished at Rome. © The Trustees of the British Museum

owing much to Greek precursors. This is seen for example in the development of portraiture in late republican Rome (see *PORTRAITURE, ROMAN*).

Perhaps the most original Roman developments occurred in the series of historical reliefs used to decorate major state monuments and to express current ideologies. The taste for the representation of contemporary events first appears in the late republic (e.g. the relief from the so-called 'altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus' in the Louvre, with its scene of a sacrifice at the closure of the census): such a documentary approach continues under the Empire, and can be seen at its most developed on the columns of *Trajan and Marcus *Aurelius, where the stories of Rome's wars with the barbarians are represented on a long relief spiralling round the column. These use 'continuous narrative': the episodes run into one another without obvious breaks between scenes, and those on Trajan's Column in particular show great attention to the factual recording of details. However, a more allegorical approach also developed alongside this realism, and some reliefs show a love of drama derived from the art of Hellenistic Greece (e.g. the Great Trajanic Frieze). Realism and allegory appear side by side on one of the most complex and subtle Roman propaganda monuments, the *Ara Pacis Augustae, where 'realistic' procession scenes are placed next to mythological, allegorical, and decorative panels to express the ideals of the Augustan regime. Later state reliefs might combine the two approaches, as in the panels inside the arch of *Titus representing the Judaeen *triumph (see *JEW*s): the carrying of the spoils of Jerusalem is represented in a realistic (if dramatic) way, whereas the emperor in his triumphal chariot is accompanied by deities and allegorical figures. The deep, many-layered relief of these scenes was further developed in the 2nd cent. AD, with experiments in the representation of perspective, overlapping crowds, and the pictorial effects of light and shade. Towards the end of the century (Severan period) repetition and frontality of poses began to be used as a means of clarifying the narrative and isolating and emphasizing the emperor. This tendency is more marked by the time of the tetrarchs and *Constantine I, and is a hallmark of late antique sculpture. The origins of frontality have been variously ascribed to a 'popular' or 'plebeian' style of art in Rome and to the influence of the east, but its adoption certainly accorded with late antique imperial ideology.

Sculptured relief was also produced for private patrons, especially for the tomb: relief panels decorated the exterior walls, and ash-chests, grave altars and sarcophagi were placed inside. A rich repertoire of motifs was used, including mythological (and later, Christian) themes, battles, hunts, genre scenes, and portraits, drawing on classical and Hellenistic Greek art and contemporary state reliefs as sources of inspiration. Sculpture was also widely used to decorate public buildings, temples, and private homes and *gardens.

In the provinces local styles and schools of sculpture developed. The sculptors of the eastern provinces, especially Greece and Asia Minor, continued and developed the Classical and Hellenistic styles: they travelled widely around the empire, working on major monuments such as the 'Sebasteion' at *Aphrodisias or the forum of *Septimius Severus at Lepcis Magna in Roman *Africa: they also created the large series of eastern sarcophagi exported to Rome and elsewhere. In the northern and western provinces Celtic traditions fused with Roman to produce interesting hybrids, such as the pediment of the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath (Aquae Sulis) in *Britain. On the frontiers the lively but unsophisticated sculpture produced by and for the military (e.g. the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi in Romania) form an instructive contrast to the polished monuments in the Classical style at Rome and in the eastern provinces. See *ART, ANCIENT ATTITUDES TO*; *ART, FUNERARY, ROMAN*; *IMAGERY, PAINTING, ROMAN*. GD

rivalry added spice to performances and tempted fans to trap their hero's rival, as when Herodes' pupils spoiled a supposedly extempore performance of Philagrus by reading out the speech, which had already been published (*Lives* 2. 8, 579).

Many rhetors' intellectual activities extended beyond declamation. Some composed poetry, whether shorter pieces, where extempore composition was similarly esteemed, or epic and tragedy. Others, classified apart by Philostratus (*Lives* 1. 1–8), also lectured or wrote on philosophical issues, whether throughout their career, like the Hellenized eunuch from Arles, Favorinus, or after

a 'conversion' from sophistic, as claimed by his teacher Dio of Prusa. Herodes Atticus not only combined teaching and declamation with unusual wealth and power, exercised in an Athenian and a Roman senatorial career (consul 143), but argued knowledgeably with philosophers and grammarians in the circle of Aulus *Gellius. Others wrote history, like Antiochus of Aegae (*Lives* 2. 4, 570).

Such literary products need not have been strongly influenced by rhetorical training or the declamatory milieu. Others were: for instance, the exercise of **ekphrasis* (set-piece description) found in rhetorical handbooks

spawned a whole genre, the descriptions of imaginary paintings, exemplified by the *Imagines* of the two Philostrati, and influenced Aelian of Praeneste's *Varia historia*, *History of Animals*, and (imaginary) *Letters*. *Ekphrasis* is also prominent in novelists, two of whom (Longus and Achilles Tatius; see NOVEL, GREEK) are described as sophists by their manuscripts, and in Philostratus' novelistic work on *Apollonius of Tyana. Lucian not only exploits *ekphrasis* in some *prolaliai* but developed the *dialexis* into a humorous art-form: its use for lighter entertainment is already discernible in Dio, but only from Lucian (who claimed to have started as a rhetor) do we have a wide range of entertaining works of which it is often hard to know whether they were delivered to an audience, circulated as letters or pamphlets, or both. There are other writers, not attested as sophists, whose works' manner and style would surely have been different had they not lived in the Second Sophistic—the periegete *Pausanias, the historian Herodian.

It is clear, however, that the prominence of declamatory rhetoric was not limited to Philostratus' favoured period. It continued as a major cultural phenomenon, little abated by the 3rd-cent. crisis, into the 4th and 5th cents., whose properly sophistic texts are more voluminous than those surviving from AD 60–230. We also already find rhetors active in Greek city politics by the late 1st cent. BC, and the declaimers of Augustan and Tiberian Rome (see AUGUSTUS; TIBERIUS) are documented by the elder Seneca. The change about the time of *Nero may not have been so much one of the rhetors' role as of the theatre in which they played. The Greek world was recovering from Roman expansion and civil wars, Nero's short-lived gift of 'freedom' to old Greece stirred consciousness, and Philostratus' period saw an economic, cultural, and even (in limited terms) political recovery in the Greek world that has fairly been termed a renaissance and is even (loosely) called the Second Sophistic. What was uttered and done by rhetors in this period breathed more confidence and had a wider impact than what went before, and they themselves were prominent among the many elements of Greek culture that found a high place in Roman esteem and society. ELB

Sejanus (Lucius Aelius Seianus), d. AD 31, of Volsinii (mod. Bolsena) in Etruria. Sejanus' father was an *eques* (see EQUITES), Lucius Seius Strabo, his mother the sister of Quintus Iunius Blaesus, suffect consul (see CONSUL) AD 10, and connected with Aelii Tuberones and Cassii Longini. Sejanus, who had attended Augustus' grandson Gaius Caesar in the east, was made Strabo's colleague as prefect of the guard by *Tiberius in AD 14, and soon, on his father's appointment as prefect of Egypt, became

sole commander; by 23 he had concentrated the guard in barracks near the porta Viminalis. After the death of Tiberius' son Drusus in 23 (murder was later imputed) his influence was paramount; a succession of prosecutions eliminated opponents (chiefly adherents of the elder Agrippina). Tiberius allegedly refused to allow a marriage with Drusus' widow Livia Iulia (25), but retired from Rome in 26, further increasing Sejanus' influence (he allegedly encouraged the move); honours and oaths were offered to him as to Tiberius. In 29 Agrippina and her eldest son Nero Iulius Caesar were deported; her second, Drusus Iulius Caesar, was imprisoned in 30. That year Sejanus was elected consul for 31 with Tiberius amid engineered demonstrations; proconsular *imperium* followed, and he hoped for tribunician power. In October, however, Tiberius, allegedly warned by his sister-in-law Antonia, sent a letter to the senate which ended by denouncing him (certainly for plotting against *Germanicus' youngest son, *Gaius 'Caligula' (the future emperor)). Sejanus was arrested, the guard having been transferred to Macro, 'tried' in the senate, and executed; the punishment of Livilla and of adherents, real or alleged, followed; even his youngest children were killed. Tiberius acted quickly and in fear of the outcome. Sejanus has been suspected of planning a coup against him; more probably he intended a gradual accession to partnership, involving Livia Iulia's son Tiberius Iulius Caesar Nero 'Gemellus'. JPB/BML

Seleucids, rulers of the empire founded by *Seleucus I, governing a vast realm, sometimes called 'Asia', stretching from modern Turkey to Afghanistan. The Seleucids from the start continued (and adapted) Achaemenid Persian institutions in the army (use of local peoples), in administration (e.g. taxation and satrapal organization), the use of plural 'royal capitals' (Seleuceia on Tigris, *Antioch, Sardis), the use of local languages (and people) in local bureaucracy; also, from the beginning, Babylon, *Babylonia, and the Babylonian kingship were central, in Seleucid planning, to an empire, the pivotal point of which, joining east and west, was the Fertile Crescent. New was the policy of founding a great number of cities and veteran colonies all over the empire (see COLONIZATION, HELLENISTIC). *Antiochus III conquered southern Syria and Palestine from Egypt (c.200), but by the peace of Apamea (188), negotiated with Rome, the Seleucids gave up possessions north of the Taurus mountains in Anatolia. It was the complex interaction of dynastic strife, from the later 2nd cent., the advance of the Parthians, under Mithradates I of *Parthia, who had conquered Babylonia in 141 BC, and the interference of Rome, that gradually destroyed the Seleucid empire. *Pompey ended

the Seleucid kingdom by deposing the last king and organizing the remnants of the empire into the Roman province of *Syria.

Rulers: *Seleucus I Nicator, 305–281 BC; Antiochus I Soter, 281–261; Antiochus II Theos, 261–246; Seleucus II Callinicus, 246–226/5 or 225/4; Seleucus III Soter, 226/5 or 225/4–222; *Antiochus III the Great, 222–187; Seleucus IV Philopator, 187–175; Antiochus IV Epiphanes, 175–164; Antiochus V Eupator, 164–162/1; Demetrius I Soter, 161–150; Alexander Balas, 150–145; Demetrius II Nicator, 145–138 Antiochus VI Epiphanes (rival king), 145/4–141/0; Tryphon (rival king), 141/0–138; Antiochus VII Sidetes, 138–129; Demetrius II Nicator, 129–125; Alexander II Zabinas (rival king), 129–123; Seleucus V, 125; Cleopatra Thea, 125; Cleopatra Thea and Antiochus VIII Grypus, 125–121; Antiochus VIII Grypus, 121–96; Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, 115–95; Seleucus VI, 96/5–94/3; Antiochus X, 94/3 and 93/2–89/8; Antiochus XI, c. 95–c.93; Demetrius III, 97/6–88/7; Philip I, c.95–84/3 or c.95–c.75; Antiochus XII, 87/6–83/2; Armenian domination under Tigranes II, 83–69 or c.74/3–69; Philip II Philoromaeus, 67/6–66/5; and Antiochus XIII Asiaticus, 69–64 or 68/7 and 65/4 <http://www.livius.org/se-sg/seleucids/seleucid_kings.html>. ss-w/RJvds

Seleucus I (Nicator) (Conqueror) (c.358–281 BC), founder of the *Seleucid empire, fought with *Alexander the Great as ‘companion’ (*hetairoi*), from 326 as commander of the elite corps of *hypaspistai* (lit. ‘shield-bearers’); after Alexander’s death commander of the Companion cavalry (323–320), satrap of Babylonia (320–316 or 315), self-appointed *stratēgos* of Asia (311–305) and king (305–281).

After Alexander’s death, his empire became a bone of contention for his generals. In Babylon Perdikkas was nominated *chiliarchos*, ‘Grand Vizier’, but jealousy of the other generals led to the First Diadoch War (322–320) and his assassination by Seleucus, when he tried to invade Egypt, the satrapy of *Ptolemy I (320 BC). At Tripuradeisos in Syria a new division of satrapies was agreed in which Seleucus received Babylonia, *Antigonos the One-eyed Phrygia and the supreme command over the army in Asia (*stratēgos* of Asia). A conflict between Seleucus and Antigonos when the latter visited Babylon led to Seleucus’ flight to Egypt (316 or 315), which, in turn, led to the Second Diadoch War (316/15–311), a coalition of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and *Lysimachus against Antigonos. After the battle of Gaza (autumn 312), in which Ptolemy beat Demetrius, son of Antigonos, Seleucus was able to head for Babylonia with a small force and reconquered Babylon (May 311 BC). All the contestants made peace, except Seleucus who declared himself *stratēgos* as Antigonos’ successor in Asia, appointing

Patrocles *stratēgos* of Babylonia (Diod. Sic. 19.100.5). This became the first year of the Seleucid era, starting October 312 according to the Macedonian calendar, April 311 according to the Babylonian calendar. Antigonos tried to reconquer Babylonia, but without success (‘Babylonian war’ 311–308). The main source for this war is the Babylonian ‘Diadochi Chronicle’ (*ABC 10 = BCHP 1*). The war was a complete victory for Seleucus as he was able to retain Babylonia and to conquer the ‘Upper Satrapies’, negotiating after his invasion (c.304) of the Indus region a settlement with Sandracottus, founder of the empire of the Mauryas. Seleucus took the title of king in 305 after Antigonos had done the same and founded Seleucia on Tigris as a royal capital (date disputed).

The contestants did not abide by their agreements of 311. Cassander killed Alexander IV (310?), Ptolemy added Cyprus to his empire (309), and the old coalition against Antigonos was reunited (Fourth Diadoch war, 307–301). The victory of the coalition at Ipsus (301) gave Seleucus north Syria and access to the Mediterranean through Syria and Cilicia. He built *Antioch (300) as another of his royal capitals. Seleucus finally won Asia Minor with the victory of Corupedium over Lysimachus (281). Seleucus then tried to invade Macedonia, but was assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, the oldest—but rejected—son of Ptolemy I, who had fled to Seleucus, but wanted Macedonia for himself.

Seleucus was married to the Bactrian Princess Apame (324). Later Seleucus married Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes (‘the Besieger’) (298). However, Stratonice was passed to Antiochus as queen and wife (294), and Antiochus was dispatched to the eastern satrapies as king with full royal authority (and armies). GTG/ss-w/RJvds

senate

Regal and republican age

Composition

In the time of the Gracchi (see GRACCHUS, GAIUS; GRACCHUS, TIBERIUS) (c.133–121 BC) the senate was a body of around 300 wealthy men of aristocratic birth, most of them ex-magistrates. Although the sources tend to assume that this state of affairs had always existed, in fact it was the product of historical development and change. Since in the early republic there were very few magistrates, and iteration of office was common, it follows that there was a time when either the majority of senators had never held a magistracy, or their number was considerably less than 300. Probably both conclusions are true for the 5th cent. This must cast doubt on the notion that the

number 300 is connected with the three tribes and 30 *curiae* (voting groupings); in fact there is no basis for this theory in the ancient sources, and tradition itself implicitly denies it in maintaining that *Romulus, who founded the tribes (see TRIBUS) and *curiae*, chose 100 men to form the first senate.

Very little is actually known about the origins and early history of the senate. Traditionally it was the council of the kings, then of the consuls. There is no reason to think that it was ever an exclusively patrician body. Collectively the senators were addressed as *patres et conscripti*; since the *patres* were *patricians, it would seem to follow that the *conscripti* were not. The distinction was certainly very ancient, and it may go back to the monarchy. Senators were chosen first by the kings, then by the consuls. Festus (p. 290 Lindsay) tells us that they had a free choice, and that before the *lex Ovinia* it was not considered disgraceful to be omitted from the senate. This can only mean that membership was not fixed, but depended on the whim of the magistrates in office; it clearly implies that before the *lex Ovinia* the senate was little more than an *ad hoc* advisory council. Festus may or may not be right; but his statement is the only evidence we have.

The date of the *lex Ovinia* is unknown, but it was probably after 339 and certainly before 318 BC. It laid down that the censors were to choose the senate according to fixed criteria; only men guilty of serious misconduct could be omitted from the list. As a result membership became effectively lifelong, and expulsion from the senate meant disgrace. The criteria of selection are unfortunately not recorded, but it was probably as a consequence of this reform that ex-magistrates were chosen automatically. By the later 3rd cent. ex-magistrates were permitted to take part in sessions before being formally enrolled at the census. The censors nevertheless retained the right to make up numbers by choosing additional senators, and to exclude persons considered guilty of immoral behaviour or following disreputable professions. *Freedmen and sons of freedmen were usually not admitted. It is also evident that senators had to be qualified for membership of the equestrian order, which meant ownership of landed property worth 400,000 sesterces. *Sulla increased the size of the senate by adding 300 new members and making entry dependent on tenure of the quaestorship; the number of quaestors was raised to twenty to maintain numbers thenceforth. *Caesar rewarded his supporters by admitting them to the senate, which in 45 BC had 900 members; under the triumvirate the figure rose to over 1,000, but was reduced to around 600 by *Augustus.

Senators wore the *latus clavus* (broad purple stripe on the *toga) and special shoes. They had reserved seats at religious ceremonies and games. They were not allowed to leave Italy without the senate's permission. Being excluded from state contracts and ownership of large ships (see CLAUDIUS), they were predominantly a land-owning class. Although heredity was a strong recommendation for magisterial office, the senate was far from being an exclusively hereditary body; it seems always to have contained numbers of 'new men' (i.e. first-generation senators), particularly among the lower ranks (though for a new man to rise to high office was naturally unusual).

Procedure

The senate was summoned by the presiding magistrates, either holders of *imperium or, later, tribunes, according to an order of precedence. Sessions were held between dawn and sunset, but were forbidden by a *lex Pupia* (2nd or 1st cent. BC) during the *comitia* (citizen assembly). Meetings had to take place in Rome or within a mile of the city boundary, in a place both public and consecrated. The first sitting of the year was in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Sittings were held in private, but with open doors, *tribunes of the plebs sitting in the vestibule in the period before their admission to sessions (4th cent. BC?). A session opened with a statement by the chairman or another magistrate, outlining the matter for discussion. Each senator then gave his opinion (*sententia*) in order of rank—beginning with ex-censors (*censorii*), followed by *consulares*, *praetorii*, and so on. The senior patrician ex-censor, who gave his opinion first, was known as the *princeps senatus*. After Sulla the magistrate gave precedence to the consuls designate or, in their absence, to a senator of consular rank, and *princeps senatus* became a purely social title open to plebeians. Each senator spoke from his seat. Freedom of speech was unlimited in the republic, but Augustus imposed a time-limit. After the debate a vote was taken; the decree resulting from a positive vote was known as a *senatus consultum* (senatorial decree). Sometimes a vote was taken directly after the opening statement with no intervening debate; and on some issues a quorum was required. A *senatus consultum* could be vetoed by the tribunes. Records of proceedings were kept by the urban quaestors in the *aerarium* (treasury), and in 59 BC Caesar ordered them to be published (Suet. *Caes.* 20).

Functions

The senate's formal role was to advise the magistrates. Its advice covered all matters of domestic and foreign policy,

finance, and religion. In the 3rd and 2nd cents. it was customary, but not obligatory, for magistrates (and tribunes) to submit legislative proposals to the senate for discussion, and to obtain a *senatus consultum* before presenting a bill to the *comitia*. The senate could also invalidate laws already passed by pointing out technical flaws in procedure.

Since the senate included ex-magistrates who were effectively (after the *lex Ovinia*) members for life, its decisions inevitably came to bind those of its members who happened to be holding senior magistracies at any given time. And by the start of the 3rd cent. the growth of the Roman state and the increasing complexity of its affairs gave the senate an ever greater control of government business. It was the only permanent body with the necessary knowledge and experience to supervise policy in a wide range of fields. It controlled the state's finances, the levying and disposal of military forces, the allocation of magisterial tasks ('provinces'; see PROVINCIAS), relations with foreign powers, and the maintenance of law and order in Rome and Italy. It was the senate that decided whether to extend the period of a magistrate's command (*prorogatio imperii*), and although the people in the *comitia centuriata* had the final say on declarations of war and the ratification of treaties, it is clear that, by the end of the 3rd cent. at least, they merely gave formal assent to decisions taken in advance by the senate. The senate supervised the religious life of the community, and the major priestly colleges consisted largely of senators. The senate received reports of prodigies and decided on the appropriate action; and it was the senate that ordered the performance of special religious ceremonies and decided on the introduction of new cults.

In the late republic the senate claimed the right to wield absolute power in certain circumstances. It could order dispensation from the observance of law, and during the Gracchan period it asserted the right to declare a state of emergency by passing its 'ultimate decree' (*senatus consultum ultimum*), which gave the magistrates unfettered power to act as they saw fit. But these developments occurred at a time when the senate's authority was being challenged by the *populares* (popular politicians), and in the succeeding decades it was completely undermined by armed force. The collapse of the senate's authority marked the end of the republic.

AM/TJCO

The imperial age

Under *Augustus and his successors far-reaching modifications of the social origins and the corporate and individual functions of senators occurred. Despite those

changes the senatorial *ordo* remained the most important political and social body in the empire, its first estate.

The *ordo* and its recruitment

By the end of the civil wars the ranks of senators had increased to about 1,000. Augustus initiated a series of revisions of the senate of which the most important occurred in 28 BC and 18 BC. After the latter the size of the senate was fixed at 600, which remained its normal figure through the first two and a half centuries of the Principate. A new property qualification of one million sesterces was introduced, which served to differentiate more clearly the senatorial from the equestrian order (see EQUITES). Sons of senators gained the automatic right to assume the *latus clavus* at 17 years of age and to stand, later, for membership of the senate. Sons of senators normally served for one year as a military tribune, then held a post in the vigintivirate before standing for election to the senate (through the quaestorship) at 25. Twenty quaestors were elected each year; from the beginning of *Tiberius' reign the election of junior magistrates (most notably the quaestors and praetors) was transferred to the senate.

The main thrust of Augustus' reforms was to introduce *de iure* a strong hereditary element into the senate. However throughout the Principate some senatorial families were impoverished by over-expenditure, others fell into political disfavour or were eliminated; still other senatorial families had no surviving sons. In addition some sons of senators probably (though this issue is disputed) chose not to try to follow in their fathers' footsteps. Consequently in each generation opportunities arose for new families, through the patronage of the emperors, to enter the senate. Emperors promoted new men into the senate either through the grant of the *latus clavus*, which gave individuals the right to stand for the quaestorship, or through direct adlection. By these means imperial *patronage continuously transformed the social origins of senators.

The influx of new families recruited from the élites of the provinces transformed the geographic composition of the order. Under Augustus the senate remained primarily Italian in origin. Under the Julio-Claudian emperors provincial senators, especially from Baetica and Gallia Narbonensis (see GAUL (TRANSALPINE)), emerged. In the course of the later 1st and 2nd cents. new families emerged from the north African and eastern provinces, though very few senators ever came from the northern and Danubian provinces. By the time of the Severan emperors over 50 per cent of senators were of non-Italian origin. In the long term the social and geographic transformation of the senate allowed the socio-political élite of the conquered to be gradually fused with the élite of the conquerors.

Functions and roles

Although financial policy, diplomacy, and military policy became the preserve of the emperors, the senate still exercised certain important corporate functions. It acted as a source of binding rule-making, as *senatus consulta* (senatorial decrees) acquired the full force of law; surviving legislation predominantly concerns the rules of status and of inheritance and the maintenance of public order. As a court it tried its own members, chiefly on charges of extortion. Most importantly it formally conferred powers on new emperors (and members of their families), and the acknowledgement of the senate was, therefore, the condition of legitimacy of any emperor. It also claimed the right to declare them public enemies, condemn their memory (*damnatio memoriae*) and rescind their acts.

Senatorial membership, as in the republic, continued to be a precondition for exercising key individual political and administrative roles. For example the civil and military administration of the majority of the provinces lay in the hands of individual senators in their role as provincial governors (proconsuls). Even in AD 200, 29 out of 33 legions were still commanded by senators. The civil and military posts, in Rome and the provinces, allocated to senators were ranked in a clear hierarchy; some were reserved for ex-praetors, others for ex-consuls. The most successful senators politically were those who governed the senior provinces reserved for ex-consuls. Senators also exercised direct influence on the administration, jurisdiction, and military policy of the emperors through their membership of the *consilium principis* (body of imperial advisers). In short imperial rule was predicated on the active participation of the empire's political élite formed by the senate. Indeed in the 1st and 2nd cents. emperors, when they had no male heir, adopted a senator as their successor (so *Nerva adopted *Trajan who, in turn, adopted *Hadrian). When political legitimacy at Rome broke down and civil war occurred (as in 68–9 and 193–7), it was senior senators who vied for the purple.

The 3rd cent. crisis and the later empire

The crisis of the 3rd cent. and major reforms by *Diocletian (284–305) and *Constantine I modified profoundly the political role and social characteristics of the senatorial order. During the crisis many political and military offices were transferred on an *ad hoc* basis to equestrians. This process was first codified by Gallienus and then carried further by Diocletian. By the end of his reign only a few civilian posts, such as proconsul of Africa or Asia and prefect of the city of Rome (*praefectus urbi*), remained open to senators.

Further substantial and complex reforms were introduced through the 4th cent. Under Constantine a general fusion of the senatorial and equestrian orders occurred whereby high-ranking equestrians were enrolled in the senate and senior equestrian officers were converted into senatorial ones. In turn it became normal practice to confer senatorial status on the holders of key military (e.g. *duces*, *magistri militum* and fiscal (e.g. *comites* of the *sacrae largitiones* and *res privata*) offices. In consequence the number of senators increased to about 2,000 in the 4th cent. In a parallel development Constantine created a second senate at the newly founded capital of Constantinople whose membership also rose quickly to about 2,000. A new socio-political hierarchy evolved within the senatorial order. By a law of Valentinian I of 372 three grades were codified, namely, in descending status, the *illustres*, the *spectabiles*, and the *clarissimi*.

The senate of the later empire exhibits strong contrasts to its predecessors. Politically, as a corporate body, it ceased to be an effective council of state. Power lay with the emperor, his court, the *consistorium* (imperial council), and the *comitatus* (field army). The residence of emperors at sites such as Ravenna and Milan (Mediolanum) of itself diminished the importance of Rome and its senate. Socially, the enlarged order was far more heterogeneous. Traditional aristocratic families co-existed with *parvenu* military men of humble origin. Although a senator's son was by right a senator (at the level of a *clarissimus*), the higher grades of the order were achieved by the tenure of the appropriate office. Status had become a reward for, rather than a precondition of, high office.

GPB

Seneca (*see following page*)

senses, ancient conceptions of (*see page 725*)

Septimius Severus, Lucius, emperor AD 193–211. The Septimii were of Punic origin, his mother's family (Fulvii) of Italian descent. His equestrian (*see* EQUITES) grandfather, probably identical with the poet *Statius' friend Septimius Severus, was the leading figure at Lepcis Magna under *Trajan; his father held no office, but two Septimii were already senators when Severus was born (145). One of them secured senatorial rank for him from Marcus *Aurelius; he and his brother Geta had normal careers under Marcus and Commodus. Consul in 190, by now with a second wife, Julia Domna, and two young sons, he became governor of Pannonia Superior in 191 through the praetorian prefect Quintus Aemilius Laetus, a fellow-African. Twelve days after Pertinax's murder (28 March 193) he was proclaimed emperor at Carnuntum (9 April) as avenger of Pertinax, whose name he assumed.

[*continued on p. 726*]

SENECA

Seneca (Lucius Annaeus Seneca), (Seneca the Younger) was born at Corduba (mod. Córdoba) in southern Spain between 4 BC and AD 1. He was born into a wealthy equestrian family of Italian stock, being the second son of the elder Seneca and Helvia; his brothers were Lucius Annaeus Novatus, later known as Iunius Gallio after his adoption by the orator of that name, and Lucius Annaeus Mela, the father of the poet Lucan. He was happily married to a woman younger than himself, Pompeia Paulina; the evidence for an earlier marriage is tenuous. He had one son, who died in 41.

He was brought to Rome by his mother's stepsister, the wife of Gaius Galerius, prefect of Egypt from 16 to 31. Little is known about his life before AD 41. In Rome by AD 5, he studied grammar and rhetoric and was attracted at an early age to philosophy. His philosophical training was varied. He attended lectures by Attalus the Stoic and by Sotion and Papirius Fabianus, both followers of Sextius who had founded the only native Roman sect a generation before: Seneca was to describe it as a type of Stoicism. It is not known when he met Demetrius the Cynic, whom he was to write about in his Neronian works. At some time he joined his aunt in Egypt, who nursed him through a period of ill health. About 31 he returned with her, survivors of a shipwreck in which his uncle died. Some time later, through her influence, he was elected quaestor, considerably after the minimum age of 25. By the reign of *Gaius, he had achieved a considerable reputation as an orator, perhaps also as a writer (if some of the lost works can be dated so early), and in 39, according to a story in *Cassius Dio, his brilliance so offended the emperor's megalomania that it nearly cost him his life (political motives have been conjectured). In 41 under *Claudius he was banished to Corsica for alleged adultery with Iulia Livilla, a sister of Gaius, and remained in exile until 49, when he was recalled through the influence of the younger *Agrippina and made praetor. He was appointed tutor to her son *Nero, then 12 years old and ready to embark on the study of rhetoric. In 51 Burrus, who was to become Seneca's congenial ally and colleague during his years of political influence, was made prefect of the praetorian guard (*praefectus praetorio*); and with Nero's accession in 54, Seneca exchanged the role of tutor for that of political adviser and minister.

During the next eight years, Seneca and Burrus managed to guide and cajole Nero sufficiently to ensure a period of good government, in which the influence of his mother was reduced and the worst abuses of the Claudian regime, the irregularities in jurisdiction and the excessive influence and venality of the court, were corrected. Though he ensured that Nero treated the senate with deference, and was himself a senior senator, having held office as suffect consul for the unusual term of six months in 55 or 56, he did not regularly attend senatorial meetings. Nor is Dio's conception of his role as initiating legislation and reform plausible. Rather, as 'emperor's friend' (*amicus principis*), writing the emperor's speeches, exercising patronage, and managing intrigue, Seneca's power was ill-defined but real. His relatives received important posts, as did the **equites* to whom he addressed most of his works. *De clementia* probably gives some idea of the way in which Nero was encouraged to behave himself, but Seneca's reputation was tarnished by Nero's suspected murder of Britannicus in 55 and certain murder of his mother in 59. As Nero fell under the influence of people more willing to flatter him and to encourage his inclination to seek popularity through exhibitionism and security through crime, Seneca's authority declined and his position became intolerable. In 62 the death of Burrus snapped his power, and Seneca asked to retire and offered to relinquish his vast wealth to Nero. The retirement was formally refused and the wealth not accepted until later; in practice he withdrew from public life and spent much time away from Rome. In 64, after Nero's sacrilegious thefts following the Great Fire in July, Seneca virtually retired to his chamber and handed over a great part of his wealth. He devoted these years to philosophy, writing, and the company of a circle of congenial friends. In 65 he was forced to commit suicide for alleged participation in the unsuccessful Pisonian conspiracy (*see NERO*); his death, explicitly modelled on that of *Socrates, is vividly described by Tacitus (*Ann.* 15. 62–4) who, though sympathetic, clearly found it rather histrionic and preferred the ironic behaviour of Petronius a year later.

Seneca's extant works comprise, first, the ten ethical treatises which are found in the Ambrosian MS (C. 90 inf.) under the name *dialogi*. They are, with the exception of the *De ira* ('on anger'), comparatively short, and their general content is readily inferred from their traditional titles; the dating is in many cases controversial. They comprise (in the manuscript order): *De providentia* ('on providence'), undatable and dedicated to Gaius Lucilius (Iunior), maintaining that no evil can befall the good man; *De constantia sapientis* ('on the constancy of the wise man'), addressed to Annaeus Serenus, written sometime after 47 and probably before 62; *De ira* in three books, dedicated to Seneca's brother

Novatus, probably in the early years of Claudius's reign (before 52); *Ad Marciam de consolatione* ('to Marcia, on consolation'), a belated and politically inspired attempt to console the daughter of Aulus Cremutius Cordus for the death of her son, probably his earliest extant work written in 39 or 40; *De vita beata*, incomplete, addressed to Novatus (now called Gallio) and probably in part an apologia, dating to after the attack on Seneca by Publius Suillius Rufus in 58 (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 42); *De otio*, of which only eight chapters survive, dating before 62, if addressed to Serenus (whose name has been erased in the MS), like *De tranquillitate animi* ('on tranquillity of mind'), which begins with Serenus describing his moral conflicts; *De brevitate vitae* ('on the brevity of life'), addressed to Paulinus, *praefectus annonae* (in charge of the corn supply) under Claudius and Nero and (now or later) Seneca's father-in-law, dated by some to 49, more plausibly to 55; *Ad Polybium de consolatione*, written about 43 to Claudius' freedman Polybius, in hopes of flattering him into supporting Seneca's recall from exile; *Ad Helviam de consolatione*, addressed to his mother who is consoled on his exile.

Beside the Ambrosian *dialogi*, we have four other prose works. *De clementia* recommends the practice of the virtue to Nero in December 55/56 (after many suspected he had murdered Britannicus): of the original three books, only the first (which has affinities with Hellenistic essays *On Kingship*) and the beginning of the second (a technical philosophical analysis of the virtue) survive. The codex Nazarianus (Vat. Pal. 1547), the fundamental source for the text of this treatise, also contains the *De beneficiis*, an elaborate work in seven books, often dry but informative about the Roman social code. It is addressed to Aebutius Liberalis and was written sometime after the death of Claudius, with 56 as a *terminus post quem* for book 2, and before *Ep.* 81. 3 (summer of 64). The *Natural questions*, dedicated to Lucilius and written during the period of Seneca's retirement, deals mainly with natural phenomena, though ethics often impinge on physics, and is of great scientific and some literary interest. The text is corrupt and broken, and the original books, apparently eight in number, have a disturbed sequence. To the same period belongs the longest of the prose works, the *Epistulae morales*, consisting of 124 letters divided into 20 books; more were extant in antiquity. Their advertised recipient is again Lucilius, but the fiction of a genuine correspondence is only sporadically maintained. Though the form was inspired by Cicero's letters to Atticus (cited by Seneca), their antecedents are to be found rather in the philosophical letters of Epicurus and Horace and in the tradition of popular philosophical discourse (sometimes misleadingly called 'diatribe'). Despite the artificiality of the letter-form, the variety and informality of these essays have made them the most popular of Seneca's prose works at all times.

In a category of its own is the obscurely entitled *Apocolocyntosis*, a Menippean satire written in a medley of prose and verse. It is an original and amusing skit on the deification of Claudius, containing serious political criticism and clever literary parody (even of Seneca himself).

Other prose works have been lost, for the titles or fragments of over a dozen survive. These included letters and speeches, a *Vita patris*, some ethical works, geographical treatises on India and Egypt, and books on physics and natural history.

The bulk of Seneca's prose work is philosophical in content and an important source for the history of Stoicism. He put his literary skills, human experience, and common sense at the service of his protreptic and paedagogic purpose: though orthodox in doctrine and sometimes learned and technical, his works aim primarily at moral exhortation. The moralizing is given all the force which an accomplished rhetorician can provide and is enlivened by anecdote, hyperbole, and vigorous denunciation. The style is brilliant, exploiting to the full the literary fashions of the day while remaining essentially individual, and has an important place in the history of European prose. Non-periodic and highly rhythmical, antithetical, and abrupt, it relies for its effect on rhetorical device, vivid metaphor, striking vocabulary, paradox and point; the point, a product of the philosophical as much as the rhetorical tradition, is at times refined to excess by the unflagging ingenuity of the writer. Aimed at immediate impact, the structure is often deliberately loose and need not imply an inability to develop a sustained theme. Seneca's contribution to forging a philosophical vocabulary in Latin (see LUCRETIVUS) was considerable. The ultimate beneficiaries were the Latin Church Fathers.

His most important poetical works are his tragedies: the corpus contains *Hercules [furens]*, based generally on the *Hercules furens* of Euripides; *Troades*, combining the sacrificial plot elements from Euripides' *Troades* and *Hecuba*; *Phoenissae*, an unfinished text without choral odes whose two long acts recall both Sophocles' *OC* and Euripides' *Phoenissae*; *Medea*, close in action and characterization to Euripides' *Medea*; *Phaedra*, the Euripidean myth, but with a Phaedra both more shameless and more repentant than in the *Hippolytus* of Stephanephorus; *Oedipus*, close in action to Sophocles' play; *Agamemnon*, unlike Aeschylus' play in the role played by Aegisthus, the scenes between Cassandra and the Trojan chorus, and the final act; *Thyestes*, with no known model; and *Hercules Oetaeus*, a pagan passion-play whose derivative language and overextended action suggest rather an imitator than Seneca himself. A tenth drama (the

only surviving *praetexta* (historical drama)), *Octavia*, based on the events of AD 62, can hardly be by Seneca, who is a character of the drama. Absent from the oldest MS (Etruscus), it implies knowledge of events that occurred after Seneca's death, and lacks Seneca's richness of verbal invention and dramatic development.

Recent scholarship has argued against judging the tragedies in relation to their famous Greek predecessors, realizing that Seneca did not adapt individual Greek tragedies, but drew inspiration from the whole tragic corpus, especially from Euripides. More significant is his debt to Roman poetry: he did not admire and probably did not use the now lost republican tragedians; it is more likely that he learned from the metrical and dramatic techniques of Varius Rufus' *Thyestes* or *Ovid's *Medea*. There is unmistakable influence from Ovid's *Heroides* (*Medea*, *Phaedra*) and from episodes of violence and passion in the *Aeneid* and *Metamorphoses*: thus *Troades* makes full use of *Aeneid* 2, and *Thyestes*, while it may reflect Ennius' or Varius' lost versions of the myth, undoubtedly adapts the language and psychology of Ovid's Tereus in *Metamorphoses* 6.

The tragedies cannot be dated absolutely, though the parody of the lament from *Hercules furens* in *Apocolocyntosis* implies dating of that early play before 54: Fitch's relative dating based on metrical practice (*AJPhil.* 1981, 289–307) suggests that at least *Thyestes* and *Phoenissae* may be Neronian.

Seneca largely observes a post-classical pattern of five acts, opening with an expository monologue or prologue scene. Acts are divided by choral odes in anapaests, sapphics, or asclepiads: lyric is also used for special scenes, such as the glyconics of the wedding procession and Medea's own polymetric incantations in *Medea*, and the anapaestic monodies of Hippolytus' hymn to Artemis and Andromache's supplication. While the plays show many features of post-classical stagecraft (cf. Tarrant, *Harv. Stud.* 1978, 213–63), and could be staged, discontinuity of action, with unanswered speeches and unexplained exits, suggests rather that they were primarily intended to be recited (wholly or in excerpts) or read. This is also consistent with Seneca's variable practice in indicating when the chorus is a witness to or absent from dialogue scenes and specifying its group identity: *Agamemnon* and *Hercules Oetaeus* have two different choruses. But the issue of performance and performability has been much debated recently.

The plays have been called 'rhetorical': certainly their most conspicuous feature is the passionate rhetoric of the leading characters, displayed both in terse stichomythia and extended harangues. They have been claimed as Stoic, since the dominant theme is the triumph of evil released by uncontrolled passion and the spread of destruction from man to the world of nature around him. Certainly Seneca both praises the beneficial persuasive effect of poetry (*Ep.* 108. 9, citing Cleanthes on the power of verse to concentrate the impact and brilliance of a thought) and exonerates drama from the charge of fostering harmful emotions (*De ira* 2. 2. 5, distinguishing the audience's emotional response as preliminary or conditional). However, although the plays reflect Stoic psychology, ethics, and physical theories, their predominantly negative tone and representation of life makes it unlikely that they were composed as Stoic lessons (*contra Marti TAPA* 1945, 216–45).

The tragedies exercised a powerful influence over the Renaissance theatres of Italy, France, and Elizabethan England, where the 'Tenne Tragedies' adapted from Seneca by various translators coloured the diction and psychology of Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson. Compared with both life and entertainment in the late 20th cent. the violence and extravagance of Senecan as of Elizabethan tragedy no longer seem as shocking, grotesque, or incredible as they did to readers in earlier generations.

Besides the tragedies we have 77 epigrams, a few handed down under Seneca's name, and others attributed to him. Apart from the three epigrams specified as Seneca's in the Codex Salmasianus, their authenticity is highly dubious.

Seneca was a talented orator, statesman, diplomat, financier, and viticulturist, a prolific and versatile writer, a learned yet eloquent philosopher. Yet his style can weary us, as it did the generation of Quintilian and *Tacitus, and as a man, he has continued to be criticized as a hypocrite as he was in antiquity: he preached the unimportance of wealth but did not surrender his until the end; he compromised the principles he preached by flattering those in power and by condoning many of Nero's crimes. Yet, as he says himself, effective exhortation can include preaching higher standards than can be realistically expected, and most moral teachers have urged attention to their words rather than to their example. Moreover, his teaching is more subtle and complex than is sometimes appreciated: he does not require the sacrifice of wealth, only the achievement of spiritual detachment from worldly goods; he advocates giving honest advice to rulers, while avoiding offence and provocation. Moreover, he confesses to having abandoned his youthful asceticism, to giving in on occasion to grief and anger, to being only on the first rung of moral progress. Above all, he conveys, as few moralists have, a sympathy with human weakness and an awareness of how hard it is to be good. For his disciples, then and later, Seneca's power as a healer of souls has more than made up for his shortcomings as a model of virtue.

ANCIENT CONCEPTIONS OF SENSES

senses, ancient conceptions of Among ancient conceptions of the senses it is the theories of *Aristotle especially that have informed modern western popular ideas of the sensorium as a faculty of five, mutually exclusive, sensory modalities with correspondingly separate sense-objects and 'domains' ('the senses'). But ancient conceptualizations of senses and sensory experience display significant diversity beyond and at odds with this now entirely naturalized notion (cf. COLOUR, ANCIENT PERCEPTIONS OF), and ancient writers also evoke experience in terms that transcend the segregation of the senses posited by the philosophers.

The first philosophers theorize senses only as part of a wider project of ontology and the basic principles each takes to underlie the structure of the cosmos also inform the physics of perception. According to Theophrastus, there are two general physiological models (i.e., that like perceives like, or that perception occurs through opposition, Theophr. *Sens.* 1). Common preoccupations are the epistemic authority of the senses (the relation of perception to knowledge) and their physiological explanation. Alcmaeon, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Diogenes of Apollonia, and Democritus theorize in detail the workings of cognition. Senses (most consistently sight and hearing) are individuated, separately theorized and then recombined as mutually exclusive powers of a composite whole. Building upon the popular emissionist model of perception (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 13.837, 16.633–7; *Od.* 4.150; Pind. *Pyth.* 9.62; Aesch. *Ag.* 742–3), thinkers develop physiological theories to explain how object and perceiving organ meet. They variously posit the mediation of air, emanations from the sense-organs, or effluences that come from the object and pass into commensurate channels (*poroi* in Empedocles) of which the sense-organs are comprised (or a combination). The basic materialist model explains both the medium of perception (on the model of touch, Arist. *Sens.* 442a30–b3) and the mutual exclusivity of senses.

Such materialist explanations inspired criticism and parodic treatments which gleefully extrapolate the logical absurdities of an entirely segregated sensorium (e.g., *Gorgias, [Arist.] MXG 980a20–b3; cf. Pl. *Meno* 76d4–5). *Plato negotiated the problem at the level of thought by positing the soul as the central perceiving consciousness, and the senses as its *organa*, thereby establishing the term sense-organs in western sensory physiology (*Tht.* 184–5); *Aristotle, by contrast, posited a common sense (*koinē aisthēsis*) as a unifying perceptual faculty located in the central sense-organ, the heart. He sought to individuate (no more than) five senses according to sense-object and function, but construed taste as a species of touch and touch itself as both a discrete sense and one implicated in the operation of other senses, and ranked them according to epistemic and moral value (*Eth., Nic.* 1176a); sight, hearing, and smell are 'human' senses; taste and touch, 'animal' senses (*Pr.* 949–50).

This debate over the nature and epistemic authority of the senses is the common heritage of the Hellenistic philosophers. In general, their theories of the senses are physicalist and share the tenet that knowledge can be based upon the senses. *Epicurus holds that all perceptions are true and instates perception as one of his three 'criteria' of truth. According to his Democritean model, perception occurs when the sense-organs actively engage with films of atoms or *eidōla* that constantly stream from solid objects. The object of perception is taken to be the effect produced by these *eidōla* as they are read by the senses (*Ep. Hdt.* 50 = LS 15A9). Since the senses are differentiated by the aptness of their pores to receive specific types of atom (*Ep. Hdt.* 52–3 = LS 15A14–15), each can report only one particular effect, which imprints upon the soul an 'appearance' or *phantasia* of the outside world. Error results only through the addition of belief (*doxa*) to a *phantasia*. Hence, whilst all perceptions may be true, reason must nonetheless intervene to know the nature of things.

Stoic theories employ different physics. Zeno of Citium distinguished between belief (*doxa*), cognition or apprehension (*katalēpsis*), and knowledge (*epistēmē*), and, in so doing, formulated some new ideas about 'senses themselves' (Cic. *Acad.* 1.40–1). Chrysippus posited that perception occurs by means of a disturbance or tension of the air exerted by the object (*SVF* 2.864, 866–7). In the case of sight, the eye itself contributes to the process: a visual *pneuma* in the organ performs a striking action (*epibolē*) on the air outside the body which is stretched into the form of a cone whenever the air is homogenous with the *pneuma* of the eye (i.e. illuminated). When this cone is struck by objects, the *pneuma* in the eye is stimulated as if touched through a rod. The perceiver then receives an 'appearance' or *phantasia* 'imprinted' on the 'ruling part' (*hēgemonikon*) of the soul, which, following Aristotle, is located in the heart.

From the Roman Empire up to late antiquity and beyond, theories of the senses retain key Aristotelian tenets but also continue to reflect the broad diffusion of philosophical ideas. Galen relocated the central organ of perception to the ventricles of the brain, Plotinus rejected the notion of (internally and externally) mediated perception, and St *Augustine constructed a theory of perception which also comprised crucial Platonic and Stoic elements (*De trinitate*). AC

Backed by all sixteen Rhine and Danube legions he marched on Rome, securing the support of Albinus, governor of Britain, by granting him the title *Caesar*. By 1 June, 60 miles north of Rome, Severus was recognized by the senate; Pertinax's successor Didius Severus Julianus was murdered, and Severus entered Rome without opposition on 9 June 193. The praetorians were dismissed and a new guard, twice as large, was formed from the Danubian legions; three new legions (I–III Parthicae) were raised, one of which (II Parthica) was to be based at Alba, near Rome. This, together with increases in the *vigiles*, urban cohorts, and other units, radically enlarged the capital's garrison. Army pay was raised (for the first time since AD 84) and the men gained new privileges, e.g. the right to marry. Then Severus moved against Pescennius Niger, proclaimed emperor in Syria in April 193. Advance forces under Fabius Cilo halted Niger at Perinthus; his base at Byzantium was besieged by Marius Maximus with troops from Moesia. By the end of 193 Severan generals defeated Niger at Cyzicus and Nicaea; Egypt had recognized Severus by February 194. The final encounter

(spring 194), near Issus, was followed by Niger's death. Syria was divided into two provinces, Coele and Phoenice, *Antioch and other cities that had supported Niger being punished. Severus now launched a campaign against the Parthian vassals who had backed Niger. Most of Osroëne was annexed, perhaps other parts of N. Mesopotamia too. Severus became *Parthicus Arabicus* and *Parthicus Adiabenicus* in 195. In the same year he proclaimed himself son of the deified Marcus and brother of the deified Commodus, renamed his elder son (*Caracalla) Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and made him *Caesar*, and gave his wife the title 'mother of the camp'. This clearly dynastic move led his ally Albinus *Caesar* to rebel and cross to Gaul with the British army. Severus hurried back west for this final civil war, won at the battle of Lugdunum (Lyons) (19 February 197).

In a purge of Albinus' supporters 29 senators, and numerous others in Gaul, Spain, and Africa were executed. Severus left for the east in summer 197 for his Second Parthian War, invading in winter and capturing Ctesiphon, on 28 January 198. On this day, the centenary of Trajan's



Septimius Severus, Lucius A scene from the commemorative arch set up by Septimius Severus in his native Leptis Magna (AD 203), showing the emperor and his two sons conveyed by chariot in a triumphal procession. Military success and its advertisement helped to legitimate imperial rule, especially when (as here) the emperor was a usurper. DAI Rome, neg. no. D-DAI-ROM-61.1695

accession, he became *Parthicus Maximus*, raised Caracalla to the rank of Augustus, and made Geta Caesar. The new province of Mesopotamia was garrisoned by two of the new legions (I and III Parthicae), with an equestrian prefect as governor. Two attempts to capture Hatra failed. After a lengthy stay in Syria, the imperial party entered Egypt before the end of 199, remaining for about twelve months: the province was reorganized, notably by the grant of a city council to *Alexandria. At the end of 200 Severus returned to Syria for another year; he was consul for the 3rd time at Antioch, with Caracalla as colleague, on 1 January 202.

Back at Rome in early summer 202 he celebrated *decennalia* with lavish victory games (declining a triumph, although the arch in the Forum had already been voted by the senate), followed by Caracalla's marriage to Fulvia Plautilla, daughter of the seemingly all-powerful praetorian prefect Gaius Fulvius Plautianus. In the autumn the imperial family sailed for Africa: their native Lepcis, *Carthage, and Utica received *ius Italicum* (legal equality with, and privileges of, towns in Italy), while Severus crushed the desert tribes beyond Tripolitania. From 203 to 208 he remained in Italy, holding Secular Games in 204. Early in 205 Plautianus was killed and replaced by Papinian, who, with his fellow-jurists Ulpian and Paulus (see *LAWYERS, ROMAN*), made the Severan era a golden age of Roman jurisprudence. In 208 minor hostilities in Britain gave an excuse for another war, which Severus supposedly thought would benefit his quarrelling sons. The entire family, with Papinian, elements of the guard and other troops, crossed to Britain that year and took up residence at Eburacum (York). Severus and Caracalla led two campaigns in northern Scotland, with the professed intention of conquering the whole of Britain; a new advance base was built at Carpow on the Tay, and victory was claimed in 210 with the title *Britannicus* for Severus and his sons, the younger becoming Augustus at last to ensure a joint succession. Long a victim of gout, Severus died at York on 4 February 211, leaving his sons the advice 'not to disagree, give money to the soldiers, and ignore the rest'. See *BRITAIN, ROMAN*. ARBI

Sertorius, Quintus, (c.126–73 BC), an *eques* (see *EQUITES*) from Sabine Nursia (Norcia), distinguished himself in the Cimbrian Wars under Quintus Servilius Caepio and *Marius, and under Titus Didius in Spain. Quaestor in 91, then a senior officer in the Social War (91–89 BC: see *ROME (HISTORY)* §1.5), he was thwarted by *Sulla in his candidacy for a tribunate (89 or 88) and joined Cinna. He shared responsibility for the capture of Rome (87) and subsequent executions, but ended the indiscriminate terror of Marius' slave-bands. He became

praetor (probably) in 85 or 83; kept in Italy by Sulla's impending return, he criticized, unsuccessfully, the Cinnomarian leaders for their conduct of the civil war and finally took command of Spain (winter 83/2). Proscribed and driven out (81), he went to Mauretania as a *condottiere*. Invited by the Lusitanians and anti-Sullan Roman exiles, he returned to Spain (80) and soon gained widespread support among the natives, owing to his bravery, justice, and skill in exploiting their religious beliefs. (His white doe was regarded as a sign of divine inspiration.) Through crafty employment of guerrilla methods (and, for naval support, 'Cilician' pirates: see *PIRACY*) he was successful against many Roman commanders, notably Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius in Further Spain, and by 77 he held most of Roman Spain. He tried to Romanize Hispanian leaders and acted throughout as a Roman proconsul, relying heavily on Roman and Italian exiles in the province; creating a 'counter-senate' from among them, he made Spain the focal point of resistance against the post-Sullan regime in Rome. When approached by *Mithradates VI he concluded an alliance, yet refused to surrender Asia to him (76/5). The arrival of Marcus Perperna Veiento with substantial remnants of the army of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus enabled him to take the offensive against *Pompey—now commanding in Further Spain—whom he defeated at Lauro (77). But costly failures, of his own and his lieutenants, in several pitched battles (76) soon forced him to revert to guerrilla warfare, with waning success after 75. Losing the confidence of his Roman and Hispanian followers alike and embittered by failure, he became increasingly despotic and was assassinated by Perperna. CFK

Seven Wonders of the ancient world, canon of seven 'sights' (*theamata*) of art and architecture. First attested in the 2nd cent. BC in the *Laterculi Alexandrini* (*PBerol.* 13044^v, col. 8–9) and in Antipater of Sidon (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 58), the canon comprises the pyramids of Egypt, the city walls of Babylon (see *BABYLONIA*), the hanging gardens of the semi-legendary Assyrian queen Semiramis there, the temple of Artemis at *Ephesus, the statue of Zeus at *Olympia, the *Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and the colossus of *Rhodes. The concept was developed in individual references to a single wonder and especially in complete lists of seven, sometimes drawn up to celebrate an 'eighth' wonder (like the *Colosseum in Rome in Martial, *Spect.* 1, or Saint Basil's hospital in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43. 63 = *Patrologiae Cursus* 36. 577).

Later lists keep the number, but not always the identity of the wonders. While a late antique rhetorical treatise purporting to be a guidebook to the seven wonders for

the armchair traveller and attributed to the engineer Philon of Byzantium still refers to the seven of the old canon, other wonders like the Pharos of *Alexandria, the Labyrinth of King Minos of *Crete, Egyptian Thebes (mod. Luxor), and the temple of Zeus at Cyzicus (NW Asia Minor) first feature in *Pliny the Elder's list (*HN* 36.75 ff.), the altar of horns at *Delos first in Martial (as above), the Ecbatana palace of *Cyrus the Great first in Ampelius (*Liber memorialis* 8), the Asclepieum of *Pergamum and the Capitol of Rome (see *ROME* (ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΥ)) first in *Anth. Pal.* 9.656.

Christian authors replace pagan sanctuaries with Noah's ark and Solomon's temple (Gregory of Tours, *De cursu stellarum* 1 ff.) or add the Hagia Sophia church in Constantinople (Cosmas of Jerusalem, *PG* 38.547), eventually listing up to sixteen to accommodate both traditional and new wonders. KB

Severus Alexander (Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander), Roman emperor AD 222–35. Son of Iulia Mamaea by her second husband, the procurator Gessius Marcianus of Arca Caesarea in Syria, b. c.AD 209, his names were Gessius Alexianus Bassianus until his adoption in 221 by his cousin *Elagabalus, when he became Marcus Aurelius Alexander Caesar. Made emperor on Elagabalus' murder in March 222, he took the further name Severus and was called 'son of the deified Antoninus' (Caracalla). His mother, under whose influence he remained throughout his reign, set out to recreate a 'senatorial regime', with a council of sixteen. Elderly senators such as Marius Maximus and *Cassius Dio were prominent. The jurist Ulpianus became praetorian prefect but, at latest in early 224, was killed by the guard; Dio was obliged to hold his second consulship (229) outside Rome to avoid the same fate and expressed concern at growing military indiscipline at the end of his *History* (bk. 80). Alexander was married in late 225 to Gnaeia Seia Herennia Sallustia Orba Barbina Orbiana Augusta, whose father may even have been made Caesar; but she was banished two years later when her father attempted a coup. A major new threat resulted from the collapse of *Parthia and the revival of Persia under the Sasanids, c.224–5. In 231 Alexander launched a Persian expedition. The war, in which he took only a nominal part, ended in 233; although not a great success, it maintained Roman control over the province of Mesopotamia. Meanwhile the Germanic Alamanni were threatening Upper Germany and Raetia. A further expedition was necessary. Alexander wintered in Germany in 234–5, but before the campaign could begin was murdered outside Mainz, with his mother, in an uprising led by the equestrian commander Gaius Iulius Verus Maximinus (February or March 235). His memory

was condemned, but he was deified in 238 after Maximinus' death. ARBi

Sicily (see ◀ Map 3, Bd ▶)

1. Prehistory

Ancient writers distinguished three indigenous peoples—Sicani in central, Sicels in eastern, and Elymi in western Sicily. *Thucydides (6.2) attributes an Iberian origin to the Sicans, an Italic to the Sicels, and a Trojan to the Elymi. Archaeologically there is no differentiation of culture between east and west corresponding to the Sicel–Sican distinction, but the Italian origin of immigrants to Sicily in the late bronze age is confirmed by evidence from the Aeolian islands and north-eastern Sicily, showing phases of the Apennine culture known as Ausonian. Surviving Sicel linguistic elements argue in the same direction. In south-east Sicily the pre-Greek culture does not show the same clear Italic affinities.

2. The Greek settlement

Despite Thucydides' account, the *Phoenicians did not apparently settle in Sicily before the Greeks, and their colonization was limited to Motya, Panormus, and Soloeis. The Elymi, whose principal centres were Segesta, Eryx, and Entella, became traditional allies of the Carthaginians. From c.735 BC (Thucydides' date-indications in 6.3–5 form the chronological basis) there followed a prolonged period of Greek *colonization. The indigenes were sometimes ejected from the colonized sites or reduced to dependent status; occasionally (as at Leontini) there was peaceful co-existence. Once established, the Greeks and their civilization gradually penetrated and transformed the indigenous area; in many places the process was quite rapid. By the Hellenistic period the island was a Siculo-Greek amalgam. The Greeks exploited the island's economic potential, and Corinthian, East Greek, and (later) Laconian and especially Attic imported pottery (see *POTTERY*, GREEK) illustrates the considerable trade with Greece. Markets in Africa, south Italy, and (after c.500) Rome were also available. Temple-building and rapid urbanization attest the wealth and culture of the Archaic period, and the first Sicilian coinage (see *COINAGE*, GREEK) belongs to the second half of the 6th cent. The Phoenicians acquiesced in the Greek settlement, but defended their enclave against Pentathlus (c.580) and the Spartan Dorieus (c.510).

3. Early tyrannies

As in Greece, *tyranny emerged, but the aristocracies were tenacious, while the threat, potential or actual, of *Carthage and the Sicels affected internal politics; this in

turn produced greater social instability. Early tyrannies in Acragas and elsewhere foreshadowed the despotism of Hippocrates of Gela, who was the first of the great tyrants in Sicily. His successor Gelon transferred his capital to *Syracuse. A Carthaginian attempt, at the instigation of some still independent Greek cities, to check Gelon and his ally Theron of Acragas, met with disaster at Himera (480). Under Gelon and Hieron Siceliot-Greek culture reached its classical zenith (see BACCHYLIDES; PINDAR). It penetrated the Phoenician colonies, and the cities of the interior became increasingly Hellenized. After the deaths of Theron and Hieron the tyrannies soon came to an end. The attempt of the Sicel leader Ducetius to organize a national movement proved abortive.

4. The age of Dionysius

In the latter part of the 5th cent. the cities maintained their mutual independence and were democratically governed. But democracy did not strike such deep roots in Sicily as in Greece, and external dangers demanded a more authoritarian organization. The Athenians twice intervened in the island (427–424 and 415–413) on the basis of alliances with Leontini and Segesta, with hopes of ultimately controlling it; the first intervention did not succeed, and the second ('Great') expedition ended in utter failure. Carthage now profited by the exhaustion of Syracuse to attempt the complete conquest of Sicily (409). Selinus and Himera fell in 409, Acragas and Gela in 406/5. In the days of crisis *Dionysius I succeeded in establishing himself as tyrant of Syracuse; the Carthaginians were

repulsed, and Syracuse, which came to control all Sicily outside Carthage's *epikrateia* ('dominion') in the far west, prospered; but the cost was tyranny and the loss of political freedom. (Settlement patterns were altered by all this turmoil; from a remarkable dossier of inscriptions published in 1980, we know that some troops from Campania who settled forcibly at Entella in 404 (Diod. Sic. 14. 9. 9, cf. *FGrH* 70 Ephorus F 68) were still there in perhaps the 280s. Their names are partly Oscan but their language is Greek and their constitutional forms look Greek too.) Dionysius' death (367) was followed, after a decade, by civil war; petty tyrants established themselves in the various cities, and the Carthaginians again intervened.

5. The Hellenistic period

At this low ebb in their fortunes the Syracusans sent for the Corinthian Timoleon, who defeated the Carthaginians at the river Crimissus (probably in 341) and re-established settled government. His arrangements did not long survive his retirement (c.336), and oligarchy prevailed. In 317 Agathocles seized the Syracusan tyranny and subjugated most of the island. When he died (289) fresh anarchy ensued; there were more local tyrants, Carthage again threatened, and the tyrant's ex-mercenaries (Mamertines) carved out a dominion for themselves in Messana. City-state Sicily was in fact in dissolution. *Pyrrhus of Epirus was called in, but despite quick successes produced no lasting effect. Hieron II of Syracuse to some extent halted the decline, but his defeat of the Mamertini



Sicily Silver coin of Acragas (mod. Agrigento), c.420–415 BC. Coinage and a spectacular series of temples reflect the prosperity of the 6th–5th-cent. BC city, ended—as elsewhere in Greek Sicily—with conquest by Carthage. Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich

brought on a Carthaginian occupation of Messana and was the occasion for Roman interference and the First Punic War (264–41), after which most of the island became a Roman province (see *PROVINCIA*). Hieron's kingdom remained autonomous and prosperous until his death in 215, when Syracuse went over to Carthage. After the Roman capture of Syracuse (211), all Sicily was unified as a Roman province.

6. The Roman republican period

The province was under the control of a governor (praetor) with a quaestor in Syracuse and another in Lilybaeum, but the cities continued to enjoy a large measure of independence with their own self-government. A provincial Sicilian council (concilium) had no real power. Messana, Tauromenium, and Netum, which had voluntarily accepted Rome's alliance, were distinguished as 'allied' communities (*civitates foederatae*); and five other communities were free cities (Centuripae, Halaesa, Halicyae, Panormus, and Segesta). Of the remainder some paid a tithe (*civitates decumanae*) on a system established by Hieron II; the land of others became *ager publicus* (Roman public land), for which they paid rent in addition to the tithe (*civitates censoriae*). Local autonomy was infringed by governors such as C. Verres (73–1: see *CICERO*) but generally respected; many cities issued small-denomination coinage until the early empire. Under the Republic wheat-growing, vital to Rome's food supply, was fostered; large *latifundia* (domains) grew up, as a result of big Roman (and Sicilian) purchases of landed estates. These were worked by slaves whose conditions provoked the serious rebellions of 137–133 and 104–101 BC. Some of the urban centres were attacked and damaged, but despite these setbacks a majority of the Sicilian towns flourished in the 2nd and 1st cents. BC. The north-east of the island also suffered in 36 when Octavian (see *AUGUSTUS*) expelled Sextus Pompeius, in whose occupation of Sicily (from 42) he and Antony had acquiesced in 39.

7. The imperial period

The island continued to prosper under the empire, governed by a proconsul (later a *corrector*, then a *consularis*), and Latin and Greek culture long co-existed. Caesar granted the Sicilians Latin rights, and Mark Antony claimed that Caesar intended to make them full citizens (see *CITIZENSHIP, ROMAN*), but Octavian was less generous. As Augustus he founded veteran colonies at Catana, Panormus, Syracuse, Tauromenium, Thermae, and Tyndaris (see *COLONIZATION, ROMAN*), and he gave Latin rights to a handful of others. It is possible that a later emperor extended this to all Sicilian

communities, but the evidence is fragile. A fixed levy replaced the tithe. *Latifundia*, among them large imperial estates, remained an important feature of the agricultural pattern. Yet village life and smallholdings evidently flourished also, and the population in general was more dispersed in the countryside than hitherto, especially with the decline and abandonment of many of the old hill-towns of the interior. The coastal cities by contrast flourished, at least until the late empire, and the prosperity of the countryside in the 4th cent. is witnessed by luxury villas such as those of Piazza Armerina, Patti Marina, and Tellaro. Grain continued to be the most significant export, although Sicily was now less important to Rome's food supply than Africa and Egypt; other exports included wine, timber, wool, and sulphur. AM/AGW/RJAW

Silius Italicus (Tiberius Catus Asconius Silius Italicus) (c. AD 26–102), Roman politician and poet, author of the *Punica*, an epic of 17 books on the Second Punic War (264–241 BC: see *ROME (HISTORY)* §1.4), at over 12,000 lines the longest poem in Latin. Before turning to the composition of poetry in retirement Silius had an outstanding public career (the evidence for his life comes from Martial's epigrams and a distinctly tepid death-notice in Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 3. 7). Zealous in prosecution under Nero, he was the last consul appointed by the emperor in AD 68, at an early age for a *novus homo* (first-generation senator). In the turmoil of the next year ('the year of the four emperors') he was engaged in tense high-level negotiations between Aulus Vitellius and Vespasian's brother (Tac. *Hist.* 3. 65); his support for Vitellius did not harm him, for he reached the peak of a senator's career under Vespasian, as proconsul of Asia (c. 77). One of his sons followed him to the consulate, and there were hopes for the second son, disappointed by death (Mart. 8. 66, 9. 86). He retired to Campania, where he owned many villas, and spent his last years as an artistic connoisseur, attracting adverse comment for conspicuous consumption. He owned one of Cicero's villas and the tomb of Virgil, whose memory he revered (Mart. 11. 48). Many assume that he began his poem in the late 80s on the rather shaky grounds that only then does Martial start referring to his poetic activity (4. 14); the praise of the Flavian dynasty at 3. 593–629 suggests that the poem was either published before Domitian's death (September 96) or, more probably, still not fully revised at the poet's death some years later. Afflicted by an incurable ailment, Silius starved himself to death at the age of 76, perhaps as late as 103. The Stoicism often attributed to him is based on no external evidence other than a hostile story told by

Epictetus about one Italicus, whom there is no need to identify with the poet (Arr. *Epict. diss.* 3. 8. 7).

With Livy's third decade as the principal historical source, and Virgil's *Aeneid* as the principal poetic model, the *Punica* traverses the entire Second Punic War, casting itself as the fulfilment of the curse with which Queen Dido of Carthage conjures eternal enmity between her people and *Aeneas' (*Aen.* 4. 622–9). A mythological dimension is immediately present, therefore: Hannibal is not just a formidable human antagonist but the hellish tool of Juno's unassuaged hate, and the gods participate throughout. Silius' decision not to follow *Lucan's removal of the gods as characters has attracted the censure of modern critics, but it is symptomatic of his forswearing of Lucan's nihilism in favour of a more traditional view of divine sanction for imperial destiny (debts to Lucan are ubiquitous, however, especially in the Caesarian portrayal of Hannibal). The poem celebrates Roman fortitude by displaying such mighty heroes as Marcus Atilius Regulus, Q. *Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and *Scipio Africanus, and by organizing the mass of 15 years' history to centre on the catastrophic defeat at Cannae in 216 BC (bks. 8–10, with seven books before and after): nostalgia for a simpler and nobler past is shot through with the apprehension that Rome's victory over Carthage held the seeds of contemporary decline.

Discovered only in 1417, the *Punica* had some esteem as a paradigm of courtly virtue until the end of the 16th cent., but for centuries its reputation has been in steep decline, and it is now scarcely read. Recent attempts at rehabilitation have concentrated on Silius' thematic concerns, structural skill, and professional engagement with his tradition. Further systematic and detailed study, especially of his language, is needed before Silius' achievement and stature can be convincingly reassessed. DCF

Simonides, Greek poet, from Iulis on Ceos (mod. Kea); son of Leoprepes, grandson or descendant of Hylichus (Callimachus fr. 64. 8; 222), uncle of *Bacchylides (Strabo 10. 5. 6). If he worked at the court of Hipparchus, the son of *Pisistratus ([Pl.], *Hipparch.* 228c; Arist., *Ath. pol.* 18. 1), his career began before 514 BC; his praises of Eualcidas of Eretria (fr. 518) date before 498, his *Battle of Plataea* (fr. 10–17 W²) in or after 479; he finished at the court of Hieron of *Syracuse, and his tomb was shown at Acragas (Callim. fr. 64. 4). Tradition made him live to be 90; most sources set his birth c. 556 (others c. 532).

No poem of Simonides survives intact, except the epigrams attributed to him (see EPIGRAM, GREEK); even the *Suda's* list of works (which should preserve the outlines of the Alexandrian edition) is garbled. But the fragments

make it clear that Simonides commanded a wide variety of genres. In choral lyric (see LYRIC POETRY (Greek)), he composed epinicians, of which he and perhaps Ibycus are the first known practitioners; *dithyrambs, with which according to a (Hellenistic) epigram (xxvii Page) he won at least 57 competitions; *thrēnoi* (laments); paeans; encomia; Partheneia ('maiden-songs') and the like (cf. Ar. *Av.* 919). His elegies, which occupied at least one book, included some sympotic pieces (see SYMPOSIUM), and some historical (on the battles of Artemisium, 480 BC, and Plataea, 479 BC). Many epigrams, especially epigrams relating to the Persian Wars (see GREECE (HISTORY)), were collected under Simonides' name; the epitaph for the seer Megistias (vi Page) may be genuine (cf. Hdt. 7. 228. 4). Simonides' clients included cities, individual athletes like Eualcidas and Astylus of Croton (fr. 506), tyrants like Anaxilas of Rhegium (fr. 515), and various Thessalian dynasts, e.g. the Aleuadae and the Scopadae (Theoc 16. 42–7). Xenocrates of Acragas (fr. 513) and the Corinthian Oligæthidae (fr. 519A, 21+22) commissioned poems from him, and also from *Pindar (*Isthm.* 2, *Pyth.* 6; *Ol.* 13). Tradition connected him with *Themistocles and the regent Pausanias of Sparta; poetic enemies included Timocreon (fr. 10 W; Arist. fr. 75).

For the next generation, Simonides belonged to the classic (old-fashioned) poets (Ar. *Nub.* 1355; Eup. fr. 148 KA). He had the reputation of a money-grubber (Xen fr. 21 W; Ar. *Pax* 698 f.), and at some stage Pindar's attack on the 'Muse for hire' was applied to him (*Isthm.* 2. 6, Callim. fr. 222). He acquired also the reputation of a sage, like Bias and Pittacus (Pl. *Resp.* 335e; various apophthegms were ascribed to him, mostly cynical; the saying 'painting is silent poetry and poetry painting that speaks' (Plut. *Mor.* 346 f.) forms the starting point of Lessing's *Laokoon*. He was credited further with discovering the third note of the lyre; the long and double letters; and the art of memory (Callim. fr. 64; *Suda*).

What little remains of Simonides shows a professional poet of great scope and range, much in demand over his long life, spanning the tyrants and the new democracy (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN). Ancient critics admired him for simple pathos (Quint. *Inst.* 10. 1. 64), and that appears in noble verses for the dead of Thermopylae (fr. 531). But the tragic threnody of Danaë (fr. 543), and the devious gnomic textures of *To Scopas* (fr. 542), show other talents; in the elegies, lush eroticism (fr. 21–2 W²) contrasts with the pocket epic *Plataea*, whose form (a hymn to *Achilles introducing a narrative of the campaign) enforces the parallel between the Trojan and Persian Wars, and between *Homer and Simonides. PJP

sin The modern term has no equivalent in either Greek or Latin. The Christian concept of sin accommodates two basic and coherent senses: offence against moral codes, and action against the laws or the will of God. It presupposes conscious voluntariness, while remorse may be associated with its consequences, interpreted as an expression of estrangement from God. Although some of these characteristics can be found in the archaic and classical religions of Greece and Rome, as a whole this complex is not clearly represented. Various aspects are denoted by different terms such as Greek *adikia* (wrongdoing, injustice), *anomia* (lawless conduct), *hamartia*, *hamartēma* (failure, fault, error), or Latin *vitium* (fault, blemish), *scelus* (evil deed, crime), *peccatum* (fault, error), etc. The term *syneidēsis* (Lat. *conscientia*), originally ‘awareness, consciousness’, developed the sense ‘consciousness of right and wrong, conscience’ (adopted by early Christianity) only in the Hellenistic and more especially imperial period. The Greek term *hamartia* approximates most closely (but cannot be identified with) our concept ‘sin’ and was adopted in the Septuagint and early Christian scriptures for rendering and developing the biblical concept of sin (cf. Lat. *peccare*, *peccatum*, etc.).

Three of the most remarkable ancient characteristics as opposed to modern ones, are:

1. In the earlier period voluntary and involuntary offences against moral or divine laws were both equally reprehensible and hence liable to divine vengeance. Evil intention is not necessarily implied in the ancient definition of wrongdoing. The Greek concept of *atē* (delusion, infatuation, through which ‘the evil appears good’, Soph. *Ant.* 622), which in the early period was often held responsible for human error, was either understood as divinely inspired—thus providing an escape from the problem of human responsibility, though *not* from divine punishment—or as rooted in personal (and condemnable) rashness, being a corollary of **hubris*.

2. Closely related is the ancient belief that as far as effects are concerned no clear distinction can be drawn between offences against ethical, legal, and social prescriptions on the one hand and violation of ritual rules on the other.

3. Accordingly, it is often impossible to draw a sharp line between the state of impurity (see POLLUTION) as result of a ritual fault and the state of moral blemish. Murder is a case in point. The earliest phases of (Greek and Roman) civilization did privilege an emphasis on the ritual aspects, and through the ages a gradual development can be perceived toward a more personally felt ethical experience of guilt. That said, even in our earliest source, Homer, there are unmistakable traces of ethical codes warranted by the gods.

Greece

In Homer it was especially **Zeus* who had the domain of guarding the laws of hospitality in the house and the court and of protecting strangers and suppliants. What happened on the other side of the boundary did not affect him, except in cases of either ritual offence or personal acts of *hubris* defying his honour. *Dikē* (man’s duty to his fellows) is not synonymous with *themis* (man’s duty according to divine institution). But the two may coincide, e.g. in the sin of *hubris* or disregard of the right of others (both mortals and gods). However, Hesiod pictures *dikē* as Zeus’ central responsibility, even making *Dikē* the daughter of Zeus. He also presents an interesting mixture of ethical and ritual aspects. In his view, divine vengeance will equally follow both transgression of a certain branch of moral offences, such as ill-treatment of orphans or one’s own parents (*Op.* 330 ff.), and purely ritual offences such as omitting to wash one’s hands before pouring libation (*Op.* 724). In fact the core of his poem is an appeal to the justice of Zeus: whoever offends human or divine laws will encounter divine anger.

Divine punishment

Early Greece made impressive attempts to bracket together two eternal problems: that of the cause of illness and disaster and that of *theodicy*, the question of the justice of the gods. In the expression ‘By day and night diseases of themselves come upon man, and do him harm silently, for cunning Zeus took out their voice’ (Hes. *Op.* 102–4), Zeus can be seen as a designation of blind fate or fortune, making man a plaything of an arbitrary and unfathomable divine power. Otherwise illness is a penalty for evil acts, sent by Zeus in his quality of divine judge. Both options were eagerly exploited, the first being a typical expression of so-called ‘archaic pessimism’, so characteristic of much Greek **lyric* poetry, the latter providing an explanation that permits control, in cases of sudden unaccountable illness, more especially of epidemics (see DISEASE). These disasters were often seen as caused by the sin of one person (Hes. *Op.* 238 ff., 260 f.), even by a sin unwittingly committed: ‘Not willingly am I detained, but I must have sinned (*alitesthai*: the Homeric term for offending a god) against the deathless gods’, says **Odysseus* (Hom. *Od.* 4. 377 f.). An oracle then might be consulted as to the nature of the unknown sin and the manner of its expiation.

The interpretation of illness as the punishment of sin cannot but raise another question of theodicy: what if patient sinners do *not* fall ill? ‘How, O son of Cronus, does your mind manage to award the same portion to evil-doers and just men?’ (Hes. *Theog.* 373–8, cf. 1110–11). By way of solution, Archaic literature offers three variations on the

theme of temporary postponement: evildoers will be punished but not always immediately (*Op.* 218 ff., 333; *Theog.* 201 ff.), or the penalty will strike a later generation (*Op.* 284 f.; Solon, fr. 36. 3 West). Combinations occur (Homer *Il.* 4. 160 ff.; Hes. *Theog.* 203 ff.). Although these solutions share the belief that the sinner literally must 'pay' (*apo*) *tinō* (the common word for being punished), it is obvious that no uniform and consistent doctrine can be vindicated for Archaic and Classical Greece. Various options concerning sin and retaliation coexisted, sometimes in the mind of one person. This is particularly marked in the third variant: the idea of retaliation in the afterlife and the netherworld.

Punishment in the hereafter

As early as in Homer three different conceptions are faintly discernible: (1) the netherworld as a cheerless and gloomy place where all souls assemble, without any connotation of retaliation or reward; (2) the Islands of the Blessed, reserved for the (heroic) happy few, likewise without clear references to any ordeal; and (3) a place where the divine judges Aeacus, Minos, and Rhadamanthys judge the dead.

However, with one exception (Hom. *Il.* 3. 278 ff.: general punishment of perjury in the netherworld), the only condemned persons mentioned, Orion, Tityus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus (Hom. *Od.* 11. 576–600, perhaps a later interpolation) are sentenced not for 'normal' moral offences, but as a result of their defying the gods. Their offence is an act of *hubris* against the honour of the Homeric gods.

Remarkably enough the early doctrine of the Eleusinian mysteries (see ELEUSIS), as represented in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (c.700 BC), though promising the initiated a blissful stay in the Underworld, did not require any proof of good behaviour; from a later period we learn that in this respect there was only one requirement: not to have impure hands tainted with blood. Alternatively, we also hear that the Samothracian mysteries required a confession of sins as a preliminary to the initiation: nothing more was apparently needed, the confession being an expiation of the state of sinfulness and impurity.

Most probably it was the Orphic movement (see ORPHEUS) that helped two different solutions to develop: the first was the construction of something that can be called 'hell', with penalties through eternal suffering in mud, etc. Basically different, and no doubt inspired by influences from Pythagoreanism (see PYTHAGORAS), was the idea that evil was a corollary of bodily existence, the body being the prison for the *soul, which is thus punished for sins in previous lives. If these sins are not expiated

during one incarnation, the soul transmigrates to another body. Thus, this doctrine of reincarnation provided an elegant solution to the dilemma of divine justice and human suffering. Moreover, it opened an avenue to personal responsibility and an escape from the ritualist group solidarity which involved vicarious suffering for another's fault. Overall, however, the idea of punishment in the afterlife never attained the refinement and popularity that it later enjoyed in Christianity.

Classical developments

The 5th and 4th cents. BC reflected and expanded on earlier archaic initiatives. We can only indicate superficially the most important tendencies. Fifth-cent. Greek *tragedy problematized all existing ideas on sin, retaliation, and theodicy. *Aeschylus (esp. in his *Oresteia*), fascinated by the idea of hereditary curses, tested ways in which a descendant from a doomed house could escape his fate. *Sophocles explored both the question of guiltless guilt (*OT*) and the tensions between human and divine law (*Ant*). *Euripides added a theological critique: gods who make unfair demands cannot be gods. Like other thinkers under the influence of the ideas of the *sophists, he demonstrated that gods and ethics are often very difficult to reconcile. In the late 5th cent. this could (but in only a few scattered instances actually did) lead to atheistic expressions (Diagoras). In this same period the debate about the distinction between the laws of man and those of the gods begins (for instance Xen. *Mem.* 4. 4). It is argued that the unwritten laws are in the hands of the gods and carry their own unavoidable punishment, whereas penalties resulting from violation of human law are avoidable. Others argued that the gods were the invention of a clever politician in order to bind people to laws which could not otherwise be enforced (most emphatically in the satyr play *Sisyphos* by Euripides or Critias; also in Arist. *Metaph.* 1074^b1–8; Isoc. *Bus.* 25).

From the 4th cent. onwards the major philosophical schools inherited from *Plato's *Socrates the basic conviction that 'no one sins willingly', wrongdoing being regarded as an error of judgement. *Stoicism especially puts the emphasis on individual autonomy within a human communion whose cement is the divine principle of Reason (*logos*) which permeates the whole. Here universal laws are identical with divine laws, human life being a divine service. Sin is error, the violation of cosmic laws.

Confession of sins

A wrongdoer was either punished by the law or by the gods (or not at all), but (public) confession of sins was not in vogue in Greek culture. The earliest hints of

something of this kind (apart from recognition of *harmartia* in tragedy) can be found in the 4th-cent. *iamata* of Epidaurus: cure-inscriptions detailing the healing miracles of *Asclepius (see MEDICINE, § 2; incubation). In the same period curse tablets (see CURSES) develop a special variant: the prayer to the gods for (judicial) help in cases of theft, black magic, slander, etc., where sometimes the wish is added that the culprit should publicly confess his misdeed. The same idea takes pride of place in the so-called confession inscriptions from Maeonia in Lydia and the bordering area of Phrygia in W. Asia Minor, 2nd and 3rd cents. AD, where we read accounts of private offences resulting in punishment by the god, redressal of the crime or a sacrifice of atonement, and public confession, followed by praise of the power of the god. The influence, either of indigenous Anatolian traditions or of oriental cults is probable, as the sin- and guilt-culture of, for instance, the cult of Atargatis, including sackcloth and ashes, seems to be related.

Rome

For early Rome a similar state of things can be detected to that of early Greece. Legends abound about the grave consequences resulting from wholly accidental *vitia* in ritual matters. In the Roman *ius divinum* ('divine law'), as in the secular law, a casual slip in a ceremonial action or utterance might entail dire consequences comparable to those assigned to arrogant neglect of the deity. One of the earliest attestations of a movement towards more enlightened views can be found in the *Twelve Tables: they make provision for lenient treatment of a merely accidental homicide (Cic. *Top.* 64). In Rome no independent reflection on the nature and origin of evil or disaster developed; but from the 2nd cent. BC onwards *Stoicism (see above) deeply influenced Roman thought in the field of (social) ethics. See also CHRISTIANITY; PUNISHMENT, GREEK AND ROMAN PRACTICE. HSV

slavery (see facing page)

Social Wars See ROME (HISTORY) §1.5.

Socrates (see page 738)

Socratic dialogues Of the genre '*Sokratikoi logoi*' we know little beyond *Plato's famous dialogues. But the form evidently antedated Plato, and many authors used it (see *Aristotle, *Poetics* 1447b11). A fragment from Aristotle's dialogue *De poetis* attributes the genre to Alexamenos of Teos.

Besides Plato's works, *Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, *Apology*, *Symposium*, and *Oeconomicus* survive. Evidence for Socratic dialogues by other followers of Socrates

including Antisthenes, Aeschines of Sphettus, Phaedon of Elis, and Euclides also exists, and fragments from Aeschines' *Alcibiades* and *Aspasia*. CJO

Solon Athenian politician and poet, was of noble descent but, whether or not the tradition that he was of moderate means is correct, came to sympathize with the poor. He was prominent in the war against Athens' neighbour Megara for the possession of the island of Salamis, urging the Athenians to renewed effort when they despaired of success (c.600 BC). In 594/3 he was archon (civilian head of state), and the link between his archonship and his reforms is probably to be accepted, though some have wanted to put the reforms 20 years later. He is said to have spent the 10 years after his reforms in overseas travel, during which his measures were not to be altered: if he continued to travel after that, he may have met Pharaoh Amasis of Egypt and Philocyprus of Cyprus, but if he died c.560/59 he is unlikely to have met King Croesus of Lydia (though that tradition is as old as Hdt. 1. 29–33). It may be true that he was in Athens at the time of the troubles in which *Pisistratus first seized power, and tried to warn the Athenians against Pisistratus.

For *Herodotus Solon was a sage, a lawgiver, and a poet; *Thucydides does not mention him. It was at the end of the 5th cent. that the democrats began to think of him as their founding hero: if 4th-cent. writers had access not only to his poems but also to the *axones* (revolving pillars) on which the laws were inscribed, they will have had a firm basis for their accounts of him, even though they were capable of anachronistic misinterpretation, and though the orators tended to ascribe to him all the laws current in the 4th cent.

Solon's *seisachtheia* ('shaking-off of burdens') is represented as a cancellation of all *debts, but should probably be seen as the liberation of the *hektēmoroi* ('sixth-parters'), men in a state of servitude who had to give a sixth of their produce to an overlord: their obligation was abolished and they became the absolute owners of their land; men who had been enslaved for debt (many of them, perhaps, *hektēmoroi* who had defaulted on their obligation) were freed, and for the future enslavement for debt was banned. Grants of *citizenship to immigrant craftsmen, and a ban on the export of agricultural products other than olive oil, encouraging the growth of *olives, will have helped to move Athens from a largely self-contained towards a trading economy (see TRADE). Behind an alleged series of changes in Athens' measures, weights, and *coinage we should perhaps see legislation for the use of standard measures and weights (not necessarily different from those already in use in Attica); but

[continued on p. 737]

SLAVERY

Greek

From *Homer's claim that a man loses half his selfhood when 'the day of slavery' comes upon him (*Il.* 6. 463) to *Aristotle's doctrine of 'natural slavery' (*Pol.* bk. 1, 1253b15–55b40), Greek life and thought were inextricably bound up with the ideology and practice of human servitude. Eventually, and incompletely, the notion became established that it was not right for Greeks to enslave their fellow-Greeks, and the correlative idea prevailed that non-Greek 'barbarians' were fitted for servitude by their very nature (not just social or political organization). See BARBARIAN. But that did not prevent the continuing enslavement of Greeks by Greeks, and the language of slavery in the Greek New Testament was by no means a dead metaphor.

'Slavery', however, covered a multitude of sins and life-chances. The ultimate, extreme form of the slave is the chattel, 'socially dead' (Patterson) in the sense of ripped forcibly from organic ties of kin and community, transported to an alien environment there to be treated as merely a piece of property or as a factor of production to be used and abused at will, an 'animate tool' (*Arist. Pol.* 1253b32–3) or beast of burden with no sense of self other than that allowed by the slave-owner and no legal, let alone civic, personality whatsoever (see also STATUS, LEGAL AND SOCIAL, GREEK). Societies with large numbers of such slaves, let alone societies based on them, have been very few. The city of Athens and central Roman Italy for periods in antiquity, and in modern times the slave states of the American Old South, the Caribbean, and Brazil, are the only known instances. But even in Athens there were gradations of status and degrees of exploitation regardless of uniformity of legal status.

At the top of the heap were the few hundreds of publicly owned slaves (*dēmosioi*), who served as a token *police force or as other sorts of public functionary such as official coin-tester (*dokimastēs*) in the Agora or clerk to a jury-court. Below them were the privately owned, skilled slaves who 'lived apart' (*khōris oikountes*) in craft workshops established with start-up capital by their owners to whom they remitted a share of their profits, or who were hired out for specific tasks such as harvesting (*sōmata misthophorounta*). Then there were household slaves (*oiketai*), male and female, of whom the males in a smaller household might also work in the fields. Harder was the lot of the agricultural slaves of a rich citizen householder. But worst of all was that of the mine slaves who were either directly employed by or hired out to work the state-owned silver *mines of Laurium SE of Athens: for those who worked underground in shackles (see INDUSTRY) an early death might be considered a happy release; the lot of surface workers was less automatically lethal. Reliable statistics of numbers are not available, but a reasonable guess would be that between 450 and 320 BC about 80,000–100,000 slaves of all kinds were active in Attica at any one time (out of a total population of perhaps a quarter of a million).

The Athenian model of chattel slavery became widely diffused in the Greek world, although the size and complexity of the original were never emulated or even approached. The prevalence of inter-Greek warfare ensured that Greek slave-dealers (*andrapodistai*, *andrapodokapēloi*) had plenty of custom, even if it was rare for a Greek to be removed from his or her native community into permanent servitude elsewhere in the Greek or non-Greek world. On the other hand, the flow of non-Greek slaves into the Greek world continued unabated, giving rise to the popular identification (and Aristotle's flawed justification thereof) of 'barbarians' as 'natural' slaves.

Despite the impression created by imprecision of terminology, or inadequate use of such relatively precise terms as did exist, by no means all those broadly labelled *douloi* ('unfree') in Greece were chattel-slave *douloi*. The two largest classes of these other unfree persons were respectively those enslaved for *debt and the communally enslaved helot-type populations. Debt-bondsmen technically forfeited their liberty only temporarily, pending repayment of their debt; in practice, the condition might be permanent and hereditary, and on occasion prompted violent political upheaval, as at Athens in about 600 BC. *Solon's response to that crisis was remarkable in several ways, not least in that he outlawed debt-bondage for citizens altogether. Elsewhere in the Greek world the practice continued and constituted a principal source of exploited labour-power for Greek propertied classes in default of or as a complement to slave *labour.

There were apparently some chattel slaves in *Sparta, but the overwhelming majority of its servile labour force was constituted by the native helot class. The fact that they were Greek and enjoyed some signal privileges, above all a

family life, suggested to one ancient commentator that they ought to be classified as somewhere between outright chattel slaves and completely free people. But this picture of relative privilege is darkened by the knowledge that at any time their masters might legally kill them with impunity. More important for classificatory purposes is that the helots were enslaved collectively as a community, a feature they shared with several other Greek and native servile populations ranging from Heraclea on the Black Sea to *Syracuse in Sicily by way of *Thessaly and *Crete. There may still be room for argument whether Greek civilization as a whole was 'based' on 'slavery', but the ubiquitousness and centrality of servitude in the Greek imagination as in Greek everyday reality are beyond question. PAC

Roman

Slavery in the strict sense of chattel-slavery, whereby the slave-owner enjoyed complete mastery (*dominium*) over the slave's physical being (*Dig. 1. 5. 4. 1*), the power of life and death included (*Gai. Inst. 1. 52*), was evident throughout the central era of Roman history, and in Roman no less than Greek thought was regarded as both the necessary antithesis of civic freedom and the guarantee of their civic superiority to those who enjoyed it. From this structural point of view Roman society, like Greek, was a genuine slave-society.

Although for no period of antiquity is it possible to determine accurately the size of the slave population, the necessary statistical information being simply unavailable, modern estimates of 2,000,000 slaves in Italy at the close of the republic conform to a slave: free ratio of roughly 1:3 in evidence from the major slave-societies of the New World. Slave-ownership was a prerogative of the wealthy, although the scale of ownership was larger in the Roman world than the Greek, and the élite could possess hundreds of slaves. *Pompey's son Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus recruited 800 of his personal slaves and shepherds for the war against *Caesar (*Caes. B.Civ. 3. 4. 4*), and the city prefect Lucius Pedanius Secundus maintained under *Nero some 400 slaves in his urban residence alone (*Tac. Ann. 14. 42. 45*). Slave-owning, however, was not confined to the very rich. There is evidence to suggest that artisans in Roman Egypt regularly kept two or three slaves. The Roman naval veteran Gaius Longinus Castor identified just three slaves in his possession in his will in AD 194 (*FIRA 3, no. 50*). Slave-owning was a mark of status to be sought for its own sake, and even slaves and ex-slaves became slave-owners, especially those at Rome who belonged to the *familia Caesaris* and prospered from their favoured status (and see *Plin. HN 33. 134* for the Augustan freedman Gaius Caecilius Isidorus, said to have owned 4,116 slaves at his death). While the evidence on slave numbers is obviously no more than anecdotal, it suffices to show that there was no social limit on the desire to exercise absolute power over others.

Slaves were procured chiefly as captives in war (*see* BOOTY), as the victims of organized *piracy and *brigandage, through natural reproduction, and through *trade. The growth of the Roman empire in the 2nd and 1st cents. BC produced vast numbers of prisoners who were transported as slaves to the Italian heartland. Romans, like Greeks, tended to shun enslavement of co-nationals, assimilating slavery to the 'barbarian' character of other peoples; consequently Syrians and Jews were peoples born for enslavement (although, unlike New World slavery, Classical slavery was never in itself racially grounded). Piracy is best illustrated from the activities of the Cilician bandits of the late republic, notorious for discharging great quantities of enslaved victims in the port of *Delos, where traders swiftly redistributed them, particularly to the west (*Strabo 14. 5. 2*). But a recently discovered letter of St *Augustine (*Ep. 10*) indicates how piracy and brigandage were still rampant in late antiquity, and also how demand for slaves had in no way then diminished. Children born to a slave mother (*vernae*) were typically themselves slaves (the status of the father was immaterial); so natural reproduction constantly contributed to the slave supply. To judge from random remarks like those of Columella (*Rust. 1. 8. 19*; cf. *Varro, Rust. 2. 10. 6*; *see also* AGRICULTURAL WRITERS), slave-owners were sometimes prepared to sanction, if not encourage, reproduction among their slaves when it suited them, and they might allow slaves to enter into informal unions of marriage as a prelude. But the degree of conscious slave-breeding, a highly charged term, is impossible to ascertain in Graeco-Roman society. Slave-traders like Aulus Kapreilius Timotheus (*AE 1946, 229*) operated throughout the Mediterranean, in war and peace, as distributors of captives and home-born slaves alike, at times combining their interests in slaves with trade in other commodities (cf. *Petron. Sat 76. 6*). At no time are complaints heard of slaves being in short supply, even in late antiquity.

Slaves can be observed in almost every area of human activity, the holding of public office apart, and in a world where capitalist ideas were unknown, there was no concept of competition between slave and free labour; in fact it was conventional in certain contexts (e.g. manufacturing) for slave and free to work side by side. In late republican Italy the extensive development of slave-run *latifundia* (domains) consequent on the growth of the empire (cf. *App. B.Civ. 1. 7*) meant that the rural slave presence was very high (although the survival of independent smallholders is now well attested from archaeological survey), and, to judge from Columella's handbook on farming, which gives more attention

to slave management than the earlier treatises of *Cato the Elder and *Varro, it was still high, in some regions of Italy at least, under the Principate (see AGRICULTURE, ROMAN). Domestic labour and the dangerous and heavily exploitative work in the *mines were something of a slave preserve; the gold and silver mines in Roman Spain consumed human labour at a prodigious rate.

The slave-owner's prerogative of setting the slave free was frequently exercised in classical antiquity, and at Rome, contrary to Greek practice, the slave could even be admitted to citizenship (see FREEDMEN), although a high frequency should not be equated with a high incidence of manumission, and most slaves were probably not set free; many who were paid their owners a price for their freedom from savings.

Practically all knowledge of Classical slavery derives from sources representing the attitudes and ideology of slave-owners. It is impossible therefore to understand fully the nature of life in slavery in Graeco-Roman society. Given the patterns of behaviour observable in New World slave societies, it is likely that ancient slaves were at all times obliged to come to terms with the oppression they constantly endured by adopting strategies of accommodation and resistance in their daily lives. Many slaves must have responded with conscious obedience to the rewards for good behaviour—time off from work, superior rations of food and clothing, freedom—that owners offered them as incentives (Varro, *Rust.* 1. 17. 5–7; Columella, *Rust.* 1. 8. 15–20; cp. Xen. *Oec.* 13. 9–12; Aristotle [*Oec.*] 1. 5. 3–6), knowing that physical coercion was always predictable if acquiescence were not forthcoming. The element of calculation this required, however, suggests that obedience was not altogether synonymous with passivity, thus offsetting the dominant stereotype. As for resistance, it is most easily recognized in the occasional episodes of open revolt, notably the movement led by Spartacus in Italy in the late 70s BC (see CRASSUS). Their object was not to eradicate slavery but to extricate the disaffected from its rigours. Revolt was a dangerous form of resistance, however, jeopardizing prospects of emancipation and the family relationships slaves constructed. Slaves therefore tended to display resistance more commonly by running away, playing truant, working inefficiently, pilfering or sabotaging property—annoying and frustrating tactics for owners, but less personally threatening for the perpetrators (e.g. Columella, *Rust.* 1. 7. 6–7). Running away was endemic (e.g. *Cicero's slave Dionysius: Cic. *Fam.* 13. 77. 3; cf. the desertion of over 20,000 Athenian slaves as a result of the Spartan fortification of Decelea near Athens in 413 BC: Thuc. 7. 27. 5), and slave-owners had to advertise rewards for the return of their runaways, engage professional slave-catchers (*fugitivarii*) to track them down, or do the job themselves.

At no time was there any serious questioning of the structural role of slavery in Graeco-Roman society. At Rome *Stoicism is said to have mitigated attitudes towards slaves and to have inspired humane legislation rendering slavery more tolerable, especially under the Principate. In reality Stoic moralists (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 47) were more concerned with the effects of slave-holding on the moral health of the slave-owners than with the conditions under which slaves lived, while Roman legislation, although showing an increasing interest in the public regulation of slavery, was primarily driven by the aim of perpetuating the slavery system as it was and did little to effect permanent improvement. *Christianity likewise displayed no interest in social change from which slaves might benefit, and the result of the Christian attitude symbolized by the repeated injunction that slaves should obey their masters 'with fear and trembling' (e.g. Eph. 6: 5; *Didache* 4: 11)—a vigorous reaffirmation that slavery was an institution based essentially on violence—was to make slavery even harsher in late antiquity than in earlier eras. See also MARXISM AND CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY.

KRB

even the earliest coins are almost certainly later than the time of Solon.

Solon organized the Athenian citizens in four property classes (*pentakosiomedimnoi*, *hippeis*, *zeugitai*, *thētes*), and made these the basis of all political rights, to break the monopoly of the noble families: the major offices were reserved for the two highest classes; the *zeugitai* were eligible for the minor offices; the *thētes* could not hold office but could attend the assembly (**ekklēsia*) and *ēliaia* (below). He may have included an element of allotment in the appointment of the archons, to improve the chances of candidates who were rich but not noble. He

probably created a new council of 400 to prepare business for the assembly, and provided for regular meetings of the assembly.

He compiled a new code of laws, superseding the more severe laws of Draco except in the area of homicide, and probably extending written laws into areas not touched by Draco. He created a category of public lawsuits, in which any citizen might prosecute, in contrast to the private lawsuits in which only the injured party or his family could prosecute; and he provided for appeals against the verdicts of magistrates to the *ēliaia* (possibly a judicial meeting of the assembly).

[continued on p. 740]

SOCRATES

Socrates (469–399 BC), Athenian public figure and central participant in the intellectual debates so common in the city in the middle and late 5th cent. His influence has been enormous, although he himself wrote nothing.

Socrates' philosophy and personality reached a broad ancient audience mainly through the dialogues a number of his associates wrote with him as protagonist. These were numerous and popular enough for *Aristotle to classify them in the *Poetics* as a species of fiction in their own right. But apart from the works of *Plato, only a few fragments survive of the dialogues of Antisthenes, Aeschines of Sphettus, and Phaedon of Elis, and nothing of the *dialogues of Aristippus, Cebes of Thebes, and many others. In addition to Plato, most of our own information about Socrates comes from *Aristophanes and *Xenophon, both of whom also knew him personally, and from Aristotle, who did not.

Socrates was the son of Sophroniscus and Phaenarete, of the deme (rural district) of Alopece. Though Plato and Xenophon depict him as a poor man, he must at some time have owned sufficient property to qualify for service as a hoplite (heavy infantryman) in the battles of Potidaea, Amphipolis, and Delium, through which he acquired a reputation for courage. He was married to Xanthippe and was the father of three sons.

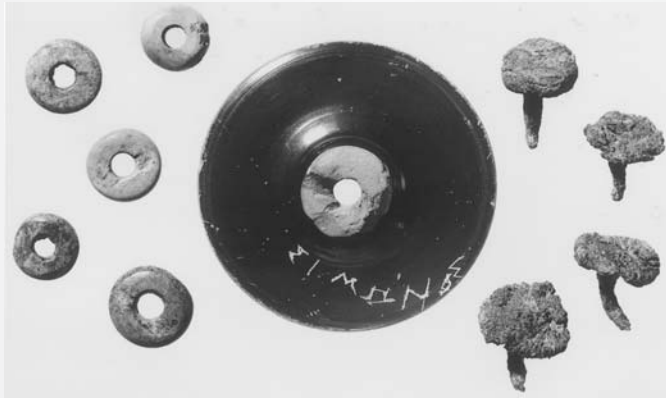
As a citizen, Socrates seems to have avoided active participation in politics. He was, however, one of the Presidents (*prytaneis*) of the assembly (*ekklēsia*) when the generals at the sea-battle at Arginusae (406 BC) were put on trial for abandoning the bodies of the Athenian dead there. Socrates (who was foreman or *epistatēs* of the *prytaneis* on the crucial day, *Xen. Mem.* 1. 1. 18, 4. 4. 2, *Pl. Grg.* 473e, but see Dodds' n.; cp. *Xen. Hell.* 1. 7, 15, *Pl. Ap.* 32b) alone voted against the illegal motion to try the generals as a single group, and they were executed. After the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War (404 BC), he openly ignored an order by the Thirty Tyrants to arrest an innocent citizen (*Pl. Ap.* 32c–d).

Socrates' circle included a number of figures who turned against democracy in Athens, including Critias, Charmides, and *Alcibiades. (See OLIGARCHY; DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN.) This may well have been the underlying reason why he himself was tried and put to death by drinking hemlock in 399 BC. He was charged with impiety, specifically with introducing new gods and corrupting young men. This charge may have masked the political motives of his accusers, since the amnesty of 403 BC prohibited prosecution for most offences committed before that date.

Socrates' execution prompted Plato and Xenophon to create portraits intended to refute the formal charge under which he was tried and to counter his popular image, which may have been inspired by Aristophanes' *Clouds*. Aristophanes had depicted Socrates engaged in natural philosophy and willing to teach his students how 'to make the weaker argument stronger'—a commonplace charge against the *sophists. Both Plato and Xenophon were intent on distinguishing Socrates as radically as possible from other members of the sophistic movement, with whom he may actually have had some affinities. But their strategies differ. In both authors, Socrates devotes himself, like the sophists, to dialectical argument and the drawing of distinctions. In both, he refuses, unlike the sophists, to receive payment. In Xenophon, however, he uses argument to support, in contrast to the sophists, a traditional and conventional understanding of the virtues. In Plato, on the other hand, it is a serious question whether he holds any views of his own, and his main difference from the sophists is that, unlike them, he never presents himself as a teacher of any subject.

Plato's and Xenophon's portraits, inconsistent as they are with Aristophanes', are also inconsistent with each other. This is the root of 'the Socratic problem', the question whether we can ever capture the personality and philosophy of the historical Socrates or whether we must limit ourselves to the interpretation of one or another of his literary representations. For various reasons, in the mid-19th cent. Plato replaced Xenophon as the most reliable witness for the historical Socrates, even though it is accepted that our knowledge of the latter can be at best a matter of speculation. And, though recent attempts to rehabilitate Xenophon are not lacking, most contemporary scholars turn to Plato for information on Socrates' ideas and character.

That character is cool, distant, reticent and ironic, in contrast to Xenophon's more conventional, straightforward, almost avuncular figure. Plato's Socrates refrains from expounding complicated positive views of his own, preferring instead to question those who claim to have such views themselves. In Plato's early or 'Socratic' dialogues his questions mainly concern the nature and teachability of *aretē* ('virtue', 'excellence', or perhaps 'success') and what produces it, both in one's person and in one's activities, and its species—courage, wisdom, piety, self-control, and justice. By means



Socrates Shoe nails and the foot of a 5th-cent. cup inscribed 'Simon's'. The findspot, just off the *agora of Athens, is plausibly identified as the shop of Simon the cobbler where Socrates taught. The setting brings out the extreme informality of the Socratic 'classroom'. Specialized buildings for Greek higher education only begin to appear in the 4th cent. BC (see ACADEMY). American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

of the procedure of question and answer which came to be known as the *elenchus*, Socrates refutes all those who claim to know what *aretē* is by showing their views to be internally inconsistent.

The Platonic Socrates is utterly serious about *aretē* and the nature of the good and happy life. His commitment to do what is, by his best lights, the right thing to do in all cases is unwavering. This commitment ultimately cost him his life: according to Plato's *Apology*, he antagonized his jury by insisting that his life had been as good as any human being's and that far from having committed any wrongs he had brought the greatest benefits to Athens.

Socrates seems to have been convinced that wisdom and virtue were ultimately the same—that if one knows what the good is, one will always do it. His argument was that the good, or *aretē*, either leads to or is itself part of the happy life. Since everyone wants to be happy above everything else, no one who knows what the good is will not choose to do it. This 'intellectualist' approach to ethics implies that there is no such thing as 'weakness of the will'. It is impossible to know the better and choose the worse: the only reason people choose a worse course of action is that they are ignorant of what is better. This is one of the 'Socratic paradoxes', which contradict everyday experience but have proved surprisingly intransigent to analysis and refutation.

Plato's Socrates consistently denied that he had the knowledge of *aretē* that he considered necessary for the good and happy life. He sometimes referred to this knowledge as 'divine', in opposition to the 'human' knowledge he himself possessed and which consisted in his awareness of his own ignorance. This, he claimed, made him wiser than others, who were both ignorant of *aretē* and ignorant of their very ignorance. In the *Apology*, he claimed that this was the meaning of the *Delphic oracle saying that no one in Athens was wiser than he was.

Socrates often, in both Plato and Xenophon, referred to a 'divine sign', a *daimonion*, which prevented him from taking certain courses of action—he attributes his reluctance to participate in active politics to this sign's intervention. His religious views, even though they sometimes overlapped with those of tradition (he acknowledged the authority of *Apollo, for example, when he received the Delphic oracle), must have been quite novel, since he appears to have thought that the gods could never cause evil or misery to each other or to human beings. He also seems, as we see in Plato's *Euthyphro*, to claim that the gods' approval or disapproval does not render actions right or wrong. On the contrary, rightness and wrongness are established independently, and the gods, knowing what these are, both engage in the former and shun the latter and approve of human beings for acting likewise.

Socrates' moral seriousness is counterbalanced by a worldly personality who enjoys good food and company—goods which he is also willing to forgo without complaint if they are not available or if they conflict with the much more important pursuit of *aretē*. He had an uncanny ability, as we see in both Plato and Xenophon, not to do anything wrong, and his relation to positive philosophical views was fundamentally ambiguous. These features, along with the vividness with which Plato portrays his complex personality, are doubtless responsible for the fact that so many ancient philosophical schools, from the Academic Sceptics and the Cyrenaics to the Stoics (see STOICISM) and the *Cynics, considered him as the person most closely approximating their respective ideal.

With the renewed study of Greek texts in the Renaissance, Socrates became an influence on modern philosophy as well. He provides the first model of a philosopher primarily devoted to the pursuit of ethical issues. His pursuit is systematic, and his emphasis on the necessity of knowing the definitions of the virtues if we are to decide securely what does and what does not fall under them provided an impetus for the development of logic. In addition, he still constitutes the paradigmatic figure in whom philosophy, even in its most abstract manifestations, is never severed from the concerns of life. He lived and—most importantly—he died in accordance with his philosophical principles. Plato's lively portrait makes it believable that such a life is possible. But since his principles are not always clear and we cannot be certain whether he himself knew exactly what they were, Socrates continues to constitute a mystery with which anyone interested in philosophy or in the writings of the Greeks must contend. AN

Solon shows in his poems that he was trying to achieve a compromise between the demands of the rich and privileged and of the poor and unprivileged, and that he satisfied neither: the *hektēmoroi* were not given the total redistribution of land which some had wanted, but their liberation angered the deprived overlords; the nobles were reluctant to share political power with the non-nobles, and there was trouble over appointments to the archonship in the years that followed; tension continued until the three seizures of power by Pisistratus, between c.561/0 and c.546/5. Nevertheless, in the creation of a free peasantry, the weakening of the aristocracy and the strengthening of the assembly and the judicial system, Solon laid the foundations for the successful and stable society of Classical Athens.

See also DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN. AWG/TJC/PJR

sophists Itinerant professors of higher education. From its original senses of 'sage' and 'expert' the word came to be applied in the 5th. cent. BC in the technical sense given above to a number of individuals who travelled widely through the Greek world, giving popular lectures and specialized instruction in a wide range of topics. They were not a school, nor even a single movement, having neither a common set of doctrines nor any shared organization.

Their activities included the popularization of Ionian natural philosophy, *mathematics, and the 'social sciences' of history, *geography, and speculative *anthropology; Hippias was active in all and Protagoras in at least some of these fields. They pioneered the systematic study of techniques of persuasion and argument, which embraced various forms of the study of language, including grammar, literary criticism, and semantics. Protagoras was reputedly the first person to write a treatise on techniques of argument, and was notorious for his claim to 'make the weaker argument the stronger'.

The sophists aroused strong reactions, both positive and negative. On the positive side, the highly successful careers of the most celebrated testify to a considerable demand for their services, especially in providing rhet-

orical training for aspiring politicians. On the negative, they were regarded, especially by those of conservative views, as subversive of morality and tradition, in view both of their naturalistic outlook on morality and religion, and of their teaching (especially to the young) of techniques of argument.

Various sophists did indeed subject morality to critical scrutiny. Protagoras maintained (apparently inconsistently with his universal subjectivism) a form of moral relativism, in which moral beliefs are true for those communities in which they are maintained. *Plato represents more radical critics of morality in the persons of the sophist Thrasymachus and of Callicles, a pupil of *Gorgias. It is, however, oversimplified to regard the sophists as a group as having shared a generally sceptical or radical outlook on morality. *Xenophon reports Hippias as maintaining the traditional doctrine that there exist certain natural laws common to all societies, while Plato reports Protagoras as holding that the sophist complements, rather than subverts, the traditional educational institutions of the community in their task of imparting the basic social virtues.

As the writings of the sophists are lost, we depend for our information on others, principally Plato, who is a hostile witness. He believed, very probably truly, that the suspicion which certain sophists had attracted had contributed to the unpopularity and ultimately to the condemnation of *Socrates, and therefore depicts the sophists predominantly as charlatans, in contrast to Socrates, the paradigm of the true philosopher. See EDUCATION, GREEK, §3. CCWT

Sophocles (*see facing page*)

soul The term in Greek nearest to English 'soul', *psychē* (Latin *anima*), has a long history and a wide variety of senses in both philosophical and non-philosophical contexts. In *Homer, the psyche is what leaves the *body on death (i.e. life, or breath?), but also an insubstantial image of the dead person, existing in *Hades and emphatically not something alive. But some vague idea of psyche as

[continued on p. 744]

SOPHOCLES

Sophocles, Athenian tragic playwright.

Career

Sophocles' career in the theatre was a remarkably long one. He first competed against *Aeschylus in 468 BC (*FGrH* 239 *Marm. Par.* A 56; *Plut. Cim.* 8. 7: also his first victory in the competition) more than a decade before Aeschylus' death; he lived to compete for the last time at the Dionysia of 406 BC, dressing his chorus and actors in mourning, we are told, to mark the death of *Euripides, news of which had just reached Athens (*Life of Eur.* 3. 11 ff., ed. E. Schwartz, *Scholia in Euripidem*, 1 (1887)). He died a few months later (*Ar. Frogs* 82; hyp. 2 (second hypothesis ('preface')) to the *Oedipus at Colonos*); he was born in the 490s BC (probably 496 or 495: *Marm. Par.* A 56).

He wrote more than 120 plays (*Suda*) and won at least 20 victories, 18 at the City Dionysia (*IG* 2². 2325): he was thus markedly the most successful of the three great 5th-cent. playwrights. He was second often and never third (i.e. last). He is said to have given up acting in his own plays early in his career (because he did not have a sufficiently powerful voice) and to have written frequently for a particular actor, Tlepolemus, so as to draw on his strengths as a performer (*schol. Ar. Clouds* 1267). He also figures in the public life of Athens when already in his 50s: he was one of the Treasurers of the Greeks in 443–442 BC and a general (*stratēgos*), with *Pericles, probably in 441/o (*FGrH* 324 *Androtion F* 38), during the revolt of *Samos. In the political crisis that followed the defeat of the Athenian armada at Syracuse in 413 he is said to have been one of the ten 'advisers' (*probouloi*) appointed to deal with the state of emergency (*Arist. Rhet.* 1419^a25). There are a number of stories of his friendships with other leading figures of the day, e.g. with the younger tragic playwright Ion of Chios, who wrote a memoir of his conversations with him (*Ath.* 13. 603 ff.: cf. the scene in *Plato in which Cephalus, the father of the orator *Lysias, reports having been present at a conversation which included the aged Sophocles (*Pl. Resp.* 1. 329a–c)). He was apparently a priest of the hero Halon (*Life*) and welcomed the new cult of the healing god *Asclepius and the snake which symbolized him into his own house while a sanctuary was built (*Plut. Num.* 3: probably in 420–19). After his death he was given the honours of a hero-cult himself, with the new name Dexion (*Etym. Magn.*). We must be wary of ancient 'biographical' data (many of which are cautionary fictions: M. Lefkowitz, *Lives of the Greek Poets*, 1981) but with Sophocles there seems to be just enough reliable material to construct a public persona.

Plays

Paradoxically facts are scarcer when it comes to Sophocles' theatrical output. We have dates for only two of the seven surviving plays (the last two): a victory with *Philoctetes* in 409 (hyp.) and another with *Oedipus at Colonos* in 401 (a posthumous victory, the play being produced by his grandson, also called Sophocles: hyp. 2). We know of victories in 447 (*IG* 2². 2318: plays unknown) and 438 (over Euripides: hyp. *Eur. Alc.*: plays again unknown); and with *Antigone* at a date unknown; also of defeats in 459 (*POxy.* 2256, fr. 3; by Aeschylus with the *Supplices* trilogy; Sophocles' plays of this year are uncertain); in 431 (hyp. *Eur. Med.*; by Euphorion, Aeschylus' son: Euripides was third) and in the year of *Oedipus Tyrannus* (by Philocles, Aeschylus' nephew; date unknown). We have no evidence at all for the dates of *Ajax*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Electra*, and *Trachiniae* and only unreliable and unconvincing anecdotal evidence for *Antigone*.

Theatricality

Readings of Sophocles in the earlier part of this century tended to be determined by the influence of *Aristophanes' passing remark about him, only months after his death, as 'easy-going' or 'relaxed' (*Frogs* 82) and by the judgement of later ancient critics of style which identified Sophocles' with the 'middle, well-blended' style, neither grand and austere (like Aeschylus and *Thucydides) nor smooth and pedestrian (like *Isocrates and Euripides: *Dion. Hal. Comp.* 21–4; cf. *Dio Chrys. Or.* 52. 15, for a reading of *Philoctetes* which sets Sophocles 'midway between' Aeschylus and Euripides). Sophocles thus emerged as 'middling'—stable, harmonious, and at ease with experience. Such readings ignored the frequently discomfiting nature of much Sophoclean theatre (esp. in *Antigone*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and *Trachiniae*, for example) and largely denied his insistent theatricality. Sophocles is the master of the enacted

metaphor—metaphors of blindness in the two *Oedipus plays and *Antigone*, of bestiality in *Trachiniae*—which is momentarily ‘realized’ in the text as it is performed. The theatricality of such pervasive dramatic metaphors emerges in moments such as the messenger speech of *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the immediately following scene with the entry of the now blinded but ‘seeing’ Oedipus (*OT* 1223–1415), and in the first stasimon of the chorus in *Trachiniae* (497–530), where Deianira herself is imagined as an ‘abandoned calf’ helplessly watching two beast-men fighting in a ‘game’ (like a wrestling match at *Olympia) for the right to take her. Such moments are moments of stunning theatrical power, and ‘middling’ is not a word to apply to them. Sophocles can produce equally powerful effects of the eerie and uncanny: e.g. in the opening scene of *Ajax*, where the unseen *Athena manipulates a puppet-like Ajax (see *AIAS*) and is resisted by the matching subtlety of *Odysseus (1–133: the scene becomes even eerier in retrospect when Tecmessa reports it as if Ajax had been speaking to a vacancy, 301–6).

Much of Sophoclean theatricality resides in his dramatic use of significant objects and significant actions, especially exits and entrances. *Electra*, for example, is a play of thwarted recognition and its centrepiece enacts a sinister game of illusion, of disguises and deceptions. The game involves not only a brilliantly theatrical messenger speech evoking and narrating, in the bravura style of such speeches, distant events which culminate in the violent death of Orestes and which we know have not occurred (680–763), but also the bringing of Orestes’ ‘ashes’, carried in an urn by the unrecognized Orestes himself. The urn is taken by *Electra whose grief for her dead brother and lament for the irreparable loss of her own hoped-for future are directed to it, focused on the ‘little weight’ which is his tomb and which she now holds in her hands (126–69). She begs to be allowed to join him in it, ‘nothing with nothing’, and even when Orestes struggles to disclose himself and to be recognized, she will not let go of it. The urn is ‘what is closest’ to her (1205–8). The fusing of game-playing, irony, and intensity of tragic emotion is mediated through the simple ‘prop’. Other such powerfully meaningful props are the sword in *Ajax* and the bow in *Philoctetes*. Sophocles’ dramatic imagination is before all else physical and concrete. It reveals much about him that in *Philoctetes* the isolation and the loss of identity of the hero is figured in physical terms by the deserted, uninhabited island with its cave and sea, its springs, rocks, and wild animals, whereas in the *Philoctetes* plays of Aeschylus and Euripides Lemnos remains the inhabited island of ordinary experience.

Entrances and exits were always, given the layout of the theatre space, of more importance in Greek tragedy than in later forms of built theatre. Sophocles’ use of them is, however, markedly his own. The entrance of the self-blinded Oedipus in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, immediately after one of Sophocles’ most powerful messenger speeches, has already been mentioned (*OT* 1287 ff.). The final entrance of Creon, carrying the body of his son, in *Antigone* (1257 ff.) is another *coup-de-théâtre*: it follows almost without pause on the exit of his wife, turning away in silence from the messenger’s narrative of her son’s death. As Creon enters, he is instantly met by the same messenger emerging from the palace to announce his wife’s death and by the ‘rolling out’ of the theatrical device called the *ekkyklēma* (a wheeled platform), carrying a tableau of his wife’s body and the sword with which she has this moment killed herself. Entering and carrying one body, he confronts another.

Sophocles’ last two plays offer a unique sense of space and ‘place where’, in relation to which alone the action has meaning. The deserted island of Lemnos in *Philoctetes* and the grove of the Semnai at Colonos in *Oedipus at Colonos* are heavily loaded with meaning as places to be left or reached. In both plays entrances and exits are thus equally full of significance. In *Oedipus at Colonos* the act of entering unknowingly upon sacred ground and above all that of leaving it are given dramatic weight by the slow measured extension of the blind Oedipus’ movements (153–202). Later in the play the entry of Ismene is similarly extended, this time from the moment the figures on stage first catch sight of her (in the approach to the acting area) until she is within range of speech and touch (310–29). These are *adagio* movements; in *Philoctetes*, it is the suddenness, for example, of Odysseus’ entries at 974 (in mid-line) and 1293 that gives them their theatrical quality. But in *Philoctetes* it is above all the thwarted exit that defines the theatricality of the play. The play’s action requires that Philoctetes leave Lemnos for Troy. That exit is four times launched, delayed, and then thwarted (645–750; 877–926; 982–1056; 1362–1410: the final exit, at *Heracles’ urging, at 1449–71). Each thwarted exit is different in its implications from each of the others and the last, completed exit is itself ambiguous in its meaning.

Language, form and structure

The language that Sophocles deploys in his plays has, arguably, a greater range than that of either Aeschylus or Euripides, from the baroque sonorities of Ajax’ great ‘deception speech’ (*Ajax* 646–92) or the messenger’s opening proclamation of his news in *Oedipus Tyrannus* (1223–31) to the rambling, self-defensive preambles of the guard in *Antigone* (223–47; 388–405). It is a language which is often difficult, even inscrutable (especially in its syntax and particularly in

the songs of the chorus); it is never less than formal and it does not yield its sense easily. But it has a flexibility that is very much Sophocles'. It is a mark of Sophoclean writing that it operates within highly formalized structures but uses those structures with masterly tact and subtlety. Sophocles uses the iambic trimeter of tragic dialogue for the most part in its severe form (without, that is, the fluid resolutions that Euripides increasingly used to free the verse) but he treats such formal boundaries as line-end, for example, with a relaxed ease; clauses, even prepositional phrases, may run over into the next line; occasionally a final vowel at the end of one line may be elided (i.e. run into) the opening vowel of the next. The pulse of the verse is kept steady but the rhythmical structure of the whole speech is given a new fluidity by Sophocles' informal treatment of metrical pause. So too with dialogue: like the other tragedians, Sophocles only divides a line between speakers as a sign of greatly heightened emotional tension but the length of the speeches that are exchanged is left much more fluid than those of Euripides, for example.

The fusion of formal symmetries with a more 'naturalistic' use of speech is well illustrated by the pivotal scene of *Oedipus Tyrannus* which embraces the quarrel between Oedipus and Creon, the entry and intervention of Jocasta, and the following dialogue between Oedipus and Jocasta (512–833). With the entry first of Creon and then of Oedipus the quarrel develops from Oedipus' opening speech of denunciation into a rapid, heated exchange of short speeches which keeps drifting into and out of the formal severities of *stichomythia* (the tightly controlled exchange of single lines); it culminates in Creon's long speech of reasoned self-defence and Oedipus' curt proclamation of death, not exile, as Creon's punishment. This in turn leads at once into a vicious exchange of tense, broken lines, a choral intervention in spoken iambs and Jocasta's entry. The three characters now present (most of our sources attribute to Sophocles the innovation of using three actors: Arist. *Poet.* 1449^a15) engage in dialogue with a marked tendency towards symmetry. The formal severity of the scene is suddenly tightened still more when the chorus break in again, this time in song, and confront, first Oedipus, then Jocasta in a mixture of sung and spoken dialogue; the two confrontations, which respond with precise symmetry, are separated by the final, spoken exchanges between Oedipus and Creon, ending in another broken verse and Creon's exit. The chorus in song briefly assure Oedipus of their absolute loyalty, and Jocasta then begins a new scene of spoken, loosely structured dialogue in which it gradually emerges, with a high degree of psychologically persuasive 'naturalness', that it may be Oedipus himself who killed his own predecessor as king, Jocasta's first husband, Laius.

The idea of flexibility in the deployment of a tightly controlled formal structure applies also to resonances and responses between plays. Sophocles turned three times to the cycle of traditional stories associated with Thebes, not to produce a continuous 'trilogy' in the manner of Aeschylus but to explore certain recurring themes (the plays are sometimes called the 'Theban plays' or even the 'Theban trilogy'; both titles mislead, the second grossly: if the traditional chronology has any basis in fact the plays were written in the order: *Antigone*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus at Colonus* and may well have been separated by decades). *Antigone* has often been taken to be a broken-backed and structureless play (who is its 'hero'—Antigone, who disappears barely two-thirds of the way through the play, at l. 943 and never re-appears, or Creon, who is alienated from us almost from the first by the brutal autocracy of his language? Similar questions have been raised over *Trachiniae*); *Oedipus Tyrannus*, ever since *Aristotle (*Poet.* 1452^a17–32), has been read as the paradigm of a well-structured play. But in important ways Sophocles uses these two differently structured theatrical experiences to explore closely related themes. *Oedipus Tyrannus* has a smoothly pivotal structure in which, with no appearance of discontinuity, we turn from one issue (the salvation of Thebes from plague brought on by *pollution) to another (is Oedipus guilty both of parricide and incest?). *Antigone* seems very different: it is more like a revolving stage on which, from Antigone's exit under sentence of death at 582, one character is replaced by another (Antigone—Haemon—Antigone—Tiresias—Messenger—Eurydice—Creon) until in the closing scene of the play all but Tiresias and the dead Antigone are assembled together in final confrontation with death and, for Creon, tragic recognition. But the two plays are tightly bound together by common themes (pollution through violent death; human blindness to truth; the impenetrability of the divine and the opaqueness of the riddling language of divinity); in both plays humans are left for carrion to devour, and boundaries between the two worlds of gods and men are thereby crossed with deadly results; in both the bonds of kinship have been distorted into horrific travesties of family. *Antigone* ends in inescapable bleakness; *Oedipus Tyrannus*, more positively, with Oedipus re-confronting the world in his blindness.

Tragedy and 'recognition'

Aristotle in the *Poetics* makes much use of the idea of 'recognition' (*anagnōrisis*) in his analysis of the tragic effect. The idea is not of much help in reading Aeschylus and of intermittent usefulness in Euripides. But in Sophocles (as arguably in

*Homer's *Iliad*) it is an illuminating critical tool. In play after play, one or more characters is brought to a realization that he or she has misperceived the nature of reality and the realization is almost always associated with pain, suffering, and death. The idea of recognition is more often than not also associated with relationships between man and divinity. Between the two worlds of gods and men there is communication, in the imagined world of Sophoclean theatre: it comes in the form of dreams, oracles, and the reading of signs by seers such as Tiresias. Men and women try to guide their decisions by their understanding of such communications. But such understanding is almost always false: the language and the signs used by divinity are everywhere ambiguous, however simple in appearance, and they are systematically and readily misunderstandable, even if they are to hand. In *Ajax*, at a crucial moment, men learn too late of the seer's reading of Athena's intentions and Ajax dies; in *Trachiniae* both Deianira and Heracles only perceive the true meaning of a series of oracles and non-human communications when it is too late and the recognition cannot save them from the consequences of catastrophically mistaken action. In *Antigone*, both Antigone and Creon believe that they are acting as the gods require of them: Antigone dies with that belief shaken and perhaps foundering (919–27) and Creon confronts his misreading of the requirements of divinity only when not just Antigone but his son and wife also are already dead (1257–76). In *Philoctetes* the oracle is never brought sharply into focus but none the less haunts the play; in *Oedipus Tyrannus* the simplicities of the oracle's language become utterly opaque when read through the lens of Oedipus' 'knowledge' of the truth about himself. The recurring pattern of Sophoclean tragedy is that all falls into place and coheres only in retrospect: recognition comes after the event.

Reception

Successful in his lifetime, Sophocles continued to be a powerful presence in the Greek tragic theatre in the following century. His plays seem to have been frequently revived, and the leading parts in them were taken by great actors of the period, such as Polus and Theodorus (Dem. *De fals. leg.* 246–7; Epictetus *Diss.* fr. 11 Schenk; Gell. *NA* 6. 5). For Aristotle, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is a paradigm of how to maximize the tragic effect, even in reading (*Poet.* 1453^{b2}). Indeed Sophocles seems to have been read and performed through much of European history. *Oedipus Tyrannus* was the first drama to be performed in Palladio's Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza in the 17th cent. *Antigone* has haunted the European imagination for centuries (George Steiner, *Antigones* (1984)) and in the 19th cent. and subsequently Freud's reading of *Oedipus Tyrannus* as the enactment of a universal male fantasy has been widely influential (though not among classical scholars: for a rebuttal of Freudian readings of the play, see J.-P. Vernant, 'Oedipus without the complex', in *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece*, Eng. trans. (1988), 85 ff.). In the 20th cent., *Electra* caught the imagination of Hugo von Hofmannsthal and of Richard Strauss, *Trachiniae* that of Ezra Pound. The readings that such continuous interest in Sophocles have led to have been extremely various: they attest the richness, as well as the inscrutability, of his text. See also TRAGEDY, GREEK.

J.PAG

the essence of the individual, capable of surviving the body (and perhaps entering another) is well established by the 5th cent. (e.g. *IG* 1³. 1179. 6; Pind., *Ol.* 2. 56–80), though without necessarily displacing the older idea and even being combined with it (Pind., fr. 131 b Snell/Maehler). Simultaneously, in medical contexts and elsewhere, psyche begins to be found regularly in contrast with *sōma*, suggesting something like the modern contrast between 'mind' and body.

All of these ideas are found, separately or in combination, in the philosophers. Democritus stresses the interconnectedness of psyche ('mind') and body, while *Socrates regards the psyche primarily as our essence *qua* moral beings. Socrates was probably agnostic about whether it was something capable of surviving death; Plato, by contrast, offers repeated arguments for the immortality of the psyche, which he combines with the (ori-

ginally Pythagorean) idea that it transmigrates, after the death of the person, into another body, human or animal. See PYTHAGORAS. Sometimes he represents the psyche as something purely (or ultimately) rational, sometimes as irrevocably including irrational elements. At the same time his myths include many aspects of Homeric eschatology, which may have retained an important place in popular belief. *Aristotle is at the furthest remove from non-philosophical attitudes, adopting a largely biological approach which says that the psyche is the 'form' of the living creature, i.e. the combination of powers or capacities to do the things which are characteristic of its species.

In philosophical contexts, the primary connotations of psyche are probably life, consciousness, and 'self-caused' movement. Psyche, or an aspect of it, is typically made the ultimate cause of all or most movement, whether in

the shape of a world soul, as in Platonism (see PLATO), or of god, as in Aristotle and *Stoicism. The chief exception is Epicureanism (see EPICURUS), which makes the movements of atoms themselves primary. It was also the Epicureans, among the philosophers, who most resolutely opposed the idea of an immortal psyche (even Aristotle allowed that the highest aspect of reason might be immortal and divine). Outside philosophy, until the Christian era, the idea, or notions more or less vaguely resembling it, are found chiefly in the context of mystery or ecstatic religion (see ECSTASY; MYSTERIES), and in literature reflecting influence from such sources. CJR

Spain (see ◀ Map 5 ▶)

Prehistory

The geographical diversity of the Iberian peninsula enforced cultural heterogeneity. Native peoples drew upon abundant metal resources and rich agricultural areas to achieve a cultural balance between tradition and foreign influence. This was the basis for the emergence of the bronze age Argaric culture (2nd millennium BC) of the south-east, the Atlantic bronze age complex (early 1st millennium BC), and the arrival of the Urnfields in the north-east (early 1st millennium BC). Contact with the *Phoenicians and Greeks gave rise to the Tartessus and eventually the urbanized Iberian peoples (5th cent. BC onwards) of the Mediterranean coast. The culture and later urbanization of central (including the Celtiberians), western, northern, and some parts of southern Iberia were conditioned by the movement of Celtic peoples or cultural types from c.500 BC onwards.

Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians

Traditionally Phoenicians from Tyre founded Gades (Cadiz) c.1100 BC, although archaeologists have lowered the date to the 8th cent. BC. Nine further colonies were later established along the coast of southern Spain between Abdera and the river Guadalhorce, and at Ebusus (Ibiza). These traded with Tartessus until the 6th cent. BC, when waning Phoenician power was replaced by that of *Carthage. In the mid-6th cent. BC Greeks from Phocaea founded colonies in Iberia, notably at Emporion, Rhode (Roses), and Maenace (near Málaga), the latter perhaps an attempt to profit from the Phoenician decline. Carthaginian power in Iberia was enhanced with the conquests in the south by Hamilcar Barca and *Hannibal from 237 BC. These culminated in the foundation of Carthago Nova (Cartagena), as Carthage mobilized Iberian manpower and metal resources for the attack on Rome. The Second Punic War (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.4), starting from Hannibal's siege of Rome's ally

Saguntum and his approach to the Ebro, continued in the Iberian theatre until Carthage was driven out by *Scipio Africanus in 206 BC.

The Roman provinces

Roman territory was formally constituted as two separate provinces, Hispania Citerior (the eastern coastal strip) and Hispania Ulterior (the south-east coast and the Guadalquivir valley) in 197 BC. Both provinces were gradually extended inland in rapacious and reactive campaigns against native peoples and tribes bordering the provinces, culminating in the Lusitanian (155–139 BC) and Celtiberian (155–133 BC) wars. This left the greater part of Iberia in Roman hands. Further conquest was halted and further operations—sorties by triumph-hunting generals, and *Caesar's civil war against the Pompeians (49–45 BC)—were not attempts at expansion. Systematic exploitation of the provinces appears not to have begun before the 170s BC. Tribute eventually comprised a fixed money payment and one-twentieth of the grain crop, and prompted the silver and bronze issues minted by native communities in northern Citerior and Ulterior (bronze only) at Rome's behest. Cases of misgovernment led in 171 to the institution of trials *de repetundis* (i.e. for charges of provincial extortion), but the picture of oppression was exaggerated by unreliable sources. *Mines (those of Carthago Nova yielded 2,500 *drachmae* daily) were rented out, for a fixed payment related to production, to Italian businessmen, who settled in moderate numbers in centres like Carthago Nova, Corduba, and Tarraco. There were also substantial bodies of Roman settlers at Italica (206) and Valentia (138), half-Iberian *libertini* (*freedmen) at Carteia (171), and *hybridae* (half-Spanish settlers) and natives at Palma and Pollentia (122/121), and possibly in other centres. Elsewhere Rome fostered new native towns (e.g. Gracchuris, founded in 179 by Tiberius *Gracchus. In general terms, however, there is little evidence that Rome either systematically urbanized the provinces or attempted to enhance native agriculture before the mid-1st cent. BC.

The conquest of Iberia was completed by *Augustus in the Cantabrian Wars (26–19 BC). This resulted in a largely new province of Lusitania and a great new extension of Citerior (renamed Tarraconensis) to the north and west ocean. These provinces were assigned to the emperor; most of Ulterior (renamed Baetica) was returned to the senate in 27 BC. The new Augustan conquest required three legions in north-west Tarraconensis; by the time of *Vespasian they had been reduced to VII Gemina only. Twenty-two colonies were founded (see COLONIZATION, ROMAN), and a large number of *municipia* (municipalities) created, under Caesar and Augustus, forming the

basis for a Roman urban network within juridical *conventus* (assizes) in each province. Following the development of a municipal imperial cult at Tarraco (AD 15), there soon followed the establishment of a conventual (Tarraconensis) and provincial imperial cult (under the Flavians). See RULER-CULT.

The density and sophistication of Hispano-Roman towns varied greatly from region to region. However, a substantial number of the 1st-cent. provincial senators at Rome came from the colonies of the Hispaniae. In literature they produced the Senecas (see *SENECA*) and *Lucan; Columella, Quintilian, and *Martial were of native stock. The emperors *Trajan, *Hadrian, and Marcus *Aurelius had Spanish ancestry. However, despite Vespasian's grant of Latin rights to all Spanish communities, many retained native cultural traits. The systematic and large-scale exploitation of gold in north-west Tarraconensis, as well as silver (especially near Castulo) and other metals (as at Río Tinto), provided important revenue for Rome and was underwritten by an extensive road network (notably the via Augusta, the Asturica to Emerita Augusta road). Wine (from Tarraconensis) and fish-sauce were widely distributed, while the state monitored the production of Baetican olive oil for Rome and the frontiers.

The mid-3rd-cent. Frankish invasions were of little consequence for the long-term development of the provinces. However, this century saw the diminution of Spanish exports and accelerating municipal decline. *Diocletian divided Hispania Tarraconensis into three and added Tingitana: the Balearics were added in 395. The rewalling and continued decline of many towns in the 4th cent. was matched by the flourishing of large residential country villas and the emergence of powerful country-based aristocracies, like the family of emperor Theodosius I. A powerful church by the early 4th cent. is evident from the council of Elvira (Illiberis, mod. Granada), and its position was enhanced by Hosius (Ossius), bishop of Corduba; it also produced Prudentius and Orosius. The barbarian invasions of 409 rapidly led to the loss of Roman control in all provinces, except the Balearics (by 455) and Tarraconensis (by 475). Unified Visigothic control was established by 586, although parts of southern Spain were held by the Byzantines between 552 and 624.

SJK

Sparta (see page 748)

sphinx, a hybrid creature, like the chimaera (fire-breathing monster) and the griffin. Illustrations can be traced back to Egypt and Mesopotamia in the mid-3rd millennium BC (impossible to accord priority, although the Egyptian ver-

sion is known to be a late-comer to local iconography). Basically the Sphinx possessed the body of an animal (usually a lion) and a human head (male or female). Variations include wings (common) and horns.

The Egyptian and Mesopotamian sphinx is depicted in religious and/or heraldic contexts, from the monumental (i.e. the Sphinx at Giza) to the minute. The Egyptian is held to embody the king as Horus supplicating the sun god Re. Both are sometimes shown slaying humans, presumably enemies of the king (the foregoing based on H. Demisch, *Die Sphinx* (1977)).

Sphinxes appear in Minoan and Mycenaean art (see MINOAN CIVILIZATION; MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION), in *Crete and the mainland, the ultimate inspiration probably Egypt (Immerwahr, 35). The sphinx later becomes a popular figure in Greek art—monumental and funerary—of the archaic and later periods (Donadoni; Vermeule, 171–5). This is an extension of her role as guardian spirit.

The only literary references are to the Greek sphinx, whence the name, which came from a monster of Theban legend, (S)phix, that inhabited a mountain at the western edge of Theban territory (central Greece), waylaid passers-by, and wrought havoc on the Cadmeans (the story is referred to by Hesiod, *Theogony* 326, where she is daughter of Echidna and Orthos, and sister of the Nemean lion). Popular Greek etymologizing derived the name from the verb *sphingein* ('bind/hold fast'), perhaps influenced by the story (see West on *Theog.* 326 and P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* 4 (1977), 1077).

Her hostility to the Thebans may be connected with the traditional war between Minyan Orchomenus and Cadmean Thebes, which was begun and ended near Mt. Phicion, at Onchestus and the Teneric plain respectively. She would have been performing her accustomed role as guardian, this time of Minyan territory (it is to be remarked that as one approaches the mountain from the west—that is, from the direction of Orchomenus—it resembles in outline a crouching beast: this might have caused the connection to be made). Eventually she met her match in *Oedipus, who either answered her riddle, causing her to commit suicide (e.g. Apollod. 3. 5. 8), or actually killed her (Corinna, fr. 672 PMG). The attachment of the sphinx to the Oedipus legend is regarded as secondary (Edmunds), and may have been grafted on to it from its original place in the story of the war. ASCH

stadium (Gk. *stadion*), running track, about 200 m. long (the term also signifies a comparable unit of linear measurement i.e. a 'stade'). Athletic activity often antedates the surviving stadia (e.g. at Nemea); presumably any area

[continued on p. 750]



sphinx Terracotta incense burner in the shape of a sphinx, c.680 BC. DAI Athens, neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos. All rights reserved

SPARTA

Sparta (see ◀ Map 1, Bd ▶)

1. Prehistory

Sparta ('the sown land?') lies c. 56 km. (35 miles) south of Tegea, and 48 km. (30 mi.) north of Gytheum, at the heart of the fertile alluvial valley of the Eurotas in the district of Laconia (SW *Peloponnese). Very few prehistoric remains are known from the site of historical Sparta, but there was a substantial neolithic community not far south, and a major late bronze age settlement about 3 km. north-east (the 'Menelaion' site at Therapne). The circumstances of the settlement of Sparta town are enveloped in the fog of myth and legend: the 'Return of the Heraclids' (the descendants of *Heracles), as the ancients put it, and the 'Dorian Invasion', in modern parlance (see MACEDONIA). Archaeology as currently understood suggests a cultural break with the bronze age and a humble new beginning somewhere in the darkness of the 10th cent.; the initial relationship between Sparta and Amyclae, which by 700 had been incorporated on equal terms with the other four villages comprising Sparta town, is no less obscure.

2. Archaic and Classical

In a long war, usually placed in the later 8th cent., much of neighbouring Messenia was annexed and its population helotized. The conquest transformed Sparta into a leading Greek state, culturally as well as militarily, as attested by the wealth of dedications at the sanctuary of *Artemis Orthia and numerous visits by foreign poets. But it also prompted the (poorly understood) dispute surrounding the Partheniai, who departed to found Taras (Tarentum, mod. Taranto) c.700; and it saddled Sparta with lasting problems of security, both internal and external. During the 7th cent. Sparta was confronted with a major Messenian revolt (the 'Second Messenian War'), internal discontent from poor citizens, and probably military defeat by Argos at Hysiae in 669. During the 6th cent. the external problem was solved by several successful wars—especially against Argos c.545 and, after a serious defeat, against Tegea—followed by a new policy that created a system of unequal alliances which developed into the 'Peloponnesian League'. The League, which underpinned Sparta's dominance until the mid-4th cent., provided external co-operation against the helots in return for support for broadly based oligarchies. An alliance with King Croesus of Lydia (W. Asia Minor) and an expedition against Polycrates of *Samos c.525 are signs of Sparta's prominence among Greek states.

Sparta's internal problems were tackled by extending her control over the whole of Messenia and through a thoroughgoing reorganization of Spartan institutions and way of life which embodied a social compromise between rich and poor citizens. The exact chronology of this reorganization is uncertain. Later Spartans attributed it to a single, early lawgiver, *Lycurgus. Most current opinion, while agreeing that the fundamental changes were consciously planned following a common logic, views them as being implemented in a continuing process of adaptation between the 7th and 5th cents. There were three essential elements of the 'remodelled' Spartan society. First, an economic system, according to which *citizenship was extended to a body of several thousand men who, as full-time hoplites supported by produce delivered by helots who worked their private estates, were debarred from agricultural labour, business activity, and a range of expenditures for consumption and display. Secondly, a political system initiated by the 7th-cent. 'Great Rhetra' (Plut. *Lyc.* 6) which combined a limited right of veto for the citizen assembly with the strong executive powers of the ephors, the extra-constitutional influence of the two kings, and the formidable, conservative authority of the *gerousia* (council of elders). Thirdly, a social and ritual system, as part of which every future Spartiate or full citizen (except the two kings and their immediate heirs) took part in an austere public training (the *agōgē*) followed in adulthood by a common lifestyle of participation in the messes (*syssitia*) and in military training and service in the army.

The end-result was the creation of the famous *eunomia* ('good order'), admired by both contemporaries and later generations for its long-term stability. Few of its specific institutions were in themselves unique; many were transformations of earlier institutions or were paralleled elsewhere in Greece. What was distinctive was their combination into a coherent structure which attempted to produce a unified citizen body of *homoioi* ('Peers' rather than 'Equals') whose subservience to collective interests and military training would ensure effective policing of the helots. The reorganiza-

tion had its limits. The cultural impact was gradual: Olympic athletic victories continued until c.550 (see OLYMPIA), and Laconian painted pottery and bronze vessel production until a generation later. Several spheres of Spartiate society were only partially affected, especially the strength of family allegiances and more independent role of citizen women. Although this is controversial, land tenure probably remained essentially private and its distribution very unequal.

During the reign of Cleomenes I (c.520–490) Sparta ousted the tyrants from Athens, but failed to control the subsequent democracy and declined various external appeals for assistance, especially against Persia. Sparta commanded the Greek resistance to *Xerxes' invasion (480/79); but afterwards its leadership of the Greek alliance and campaigns against medizing states in northern Greece foundered amidst the disgrace of the regent Pausanias and King Leotychidas II. The 470s and 460s were decades of crisis marked by conflict with her Arcadian allies and a long helot revolt following losses in the severe earthquake of c.465. The remainder of the 5th cent. was dominated by wars with Athens (the so-called 'First' Peloponnesian War c.460–446 being conventionally distinguished from that of 431–404). Their controversial origins were, on Sparta's side, connected with her fear that Athenian imperialism would destabilize the Peloponnesian League. Sparta's traditional strategy of invading Attic territory failed; but Athens was ultimately starved into surrender after *Lysander, with Persian financial help, destroyed her fleet at Aegospotami (405). Sparta's subsequent imperialist activities in Asia Minor, central and northern Greece, and even in *Sicily and (possibly) Egypt, led to the Corinthian War (394–387) against a hostile Graeco-Persian coalition. In the King's Peace (387/6) Sparta traded her overseas empire for domination in mainland Greece, which was pursued vigorously against Thebes by King Agesilaus II; but her supremacy was destroyed by defeat at Leuctra (371). Ensuing Theban invasions brought the liberation of Messenia (370/69), the foundation of Megalopolis (368) in south-western Arcadia, and the demise of the Peloponnesian League (366), thereby reducing her to a second-rate power.

The roots of Sparta's international decline lay in internal difficulties. Inequalities in landholding developed during the 5th cent. as the employment of wealth for élite activities such as chariot racing became increasingly significant as a determinant of status. Many poorer Spartiates became unable to provide their contributions to the common messes which were a necessary condition of citizenship. The *homoioi*, 8,000 strong in 480, dwindled to c.1,500 by 371. The sources' claim that Sparta was ruined by the influx of imperial wealth may be merely moralizing commonplace; but the development of independent foreign commands and of competing internal factions during the period of empire did mean enlarged opportunities for economic patronage. Unwilling to address the problems of poor Spartiates, the authorities' increasing reliance on non-Spartiate troops left Sparta unable to resist her enemies' dismantling of her power.

3. Hellenistic and Roman

Down to the early 2nd cent. BC Sparta intermittently—and unsuccessfully—launched attempts to regain her old hegemony by challenging successively the domination of the Peloponnese by *Macedonia and the Achaean Confederacy; in the same period the Spartan polity and way of life lost much of its distinctiveness (in the mid-3rd cent. the public training (*agōgē*) faltered; and Areus refashioned the royal dyarchy into a Hellenistic-style kingship). Cleomenes III (reigned 235–222) sought a root-and-branch internal reform in a (failed) attempt to revitalize Sparta's military machine; in doing so he claimed to be recreating the laws of Lycurgus, many of which, as recorded by *Plutarch and other later writers, were probably invented at this time. The reign of Nabis (207–192) marks the last glow of Spartan independence; his assassination, and Sparta's subsequent forced inclusion in the Achaean Confederacy (195 BC), along with the forced suppression of the training, marks its final extinction; in 147 BC, in response to Spartan complaints, Rome allowed the city to leave the confederacy, a development prompting the Achaean War and Greece's partial provincialization. After 146 Sparta, now one of Greece's free cities, remained on excellent terms with the Romans, who allowed (the precise date is controversial) a recreation of the traditional training. With a new emphasis on violent spectacle, this now won Roman admirers as a paler version of their own *disciplina militaris*; Romans came as spectators, including *Augustus and *Hadrian, who both gave it their support. Under Augustus his Spartan partisan Gaius Iulius Eurycles founded a local client-dynasty, lasting until Nero. There are extensive remains of the Roman city, which survived, diminished, a sack by Alaric and his Visigoths (AD 396).

King-List.

Before c.800 BC the list is very hypothetical. Until 491/0, the Spartans claimed, son had succeeded father; though it is difficult to believe, there is no evidence to refute the claim. Thereafter relationship is indicated in brackets, the reference being to the preceding king. On the problems of the king-lists in their early reaches (Hdt. 7. 204 and 8. 131), see P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia* (1979), app. 3, and *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta* (1987), 22 f. 102 f., and fig. 7.

AGIADS

Agis, 930–900.
 Echestratus, 900–870.
 Leobotes, 870–840.
 Dorussus, 840–820.
 Agesilaus I, 820–790.
 Archelaus, *c.*790–760.
 Teleclus, *c.*760–740.
 Alcamenes, *c.*740–700.
 Polydorus, *c.*700–665.
 Eurycrates, *c.*665–640.
 Anaxandrus, *c.*640–615.
 Eurycratidas, *c.*615–590.
 Leon, *c.*590–560.
 Anaxandridas, *c.*560–520.
 Cleomenes I, *c.*520–490.
 Leonidas I (brother), 490–480.

Pleistarchus (son), 480–459.
 Pleistoanax (son), 459–409.
 Pausanias (son), 409–395.
 Agesipolis I (son), 395–380.
 Cleombrotus I (brother), 380–371.
 Agesipolis II (son), 371–370.
 Cleomenes II (brother), 370–309.
 Areus I (grandson), 309–265.
 Acrotatus (son), 265–262.
 Areus II (son), 262–254.
 Leonidas II (grandson of Cleomenes II), 254–235.
 Agis IV (son), *c.*244–241.
 Cleomenes III (son), 235–222.
 Agesipolis III (grandson of Cleombrotus II), 219–215.

EURYPONTIDS

Agis, 930–900.
 Echestratus, 900–870.
 Polydectes, 830–800.
 Eunomus, 800–780.
 Charillus, *c.*780–750.
 Nicandrus, *c.*750–720.
 Theopompus, *c.*720–675.
 Anaxandridas, *c.*675–665.
 Archidamus I, *c.*665–645.
 Anaxilas, *c.*645–625.
 Leotychidas I, *c.*625–600.
 Hippocratides, *c.*600–575.
 Agasicles, *c.*575–550.
 Ariston, *c.*550–515.
 Demaratus, *c.*515–491.
 Leotychidas II (cousin— great-grandson of Hippocratidas), 491–469.

Archidamus II (grandson), 469–427.

Agis II (son), 427–400.
 Agesilaus II (brother), 400–360.
 Archidamus III (son), 360–338.
 Agis III (son), 338–330.
 Eudamidas I (brother), 330–*c.*305.
 Archidamus IV (son), *c.*305–275.
 Eudamidas II (son), *c.*275–244.

Eudamidas III (son), 241–*c.*228.
 Archidamus V (uncle), 228–227.
 Eucleidas (Agiad—brother of Cleomenes III), 227–222.

PAC/SJHO/AJSS

of flat ground was used. One of the earliest definable stadia, that in the sanctuary of *Poseidon at Isthmia, consists simply of a starting gate on the relatively level ground of the sanctuary, with a bank raised artificially to one side for spectators. The architectural development of stadia can be seen by the 4th cent. BC with the running track and seats to one or, preferably, either side. Early examples may have both ends straight or near straight (*Olympia, Epidaurus). Later the end is semicircular. Double races (the *diaulos*) and other long-distance races, however, started at a straight starting line at this closed end. This definitive form is still used in structures of the Roman period. One of the first examples is that at Nemea (*c.*325

BC). A vaulted passage under the seating area gives convenient access to the running tracks; similar passages, Hellenistic in date, are at Epidaurus and Olympia.

Whether the seating rests on natural hill slopes, artificial terraces, or built vaulted substructures (the stadium of the Roman period at Perge, S. Turkey) they served as natural catchment areas for rainwater, and required drainage. This often takes the form of a channel at the edge of the running track, perhaps punctuated with water basins at intervals. These probably facilitated cleaning of the channels rather than the provision of water for either spectators or athletes.

See ATHLETICS; SANCTUARIES.

RAT



stadium Air view of the Piazza Navona, Rome, with the outline of the stadium of *Domitian, who founded the first permanent Greek *games—including athletic contests—at Rome. © Vincenzo Coraggio / Marka / SuperStock

Stattus, Publius Papinius Roman poet. Born between AD 45 and the early 50s in the distinctively Greek city of Naples (Neapolis), Stattus was the son of a man who had a glittering career first as a professional poet on the Greek festival circuit (see GAMES), and then as a teacher in Naples and in Rome, where the family moved when Stattus was in his teens (*Silv.* 5. 3). Although Stattus

did not follow either of these careers, his debt to his father's inheritance is manifest particularly in the *Silvae*, where the often impromptu praise-displays of the Greek festivals blend with the Roman tradition of friendship poetry to produce something new in Latin literature. Popular from a young age as a poet in Rome, he may have composed a pantomime libretto for Paris, *Domitian's

favourite (executed AD 83: Juv. 7. 82–7). He was victorious in the poetry competition at Domitian's annual Alban games (prob. March 90), but suffered a mortifying failure in the much more prestigious Capitoline Games, almost certainly later in the same year (*Silv.* 3. 5. 31–3). By now he had married Claudia, widow of another poet, who brought him a step-daughter (he had no children of his own). The poem to Claudia (*Silv.* 3. 5), persuading her to leave Rome and follow him to Naples, speaks of her devoted support, and her nursing of Statius in illness. His epic, the *Thebaid*, was published in 91/2, after many partial recitations and many years of work (one for each of the twelve books he says, with suspicious symmetry, *Theb.* 12. 811–12). There followed the occasional poems of the *Silvae*. Books 1–3 were published together in 93 or 94; Book 4 was published in 95, by which time he had left Rome for Naples; and Book 5 (together with his unfinished second epic, the *Achilleid*) was published after his death, which is conventionally dated before the assassination of Domitian (Sept. 96).

Works

Lost works

The pantomime libretto *Agave* has not survived (if it was ever written); nor have his poems for the Neapolitan, Alban, or Capitoline games, although we may have a fragment of the Alban piece in four hexameter lines from a Statian poem on Domitian's German wars quoted by Valla on Juvenal 4. 94 (cf. *Silv.* 4. 2. 65–7).

Thebaid

The only surviving Roman *epic which can securely be said to have been published as a completed work by its author, the *Thebaid* recounts the war between the sons of *Oedipus over the kingship of Thebes. Statius may well have begun the poem before he turned 30; it is an acutely self-conscious masterpiece, which has only recently begun to emerge from the neglect that overtook it after its prolonged popularity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The poem extravagantly explores human violence and madness. Its cosmic framework draws upon *Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to chart the problematic boundaries of human possibilities, and its political framework draws upon *Virgil and *Lucan (Statius' near-contemporary) to probe the imperial themes of absolutism and civil war. *Seneca's tragedies are the principal source for the atmosphere of doomed familial insanity. The diverse problems of succession and authority which face the brothers, the audience, and the poet reflect upon one another throughout, and this self-awareness renders nugatory the traditional criticism of Statius as derivative. In the divine action above all Statius shows himself to be a bold critic and innovator,

undermining his inherited epic apparatus and experimenting with allegorical modes in ways which were to be profoundly influential in the Middle Ages. The verse is superbly accomplished, the style too aestheticized for many. In both respects Statius is rather nearer to Ovid, and further from Virgil, than his contemporaries Valerius Flaccus and *Silius Italicus.

Silvae

Thirty-two poems, of which 26 are in hexameters, the standard metre for post-classical Greek encomiastic poetry. The only popular poem in the collection has been the exceptional poem to Sleep (5. 4). The poems evince a not very intimate acquaintance with a not very large or eminent group, marking noteworthy moments such as marriage, official advancement, or bereavement, and celebrating the taste shown in artistic acquisition or architectural construction. In the service of these quasi-professional relationships Statius marshals the panoply of Greek praise-poetry inherited from his father, boasting self-deprecatingly of the impromptu production of the requisite verses (*Silv.* 1 *Problemata*). Generally knowing and light in touch, rather than ponderous, the poems none the less usually avoid banter and ease. Domitian, an intimidating and distant personality, receives six poems which modern taste has found repellent for sycophancy, though a more charitable reading might focus on the anxiety behind them: 4. 2, thanking the emperor for an invitation to dinner in 94, betrays relief after four long years since the last sign of favour at Alba.

Achilleid

The plan was to tell the whole life of *Achilles, but the poet died before even getting his hero to Troy, and the epic breaks off some 160 lines into the second book. The charming, almost novelistic fragment represents a striking departure from the more elevated and passionate *Thebaid*.
DCF

status, legal and social

Greek

Greek social and legal status terminology was rich, complex, and confused. There was a multiplicity of Greek communities, often very different in character, which although typically small in scale were yet complex in organization. The consequent confusion was not clarified by the Greek equivalent of Roman jurists and jurisconsults, since such persons did not exist. In all Greek societies at all periods the fundamental status division was between the free and the unfree. But whereas the former could be divided fairly simply into citizen and non-citizen, men and women, adults and children, the

Greeks devised no fewer than a dozen words for various types and degrees of unfree people.

Everywhere in the Greek world the normative type of the high status person was the citizen (*politēs*), free, adult, and male (see CITIZENSHIP, GREEK). Qualifications for citizenship (*politeia*) varied from community to community, but in all birth—membership of a corporate descent-group—was assumed to be primary. Only in Sparta was this coupled with a test of achievement, successful passage through the compulsory state educational curriculum and consequent election to a common mess. Further distinctions between active and passive, or first-class and second-class, citizenship might be drawn on grounds of age, gender, wealth, or location. Democratic Athens thus pioneered the idea that to be a full active citizen it was enough for a man to be of legitimate Athenian birth and duly registered with the appropriate authorities to qualify for the exercise of full public and private citizen prerogatives (the most extensive then available anywhere). But even Athens insisted (after 451 BC) on double descent, from a citizen-status mother as well as father. Elsewhere the exercise of citizenship typically remained conditional upon property-ownership in various ways, and to varying extents.

No Greek city permitted women the political rights of citizenship, but Athens may have been unusual in the rigour with which physically mature, married citizen women were nevertheless treated virtually as minors at law throughout their lives. Yet, paradoxically, one of the most important public religious functionaries at Athens, the priestess of the city's chief divinity Athena Polias, was by ascribed prerogative a woman from a specified noble lineage. Even in democratic Athens distinctions of birth continued to count for something, as they did more obviously in Sparta, another ideologically egalitarian peer-group society. Indeed, in Sparta there were not only noble families but also two hereditary royal houses.

Between the citizen and the free but non-resident foreigner came the free resident alien or *metic (*metoikos*). This status is attested in some seventy communities but most extensively at Athens, where it can be seen not to have been especially privileged. Metics were required to pay a poll tax and to be represented at law by a citizen patron; metic status, moreover, was that assigned to privately manumitted slaves, most of whom were non-Greek. It was exceedingly rare for an ex-slave such as Pasion, father of Apollodorus (see BANKS), to crash the barrier of full citizen status.

Of the dozen or so current Greek words for the unfree, *doulos* was the most general and the most common. Yet the term could be applied with liberal abandon both to the chattel-slaves of Athens, for example, and to the quite

different helot bondsmen of Sparta (see SLAVERY (Greek)). The chattel-slave was a socially dead being, categorizable as 'an animate tool'; but even chattel-slaves were granted some legal protection, if only in virtue of their master's rights of property. Besides the helots, there were some other local collective groups of unfree persons each defined by a distinctive name, of which the best attested if ill understood are those of *Crete. The ancient classification of all such groups as 'between free people and *douloi*' perfectly illustrates both the complexity of Greek societies and the inadequacy of Greek social terminology. See FREEDMEN. PAC

Roman

In Roman law, *status* describes the 'legal position' of an individual with respect to both that person's household (*familia*) and the broader civic community of Rome. The concept of *status* is linked to *caput* or *persona*, an individual's legal 'personality'. Personality roughly defines the limits of what an individual is legally able to do: marry, make contracts, commit crimes or delicts, bring lawsuits, and so on. In modern law, such issues are treated as aspects of legal capacity; but the Roman jurists lack this more sophisticated concept.

The most systematic exposition of *status* comes in Roman sources discussing change of status, what *Cicero (*Top.* 18, 29) and the jurists (esp. Gai., *Inst.* 1. 158–63; *Dig.* 4. 5) call *capitis deminutio*. Three issues are paramount, and they are arranged hierarchically: freedom, citizenship, and membership in a household. The most fundamental division is between free persons and slaves (Gai., 1. 9; see SLAVERY (Roman)); then, among free persons, between Roman citizens and others; and finally, especially among Roman citizens, between those who head households (the *sui iuris*) and those subject to the power of a head (the *alieni iuris*).

The complex rules of *capitis deminutio* determine what happens when an individual's legal status changes; the consequences may concern not only the individual but others as well. For example, under the *senatus consultum Claudianum* (senatorial decree of Claudius) of AD 52, a woman who despite warning cohabits with another's slave can herself become that person's slave, thereby simultaneously losing her freedom, citizenship, and position as a household member; but legal questions may then arise about the enslaved woman's property, her former family relationships, and so on. The jurists decide such questions pragmatically (e.g., Gai., *Inst.* 1. 91, 160).

Legal status is central to Roman private law and much more significant than in modern law. Other areas of Roman law, such as property, contracts, and testamentary succession, often appear remarkably liberal by modern

standards; but all are subject to limitations that status imposes on legal capacity to act. For instance, although in principle Roman jurists permit owners to deal in virtually unrestricted fashion with their property, only sane *sui iuris* persons have completely effective legal ownership of property. When resolution of a lawsuit hinges in part on a question of status (*quaestio status*), especially whether an individual is free or a slave, this issue is always tried first (*Dig.* 40. 12).

Granted the importance of status, the Romans were surprisingly casual in providing means to prove it. Beginning with *Augustus, children of a legitimate marriage were registered soon after birth; from Marcus *Aurelius, illegitimate children were also registered. But these evidently incomplete or inaccurate records did not have conclusive legal force. Marriages, upon the legitimacy of which the civil status of children depended, were not registered at all.

Proving one's freedom or citizenship could be challenging, as is shown by a remarkable set of trial documents preserved from Herculaneum. The jurist Iulius Paulus drily observes that 'distinguishing a free person from a slave can be difficult' (*Dig.* 18. 1. 5); just how difficult is demonstrated by many legal sources dealing with a free person 'serving in good faith' (*bona fide serviens*), held as a slave by an 'owner' unaware of the person's true status. Free persons held as slaves could not assert their own freedom and had to find an outsider willing to take up the burden of proof.

As a result, civil status, though a cornerstone of Roman law, was always potentially at risk; at any moment it might be challenged, and it could disappear overnight. None the less, Roman citizens clung tenaciously to the belief that their civil status protected them from harm; as Cicero puts it, the cry 'I am a Roman citizen' brought safety the world over (2 *Verr.* 5. 147, 165; cf. *Acts* 22: 25–9).

In the modern social sciences, status has a more than purely legal meaning: it refers to social position, particularly as determined by birth, wealth, and external markers like honour, place of residence, or badges of distinction. The Roman empire's small social élite was highly stratified by status: the 'orders' (*ordines*) of senators (see SENATE), **equites*, and municipal councillors (*decuriones*). All three orders had minimum wealth requirements, but were also to a large extent hereditary. The rest of the free population was less formally stratified, though quasi-status groups often formed around a common occupation, residence, or civil status; of special note is the order of *freedmen (*ordo libertinorum*), attested from the late republic on.

Such status groups played a significant social, political, and economic role, but were at first not clearly recog-

nized by law; in theory, Roman citizens were equal before the law. However, during the early empire, through a process still not entirely understood, civic equality began to erode, especially in criminal law; criminal procedure and punishment distinguished the 'more upright' (*honestiores*) from the 'more base' (*humiliores*). By the early 2nd cent. AD, this distinction was hardening into law; the *honestiores*, generally defined as the three uppermost social orders, received better legal treatment and milder penalties. In private law, prohibitions on intermarriage and status-based penalties for anti-social behaviour also furthered the bifurcation of society.

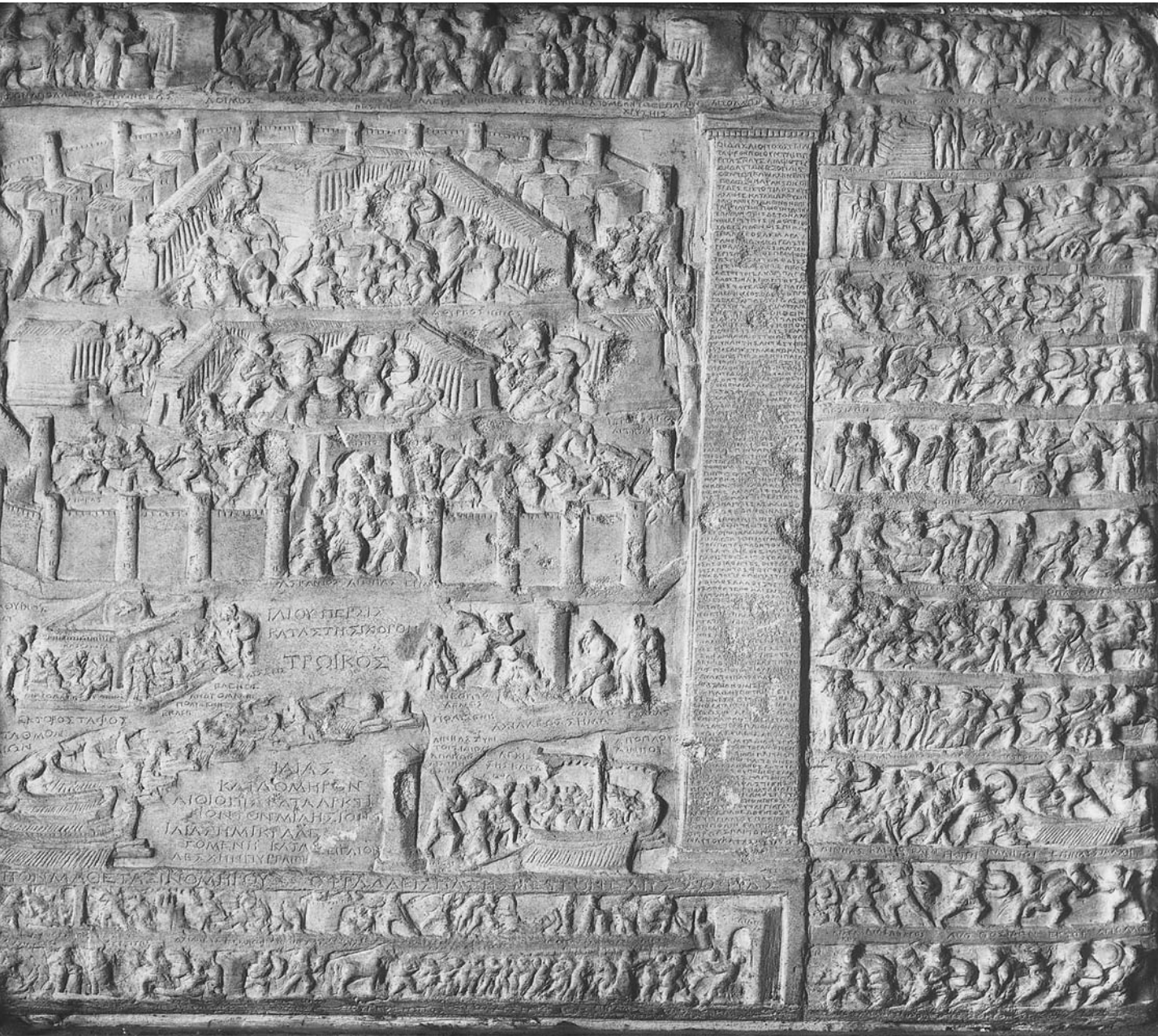
The society of the high and late empire was not simply bifurcated, however. Particularly the late imperial bureaucracy saw a profusion of titles and distinctions of rank, all deriving ultimately from the emperor and his court.

BWF

Stesichorus, Greek lyric poet, active c.600–550 BC. Greek tradition made him later than *Alcman, and contemporary with *Sappho and *Alcaeus (*Suda*); Simonides (fr. 564) referred back to him and to *Homer. He was connected with Mataurus in Bruttium, S. Italy (Steph. Byz., *Suda*), and with Himera in Sicily (already Pl., *Phdr.* 244a); Arist. *Rh.* 1393^b tells an anecdote of him and Phalaris. His tomb was shown at Himera (Poll. 9. 100) or Catana (Antip. Thess., *Anth. Pal.* 7. 75, etc.). Some said that his real name was Teisias (*Suda*).

Stesichorus' works were collected in 26 books (*Suda*); nothing now survives but quotations and some fragmentary papyri. The poems are cited by title, not by book-number. That suggests substantial pieces, and what detail we know confirms it. *Geryoneis* apparently reached at least 1300 lines; *Oresteia*, and perhaps *Helen*, occupied two books. The titles cover a whole range of major myths: *Helen*, *Wooden Horse*, *Sack of Troy*, *Homecomings*, *Oresteia* belong to the Trojan cycle, *Geryoneis*, *Cycnus*, and *Cerberus* to the adventures of *Heracles, *Eriphyle*, *Europia*, and the untitled fragment about Eteocles and Polynices to the Theban story; *Boar-hunters* was concerned with Meleager, *Funeral Games for Pelias* with the Argonauts.

These poems represent a kind of lyric *epic. Their metre, 'Doric' dialect, and triadic form seem to attach them to the 'choral lyric' tradition represented by Alcman and *Pindar. But their large scale and narrative sweep recall the traditional epic; their language is often Homeric, their metres dactylic (fr. 222A even has some quasi-hexameters); it has been argued that such long pieces must have been performed, like epic, by a solo poet or reciter, not by a chorus. The prehistory of this form is obscure, and Stesichorus seems to have no successors: perhaps this was a unique attempt to transfuse



Stesichorus Detail of a 1st-cent. AD Roman monument, the Tabulae Iliacae, with a purported representation of Stesichorus' Sack of Troy. Capitoline Museums, Rome / Archivi Alinari-archivio Alinari, Florence

epic material into a new medium. Not only is his diction 'Homeric' in general; he seems to know at least individual passages of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as we have them. Thus fr. 209 reworks the departure of Telemachus from Sparta (*Od.* 15. 164 ff.); Geryones borrows rhetoric from

Sarpedon (*S11; Il.* 12. 322 ff.) and dies like Gorgythion (*S14; Il.* 8. 306–8), his mother speaks as Hecuba (*S13; Il.* 22. 83). Ancient critics duly called Stesichorus 'Homeric'; Quintilian (*Inst.* 10. 1. 62) praises his dignity but criticizes his diffuseness. Certainly the few continuous

pieces suggest a narrative well spaced with direct speech. In the *'Thebaid'* (fr. 222A) *Oedipus' widow proposes a compromise between her warring sons, the sons agree, Tiresias predicts disaster if the bargain is broken, Polyneices leaves, and travels towards Argos: this takes 100 lines, of which the speeches occupy 70. In *Geryoneis* Heracles crosses Ocean in the cup of the Sun, kills the triple Geryones, and drives away his cattle: there is time for a heroic speech by Geryones, and a lament by his mother, before Heracles destroys his heads one by one. Stesichorus came from the fringes of the Greek world: that may explain the idiosyncratic form, and the idiosyncratic versions of myth which the tragedians later borrowed (see frs. 193, 217). His influence has been suspected in the metopes of the Heraion at Foce del Sele (see PAESTUM), and in Attic vase-painting of the later 6th cent.; one of the *Tabulae Iliacae* (a Roman monument of the 1st cent. AD found near Bovillae, for which see N. Horsfall, *JHS* 1979, 26 ff. and M. Squire, *The Iliad in a Nutshell* (2012)) claims to represent his *Sack of Troy*. PJP

Stoicism, philosophical movement, founded on *Cyprius by Zeno of Citium, who came to Athens in 313 BC, and, after studying with various philosophers, taught in his own right in the *Stoa Poecile* (Painted Porch; see PAINTING, GREEK). We know little of the institutional organization of the school, except that at Zeno's death one of his pupils, Cleanthes, took over the 'headship' of the school. He was not, however, the most famous of Zeno's pupils, and the original position got developed in different directions. Ariston of Chios stressed ethics to the exclusion of physics and logic; Herillus emphasized knowledge at the expense of moral action. Cleanthes stressed a religious view of the world, interpreting Stoic ideas in works like his *Hymn to Zeus*. Stoicism was in danger of dissolving into a number of different positions, but was rescued by Cleanthes' pupil Chrysippus of Soli. He restated and recast Zeno's position in his voluminous writings, defending it with powerful arguments. It was correctly thought later that 'if there had been no Chrysippus there would have been no Stoa'; the work of Zeno's earlier pupils came to be seen as unorthodox, and Chrysippus' works became the standard formulation of Stoicism. Although Chrysippus claimed to adhere to Zeno's ideas, modern scholars have often held that there are divergences between them; but this is hazardous given the fragmentary state of our sources. Chrysippus' own innovations were mainly in the technical area of logic.

Following Zeno, Stoicism divided philosophy into three parts, logic, physics, and ethics, but the methodology remains holistic: there is no foundational part which supports the others. Different Stoics disagreed

both over the correct structure of their position and the correct order of teaching it. Thus the theory can be fully understood only as a whole, one of the respects in which it is markedly 'ideal' and makes high demands on the student. However, logic, physics, and ethics are distinguishable at a preliminary stage, and in fact the Stoics developed them with great sophistication. Logic includes logic in the technical sense, in which the Stoics made great advances in what is now called the logic of propositions. It also includes philosophy of language, including grammar and rhetoric, and epistemology. The Stoics are radically empiricist; they give an account of knowledge which traces it from the impact made on the human mind by 'appearances' from the outside world. Some of these appearances, they claim, are such that they could not be wrong; this gave rise to a debate with the Academic Sceptics. Knowledge proper, however, requires understanding of the principles which define the area in question.

Stoic *physics gives an account of the world which is strongly materialist. It is also determinist; the world as a whole is made up of material objects and their interactions, which occur according to exceptionless laws, which are called 'fate'. However, their account is also strongly teleological; everything happens according to providence, which is identified with fate. Further, they are compatibilists; human action is free and morally responsible despite fate. The Stoics defended this problematic set of ideas with sophistication and power. The details of their physical account are more naïve: they take fire to be the basic substrate from which things are produced, though Chrysippus, possibly influenced by contemporary medicine, used the mechanism of differing degrees of tension of *pneuma* or 'breath'.

Stoic ethics is marked by a set of uncompromising theses: virtue is sufficient for happiness; nothing except virtue is good; emotions are always bad. Easily ridiculed in isolation, these theses can be defended when seen as contributing to an overall theory in which what is most important is the difference in kind between the value of virtue and other, 'non-moral' value, virtue being conceived of as the skill of putting other things to correct use. The Stoics give the most demanding account of virtue in ancient ethics, and put the most strain on their account of the happiness which is the virtuous person's aim.

In all areas of philosophy there is appeal to the notions of nature and of reason, which have two roles, in the world as a whole and in us humans. Humans should live in accordance with human nature, which is, for them, to live in accordance with human reason, humans being rational animals. Properly used, human reason will enable us to understand the role of reason in the world, and thus of the world's nature. Nature and reason are in Stoicism

objective notions: for us to think rationally is for us to think in ways which converge with other rational thinkers and reach the truth. Those who use their reason form a kind of community of reason, which is sometimes characterized as the only true community, transcending mere earthly bonds.

Early Stoicism remained essentially unchanged until Diogenes of Babylon, who, as is increasingly clear from the *Herculaneum papyri, began changes of detail and presentation hitherto associated with his pupil Panaetius (d. 109), and Posidonius (d. c. 51 BC) and Hecaton. The so-called 'Middle Stoa' attempted to make its views more accessible to educated Romans (successfully in the case of Panaetius) and was more receptive of ideas from other philosophers, particularly *Plato and *Aristotle. Posidonius had independent interests in science and causality, and Panaetius and Hecaton developed a greater interest in 'applied ethics' than their predecessors.

In the later period Stoicism survived in its standard form, as we can see from a textbook like Hierocles, and continued to be an object of philosophical discussion; some of the Church Fathers, such as Tertullian, were influenced by it. We also find writers who, though orthodox Stoics, are most interested in presenting Stoicism as a way of life. The letters and essays of *Seneca, the essays of Musonius Rufus, the reported lectures of Epictetus and the meditations of Marcus *Aurelius are examples of this. They tend to discuss practical implications of Stoicism without giving indications of the philosophical structure of their positions. JA

Strabo of Amaseia (Pontus, N. Turkey), author of a *Geographia* in 17 books, by far the most important source for ancient *geography, a priceless document of the Augustan age, and a compendium of important material derived from lost authors.

The family was prominent in the politics of Pontus since before the time of *Mithradates VI. Born about 64 BC, he studied grammar under Aristodemus of Nysa, and later at Rome under Tyrannio of Amisus, and philosophy under Xenarchus of Seleuceia (his teachers were Peripatetic (Aristotelian); his views align him with the Stoics; see STOICISM). He knew Posidonius, whose work he used, and from whom he may have drawn his idea of a conjoint interest in history (with its ethical implications) and geography (historical notes (*hypomnēmata*) in 47 books, 43 after the conclusion of *Polybius, were his first work). The empires of Romans and Parthians allowed him to do for the Augustan empire what *Eratosthenes had been able to do in the aftermath of *Alexander the Great (1. 2. 1 [14]).

In the debate over how to do geography, however, he is very critical of Eratosthenes (and many other experts),

though, compared with them, he is inclined to be amateurish about mathematics and cosmology, in general preferring the practical to the theoretical and the particular to the general, which locates him in the *periēgēsis* tradition pioneered by Hecataeus of Miletus (c. 500 BC), and leads him to call his work 'chorography'. He therefore lays little stress on geographical wonders, and in searching for detailed information retails long passages of by then out-of-date description, which can make the interpretation of his evidence very hazardous. He travelled extensively, but does not bother to make very frequent boasts about autopsy (but see 2. 5. 11 [117]); a long stay in *Egypt in the 20s when his patron Aelius Gallus was prefect (i.e. governor), and several visits to Rome, are noteworthy; he has been thought to have returned to Amaseia and remained there until his death (after AD 21). Parts at least of the *Geographia* were composed under Tiberius.

This experience of the patronage of Roman leaders and education among the foremost intellectuals (many Greeks of Asia like himself) made Strabo (almost certainly a Roman citizen, with a Latin *cognomen*) an eloquent witness of the ways in which the Augustan settlement related to, depended on, and forever changed the plurifarious Mediterranean world of the late republic. Accommodation to Rome was part of the training of all his contemporaries, and he inherited the tradition of Panaetius, Polybius, and Posidonius. Beside Nicolaus of Damascus and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus and in the same circles of patronage as the latter (Aelius Gallus, Quintus Aelius Tubero, the circle of *Sejanus and *Tiberius) he made his job the interpretation of Greek and Roman to each other in a way that looks forward to *Plutarch and *Cassius Dio, and at the same time uses the geographical necessities of Roman power to justify and explain the patriarchal hegemony of Augustus. It is no coincidence that this turning-point in Roman imperial power produced the *chef d'œuvre* of ancient geography.

Strabo emphasizes the usefulness of geography for statesmen and generals, those 'who bring together cities and peoples into a single empire and political management' (1. 1. 16 [9]). He speaks from knowledge of the central concerns of Roman government and is a precious witness to them (as on the lack of profit to be had from lands on the fringes of the inhabited world such as *Britain, 2. 5. 8 [115–16]). It is now clear (against the once influential view of Ettore Pais, which relegated him to an Anatolian milieu) that he is speaking from and about the centre of imperial power. The work is an extraordinary achievement—he likens it himself, apologetically (1. 1. 23 [13–14], *kolossourgia*), to a colossal statue whose detailing is less significant than the overall effect—and justifies his more ambitious claim to have fused the disciplines to

produce out of a historical and chorographical framework a philosophy of geography. *See also* GEOGRAPHY. NP

Suetonius (Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus) (b. c.AD 70), Roman biographer. Suetonius was the son of the equestrian (*see* EQUITES (Imperial period)) Suetonius Laetus, tribune of Legio XIII at Bedriacum in AD 69, and originated perhaps from Pisaurum in Umbria or, more likely, Hippo Regius (mod. Bône) in Numidia (Roman *Africa). From the correspondence of *Pliny the Younger, he appears already to have attracted attention in Rome as an author and scholar by c.AD 97, and also to have gained experience in advocacy. Perhaps intending to pursue the equestrian *cursus*, he secured through Pliny's patronage a military tribunate in Britain c.102, which in the event he declined to hold; c.AD 110, however, he probably travelled with Pliny to Bithynia (NW Turkey) as a member of the provincial governor's retinue, gaining soon after, again through Pliny's intercession, the *ius trium liberorum* (fictional grant of the privileges conferred on parents of three children). In the late years of *Trajan's reign and under *Hadrian, Suetonius held three important posts in the imperial administration, the secretaryships *a studiis*, *a bibliothecis*, and *ab epistulis* (in charge of literary matters, the imperial libraries, and correspondence), as a fragmentary inscription found in 1952 at Hippo Regius records (AE 1953. 73). As *ab epistulis* he is likely to have accompanied Hadrian to Gaul, Germany, and Britain in AD 121–2, but then for unknown reasons was dismissed from office when Hadrian simultaneously deposed as praetorian prefect Gaius Septicius Clarus, the dedicant of Suetonius' collection of imperial biographies, the *Caesares*. He presumably continued to write until his death, perhaps c.AD 130, but if a public career continued nothing is known of it.

Works

1. *De viris illustribus*, a now incomplete set of biographies of Roman men of letters arranged in categories—grammarians and rhetoricians, poets, orators, historians, philosophers—probably written before the *Caesares* (below). The segment *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* is preserved independently, and a few other lives, variously abbreviated or corrupted, are known from manuscripts of other authors' works: thus *Terence*, *Horace*, *Lucan*, and the Donatus *Virgil* are generally regarded as deriving from the section on poets. Jerome drew on the work in his *Chronicle*, naming from it 32 poets, from *Ennius to *Lucan, fifteen orators, from *Cicero to Gnaeus Domitius Afer, and six historians, from *Sallust to *Pliny the Elder. The full collection, however, may have contained as many as 100 lives. A particular interest in the age of Cicero and *Augustus and, to a lesser extent, in the Julio-

Claudian era has been discerned in the work, while the relationship between authors and the public world in which they lived may have been its principal theme.

2. *De vita Caesarum* (the *Caesares*), a set of twelve imperial biographies from *Caesar to *Domitian, composed in the early 2nd cent. and complete except for the first few chapters of Caesar (lost between the 6th and 9th cents.).

3. Lost works, in Greek as well as Latin, some known from a list in the *Suda* (under 'Trankullos'), others from random citations in later authors. They included other apparently biographical works, on kings and famous courtesans; works on such institutions as Greek games, the Roman year, Roman customs, spectacles, and public offices; and works perhaps of a lexicographical sort, on the names and types of clothes, on physical defects, on weather-signs, on the names of seas and rivers, and on the names of winds. There was too a work on Cicero's *Republic*. Several of these may have comprised the *Pratum* or *Prata* (*Meadows*), a miscellany probably also known as *De variis rebus* (*On Various Subjects*).

Suetonius was a scholar of wide-ranging antiquarian interests. But it is as an imperial biographer that he must be principally judged. Little that is safe can be said of the literary tradition, or traditions, in which he worked, since apart from Cornelius Nepos he is the first Latin biographer whose work has survived. Consequently the *Caesares* have to be evaluated largely in their own historical context, with Suetonius' exposure to the heart of imperial government during his years of administrative service very much in the forefront of consideration.

A striking feature of the biographies is their thematic, rather than strictly chronological, arrangement: after an introductory section on ancestry and a second on the subject's early life and pre-accession career, a sequence of recurring rubrics follows, in which Suetonius details the emperor's accomplishments and his personal characteristics, often providing anecdotes to illustrate general statements. The lives conclude with an account of the subject's death, sometimes accompanied by a description of his physical appearance and personal idiosyncrasies. Though the framework of presentation varies from life to life, the principle of organization is consistent throughout.

The repetition from life to life of common topics, especially those such as the building operations or the public entertainments for which a particular emperor was responsible, suggests that the topics themselves had special significance for Suetonius and his contemporaries; and through comparison with other sources such as the **Res gestae* of Augustus and the *Panegyric* of Pliny the Younger, where an ideal standard of imperial comportment is clearly perceptible, it emerges that Suetonius used the topics to judge his subjects against a set of popular ex-

pectations of imperial behaviour that had taken shape by the time the *Caesares* were composed. *Tiberius, for example, is repeatedly criticized for having failed to live up to expectation, whereas even *Nero and Domitian, rulers on whom Suetonius' final judgement is damning, can nevertheless be commended for having successfully met some of their imperial responsibilities. Suetonius' concern with such aspects of private behaviour as the subject's sexual and religious tastes has been taken also to reflect the increasing Hellenization of upper-class Roman society (see HELLENISM).

In modern times, simplicity has been seen as the main characteristic of Suetonius' writing, in the absence of any obvious literary artistry. He is notable for citing earlier writers verbatim and quotes liberally from various documents—the letters of Augustus for instance—in Greek as well as Latin. (Suetonius may have exploited his period of administrative service under Trajan and Hadrian to seek out archival material for his biographies.) The Flavian lives are much shorter than those of the Julio-Claudians, and they in turn are less substantial than those of Caesar and Augustus. This again suggests that Suetonius' main historical preoccupation was the period from which the Principate ultimately appeared as a new form of government.

Suetonius, however, was not in the first instance a historian, and he should not therefore be compared with Sallust, Livy, or Tacitus. His principal concern was to collect and present material pertinent to the biographical goal of realistically illustrating imperial performance and personality, and in this he stands apart from the historians; for while fully capable of detailed analysis and sustained narrative composition if he wished, he had no interest in the moralistic or didactic as they did. As one author later expressed it, while the historians wrote *diserte* ('eloquently'), Suetonius wrote *vere* ('truthfully') (SHA *Prob.* 2. 7). Suetonius was followed as an imperial biographer by Marius Maximus, who wrote a sequence of imperial biographies, no longer extant, from Trajan to *Commodus, and by the author, or authors, of the 4th-cent. *Historia Augusta*. He served also as the model for Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* in the 9th cent., and lost his position in Europe as the classic biographer only when Plutarch's lives were translated into the vernacular languages. See BIOGRAPHY, ROMAN. KRB

suicide The Latin word *suicidium*, from which the English derives, is not classical Latin: pronouns were not used as prefixes in compounds, and the word could only have meant 'the killing of a pig'. The first uses of *suicidium* found so far are by Gauthier de Saint-Victor in 1177/8 and, in English, by Sir Thomas Browne in *Religio*

Medici published in 1643, who probably invented it afresh. The nearest to a technical term in antiquity was *mors voluntaria* (voluntary death) and the Greek equivalent, verbal phrases being used for the most part. Some ancient terminology reveals that suicide was often subsumed in categories regarded as more fundamental: thus a *biaiothanatos* (Latin *biothanatos*) was any victim of premature, violent death, and an *autocheir* was someone who kills his kin.

The limited and unsystematic nature of our evidence for Greek and Roman suicide does not allow for quantitative studies. Reliant as we are for the most part on literary accounts (some fictional, even mythical, all artistically shaped), we can only draw conclusions about attitudes and values. If a sociological approach is difficult, so is a psychiatric one, for in antiquity suicide was described on the assumption that it was a conscious intentional act: mental imbalance, though occasionally given as a cause of suicide, was not the central case it has become in the modern world. The ancients, including hard-headed Roman jurists who needed to distinguish suicides motivated by fear of condemnation from others that brought exemption from confiscation, felt confident that they could distinguish individual motives. They were not troubled by notions of unconscious motivation. This fact, in combination with the lack of reversible methods, may explain why the suicide attempts reported in the ancient sources are relatively few when compared with the modern ratio of attempted to accomplished suicides.

Some of the chief motives mentioned are shame (typically, for men, because of defeat; for women, loss of chastity); severe pain, incurable illness, or old age; self-sacrifice for country or friend. Suicide was neither wholly approved nor wholly condemned: everything depended on the motive, the manner, and the method. When arising from shame and dishonour, suicide was regarded as appropriate; self-sacrifice was admired; impulsive suicide was less esteemed than a calculated, rational act; death by jumping from a height (including drowning) or by hanging was despised and regarded as fit only for women, slaves, or the lower classes, apparently because it was disfiguring; death by weapons was regarded as more respectable, even heroic.

The concern of philosophers with minimizing the fear of death by the application of reason led them to discuss suicide, and to consider, alongside obvious cases, compulsory suicide at one extreme and martyrdom at the other (a combination also covered by Durkheim's definition, 'any death which is the direct or indirect result of a positive or negative act accomplished by the victim himself, which he knows should produce this result', though he wished to exclude the criterion of intention). The *locus*

classicus for philosophical discussions of suicide was the death of *Socrates (which exemplifies both extremes), as described by *Plato in the *Phaedo*. Although suicide, except under necessity, is there condemned, Socrates was adopted as a model, not only by *Seneca who was ordered to kill himself, but by *Cato the Younger, who chose to refuse *Caesar's pardon. These were adherents of the Stoa, which advocated the rational exit from life, provided certain conditions were fulfilled (see STOICISM). Plato and *Aristotle had been more negative, though Plato in *The Laws* admitted inevitable misfortune and intolerable shame as justifications and Aristotle allowed self-sacrifice for country or friends, while otherwise rejecting suicide as an injustice to society. The Epicureans (see EPICURUS) reluctantly permitted suicide when the balance of pleasure over pain could not be maintained. A calm demeanour and the giving of reasons to friends and relatives were the hallmark of the philosophically justified suicide: they could be histrionic, not only in literature but in life, for the jurists recognized 'showing off' as a motive for suicide characteristic of philosophers (*Dig.* 28. 3. 6. 7).

At all levels of society then, there seems to have been no blanket approval or condemnation of suicide, even though it was occasionally compared to murder (Elder Seneca, *Controv.* 8. 4; Quint. 7. 3. 7). It was left to 4th-cent. *Christianity, confronting the incentive to suicide presented by the heavenly rewards of martyrdom, to throw its authority behind the Platonic belief that man must not pre-empt God's decision. MTG

Sulla (Lucius Cornelius Sulla), surnamed Felix, 'Lucky', born c.138 BC of an old, but not recently prominent, *patrician family, after a dissolute youth inherited a fortune from his stepmother, which enabled him to enter the aristocratic career. Chosen by *Marius as his quaestor (107), he distinguished himself in the Numidian War, finally securing the surrender of the Numidian king Jugurtha by his kinsman Bocchus I through diplomacy and thus ending the war. He again served under Marius against the Germans in 104 and 103, then joined the army of Quintus Lutatius Catulus, probably dispatched by Marius to advise Catulus, and enabled him to join in the final victory. Omitting the aedileship, he failed to become praetor (see CONSUL) for 98, but succeeded through lavish bribery in becoming *praetor urbanus* (urban praetor, i.e. hearing cases of law at Rome) 97. He was assigned Cilicia (SE Asia Minor) *pro consule* (in place of a consul), then instructed to instal Ariobarzanes as king in Cappadocia. He accomplished this largely with local levies and displayed Roman power to the eastern kingdoms, including (for the first time) *Parthia.

A Chaldaean's prophecy that he would attain greatness and die at the height of good fortune influenced him for the rest of his life. He stayed in Cilicia for several years, perhaps until 92. On his return he was prosecuted, but the prosecution was abandoned. In 91 the senate, promoting him against Marius, granted Bocchus permission to dedicate a group showing the surrender of Jugurtha on the Capitol. Marius' reaction almost led to fighting, but the Social War (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.5) supervened (Plut. *Sull.* 6).

In the war Sulla distinguished himself on the southern front and in 89, promoted especially by the Metelli, gained the consulship of 88 with Quintus Pompeius Rufus, whose son married Sulla's daughter. Sulla himself married Caecilia Metella, widow of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus (consul 115), and was now one of the leading men in the state.

Given the command against *Mithradates VI by the senate, he was deprived of it by the tribune Publius Sulpicius Rufus, who transferred it to Marius in order to gain Marius' aid for his political plans. Sulla pretended to acquiesce, but finding support among his troops, who hoped for rich booty in Asia, he marched on Rome and took the unprepared city by force. His officers, except for his quaestor (his relative Lucius Licinius Lucullus), deserted him, and his methods shocked even his supporters. He had Sulpicius killed in office and his allies hunted down (Marius escaped to Africa), then passed several laws by armed force. General opposition compelled him to send his army away and allow the election of his enemy Lucius Cornelius Cinna as consul 87, over his own candidate Publius Servilius Vatia; and he failed to gain control of the army of Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo. Leaving Rome and ignoring a summons to stand trial, he embarked for Greece, where Quintus Braetius Sura, a legate of the commander in Macedonia, had already driven the enemy back to the sea. Sulla's hope of safety lay in winning the eastern war: he ordered Sura to return to Macedonia and took charge of the fighting.

Outlawed, but not molested, under Cinna, he agreed (it seems) to refrain from attacking Lucius Valerius Flaccus on his march against Mithradates. He himself twice defeated the Mithradatic general Archelaus and sacked the Piraeus and (in part) *Athens. After Lucullus had saved Mithradates from Gaius Flavius Fimbria, who had taken over Flaccus' army, he made peace with the king at Dardanus (85), granting him his territory, recognition as an ally, and impunity for his adherents in return for surrender of his conquests and support for Sulla with money and supplies. He then dealt with Fimbria, reconciled his own army (disgruntled at the peace with the enemy of Rome) by quartering it on the cities of Asia, which he

bled of their wealth, and on hearing of Cinna's death abandoned negotiations with the government and openly rebelled (84). Invading Italy, he was soon joined by most aristocrats—especially Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius, *Crassus, and *Pompey—and within a year defeated all the loyalist forces. Finding the Italians hostile, he swore not to diminish their rights of citizenship, but massacred those who continued resistance (especially the Samnites) and imposed severe penalties and confiscations on whole communities. After securing Rome through his victory at the Colline gate, he was appointed dictator under a law of the *interrex* Valerius Flaccus, whom he made his *magister equitum* (master of the horse), and was voted immunity for all his actions, past and future. He continued and legalized his massacres by publishing *proscription lists (sometimes fraudulently added to by subordinates).

During 81 he enacted a legislative programme designed to put power firmly in the hands of the senate, whose numbers (traditionally 300, but now much reduced) he raised to 600 by adlecting *equites* supporting him. In addition to minor reforms, he (1) curbed the tribunate by requiring the senate's approval for tribunician bills, limiting the veto (*intercessio*) and debarring ex-tribunes from other magistracies, thus making the office unattractive to ambitious men; (2) restored the *quaestiones* (standing courts), the number of which he raised to at least seven, to the enlarged senate; (3) increased the number of praetors to eight and that of quaestors to twenty, chiefly to ensure that tenure of provinces was not (in general) prolonged beyond one year; (4) laid down a stricter *cursus honorum* (career path for senators), making the quaestorship as well as the praetorship compulsory before the consulship could be reached at a minimum age of 42; (5) made quaestors automatically members of the senate, thus abolishing the censors' right of selection, and did away with the powerful post of *princeps senatus* (acknowledged senior senator); (6) subjected holders of **imperium* outside Italy to stricter control by the senate. His veterans were settled on confiscated land (especially in Campania and Etruria, see ETRUSCANS) as guarantors of his order.

Then, believing in the old prophecy that he now had not long to live, he gradually divested himself of power and restored constitutional government, becoming consul (with Metellus Pius) in 80 and returning to private status in 79. He retired to Campania, where he died of a long-standing disease in 78. His funeral was impressively staged to display the power of his veterans, especially in view of the agitation of the consul Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. In fact, his constitutional settlement, weakened by concessions during the 70s, was over-

thrown in 70 by his old adherents *Pompey and *Crassus; but his administrative reforms survived to the end of the republic and beyond.

Despite his mystical belief in his luck (hence his *agnomen* 'Felix' and the *praenomina* (forenames) of his twin children, from *faustus*, 'fortunate'), despite his arrogance and ruthlessness, Sulla never aimed at permanent tyranny: he did not even put his portrait on his coins. He wished his settlement to succeed, and he thought it out carefully, no doubt with the help of his associates (some of the group that had supported Marcus Livius Drusus (tribune 91)), to eliminate the 'two-headedness' (thus *Varro) that Gaius *Gracchus had introduced into the republic and to restore a strengthened senate to unchallenged power. His arrangements were consistent, practical, and neither visionary nor reactionary. Yet he had no appreciation of deep-seated problems: he made no attempt to remove the threat of client armies, such as had supported his own rebellion, by putting the senate in charge of providing for veterans, and he seems actually to have abolished the provision of corn to the poor at a controlled price. His own example not only set a precedent for the use of client armies against the republic, but helped to destroy the morale of those on whom resistance to an imitator would depend. After sparing the only powerful enemy of Rome for his personal advantage, he had prepared the ground for that enemy's resurgence by ruining the cities of Asia; he had weeded out those most loyal to the republic in Rome and Italy and rewarded and promoted those who, for whatever reason, had joined in his rebellion. A sense of duty and public service could not be expected of those now making up the senate who had welcomed the opportunities for power and enrichment provided by a rebel; and a generation later it became clear that Italy, having suffered for its loyalty to the republic, was unwilling to defend Sulla's beneficiaries and their corrupt successors against Caesar when he followed Sulla's example.

That example did instil a horror of civil war that lasted for a generation: his beneficiaries praised his rebellion that had brought them to power, but shuddered at his cruelty after victory. Yet that memory was bound to fade. His career and the effects of his victory ultimately made another civil war almost inevitable, and a politic *clementia* now made a successful rebel unobjectionable to the majority.

The main sources are *Plutarch's *Sulla* and *Appian (*Civil Wars* 1 and *Mithridatica*). Sulla's memoirs, edited by Lucius Licinius Lucullus, pervade the tradition: both Plutarch and Appian's source read and to a considerable extent followed them. The tradition of those who joined Sulla on his return was conveyed in the widely-read

history of the historian Lucius Cornelius Sisenna, traceable especially in Appian and historians based on Livy. For a sympathetic portrait of Sulla and recent bibliography, especially of the author's own numerous contributions, see A. Keaveney, *Sulla, the Last Republican* (1982). For the main problems of detail recently discussed, see Broughton, *MRR* 3. 73 ff. For the date of his praetorship and proconsulate, T. C. Brennan, *Chiron* 1992, 103 ff. (with bibliography) supersedes earlier discussion. The date of his formal abdication of the dictatorship and assumption of the consulship still seems best put at the beginning of 80, rather than in the middle, especially since he is never given both titles. (For other recent views, see Broughton, *MRR* 3. 73 ff. The older view that he remained dictator until 79 has been abandoned.) On his *lex sumptuaria* (Gell. 2. 24. 11; Macr. *Sat.* 3. 17. 11, clearly from the text of the law) see P. Wyetzner, *Speculum Iuris* 2002, 15–33. Macrobius' comments show that the law set prices for luxury foods. On his priesthoods see A. Keaveney, *AJAH* 1982, 150 ff. For the persistence of his reforms, see U. Laffi, *Athenaeum* 1967, 177 ff., 255 ff. For portraits of Sulla, see V. M. Strocka, *MDAI(R)* 2003, 1–55. EB

supplication, Greek (*hiketeia*, *hikesia*, from a root meaning 'to approach'). Ancient Greek supplication has been called a 'ritualization of reciprocity' (J. Gould, *Myth, Ritual, Memory, and Exchange* (2001), 22–77; see RECIPROCITY (GREECE)). It might be directed either towards a god (in Homer, Thetis supplicates *Zeus, *Il.* 1. 500 ff., and for human supplication of the gods at temples cf. e.g. Thuc. 2. 47. 4), so that it is another form of human-divine interaction (cf. PRAYER); or else towards another human being (e.g. *Themistocles supplicates the wife of Admetus king of the Molossians, Thuc. 1. 136. 3). Four necessary steps have been identified (F. S. Naiden, *Ancient Supplication* (2006)): (1) an approach to an individual or place, (2) use of a distinctive gesture, (3) a definite request must be put; and then (4) the 'supplicandus' must respond, and need not grant the request: thus if the suppliant is on the battlefield, he may kill him. By the 4th cent. BC, procedures at Athens for supplicating the people had become a standardized part of the political calendar (*Ath. pol.* 43. 6; cf. already Thuc. 6. 19. 1 and Andoc. 1. 110–16), but that does not mean that the institution had been 'tamed' or had lost its religious force. SH

sycophants (Gk *sykophantai*), habitual prosecutors. In Athens there were, for most offences, no public prosecutors, but anyone (for some offences, any citizen) who wished was allowed to prosecute in a public action. Some individuals made a habit of bringing prosecutions, either to gain the financial rewards given to successful prosecu-

tors in certain actions (notably *phasis* and *apographē*; see LAW AND PROCEDURE, ATHENIAN), or to gain money by blackmailing a man who was willing to pay to avoid prosecution, or to earn payment from someone who had reasons for wanting a man to be prosecuted, or to make a political or oratorical reputation. Such persons came to be called sycophants (lit. 'fig-revealers'; the origin of the usage is obscure). The word is often used as a term of disparagement or abuse in the Attic orators and in *Aristophanes, who shows sycophants in action in *Acharnians*.

The Athenians wished to check sycophants, who prosecuted without good reason, but not to discourage public-spirited prosecutors. Therefore the rewards for successful prosecution were not abolished, but penalties were introduced in most public actions for a prosecutor who dropped a case after starting it, or whose case was so weak that he failed to obtain one-fifth of the jury's votes. In addition sycophancy was an offence for which a man could be prosecuted. *Graphē*, *probolē*, *eisangelia*, *apagōgē*, and *endeixis* are all said to have been possible methods of accusing sycophants (see LAW AND PROCEDURE, ATHENIAN), but it is not known how the offence was defined; perhaps there was no legal definition.

Nobody has yet come up with a good explanation of how the word got its modern sense of 'flatterers'. DMM

symposium Commensality in Greece was focused both on the public civic or sacrificial meal and on the activities of smaller exclusive groups. The warrior feast was already central to the Homeric image of society (see HOMER); under the influence of the near east in the period 750–650 BC more complex rituals of pleasure arose. The time of 'drinking together' (*symposion*) was separated from the meal before it (*deipnon*) and became the main focus of attention. The male participants wore garlands, and libations and prayers began and ended the proceedings. The Greeks adopted the practice of reclining on the left elbow (one or two to a couch); from this evolved a characteristic shape of room, and a standard size for the drinking group of between fourteen and thirty: the *andrōn* or men's room was square, arranged with a door off centre to fit usually seven or fifteen couches; larger sizes (though known) tended to destroy the unity of sympotic space. Many such rooms have been recognized archaeologically, but the best representation is the painted Tomb of the Diver at *Paestum. They were supplied with low tables, cushions, decorated couches, and wall-hangings. By the late 6th cent. a repertoire of vessels had been elaborated, including different cup shapes, jugs, wine coolers, and mixing-vessels: the decoration of these vases offers a set of self-conscious images related to the activities of the drinking group (see POT-



symposium A clay drinking cup from Athens (early 5th cent. BC) showing an imaginary symposium-scene. Garlanded males entertain themselves with wine, women, and song.

TERY, GREEK). Water was mixed with the *wine in a central crater to a strength determined by the president (usually three or four to one, or about the strength of modern beer); it was served by slave boys. Equality and order in distribution were maintained: each crater measured a stage in the progress towards drunkenness. At the end of the session a procession (*kōmos*) in the streets would demonstrate the cohesion and power of the group.

The symposium was a male and aristocratic activity, originally based on the warrior group; its earliest poetry was the *elegiac poetry of war, and the Spartan reclining *syssition* (mess) remained the basis of its military organization. Citizen women were excluded. It was a centre for the transmission of traditional values (*Theognis*) and for the *homosexual bonding of young males; it could provide the organization for political action in the aristocratic *hetaireia* (private club). But it was also a place of pleasure; *kottabos* ('wine throw') was a favourite pastime; professional entertainers were hired. *Dionysus was accompanied by *Aphrodite and the *Muses, in the form of female slave companions (*hetairai*) and monodic lyric poetry, which was composed for performance at symposia—at first by gifted amateurs, later by skilled professional poets. In the Archaic age the symposium was the focus for an artistic patronage which reached its heights under the tyrants (see TYRANNY); together with wine, 'drinking in the Greek style' was exported throughout the Mediterranean in a process of acculturation that profoundly affected Etruscans, Romans, and many other peoples.

The artistic and cultural importance of the symposium declined during the Classical age, but it remained important in social life well into the Hellenistic period. Later it fused with Roman customs. The reclining symposium survives today in the ritual of the Seder or Passover Meal. OMU

synagogue (Gk. *synagoge*), the name used by Greek-speaking *Jews to describe both their communities in the diaspora and their meeting places for regular public recital and teaching of the Torah (the Law of Moses, as embodied especially in the Pentateuch).

The belief of Jews that they have a duty to hear the law being read at least on occasion can be found already in Nehemiah 8: 1–8, composed probably in the 4th cent. BC, but the first evidence of Jews dedicating buildings to this or a similar institution is found in Ptolemaic *Egypt, where Jewish inscriptions recording the erection of prayer-houses (*proseuchai*) have been found, dated to the 3rd cent. BC and after. *Josephus' use of the term *proseuchē* to describe the building in Tiberias in Galilee where sabbath meetings were held during the revolt against Rome in AD 67 (*Vita* 277) confirms the identity of the *proseuchē* with the *synagogē*. The New Testament and Philo of Alexandria take synagogue meetings for granted as part of Jewish life in the 1st cent. AD both in Galilee and in the east Mediterranean diaspora. A 1st-cent. AD inscription records the erection of a synagogue in Jerusalem by a certain Theodotus (*CIJ* 1404). Rather more tentative should

be the identification as synagogues of public buildings dated before AD 70 at Gamla (on the Golan), *Masada and Herodium (in Judaea), and at *Delos.

The term *proseuchē* ('prayer') found in the Egyptian evidence suggests that public prayer may have been part of the function of synagogues, alongside the reading and teaching of the law, at least in the diaspora. However, there is little evidence of a fixed formal public liturgy in synagogues in the land of Israel before AD 70, and according to the Gospels (Matt. 6: 5) it was a sign of hypocrisy to pray publicly in the synagogues in order to be admired. Literary references to prayer suggest that it was primarily a private business. It is possible that proximity to the Jerusalem Temple, where formal liturgy accompanied sacrifices, discouraged the use of synagogues for similar purposes in the land of Israel, but the evidence is inconclusive.

By contrast, distance from the Jerusalem Temple may have encouraged treatment of diaspora synagogues as sacred places as far back as the Hellenistic period. Thus the synagogue in *Antioch in Syria was described by Josephus as a temple (*hieron*) (Bj 7. 41). Synagogues in Palestine were described on inscriptions as sacred places only in late Roman and Byzantine times, when Jews began to erect numerous synagogues in Judaea, Galilee, and the Golan in monumental style and often with elaborate mosaics. Synagogue architecture was very varied even within Palestine, and in the diaspora the wall frescos of the Dura-Europus synagogue, and the huge basilica found at Sardis (W. Asia Minor), have no parallel.

In Babylonia and the land of Israel the teaching function of synagogues was fulfilled by weekly recitation of the Pentateuch in a regular (eventually annual) cycle. Explanation took the form of translation into Aramaic (*targum*) and elucidation and elaboration (*midrash*). In the western diaspora, the law was often read in Greek, either in the Septuagint (the Jewish texts constituting the Old Testament of Greek Christians) or in one of the later versions.

Among diaspora Jews the synagogue often functioned as a community centre as well as a place for worship. The *archisynagōgos* ('ruler of the synagogue') was often the senior magistrate of the community. He and other synagogue officials enforced discipline and adjudicated between members in cases of dispute. See RELIGION, JEWISH.

MDG

synoecism (Gk. *synoikismos*), in the Greek world, the combination of several smaller communities to form a single larger community. Sometimes the union was purely political and did not affect the pattern of settlement or the physical existence of the separate communi-

ties: this is what the Athenians supposed to have happened when they attributed a synoecism to *Theseus (Thuc. 2. 15), commemorated by a festival in Classical times (the Synoecia). On other occasions it involved the migration of citizens to the new city, as in the case of Megalopolis in Arcadia c.370 BC. Sometimes a union might be undone (*dioikismos*) by an enemy which resented the power of the united state: Mantinea, also in Arcadia, was formed out of five villages, perhaps c.470, in what appears from the archaeological evidence to have been a purely political union; in 385 *Sparta used the King's Peace of Antalcidas of 386 (see GREECE (HISTORY)) as a pretext for splitting it into separate villages once more; in 370, when Sparta was no longer strong enough to interfere, the single *polis* was recreated.

For the unions of the Hellenistic period, often made at the demand of a king, we tend to encounter the term *sympoliteia* (lit. 'joint *citizenship') rather than synoecism. VE/PJR

Syracuse (Gk. Syrakousai, mod. Siracusa) (see Map 3, Bd), on the east coast of *Sicily, was founded by the Corinthians (see COLONIZATION, GREEK), led by Archias, c.734 BC. The original foundation lay on the island of Ortygia, with an abundant spring and flanked by two fine natural harbours, but almost immediately, as demonstrated by the distribution of 8th-cent. pottery, the settlement spread up to a kilometre inland on the adjacent mainland (Achradina); the two were joined by an artificial causeway. Its early government was aristocratic, the *gamoroi* forming an élite whose lands were worked by underprivileged natives (*killyrioi*: see SLAVERY). Prosperity in the Archaic period is attested by colonies at Helorus, Acrae, and Camarina, and at Casmenae (Monte Casale), as well as by architectural remains: temples of *Apollo, Olympian *Zeus, and *Athena, and an Ionic temple of unknown dedication, all belong to the 6th cent. (see TEMPLE). Defeated by the tyrant Hippocrates of Gela, the *gamoroi* were expelled in a democratic revolution. Gelon espoused their cause, making himself tyrant (see TYRANNY) of the city, of whose empire he thus became the founder. His brother Hieron confirmed Syracusan primacy and added a cultural splendour: *Aeschylus, *Simonides, and *Pindar all spent time at his court. After the battle of Himera (480) he rebuilt the temple of Athena, the shell of which still stands, remarkably, within the cathedral of Syracuse. The city expanded northwards from Achradina and took in areas known as Tyche and Temenites, the latter also referred to as Neapolis.

Soon after Hieron's death Syracuse regained democratic freedom but lost her empire. The democracy operated through an assembly and council (*boulē*); annual

stratēgoi ('generals'), whose number varied, formed the chief executive. For a short time a device resembling *ostracism, called *petalismos*, sought to check abuses of power. In 412, after Athens' defeat, the democracy became more complete by the reforms of Diocles, but *Dionysius I soon established his tyranny, preserving nevertheless the accepted organs of the constitution.

The new democracy after 466 had difficulties with the tyrants' ex-soldiers and new citizens, and faced wars with Acragas and with the Sicels under Ducetius. But these were overcome, as later were the wars with Athens (427–424 and 415–413), in which the leadership of Hermocrates was influential. After 406 *Carthage was the chief enemy. Dionysius I fought four Carthaginian wars, and more than once the Syracusans were in great difficulties. But the early 4th cent. was a period of great prosperity, and it was now that the enormous girdle of fortifications, an astonishing 27 km. (17 mi.) long, were built to include the plateau of Epipolae (to the north of the city) within the defended area. Rigorously but astutely guided by its tyrant, Syracuse now controlled the greater part of Sicily and much of southern Italy. Dionysius II enjoyed ten peaceful years before Dion challenged his rule (356); thereafter Syracusan affairs became increasingly anarchic, and the city's power and population declined. Timoleon of Corinth restored the situation, introducing a moderately oligarchic government on the Corinthian model, but after twenty years this was overthrown by Agathocles, who made himself first tyrant (317) and later king (305/4).

At Agathocles' death (289) a further period of instability ensued. A new tyrant Hicetas (288–78) was defeated by Carthage; *Pyrrhus remedied the situation but was unable to revive the empire of Dionysius and Agathocles. After his withdrawal from the scene, conflict with the Mamertines (a band of Campanian mercenaries) in Messana produced a new leader, who as Hieron II led Syracuse into a prosperous Indian summer, when the city became a significant intellectual and artistic centre. The economy prospered, with commercial contacts in both the eastern and western Mediterranean as well as with Carthage; and ambitious building projects included the great theatre (238/215 BC), one of the largest in the Greek world (diameter 138 m. (127 yards)), a grandiose *Π*-shaped stoa (portico) with sides 100 m. (92 yards) long above the theatre, and a gigantic altar to Zeus Eleutherius, 200 m. (184 yards) long. By now, however, Syracusan independence existed by courtesy of the Romans, and when in 215 Hieronymus, Hieron's successor, preferred Carthage to Rome, its end was at hand. After a long siege (213–211), in which Archimedes played a substantial part, Marcus Claudius Marcellus sacked the city.

Under the Roman republic Syracuse became a *civitas decumana* (city liable to pay a tithe) and the centre of provincial government, retaining both its beauty and a certain importance. It suffered at the corrupt governor Verres' (see CICERO) hands, and in 21 BC received an Augustan *colonia* (citizen colony): a new public square near Hieron's altar, a monumental arch, and the amphitheatre belong to this period. Although the topography of Roman Syracuse is poorly known (a 2nd-cent. theatre-temple complex being the only other major surviving public monument), there is little doubt that Syracusan prosperity continued beyond the Frankish raid of AD 278 to its capture by the Arabs in 878. Extensive catacombs attest its populousness in the early Christian period (3rd–7th cents.).

AGW/RJAW

Syria

Pre-Roman

This region was a satrapy ('Beyond the River', i.e. the Euphrates) of the Persian empire (see PERSIA) until it was conquered by *Alexander the Great in 332 BC. On his death (323) it was assigned to the Macedonian Laomedon, who was in 319–18 ejected by *Ptolemy I. Thereafter it was disputed between Ptolemy and *Antigonus the One-eyed. After the battle of Ipsus (301), *Seleucus I gained north Syria (from the Amanus mountains in the north to the river Eleutherus in the south), which he kept, as well as 'on paper' Coele ('Hollow') Syria (the country behind the Lebanese coastal plain) and the Phoenician cities. However, Ptolemy I was already in occupation, and claimed control, of these last two areas; Seleucus I chose to drop his rights to Coele Syria and Phoenicia, with the southern border dividing off Ptolemaic possessions set at the river Eleutherus. The whole region suffered from repeated wars between the Ptolemies and the *Seleucids in the 3rd cent. until *Antiochus III won (in campaigns, 202–198 BC) the strategically and economically important sectors of Coele Syria and the Phoenician cities, along with Judaea and Transjordan, bringing the southern borders of Seleucid rule in this area for the first time to the Sinai desert. *Pompey annexed Seleucid Syria in 64 BC, and it became a Roman province.

The Seleucids, especially Seleucus I, as part of the physical occupation of this region and a policy of gaining control over major strategic routes, founded many colonies and cities in north Syria, including the tetrapolis of Seleuceia, *Antioch (one of the Seleucid royal capitals), Apamea in the middle Orontes valley, and Laodicea-Mare (mod. Latakiye), which like Seleuceia was developed as a naval base, as well as e.g. Beroea (Aleppo), Cyrrhus, and Zeugma.

This region had been open to Greek trade and to Greek (and other) cultural influences for centuries before Alexander. It is a moot point whether the lack of archaeological evidence from the Hellenistic period is accidental, the result mainly of the fact that the great Roman sites of north Syria obliterated almost completely the remains of the earlier Hellenistic cities; at any rate, the impact of 'Hellenism' on local cultures, under Seleucid rule, is hard to assess, quite apart from the fact that there is no reason to assume any longer that 'Hellenization' was a particular aim of the Seleucid kings (see HELLENISM, HELLENIZATION).

Roman

The Roman province comprised besides the cities, a few of which were free, the client kingdoms of Commagene (see NEMRUT DAG) and Arabia, the ethnarchy of the *Jews (Judaea), the tetrarchy of the Ituraeans (Ituraea), and many minor tetrarchies in the north. Mark *Antony gave to *Cleopatra VII the Ituraean tetrarchy, the coast up to the Eleutherus (except Tyre and Sidon), Damascus and Coele Syria, and parts of the Jewish and Nabataean kingdoms.

Syria (which probably included Cilicia Pedias (roughly the plain around mod. Adana, SE Turkey) from c.44 BC to AD 72) was under the Principate an important military command; its imperial governor or legate, a consular, had down to AD 70 normally four legions at his disposal. The client kingdoms were gradually annexed. Commagene was finally incorporated in the province in AD 72, Ituraea partly in 24 BC, partly (Agrippa II's kingdom) c.AD 93. Judaea, at first governed by *procurators, became in AD 70 a regular province ruled by a praetorian legate, who commanded a legion withdrawn from Syria; under *Hadrian the province, henceforth usually known as Syria Palaestina, became consular, a second legion being added. The Nabataean kingdom became in AD 105 the province of Arabia, ruled by a praetorian legate with one legion. *Septimius Severus divided Syria into a northern province with two legions (Syria Coele) and a southern with one legion (Syria Phoenice). Urbanization made little pro-

gress under the empire. Commagene and Arabia were on annexation partitioned into city-territories, but much of Ituraea was added to the territories of Berytus (mod. Beirut), Sidon, and Damascus, and in the rest the villages became the units of government. In Judaea the centralized bureaucracy established by the Ptolemies and maintained by the Seleucids, *Maccabees, and Herodians survived in some areas throughout the Principate; in others, cities were founded by Vespasian, Hadrian, and the Severan emperors. Of the minor principalities some, such as Chalcis ad Belum, Emesa, and Arca, became cities, but most seem to have been incorporated in the territories of existing towns. In late antiquity, Syria was split into four with Antioch, Apamea, Tyre, and Damascus as provincial capitals. Large and well-built villages developed up to the desert edge. Impressive remains survive. Cities, of which Apamea is best known through excavations, flourished up to the mid-6th cent. Then earthquakes, plague, and Persian invasions greatly weakened the province, which fell easily to the Arabs after the battle of the Yarmuk in 636.

The leading classes in city and country were Hellenized, and Greek-speaking or bilingual, but Aramaic was widely spoken in the countryside. In the 3rd cent. in eastern Syria and Mesopotamia Aramaic developed into a literary language (Syriac), producing a literature, including translations from the Greek, but also much, mainly religious, original writing. Aramaic became the language in numerous monophysite monasteries.

Olives were produced for export in many parts, also wine. Other agricultural products were nuts, plums of Damascus, the dates of Jericho, and Ascalonite onions. The principal industries were linen-weaving (at Laodicea and in several Phoenician and north Palestinian towns), wool-weaving (at Damascus), purple-dyeing (on the Phoenician and Palestinian coast), and glass-blowing (at Sidon). The transit trade from *Babylonia, Arabia Felix, and the Far East passed by caravan over the Arabian desert, via such *emporion* (trading places) as *Palmyra, Damascus, Bostra or Petra, to the coastal ports. AHMJ/HS/SS-W/WL

T

Tacitus (*see following page*)

Tadmor in Syria. *See* PALMYRA.

Tarquinius Superbus, Lucius, traditionally the last king of Rome (534–510 BC). According to the oldest sources (Fabius Pictor fr. 11 Peter) he was the son of Tarquinius Priscus, although on the traditional chronology that is impossible (Dion. Hal. 4. 6–7). It follows either that Superbus was in fact the grandson of Priscus (thus Piso fr. 15 P. = Dion. Hal. 4. 6–7), or, more probably, that the traditional chronology of the regal period is unsound. Tarquin is said to have pursued an aggressive foreign policy; he captured several Latin towns and reorganized the Latin League into a regular military alliance under Roman leadership (Livy 1. 52), a state of affairs that is reflected in the first treaty between Rome and Carthage (Polyb. 3. 22: 509 BC). The text of the treaty he made with the Latin town of Gabii is supposed to have survived until the time of *Augustus. He is also famous for having completed the temple of Capitoline Jupiter (*see* ROME (TOPOGRAPHY)), and notorious for his tyrannical rule which eventually led to his downfall. Terracottas from the temple site at Sant’Omobono may belong to the reign of Superbus; in any event they confirm that the later Roman kings were flamboyant rulers who modelled themselves on contemporary Greek tyrants (*see* TYRANNY). This proves that Superbus’ reputation as a tyrant is not (or not entirely) the result of secondary elaboration in the annalistic tradition in an artificial attempt to assimilate Rome and Greece.

His accession was supposedly engineered by his sister-in-law Tullia, younger daughter of King Servius *Tullius, who impelled him to murder her husband and sister, marry her, and seize power by killing her father. His son’s rape of Lucretia, wife of Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, who then committed suicide, was the catalyst for the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome by Lucius Iunius Brutus (alleged ancestor of *Brutus). After his expulsion from Rome Tarquin fled to Caere, and

persuaded Veii and Tarquinius to attack Rome. After their defeat at Silva Arsia, he appealed to Lars Porsenna, king of Clusium, whose assault on Rome is said to have been aimed at restoring Tarquin to power; but this cannot have been so if Porsenna succeeded in taking the city, and it is hard to reconcile with the story that Tarquin then turned to his son-in-law Octavius Mamilius, *dictator of the Latins, since the Latins had vanquished Porsenna. After the defeat of Mamilius at Lake Regillus, Tarquin took refuge with Aristodemus of Cumae, where he died in 495 BC.

TJCO

technology Modern definitions of technology focus upon the mechanical arts or applied sciences, while studies of invention and innovation range from industrial research and development laboratories to business management. They underline the difficulty of addressing ancient technology with concepts relevant to antiquity. Lynn White Jr. observed that ‘no Greek or Roman ever told us, either in words or in iconography, what he or his society wanted from technology, or why they wanted it’, and the problem of definition is exacerbated by relative judgements made about its success or failure. Although concepts of progress can be found in ancient philosophy, a long consensus amongst historians of technology was that the few items that can be claimed as Greek or Roman inventions were not exploited, and that this failure was attributable to social factors. A potent assertion maintained by many commentators on supposed advances in medieval technology is that Rome could not be liberated from animism before its conversion to *Christianity, after which *labour and production began to be valued. As with ‘Darwinian’ concepts of ancient technology which assume that technical progress was a natural path of development towards the Industrial Revolution, such monocausal explanations are unsatisfactory on empirical and theoretical grounds. If we *must* judge ancient technology, should success be measured by showing that inventions known from documentary sources actually

[continued on p. 770]

TACITUS

Tacitus, Roman historian.

1. Publius (?) Cornelius Tacitus was born between AD 56 and 58. It is thought that his father was the equestrian **procurator* of Belgica mentioned by *Pliny the Elder (*HN* 7. 76) and that the family came from Narbonese or Cisalpine Gaul (see GAUL (TRANSALPINE); GAUL (CISALPINE)). Tacitus was in Rome at latest by 75 (*Dial.* 17.3 with Mayer), where he enjoyed an uninterrupted career under *Vespasian, Titus, and *Domitian (*Hist.* 1. 1. 3). If his funerary inscription has been correctly identified (*CIL* 6.41106), he was *quaestor Augusti* (or *Caesaris*) around 81 and then *tribune of the plebs; he was praetor in 88, by which time he was also a member of the prestigious priesthood, the college of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* (guardians of the Sybilline books) (*Ann.* 11. 11. 1). During 89–93 he was absent from Rome (*Agr.* 45. 5), presumably holding government posts. In 97 he was suffect consul and, as we know from his friend *Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 2. 1. 6), pronounced the funeral oration upon Lucius Verginius Rufus. We know of no other office held by Tacitus, till seniority brought him the proconsulship of Asia (see ASIA, ROMAN PROVINCE) for 112–13 (*OGIS* 487, Mylasea, with W. Eck, *ZPE* 45 (1982), 139–53). The date of his death is unknown, but can scarcely have been before 118 (see below). On his life and career, see A. R. Birley, *Historia* 49 (2000), 230–47.

2. Early in 98 Tacitus published his first work, the *Agricola* (*De vita Iulii Agricolae*), a biography of his father-in-law Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, governor of *Britain for seven years from probably 77. That governorship, culminating in the decisive victory of mons Graupius, forms the work's central core (chs. 18–38). But the work is more than a panegyric of a dead man. The opening chapters, without naming Domitian, declare that recent times were hostile both to the performance and to the chronicling of great deeds. The final chapters develop that theme: a fierce invective against Domitian is followed by a moving conclusion in which motifs of the *consolatio* are combined with an address to the dead Agricola; and the final words, again linking subject and biographer, affirm that Agricola will live on through Tacitus' biography.

Later in the same year came the *Germania* (*De origine et situ Germanorum*). In its first half (to 27. 1), after arguing briefly that the Germans are indigenous and racially pure, Tacitus describes their public and private life. Comparisons, implicit and explicit, between Germans and contemporary Roman society abound, not always to the advantage of the latter. However, the *Germania* is not to be seen as a mirror of morals (or, as some have argued, a historical excursus): its second half, devoted entirely to describing individual tribes, confirms that it is an ethnographical monograph, in which (naturally enough) a foreign people is viewed through Roman eyes.

The third of Tacitus' *opera minora*, the *Dialogus* (*Dialogus de oratoribus*), was perhaps written c. 101/2. It is an urbane and good-natured discussion about the causes of the contemporary decline in oratory; following the fiction of *Cicero's *De oratore*, Tacitus affects to recall a discussion he heard as a young man in 75. Of its three speakers Marcus Aper champions modern oratory, while Vipstanus Messalla affirms that the decline can be remedied by a return to old-fashioned morals and education. Curvatus Maternus, in whose house the discussion takes place, ascribes the decline to political changes: in the late republic oratory had flourished amid virtual anarchy; now, under a benevolent and all-wise ruler, great oratory was no longer needed. While that may come closest to Tacitus' own view, it is simplistic to equate Maternus with Tacitus. Ambivalences attach to the opinions of all three speakers, and Tacitus characteristically leaves readers to elicit their own answers.

3. By about 105–6 Tacitus was collecting material for a historical work, almost certainly the *Histories* (*Plin. Ep.* 6. 16 and 20); the date of its completion is unknown, but may be c. 109–10. When complete it comprised twelve (or fourteen) books, covering the years 69–96; only the first four and a quarter books survive, bringing the narrative to 70.

The subject-matter of bks. 1–3, dealing with the civil wars between Galba, Otho, Aulus Vitellius, and Vespasian (see ROME (HISTORY) §2.2), is predominantly military, and it is for his handling of this material that Mommsen called Tacitus 'most unmilitary of writers'. It is true that the reader is repeatedly puzzled or irritated by the absence of information on chronology, topography, strategy, and logistics. But Tacitus did not write according to the canons of modern historiography. His aim is to provide a narrative that will hold his readers' attention and persuade them of his version of events. By such standards chs. 12–49 of bk. 1 (perhaps matched by the graphic description of the night battle of Cremona and the storming and sacking of the city in 3. 19–34) present a sustained narrative of unsurpassed pace and brilliance. From the moment when a handful of soldiers proclaim Otho emperor (27. 2) till Tacitus delivers his obituary over the murdered Galba (49. 4 'omnium consensu capax imperii,

nisi imperasset': 'by universal consent fitted to rule—had he not ruled') the ebb and flow of fortune and emotion are portrayed with masterly skill.

The loss of the later books is particularly frustrating, since they deal with a time when Tacitus was himself close to the centre of political activity. From what survives we can surmise that he was no less hostile to Domitian than he had been in the *Agricola*, and that the senate, despite loud professions of independence, was quick to back down when faced by imperial opposition (4. 44. 1). And though Vespasian alone of emperors is said to have changed for the better (1. 50. 4), it is unlikely that Tacitus thought his reign without blemish.

4. At the beginning of the *Histories* (1. 1. 4) Tacitus had spoken of going on to write of *Nerva and *Trajan. In the event he chose to go back to the Julio-Claudian dynasty from the accession of *Tiberius. The *Annals* (more exactly *Ab excessu divi Augusti*, 'From the decease of the deified Augustus'; the titles *Historiae* and *Annales* date only from the 16th cent.) originally consisted of eighteen (or sixteen) books—six for Tiberius, six for *Gaius and *Claudius, six (or four) for *Nero. Of these there are lost most of 5, all of 7–10, the first half of 11, and everything after the middle of 16. Whether Tacitus completed the *Annals* is not known; nor do we know the date of composition, though two passages (2. 56. 1 and 4. 5. 2) seem datable to 114 and 115 respectively. That would suggest that the last books can scarcely have been written before the early years of *Hadrian's reign, perhaps c. 120.

The six books of Tiberius' reign depict a *princeps* who succeeded to power only with extreme reluctance, who insisted on the majesty of his office even as he found it an increasingly intolerable burden, whose attempts at finding co-regents were successively and variously thwarted, and who spent his last years alone and isolated on Capri. It is one of the most powerful and compelling portraits to have survived from antiquity and is concluded by a famous obituary notice of the emperor (6. 51. 3). The striking opening of bk. 4 emphasizes that the reign took a decisive turn for the worse in AD 23 with the rise to power of the ambitious and manipulative *Sejanus; but Tacitus does not always conceal his reluctant admiration for a ruler whom he consistently characterizes as a dissembling tyrant.

For Claudius, Tacitus accepted the traditional picture of an emperor dominated by his wives and freedmen and gave great (perhaps excessive) prominence to the sexual scandals of *Messal(1)ina and the dynastic scheming of *Agrippina. But in much of his dealings with the senate Claudius emerges as a pedantically thoughtful personality, e.g. 11. 13 and 24 (see below).

*Nero's portrait also is simple: an initial quinquennium of mostly good government ends with the murder of Agrippina in 59, which frees Nero to follow his own desires (14. 13. 2). His extravagance, sexual depravity, and un-Roman innovations are depicted with verve and disapproval. Tacitus also pillories the servility of a senate that congratulates Nero when his mother is murdered (14. 12; cf. 59. 4 and 16. 16), while Thræsea Paetus' attempts to uphold senatorial independence (13. 49; 14. 12, 48–9; 15. 20 and 23) lead only to his condemnation.

If political debate is less sharp in the Neronian books, foreign affairs and Nero's flamboyant behaviour fully extend Tacitus' descriptive powers. Their impact is strengthened by the organization of incidents into larger continuous units, a structural feature first observable in the Claudian books (so Messalina's final excesses in 11. 26–38 and the account of British affairs, covering several years, in 12. 31–40); similarly, in the Neronian books: British affairs in 14. 29–39 and the annual accounts of Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo's eastern campaigns, and (at home) Agrippina's murder (14. 1–13), the Great Fire of Rome and its aftermath (15. 38–45), and the Pisonian conspiracy (15. 48–74); see Gaius Calpurnius Piso. Whether the narrative of Nero or of the other emperors is consistent with Tacitus' claims to write impartially (*Hist.* 1. 1. 3, *Ann.* 1. 1. 3 'sine ira et studio') is at best open to question.

5. Though none of the sources used by Tacitus has survived, many scholars from Mommsen onwards have held that for continuous sections of his narrative Tacitus followed an unnamed single source; Cluvius Rufus, Pliny the Elder, Aufidius Bassus, and Fabius Rusticus are among the names that have been suggested. Close and sustained similarities between Tacitus and *Plutarch for the reigns of Galba and Otho make the theory plausible for the period of the civil war, but it is unlikely that Tacitus restricted himself to a single source thereafter, since already at *Hist.* 2. 101. 1 he expresses scepticism of pro-Flavian accounts. For the *Annals*, especially from bk. 6, similarities between Tacitus, *Suetonius, and *Cassius Dio suggest frequent, though not continuous, use of a common source (see also Tacitus' own statement at 13. 20. 2). However, it is probable that Tacitus proceeded differently with different types of material. He refers once in a late book (*Ann.* 15. 74. 3) to the *acta senatus* (official record of proceedings), but their bureaucratic language and official version of events would be repugnant to Tacitus. For the private life of the emperor and his family the more lurid and sensational items could be published only after his death, when different versions would multiply (see *Ann.* 4.10–11 for Tiberius' son Drusus), 14. 2. 1–2 for Agrippina, and *Hist.* 1. 13 and *Ann.* 13. 45 for Poppaea Sabina, Nero's wife). In military contexts he refers once to the Elder Pliny's twenty volumes on wars in Germany (*Ann.* 1. 69. 2)

and once to Domitius Corbulo's memoirs of his eastern campaigns (*Ann.* 15. 16. 1-2). But convention also allowed the ancient historian licence to elaborate or invent incidents to make his narrative more colourful and exciting (cf. how *Ann.* 4. 46-51 is based on Caesar, *B Gall.* 7. 69 ff. and Sallust, *Hist.* 2. 87). Yet, whatever the source, the resulting narrative is, by selection, arrangement, and interpretation, wholly Tacitean. His account of the trial and suicide of Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso in *Ann.* 3. 10-19 can now be compared with the formal *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, which clearly endorses Tiberius' view; and the speech which he attributes to Claudius at *Ann.* 11. 24 can be compared with the version officially published on a surviving inscription (*ILS* 212).

6. Though regret for the lost freedoms of the republic is evident throughout Tacitus, he accepted the necessity of the rule of one man (*Hist.* 1. 1. 1; *Ann.* 4. 33. 2) and praised those few who served the state honourably but without servility (*Ann.* 4. 20. 3; cf. *Agr.* 42. 4). Yet pessimism and hints of a darker underlying reality are ever-present: motives are rarely simple; innuendo often suggests that the less creditable explanation is the more probable; and an awareness of the gulf in political life between what was professed and what was practised informs all his writing and finds fitting expression in a unique prose style.

7. Tacitus' style is marked by a fastidious and continuous avoidance of the trite and hackneyed. Elevation is lent to his language by archaic and poetic words and an admixture of neologisms, while his extensive use of metaphor more closely resembles poetic than prose usage; sometimes a metaphor is sustained, to great effect, over an extended passage of narrative. His works disclose a close familiarity with a whole range of earlier and contemporary authors, especially Livy, Virgil, and Lucan. A particular model is *Sallust, and at times he alludes to whole passages: so at *Ann.* 4. 1. 3 his portrait of Sejanus recalls (but modifies) Sallust's picture of *Catiline at *Cat.* 5. But to Sallust's renowned brevity Tacitus adds a greater compression of thought. The sinewy strength of his language is reinforced by a deliberate rejection of balance (*concinntitas*) in favour of syntactical disruption (*variatio*), a device he uses with special effectiveness to underline alternative motives. The same aim is served by a peculiarly Tacitean type of sentence construction in which the main syntactical statement stands at or near the beginning, and then has appended to it (by various syntactical means, of which the ablative absolute is one of the most common) comments that suggest motives or record men's reactions (for extended examples cf. *Ann.* 3. 3. 1 and 14. 49. 3). This type of sentence allows Tacitus to concentrate, often with sardonic comment, on the underlying psychology of men's actions and is tellingly employed in his portrait of Tiberius. As a general rule, particularly in the *Annals*, the extreme subtlety of his expression is brilliantly calculated to convey the complexities of political life in the first century of our era, and 'there are many occasions when we have to read him very closely indeed to perceive that he has in fact denied what one thought he had said' (Irving Kristol).

8. The extant texts of Tacitus' works reached the age of printing by three tenuous threads. A Carolingian manuscript of the minor works came from Hersfeld in Germany to Rome c.1455, but disappeared after numerous 15th-cent. copies had been made; whether the surviving 9th-cent. quire of the *Agricola* was part of that manuscript is uncertain but perhaps likely (see Mayer's edn. of *Dial.*, 47-8). *Annals* 1-6 depend on a single manuscript, the first Medicean, written in Germany (possibly Fulda) c.850, and now in the Laurentian Library in Florence. *Annals* 11-16 and *Histories* 1-5 (numbered consecutively as bks. 11-21) also depend on a single manuscript, the second Medicean, written in a Beneventan script in the 11th cent.; modern attempts to show that any 15th-cent. manuscript is independent of the second Medicean seem unfounded.

RHM/AJW

existed, or should we demand that they were widely and productively employed? Whose needs should we consider—the state, the army, a social élite, or the multitude?

Most elements of Graeco-Roman technology were either inherited from prehistoric times, or adopted from '*barbarian' peoples. Some significant inventions were made, such as hydraulic concrete, the geared 'Vitruvian' water-mill, blown *glass, the screw-press, the codex, and a remarkable harvesting machine, the *vallus*. Inventions were applied in essential contexts, such as water-lifting devices employed in irrigation and for draining mines, and mech-

anical presses or water-mills used for processing the products of the single most important industry—agriculture. Many inventions were useful to the state: coinage, together with adjustable scales for weighing coins or merchandise; water clocks and sundials; mechanical artillery; cranes, Lewis devices, roofing systems and concrete vaulting for large temples and public buildings; and codices (rather than scrolls) for law codes and religious texts. Consumer goods underwent little technical change, and output normally increased because of a proliferation of small workshops rather than a transition to anything resembling a

modern factory. Metalworking and stoneworking intensified in Greek and Roman times, but employed techniques and materials already invented or discovered either during later prehistory or in Mesopotamia and Egypt. However, the adoption of wheel-mounted relief moulds for mass-producing decorated pottery, and the invention of blown glass and lead-glazed ceramics, demonstrate that technical changes *were* innovated into use in the ancient world, and that production techniques could be transferred quickly over long distances.

The study of the date and application of Greek and Roman inventions is complicated by the survival of a mere handful of detailed works by technical writers such as Heron of Alexandria (fl. AD 62) or *Vitruvius, and the comparative inattention to technical matters by others, such as *Pliny the Elder. Archaeological evidence plays a growing role in establishing the date and diffusion of applied technology, and it also provides examples of devices that do not appear in the written sources, which (for example) give an incomplete view of the range of pumps. Interpretation is complicated by a tendency amongst classical scholars to approach Roman technology in the light of its Greek background, without adjusting the context from city-state to empire. A persistent stereotype contrasts Greek theory and invention with Roman practical application, and overlooks the fact that much of the engineering associated with 'Greek science' was Roman in date, and developed in *Alexandria.

Technology remained stable (which does not mean stagnant) in most areas of metallurgy (*see* MINES), stoneworking, ceramics, engineering, *architecture, *agriculture and transport. Extraction and processing of silver at the Athenian mines at Laurium varied in scale, not technique, from Classical Greek to Byzantine times. Finds from Egypt, Spain, and Wales show that the same hydraulic technology was applied across the entire empire in the Roman period. The Roman army evidently acted as an important agent of technology transfer by spreading *literacy and skills to frontier regions. Thus, innovation rather than invention characterized Roman technology, assisted by the geographical expansion of Rome and the reliance of its administration on secure and effective transport of men, foodstuffs, raw materials and finished goods. It is no accident that Roman engineers are remembered for *roads, bridges, and harbours; archaeological evidence shows that these facilities were used by a comprehensive range of vehicles and ships whose size and technical complexity was matched to varying requirements. A similar variety of building materials and construction skills was able to create farms, workshops, and accommodation in rural and urban environments to house producers and consumers alike.

Greece and Rome constructed marble buildings on an unprecedented scale, and minted millions of gold, silver, and bronze coins. Thousands of farmers and town-dwellers lived in architecturally sophisticated buildings, and owned domestic equipment, tools, and fine tablewares in quantities that would not be matched before the post-medieval period. A combination of effective transport and appropriate coin denominations helped to sustain trade beyond the requirements of the state and the army. None of this caused, or resulted from, an industrial revolution; the significant growth factors were proliferation and intensification resulting from expanding conquest and trade. Evidence for extensive industries and widespread application of technology in the ancient world can be acknowledged without having to explain why they did not cause economic 'take off'. *See* ECONOMY; INDUSTRY; TRADE. KTG

temple The Greek temple was the house of the god, whose image it contained, usually placed so that at the annual festival it could watch through the open door the burning of the sacrifice at the altar which stood outside. It was not a congregational building, the worshippers instead gathering round the altar in the open air, where they would be given the meat of the victims to consume (*see* SACRIFICE, GREEK). Orientation was generally towards the east, and often towards that point on the skyline where (allowing for the vagaries of ancient Greek calendars) the sun rose on the day of the festival. The temple also served as a repository for the property of the god, especially the more valuable possessions of gold and silver plate.

The core of the temple is the cella, a rectangular room whose side walls are prolonged beyond one end to form a porch, either with columns between them (in *antis*) or in a row across the front (*prostyle*). More prestigious temples surround this with an external colonnade (and are described as *peripteral*). They generally duplicate the porch with a corresponding prolongation of the walls at the rear of the cella, *without*, however, making another doorway into the cella (the *opisthodomus*, or false porch). Some temples, such as the Parthenon, have a double cella with a western as well as an eastern room, in which case the porch has a door in it.

The origins of this are uncertain. No provable temples exist (excluding the very different shrine buildings of the late bronze age) before the 8th cent. BC. (*See* LEFKANDI.)

By the end of the 7th cent. the rectangular form is normal. Cut stone replaces the earlier mudbrick structures, and important temples are *peripteral* 'hundred footers' (*hekatompeda*); the 6th cent. sees a handful of

exceptionally large 85-metre (300-ft.) examples, such as *Artemis at *Ephesus and the Hera temple on *Samos. From the 6th cent. stone-built temples are normal; marble begins to be utilized where readily available. Doric temples generally stand on a base (*krēpis*) with three steps, though the enlarged dimensions of the building make these excessively high for human use; they have to be doubled at the east-end approach, or replaced there by a ramp; Ionic temples often have more steps. Roofs are generally now of terracotta tiles; gutters occur infrequently in Doric temples, regularly in Ionic. Marble tiles (introduced first in Ionic) are used in the Parthenon. The roof is supported on beams and rafters. Wider buildings require internal supports within the cella; these may also be added as decoration, even when the span is too small to require their support. Some of the very large Ionic temples do not seem to have had internal supports in their cellas, which must therefore have been unroofed or 'hypaethral', though the surrounding colonnades were roofed up to the cella wall.

There are recognizable regional variations, even within the broad distinctions of Doric and Ionic. Approach ramps at the east end are regular in Peloponnesian temples, which often restrict carved decoration in the Doric metopes to those of the inner entablatures over the porch. Sicilian Doric temples may have four rather than three steps, and frequently have narrower cellas, without any internal supports.

Only exceptional buildings, such as the Parthenon, have full pedimental sculpture, let alone carved figures on every metope of the external entablature, while the frieze which replaces the metope frieze over the prostyle porches, and is continued along both sides of the cella, is a unique additional embellishment.

Roman temples derive from Etruscan prototypes, themselves possibly influenced by the simple Greek temples of the 8th and 7th cents. BC. They stand on high *podia*, with stepped approaches only at the front (temples of the Roman period in the Greek part of the empire often continue the tradition of the lower Greek stepped *krēpis*). Roofs are steeper (reflecting perhaps the wetter climate of Etruria); more lavish carved decoration may derive from western Greek taste. The Corinthian order, used for some Hellenistic temples, became the preferred form. Marble is common in the Augustan period in Rome itself, white, with fluted columns; later polished smooth shafts of variegated marbles, granites, etc. are preferred. Regional variations continue to be important. The western provinces generally follow the example of Rome. See ARCHITECTURE; PAINTING; SANCTUARIES; SCULPTURE.

RAT

Terence (Publius Terentius Afer), the Roman playwright, author of *fabulae palliatae* ('dramas in a Greek cloak') in the 160s BC. The *Life* by *Suetonius records that he was born at Carthage, came to Rome as a slave in the household of a senator called Terentius Lucanus, was soon freed, but died still young on a visit to Greece in 159. As usual, we have no way to check this information; his Carthaginian birth (see CARTHAGE) may have been an incorrect deduction from his *cognomen* or surname (*Afer*, 'the African'). He was patronized by prominent Romans, and his last play, *Adelphoe*, was commissioned by *Scipio Aemilianus and his brother for performance at the funeral games for their father Lucius Aemilius Paullus in 160. The previous year, his *Eunuchus* had been an outstanding success, marked by a repeat performance and an unprecedentedly large financial reward. His one known failure was *Hecyra*, which twice had to be abandoned in the face of competition from rival attractions (first a tightrope walker and boxers, then a gladiatorial show); Terence's account of these misfortunes in his prologue for the third production is exceptional evidence for conditions of performance at the time.

All his six plays survive. Their dates are given by the *didascaliae* (production notices), which are generally accepted as reliable in spite of some difficulties: *Andria* ('The Girl from Andros', Megalesian Games 166); *Hecyra* ('The Mother-in-Law', Megalesian Games 165, revived in 160 at Aemilius Paullus' funeral games and again later that year); *H(e)autontimorumenos* ('The Self-Tormentor', Megalesian Games 163); *Eunuchus* ('The Eunuch', Megalesian Games 161); *Phormio* (Roman Games 161); and *Adelphoe* ('The Brothers', Aemilius Paullus' funeral games in 160). *Hecyra* and *Phormio* were based on originals by Apollodorus of Carystus, the other four on plays by Menander; Terence preserved the Greek titles of all but *Phormio* (named after the main character; Apollodorus' title was *Epidikazomenos*, 'The Claimant at Law'). All the plays were produced by Ambivius Turpio, with music by one Flaccus, slave of Claudius.

In adapting *Andria*, Terence added material from Menander's *Perinthia* ('The Girl from Perinthos'); for his *Eunuchus* he added the characters of the parasite and the soldier from Menander's *Kolax* ('The Toady'); and in *Adelphoe* he added a scene from Diphilus' *Synapothnēskontes* ('Comrades in Death'). We learn this from the prologues to these plays, where he defends himself against charges of 'spoiling' the Greek plays and of 'theft' from earlier Latin plays. But he made more radical changes than these. The commentary by Donatus (4th cent. AD) provides some further information, e.g. that the first 20 lines of *Andria* are an entirely original creation, and that Terence has converted monologue to dialogue

CIE absquirit homine cum est opus beneficium accipere gaudeas: uerum enim uero iddemū
 iuuat. si quem aequum est bene facere. si benefacit. o frater frater: quid ego tunc lau-
 dem. satis certo scio: numquam ita magnifice quicquam dicam. id uirtus quin super et tua:
 itaq. unam hanc rem me habere praeter alias praecipuam arbitror. fratrem. homini
 neminem esse primarium arcum magis principem: SYR o ctesiphon. CIE o frater aeschi-
 nus ubi est: SYR ellū. te expectat domi. CIE hem: SYR quid est: CIE quid sit illius
 opera frater nunc uiuo festiuum caput quin omnia sibi post putas esse p meo cō modo.
 maledicta famam meum amore & peccatū in se transulit. nihil supra potest. quis na
 fores crepuit: SYR mane mane ipse & it foras:



AES ubi est ille sacrilegus: SAN men querit nū quid nam offert occidi nihil uideo:
 AES hem. opportune te ipsū querit: quid sit ctesiphon: intuito est omnis res. omittite uero trise-
 tam tuā: CIE ego illa facile uero omitto. qui quidem te habent fratrem omni. aeschine:
 omiger mane. auer cor cora in os te laudare amplius. ne id ad sen tunc di magis quā qet
 habent gratum facere & istam es: AES age in. epte. quasi nunc non nos timemus nos inter nos.
 ctesiphon. sed hoc mihi dolet nos paenesero scisse & paene meū locū redisse ut si omnes
 cuperent tibi nihil possent auxiliarier. CIE pudebat: AES aha stultitia est ista ac
 non pudor tam obpar uolā rem paene & patria turpe dictum: deos quaeso ut istec phibeat.
 CIE peccauit: AES quid ait tandē nobis sanio: SYR iam mitis est: AES ego ad forum ibo
 ut hunc absoluaui. tu intro ad illa ctesiphon: SAN frater infra: SYR eamus naq. hic p
 perat in cy prum: SAN ne tā quidem quā uis & iā maneo otiosus hic: SYR red detur-
 netime. SAN ac ut omne reddat. SYR omne reddet. tace modo ac sequere hac:
 SAN sequor. CIE heus. heus. frater. SYR hem. quid est: CIE obsecro hercle te. hominem istum

Terence An illustrated manuscript, AD 872–6, of Terence's last play, *Adelphe*. His style and moral sentiments gave his plays a favourable *reception throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. © 2013 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (VAT. LAT. 3868, 54v). Reproduced by permission of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. All rights reserved

in the central scene of *Eunuchus* (539–614). The extent and implications of these and other changes are much disputed; it is a mark of Terence's skill that we cannot be sure of the boundaries of inserted material even when he tells us that it has been added. It is widely believed that he made significant changes to the endings of several plays (particularly *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*), but the meagre fragments that survive of his Greek originals force us to rely heavily on intuition about what Menander and Apollodorus are likely to have done.

One clear innovation was Terence's use of a prologue to conduct feuds with his critics; he never used one to tell the spectators about the background to the plot. It has been suggested that he preferred to exploit effects of surprise rather than irony and to involve his audience more directly in the emotions of the characters (most notably in *Hecyra*, where it is laid bare how women are misunderstood, maligned, and mistreated by men). But the scope for ironic effect varies from play to play; in some cases he includes essential background information in the mouths of the characters at an early stage. It seems more likely that he dispensed with expository prologues because he regarded them as an unrealistic device. Consistent with this is his avoidance of direct audience address in his plays, though he does include some 'metatheatrical' remarks at *An.* 474–94 and *Hec.* 865–8.

There is a world of difference between Terence and *Plautus. In general, Terence seems to have preserved the ethos of his originals more faithfully, with well-constructed plots, consistent characterization, and very few overtly Roman intrusions into the Greek setting. Like Plautus, he increased the proportion of lines with musical accompaniment; but he hardly ever used lyric metres, and he was more sparing in his use of set-piece cantica (operatic interludes). His plays repay thoughtful study and give a sympathetic portrayal of human relationships (*H(e) autontimorumenos* and *Adelphoe* both deal with questions of openness and tolerance between fathers and adolescent sons). On the other hand, he added stock characters and boisterous scenes to *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*, and he appealed to the precedent of Plautus and others when accused of *contamination* (i.e. incorporating material from another Greek play into the primary play being adapted); he was not faithful enough to the Greek originals for some of his contemporaries. He deserves his reputation for *humanitas*, a humane sympathy for the predicaments of human beings, but his plays are also lively and entertaining situation comedies.

Terence's greatest contribution to the development of literary Latin was the creation of a naturalistic style far closer to the language of everyday conversation than that of Plautus or the other authors of *palliatae*, with much ex-

clamation, aposiopesis, and ellipsis; many of its features are paralleled in *Cicero's letters and *Catullus' shorter poems. But he did also sometimes use a more ornate and repetitive style, both in the plays themselves and above all in the prologues, which are highly elaborate rhetorical pieces with much antithesis, alliteration, etc. He does not reproduce the fantastic verbal exuberance of Plautus.

Terence was widely read for many centuries after his death, above all for his style and moral sentiments. Some 750 manuscripts of his plays survive, including a number with famous miniature illustrations. In the 10th cent. the nun Hrothswitha of Gandersheim wrote six Christian comedies in imitation of Terence, and he was both imitated and revived in the Renaissance. He held a central place in the European school curriculum until the 19th cent.

PGMB

textile production

1. Social significance

Spinning and weaving held considerable symbolic and economic importance for women. In the 5th-cent. BC Law Code from Gortyn on *Crete (3. 17) a woman who was widowed or divorced could keep half of what she had woven in the marriage. Women took pride in men's praise of their skills (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 2. 104–5, 117; 19. 241–2; Pl. *Resp.* 455c) and to 'keep the house and work in wool' was also a typical way of praising a woman after her death (epitaph of Claudia, 2nd cent. BC Rome, *CIL* 6. 15346). Weaving also carries the suggestion of deception; in Athenian tragedy, Deianira and *Medea trap men with fatal robes. The association with women is so strong that to accuse a man of weaving is to suggest that he is effeminate (e.g. Cleisthenes (*Ar. Av.* 831), Egilius (*Cic. De or.* 2. 277)).

In the empire, the strong gender connotations of spinning and weaving weakened; most weaving was done by men, although women were still clothes-makers and menders.

HK

2. Production

Once the raw textile fibres had been removed from the parent body and prepared they were ready for spinning. (Wool was dyed before spinning, flax afterwards.) Wool was sometimes converted first into rovings, loose rolls of fibre half-way to yarn. In a Classical Greek context that was achieved by rolling the fibres out on an *epinētron*, a terracotta sheath that fitted over the knee. The principal spinning implement was the spindle (Gk. *atraktos*, Lat. *fusus*), a tapered rod of wood or bone about 20 cm. (8 inches) long with a swelling towards one end on which the whorl (Gk. *sphondylos*, Lat. *turbo*) was jammed. The

latter, a circle with central hole cut from a potsherd or shaped from bone, jet, or terracotta, gave the required momentum to the rotation of the spindle: north of the Mediterranean it was mounted at the bottom; to the south and east, at the top of the shaft. The unspun fibre was loaded on a distaff (Gk. *elakatē* (probably), Lat. *colus*), a short carrying staff made at its simplest from a (forked) stick and at its most refined from jet or amber segments. Holding the distaff in her left hand the spinner drew out unspun fibres, a few at a time, fastened them to the tip of the spindle and set the latter rotating. The spindle, hanging free and spinning round, imparted twist and hence strength to the yarn. Spinning—seated, standing, or walking—was a chore for all women from *materfamilias* to slave girl as their tombstones and epitaphs attest, and their level of competence demonstrated by surviving textiles is remarkable. The direction of rotation, clockwise or anticlockwise, was a matter of long-standing convention: yarns spun clockwise, for example, are found everywhere, but in northern and western Europe they were used for warp, while in the eastern Mediterranean they might appear as weft or in a tapestry band. Yarns were sometimes plied for strength, usually in the opposite direction from the spin. A fine gold or silver ribbon could be wound round a textile fibre core to make metal thread for fancy textiles, like the gold and purple coverlet from a Macedonian royal tomb at Vergina (see AEGAE).

Graeco-Roman weaving technology changed radically in the centuries between Homer and Justinian; in the Roman empire particularly there was considerable regional diversity reflecting varied climatic factors and cultural influences. The underlying trend was to develop and enhance the pattern-making capacity of even the simplest looms: the ultimate achievements are the late Roman silks with their breathtakingly complex polychrome decorative schemes. From Archaic Greece to the early Roman empire the basic loom was vertical and warp-weighted, consisting of two upright timbers (perhaps 2m. (6½ ft.) long) (*histopodes*) joined across the top by a horizontal cloth-beam. It did not stand vertically, but was made to lean against a roof strut or wall at a slight angle. The warp-threads were secured to the cloth-beam by a specially pre-woven starting-border or starting-cord. Half of the warp (all the even-numbered or odd-numbered threads) was fastened to loomweights and hung straight down behind the loom. The rest of the warp was tied to a front row of weights and passed over a fixed horizontal shed-rod that linked the uprights at about knee height: these warp-threads remained therefore in the same plane as the tilted uprights. The 'natural shed', the angle between the two sheets of warp in this position, was

changed by means of heddles, loops of string that fastened each individual rear warp-thread to a heddle-rod which rested on brackets projecting from the uprights at the front of the loom. When the heddle-rod was lifted forward, it brought the rear warp between, and to a position in advance of, the front warp, creating the second, 'artificial', shed. The process of weaving then consisted of the weaver introducing a ball or spool of weft thread from the side into and through the first shed, changing to the 'artificial' shed and passing the weft back through that. By repeating the process 1/1 tabby weave, the simplest and commonest weave structure, was achieved. Freshly inserted weft was beaten hard against the web of cloth already woven by means of a weaving sword thrust into the shed: the bare warp was kept in order by running a pin-beater (Gk. *kerkis*, Lat. *radius*), a small pointed implement, lightly across it, making it 'sing' (Soph. Fr. 890). Loomweights (Gk. *agnuthes*, Lat. *pondera*), usually of terracotta, are found in lenticular, conical, or pyramidal shapes, with a hole for suspension: the form varies with time and place.

By the end of the 2nd cent. AD the warp-weighted loom (at which the weaver stood and pushed the weft upwards) had been largely replaced by the two-beam vertical loom at which the weaver sat and beat the weft downwards with a short-toothed wooden comb. The two-beam loom was ideal for tapestry weaving whereby a 'mosaic' is built by hand from yarns of contrasting colours. As time passed, ever more advanced devices for the mechanical shedding of patterns were introduced. Simple geometric damasks in wool had appeared by AD 100 (later than that in silk), together with compound weaves in which the pattern weft could be selectively drawn to the surface or concealed within its structure. Compound twill, in production by the 5th cent. AD, came to dominate the silk industry of late antiquity. At some point during this development sequence the loom became horizontal. On a smaller scale bands could be woven without a loom-frame using three- or four-hole tablets (like a pack of cards which twisted the warp into parallel cords) or the rigid heddle on which the warp passed alternately through holes in slats or between slats. The warp-interlace technique of *sprang* carried out on a small frame was employed, as finds show, for hairnets. An ever-lengthening list of textile-finds demonstrates the ancient weaver's skill and range. Garments were regularly woven to shape on the loom with integral ornament where relevant: the role of the tailor was minimal. In the west twill weaves in wool were pre-eminent: decoration was in subtle checks or occasionally tapestry-woven bands. The Greek-speaking east was much more diverse, exploiting to the full the properties of both dyed wool and natural

linen. At Phrygian Gordium in the 8th cent. BC there were decorative bands in warp pick-up weave and tapes-try-woven fabrics. An aristocratic grave of c.1000 BC at *Lefkandi on Euboea contained a tunic decorated with looped pile. The beginnings of fancy damask and compound weaving belong to the late Hellenistic or early Roman period. Embroidery was rare. In the west most weaving was on a domestic scale, with occasional production for profit, but in the east there were professional weavers and specialized workshops.

Wool cloth was taken direct from the loom to the fuller (Gk. *knaphheus*, Lat. *fullo*) for cleaning and shrinking. He also acted as laundryman. Fullers' workshops uncovered in *Pompeii and *Ostia show how he operated. Clothing was trodden underfoot in wooden or terracotta tubs in a mixture of water, stale urine, and fuller's earth to disperse the grease and dirt, then rinsed in tanks. The nap on a woollen garment could be raised with a spiked board (*aena*) and trimmed with cropping shears to give a soft finish (*vestis pexa*). Cloth could be bleached over sulphur for enhanced whiteness. Finally, garments were carefully folded and pressed in a screw-press to make the neat creases which fashion demanded. *See also* DRESS. JPW

theatres (Greek and Roman), structure The Greek theatre consisted essentially of the orchestra, the flat dancing-place for the choral song and dance out of which grew tragedy and comedy; and the auditorium (the *theatron* proper, Latin *cavea*), normally a convenient slope on which spectators could sit or stand. In early theatres wooden seating was constructed, though it is not clear how this was done. Seats were sometimes cut in the rock; by the time theatres reached a more definitive form, in the 4th cent. BC, seats consisted of stone benches of simple form, rising in tiers. These were curved, reflecting the normal circular shape of the orchestra. A rectangular orchestra survives at the well-preserved theatre at Thoricus, in the territory of Athens, partly faced by seats in a straight line, curving only at the ends. The orchestra consisted of hard earth—paving was not introduced till Roman times. The *skēnē* (tent or hut) was in origin a simple structure for the convenience of the performers, which could also form a background for the plays. In the course of the 5th cent. it became a more solid building, ultimately acquiring a handsome architectural form sometimes with projecting wings. The fully developed auditorium was wherever possible rather more than a semicircle in plan, opening out a little at the outer ends, where the line of seats was drawn on a slightly greater radius. The outer sectors required embankments and solid retaining walls, while the inner was hollowed out of the hillside; there were no elaborate substructures as in

Roman theatres. The auditorium did not link up with the *skēnē*, except perhaps by means of light gateways, and the intervening passages on either side were called *parodoi*. Stairways radiated from the orchestra, dividing the seating into 'wedges', and in large theatres there were horizontal passages too (*diazōma*). The front tiers were sometimes provided with more elaborate and comfortable seating for priests and officials (so-called *proedria*).

In the 5th cent., since archaeological evidence is lacking, the level at which the action took place is not certain: probably at orchestra level, with at most a low wooden platform, easily accessible by steps, in front of the *skēnē*, which provided the door openings necessary for the action of all classical drama. Later, the *proskēnion* was introduced, a row of columns in front of the *skēnē* supporting a high platform (seen to good advantage at Oropus, where it has been reconstructed). This came to be used as a raised stage, a feature appropriate to New Comedy (*see* COMEDY (GREEK), NEW), which would have been out of place in the theatre of *Sophocles or *Aristophanes. *Proskēnia* were usual in Hellenistic theatres, and were added to old theatres at Athens and elsewhere. At Athens itself tradition speaks of an early theatre in the *Agora. The theatre attached to the shrine of *Dionysus Eleuthereus on the south slope of the Acropolis developed from crude beginnings in the latter part of the 6th cent. BC; its peculiar and complicated history is the subject of much dispute. Architecturally it was still simple and undeveloped in the time of the great 5th-cent. dramatists. The theatre at the shrine of Asclepius near Epidaurus shows the perfection of design achieved in the 4th cent. Even then the theatre was by no means standardized and there are many local variations.

Roman theatres conformed to a type which made a complete building, though, in larger examples, the auditorium—a semicircle—was not roofed; instead, awnings (*vela*) could be drawn on ropes over the auditorium as necessary. The stage, certainly roofed and close to the semicircular orchestra, was a wide and fairly deep raised platform, backed by a wall (*scaenae frons*) as high as the top of the *cavea*, treated as an elaborate front towards the stage, with columns, niches, and the requisite doors. Substructures of *cavea* and stage often consisted of vaulted passages, etc., with staircases, and the outer walls enclosing the back of the *cavea*, sometimes squared, were of arched construction in tiers, with order-treatments, though where the auditorium could rest directly on the hillside, this could be used for part of the auditorium. Simple theatres in the western provinces might have auditoria resting on terraces of earth fill supported by walls. The best preserved Roman theatres are at Aspendus and Perge in Pamphylia (eastern type, with flat *scae-*

nae frons) and at Arausio (mod. Orange in France) (western type, with indented *scaenae frons*). RAT

theatricality has been defined (A. Chaniotis, *Pallas* 1997, 219–59) as ‘the effort of individuals or groups to construct an image of themselves which is at least in part deceiving’, and to attempt to gain control over the *emotions of others. This may be done either by employing techniques developed in or associated with the theatre, or by actually exploiting theatrical spaces for public display or self-advertisement (see TRAGEDY, GREEK; HISTORIOGRAPHY, HELLENISTIC). Certain prominent individuals in the ancient Greek world, such as Demetrius Poliorcetes (‘the Besieger’), seem to have been specially prone to theatrical behaviour, and to have attracted theatrical imagery; but it is not easy to separate how much of this is Demetrius himself and how much is the contribution of our main source, *Plutarch, in his *Life* of him, or indeed of the earlier writers whom Plutarch followed. There is plentiful evidence of theatricality in the Hellenistic period, but it would be unsafe to suppose that there was nothing of the sort earlier, especially in Classical *Sicily. SH

Themistocles (c.524–459 BC), Athenian politician, was a member of the ancient Lycomid family but by a non-Athenian mother. *Herodotus’ informants accused him of corruption and said that in 480 he had ‘recently come to the fore’, though he was archon in 493/2; but *Thucydides admired him for his far-sightedness and considered him one of the greatest men of his generation.

As archon, Themistocles began the development of the Piraeus as Athens’ harbour; it may be that Phrynichus’ *Capture of Miletus* and subsequent trial, and Miltiades’ return to Athens from the Chersonesus (Gallipoli peninsula) and his subsequent trial, belong to 493/2 and that Themistocles was involved in these episodes. In the *ostracisms of the 480s he regularly attracted votes but was not himself ostracized (altogether, over 2,175 ostraca against him are known, including a set of 190 prepared by fourteen hands): the expulsion of Xanthippus in 484 and Aristides in 482 may represent a three-cornered battle in which Themistocles was the winner. Attempts to connect him with a change from direct election to partial sortition in the appointment of the *archontes* (see LAW AND PROCEDURE, ATHENIAN), in 487/6, have no foundation in the sources; but he was behind the decision in 483/2 to spend a surplus from the silver mines on enlarging Athens’ navy from 70 to 200 ships—allegedly for use against Aegina, but these ships played a crucial part in the defeat of the Persian navy in 480.

In 480 he was the general who commanded Athens’ contingents in the Greek forces against the invading Per-

sians: on land in *Thessaly, and then on sea at Artemisium, and at Salamis he interpreted an oracle to predict victory at Salamis, argued for staying at Salamis rather than retiring beyond the isthmus of Corinth, and tricked the Persians into throwing away their advantage by entering the straits. The Decree of Themistocles inscribed at Troezen in the 3rd cent. probably contains authentic material but has at least undergone substantial editing. In the winter of 480/79 he received unprecedented honours at Sparta, but in 479 we hear nothing of him and Athens’ forces were commanded by Aristides and Xanthippus.

After the Persian War there are various stories of his coming into conflict with Sparta (in the best attested he took delaying action at Sparta while the Athenians rebuilt their city walls), while the *Delian League was built up by the pro-Spartan Cimon. In the main tradition the cunning, democratic Themistocles is opposed to the upright, aristocratic Aristides, but there are indications that Aristides was now a supporter rather than an opponent of Themistocles. About the end of the 470s Themistocles was ostracized (see OSTRACISM), went to live at Argos, and ‘visited other places in the Peloponnese’ (Thuc. 1. 135. 3), where an anti-Spartan alliance was growing. When Sparta became alarmed, and claimed to have evidence that he was involved with the Spartan regent Pausanias in intrigues with Persia, he fled, first westwards to Corcyra and Epirus but then via *Macedonia and the Aegean Sea to *Asia Minor. The Athenians condemned him to death in his absence; after 465 the new Persian king, Artaxerxes I, made him governor of Magnesia on the Maeander, where coins bearing his name, and later his son’s, were issued. He probably died a natural death, though there was a legend that he committed suicide; after his death, his family returned to Athens. Democracy did not become an issue while he was in Athens (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN), but there are links between him and the democratic, anti-Spartan politicians who came to power at the end of the 460s. ARB/PJR

Theocritus, poet from *Syracuse, early 3rd cent. BC (working at the Alexandrian court in the 270s); creator of the bucolic genre, but a writer who drew inspiration from many earlier literary forms, cleverly blending them into a new amalgam which nevertheless displays constant invention and seeks variety rather than homogeneity. Thirty poems and a few fragments, together with 24 epigrams, are ascribed to him, several (e.g. 19, 20, 21, 23) clearly spurious and others (e.g. 25, 26) of doubtful authenticity. A scholar called Artemidorus boasts in an epigram transmitted along with the ancient scholia (which are very full and learned) that he has rounded up ‘the Pastoral Muses’ so that ‘scattered once, all are now a

single fold and flock'; his edition no doubt included a good deal of anonymous material in the most distinctive of the various Theocritean styles (rural sketches written in the Doric dialect; see GREEK LANGUAGE § 4) alongside the master's work, and authorship is sometimes hard to determine. Theocritus' poems were the principal model for Virgil's *Eclogues*, and were thus a major influence on European pastoral.

A near-contemporary of the great innovator *Callimachus, Theocritus too was a remaker of the Greek poetic tradition, though his own method of propagating the gospel of tightly organized, perfectly finished writing on a miniature scale was to demonstrate by implicit example rather than engage in neurotic combat against real or imaginary enemies. The closest he comes to a manifesto, and a text that is central for understanding his art, is poem 7 in the collection, which bears the title *Thalysia*, 'The Harvest Home'. Cast in elusively autobiographical form, it describes a journey undertaken by a conveniently assumed persona, 'Simichidas', during his younger days on the SE Aegean island of Cos. On the road he meets a Cretan called Lycidas, 'a goatherd—nor could anyone have mistaken him for anything else, since he looked so very like a goatherd'. The two engage in a song contest, preceded by a discussion of the current state of poetry; Philitas and 'Sicelidas of Samos' (a near-anagram for Asclepiades) are mentioned, and Lycidas praises his young companion for his refusal to write Homeric pastiche (see HOMER). The result of the 'competition' is a foregone conclusion, for Simichidas is promised his prize in advance; just as well, since his clumsy party-piece is no match for the smiling Lycidas' sophisticated song. And no wonder: for as F. Williams showed, focusing earlier partial insights into a conclusive picture, Lycidas is *Apollo, the god of poetry himself, and his epiphany in the poem marks it out as an account of the 'poet's consecration' (*Dichterweihe*) of the kind *Hesiod and *Archilochus had received from the Muses (CQ 1971, 137–45).

Other poems in the bucolic main sequence (1–7) also contain passages with programmatic implications—in particular the meticulous description of the wonderfully carved cup in poem 1, whose scenes (especially the culminating picture of the boy concentrating on weaving a tiny cage for a singing cricket, oblivious of all else) seem intended as a visual correlative of Theocritus' poetic agenda. There are also pieces which refer more directly to the problems of the writer in the Hellenistic world. Poem 16 imaginatively reworks themes from *Simonides in appealing for patronage to Hieron II of Syracuse, and 17 is a similar request to *Ptolemy II Philadelphus, less inspired overall but with a splendidly impish portrayal of

the afterlife which the king's father is fancied to be enjoying on Olympus with *Alexander the Great and *Heracles as his heavenly drinking-companions (16–33). Life in contemporary *Alexandria, and praise of its enlightened ruler, is again the theme of 14, an exploratory transposition of a scene of New Comedy (see COMEDY (GREEK), NEW) into hexameter form; while 15, one of the two 'urban mimes' in the collection which develop the form invented by Sophron in the 5th cent., gives us a glimpse of the annual Adonis festival in Ptolemy's palace. We watch the celebration, and hear the hymn (T. is fond of encapsulated song) through the eyes and ears of a pair of suburban housewives, Gorgo and Praxinoa, who have spent the first part of the poem (he is no less fond of diptych composition) stunning the reader by the banality of their conversation.

The other mime (2) is also a diptych, this time cast as a monologue. A young Alexandrian woman, Simaetha, instructs her servant Thestylis in the performance of a *magic ritual designed to charm back a wandering lover—or else destroy him; then, after the slave's departure with the drug, she recalls the occasion of her first sight of the youth, and her seduction. Both the incantations and the first part of the solo scene are punctuated with refrains appropriate to the situation, a hypnotic feature that recurs in the song on the death of Daphnis in 1. The poem is an excellent example of Theocritus' originality in expanding the catchment area of material to be considered 'fit for poetry'; the effect was permanent, and echoes of the double perspective here (the ironic yet fundamentally humane vision of the author laid over the distressed naïvety of the girl; cf. 11) can still be traced in Tiresias' description of the similarly squalid seduction in Eliot's *The Waste Land*. Though (like all of Theocritus' work) the piece is primarily designed for an audience of sophisticated readers, there is an emotional power here that makes it performable.

But Theocritus was also interested in staking a claim on more 'mainstream' territory, as his choice of the hexameter as his regular vehicle suggests (the only exceptions to this rule are three rather contrived experiments in Aeolic lyric, 28–30; see GREEK LANGUAGE § 4). *Epic remained the ultimate challenge. Two poems (13, on Hylas; and 22, the second part of which narrates the fight between Polydeuces and Amycus) take up Argonautic subjects, and must relate somehow to the contemporary long poem by *Apollonius of Rhodes—perhaps Theocritus is showing his less radical rival how to do it properly. *Pindar (*Nem.* 1) is recast into epic and updated in the treatment of Heracles' cradle-confrontation with the snakes in 24; only as babies or lovers (cf. Menelaus in the Spartan epithalamium, 18) can the traditional heroes

retain their tenuous grasp on the Hellenistic imagination. The rhetorical sequence at 16. 48–57 makes all clear: two lines for Homer's *Iliad* (and even here the emphasis is given to the losers, and to the *handsomest* Greek fighter at Troy, Cycnus, never even mentioned in Homer's poem) are followed by six for the *Odyssey*, with the peasants given pride of place over the eponymous hero.

New, yet in some ways older, characters are brought forward to supplant the epic warrior: Daphnis (1), Hylas (13), and Adonis (15), each of whom swoons in erotic death, and Polyphemus (6, 11), who joins Simaetha and the goatherd in 3 as a failed lover and displaces *Odysseus from centre-stage. Instead of the bloody duels of epic, the new model of competition is the agonistic singing of the goatherds (for which see PASTORAL POETRY, GREEK). Old false ideals and fantasies are pared away, and the new ones that Theocritus puts in their place are justified, paradoxically, by their very self-conscious artificiality. In an age of uncertainty and unbelief, Theocritus offers three beacons by which life may be orientated: love (which must ultimately fail, through rejection or death), personal determination, and art. Each of these is symbolically figured in turn on the cup, the *aipolikon thaëma* ('marvel for goatherds'), at 1. 27–55.

At some point in the ancient tradition Theocritus' poems acquired the generic title *eidyllia*, 'vignettes'; in so far as the transliteration 'idylls' may conjure up a misleading image of rustic languor and passivity it is perhaps best avoided as a label for the poems of this energetic, engaged, and acutely intelligent writer. AHG

Theopompus of Chios, important Greek historian of the 4th cent. BC, the main exponent of rhetorical historiography alongside *Ephorus (see HISTORIOGRAPHY, GREEK). According to a short *vita* (life) by Photius (*Bibl.* 176 = T 2) he was born in 378/7, and was still young when he and his father Damasistratus were exiled from Chios for *lakônismos* (sympathizing with Sparta). At the instigation of *Alexander the Great he was allowed to return in 333/2 when he was 45 years old. After Alexander's death he was exiled a second time; 'driven out from everywhere' he eventually reached the court of *Ptolemy I, who wished to have the 'trouble-maker' done away with. Theopompus was saved by the intervention of some friends and died probably shortly after 320. According to ancient tradition (cf. T 1, 5 a) he was a pupil of *Isocrates and worked for a long time as an orator (fr. 25). Extant titles of epideictic speeches are (T 48): *To Euagoras, Panathenaicus, Laconicus, Olympicus*; in addition he wrote political pamphlets (T 48): *Letters from Chios, Panegyric on *Philip II, Advice for Alexander*; and also an *Invective against *Plato and his School* (T 7. 48; fr. 259).

Historical works

(1) *Epitome of *Herodotus* in two books (T 1, fr. 1–4), the first demonstrable epitome of an earlier work in antiquity; (2) *Hellenica* in twelve books: a continuation of *Thucydides from 411 to 394, namely the sea battle of Cnidus (395 BC), which marked the end of Sparta's short-lived hegemony (T 13 and 14). With this work Theopompus entered into competition with *Xenophon, *Hellenica* (1–4. 2), but he wrote in far greater detail than Xenophon. Only nineteen partly trivial fragments are extant (frs. 5–23), hence it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions as to contents, arrangement, bias, style, and quality. The *Hellenica* of the Oxyrhynchus Historian, frequently ascribed to Theopompus by modern scholars, is certainly not identical with this work; (3) *Philippica* or rather *Philippikai historiai* ('The History of Philip') in 58 books, Theopompus' main work, published late, after 324 (fr. 330); numerous fragments (frs. 24–396) and c.500 lines of verbal quotations are extant. It was not merely a history of Philip of Macedon, but a universal history including 'the deeds of Greeks and barbarians' (fr. 25) centring on Philip II: when Philip V later had only the accounts of Philip II's exploits excerpted, the number of books was reduced to fifteen (T 31).

Characteristics

(1) Theopompus had a universal conception of history; he focused not only on political and military events but showed an interest in ethnography, geography, cultural history, history of religion, day-to-day life, memorabilia, *thaumasia* (marvels), even myth (fr. 381). (2) He was fond of extensive digressions of all kinds: especially noteworthy are the digressions on *thaumasia* (bk. 8 and part of 9; fr. 64–84); 'On the Athenian demagogues' (bk. 10; frs. 85–100); and the three books on Sicilian history, covering the tyranny of *Dionysius I and Dionysius II, 406/5–344/3 (cf. frs. 184, 183–205). (3) The rhetorical character of Theopompus' historical writing was very marked. He goes in for meticulous and skilful stylization, including numerous Gorgianic (see GORGAS) figures of speech (cf. e.g. 34, frs. 225, 263). (4) There is much moralizing in Theopompus. He incessantly denounced the moral depravity of leading politicians. (5) Political tendencies: Theopompus' attitude was that of a conservative aristocrat with Spartan sympathies. Philip II's patriarchal monarchy came closest to a realization of his ideal political and social system. Theopompus venerated him: 'Europe had never before produced such a man as Philip son of Amyntas' (fr. 27).

Sources

The accounts of contemporary history are frequently based on autopsy, personal research and experiences (test. 20a):

Theopompus spent some considerable time at Philip's court (T 7) and travelled throughout Greece (fr. 25); for the earlier periods he used historical and literary material such as speeches, comedies, and pamphlets. He was one of the most widely read and influential Greek historians in Graeco-Roman times. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Pomp.* 6 = T 20) praises him for veracity, erudition, meticulous research, versatility, and his personal enthusiasm as well as for the purity, magnificence, and grandeur of his style. He does, however, find fault with Theopompus' invectives and excessive digressions. Pompeius Trogus, in Augustan times, called his own history *Historiae Philippicae* in imitation of Theopompus. KM

Theseus, a legendary king of Athens, who came to embody many of the qualities Athenians thought important about their city. Apparently originating without special Attic connections, he may perhaps have merged with a local hero of northern Attica, where several of his myths are situated, and his prominence in Athenian tradition seems not to pre-date the 6th cent. BC, deriving at least in part from an epic or epics; the developed tradition of his life indicates a very different figure from older Athenian heroes such as Cecrops or Erechtheus. Detailed accounts of his life are given in Apollod. 3. 16. 1, continued by Epit. 1. 24 and *Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*.

Theseus' claim to membership of the Athenian royal line is somewhat shaky, since his father king Aegeus was probably a late addition to the stemma, made precisely to accommodate Theseus. The alternative version, that his real father was *Poseidon, scarcely helps. In either case, his mother was Aethra, daughter of Pittheus of Troezen. With her, Aegeus left instructions that if on reaching manhood their son was able to lift a certain rock under which Aegeus had placed sandals and a sword, he was to take the tokens and travel to Athens. This Theseus did, choosing the dangerous land-route, on which he encountered and defeated many dangerous brigands and monsters, such as Procrustes, Sciron, and the wild sow of Crommyon. On arrival in Athens, Theseus faced more dangers from *Medea, his father's new wife, and from his cousins the Pallantidae, but escaped their respective attempts at poisoning and ambush. He next defeated the troublesome Marathonian bull; it was on this expedition that he was given hospitality by Hecale. But the major exploit of this part of his life was the journey to Crete and killing of the Minotaur. In revenge for the death of his son Androgeus, Minos had laid upon Athens an annual tribute of seven youths and seven maidens to be given to the Minotaur; Theseus now travelled to Crete as one of the youths and killed the beast, escaping from the Labyrinth in which it was kept with the help of a thread given

him by Minos' daughter Ariadne. He then fled Crete with Ariadne, but for reasons variously given abandoned her on Naxos. On his return to Athens with his companions, he was unwittingly responsible for his father's death, by forgetting to hoist the white sails indicating his survival; Aegeus, thinking his son was dead, hurled himself off the Acropolis or into the sea.

Theseus thus became king. His greatest achievement as such was the *synoecism of Attica—the conversion of numerous small towns into one political unit centred on Athens. This was accomplished by persuasion, but other exploits, not all respectable, relied on force. Like (sometimes with) *Heracles, he undertook an expedition against the *Amazons, winning Antiope or Hippolyte for himself, but provoking an Amazon invasion of Attica, which was finally defeated. His friendship with the Lapith Pirithous led him to join the fight against the *Centaurs, and later to attempt to carry off *Persephone from the Underworld (rationalizing alternative in Plut. *Thes.* 31). In the usual version, after their failure and imprisonment, Theseus was rescued by Heracles, but Pirithous remained below. Theseus also kidnapped the child Helen and kept her in the care of his mother until she should mature—though Iphigenia was said by *Stesichorus (Page, *PMG* fr. 191) and others to be the child of this union. In either case, he was forced to hand her back to her brothers the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux/Polydeuces) when they invaded Attica. This gave Theseus' enemies, headed by Menestheus, their chance, and in the ensuing political confusion Theseus sent his sons Acamas and Demophon to Euboea and himself fled to Scyros, where he was treacherously killed by King Lycomedes.

The formation of this tradition has clearly been influenced at several points by the figure of Heracles, notably in the monster-killing episodes at the beginning of his career (which, according to Plutarch, ch. 9, he undertook in emulation of his great contemporary). Evidently the developed Theseus saga was built up from pre-existing snippets to satisfy Athenian desire for a home-grown and clearly non-Dorian hero of Heracleian type, a process which should be dated to roughly the last quarter, even the last decade, of the 6th cent., when there is a dramatic increase in the popularity of Theseus in the visual arts (see below). It is quite possible that the interest of *Pisistratus and/or his sons (Hippias and Hipparchus) may have been a factor contributing to this growth, but it seems very likely that the political significance of the 'new' hero soon became linked with *Cleisthenes, whose regional reforms could be seen as similar in spirit to the synoecism. Later, it seems we can trace a connection with the family of Miltiades and Cimon, culminating in the latter's transferral of the hero's bones from Scyros to Athens.



Theseus The deeds of Theseus shown on an Athenian clay cup of the early 5th cent. BC. The popularity of Theseus in Athenian art at this time reflects his transformation into the proto-founder of Athenian *democracy. © The Trustees of the British Museum

But by the time of the tragedies of the last 30 or 50 years of the 5th cent., far from being the property of any one party Theseus is clearly a universally respected figure, the heroic representative of his city's greatness. True, *Euripides' *Hippolytus* presents him as incautious and mistaken (and outside drama, the distinctly negative traditions of the rape of Helen and the attempt on Persephone survived) but the usual picture of him in tragedy is of a strong, fair-minded, and compassionate man presiding with perfect confidence over a proto-democracy (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN), the antithesis of the tragic tyrant.

Coming to prominence relatively late, Theseus had few major sanctuaries in Attica. This was explained by the view that the living Theseus had handed over all, or almost all, of his lands (*temenē*) to Heracles (Eur. *HF* 1328–33; Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 18), whose cult is in fact

clearly older in Attica. On the other hand, Theseus became deeply embedded in the festival cycle. As well as having his own festival, the Theseia, on 8th Pyanopsion, he was honoured to a lesser extent on the eighth day of every month (the day also sacred to Poseidon). Moreover, his journey to and return from Crete came to be associated with several cult-complexes and *rituals. Among these were the Oschophoria, where ritual transvestism was explained by the story that two of the 'girls' sent to Crete had been young men in disguise, and the juxtaposed cries of joy and grief by the coincidence of Theseus' return with Aegeus' death; and the Pyanopsia, an Apolline festival (see APOLLO) said to derive from Theseus' *sacrifice in payment of a vow. It is possible to see Theseus here and elsewhere as the heroic prototype of the young men whose transition to adulthood seems to be one concern of the rites. Outside Athens, Theseus was

said on his return from Crete to have established various sacrifices and the 'crane-dance' on *Delos, a tradition helpful to the Athenians in their claim to Ionian primacy (see PROPAGANDA).

EKE

Theseus in art

The fight with the Minotaur, the only Theseus story regularly shown in Archaic art, is among the most popular of all scenes, continuing to imperial times in many media. The Minotaur is shown with bull's head (early, with human head), being killed; on the Amyclaeon throne (mid-6th cent.), it was merely captured (Paus. 3. 18. 11). Roman paintings often show the aftermath rather than the fight.

From the late 6th cent. a cycle of Theseus' adventures on the road from Troezen appears, perhaps derived from poetry, or the adoption of Theseus as hero of the new democracy, resulting in the creation of a complementary series of 'Labours' to those of the Pisistratid hero, Heracles. Such cycles appear on the metopes of the late Archaic Athenian treasury at Delphi, the Hephaesteion in Athens c.450 (see ATHENS, TOPOGRAPHY), and the frieze of Gjölbasci-Trysa (Lycia), c.370. Several vases depict cycles, but the scenes generally appear in groups or individually, mostly c.520–420. Theseus may be naked or wear a short cloak, and his weapons vary; his opponent is bearded and naked. Frequently, rocks and trees suggest Theseus' travels.

The lifting of the rock appears also on imperial Campana reliefs (also Sinis, Sciron, the Marathonian bull) and *gems. On Classical vases, Theseus attacks a woman who may be Medea (rather than Aethra), and Medea may be identified watching Theseus and the Marathonian bull on a series of late Classical vases; her attempt to poison Theseus is shown on Classical vases and Roman copies of Classical reliefs.

Theseus in the Underworld was painted in the Cnidian Lesche or club-house for the people of Cnidus at Delphi (Paus. 10. 29. 9–10); in the Stoa of Zeus with Democracy and the demos (people) (1. 3. 3); in the Stoa Poecile (Painted Stoa) fighting the Amazons (also on the temple of Apollo at Eretria, the Zeus at *Olympia, Athena Parthenos, Trysa, and some Classical vases), and rising from the plain of Marathon; and in the Theseion. The visit to the sea in the latter appears on Classical vases. Euphranor and Parrhasius painted Theseus. *Pausanias notes sculptures of Sciron (1. 3. 1), the Minotaur (1. 24. 1), the Marathonian bull (1. 27. 9–10), and Theseus in the Calydonian boarhunt (8. 45. 6).

KWA

Thessaly (see ◀ Map 1, Bb ▶), region of N. Greece, divided into the four *tetradēs* (districts) of Thessalitis, Hes-

tiaeotis, Pelasgiotis, and Phthiotis, along with the so-called perioecic (neighbouring) regions of Perrhaebia, Magnesia, Achaea Phthiotis, and Dolopia. Comprising two vast plains divided by the modern Revenia hills, Thessaly is enclosed by mountains (notably Olympus, Ossa, Pelion, Othrys, and Pindus) which, far from forming obstacles to communication with neighbours, are pierced by valleys and passes with the generic ancient name of *tempē*, by which, in all periods, travellers, merchants, and armies have reached the Thessalian plains. Thessaly has access to the sea only by the gulf of Pagasae, with its two neighbouring ports, the one in the bay of Volos, in antiquity successively Iolcus, Pagasai, and Demetrias, the other in the bay of Halmyrus (Pyrasus, or Demetrieum, absorbed c.300 BC into the city of Thebes in Achaea Phthiotis); a third port, Phalara near Lamia, was accessible to the Thessalians of the Spercheios valley. Thessaly has a continental climate, far more marked than in the coastal plains further south, with extremely fertile soils; it was rich in grain, horses, and other livestock, although its relative coolness precluded (with exceptions) cultivation of the vine and olive.

Over the last 50 years archaeology has greatly improved our knowledge of ancient Thessaly. Human activity is now attested from the end of the palaeolithic age, and the eastern plain was densely settled in the neolithic, with more than 400 sites so far known (see GREECE, PREHISTORY AND HISTORY OF (Stone Age)); in late Helladic times Mycenaean culture spread via Iolcus into the two plains and the peripheral mountains.

In the southern half of the eastern plain a population of pastoralists and peasant-farmers calling themselves *Thessaloi* (probably coming from the Balkans) gradually emerged with a distinctive identity based on Greek culture and a 'mixed' language, proto-Aeolian (see GREEK LANGUAGE). From c.1000 BC these Thessalians progressively took over more and more land, eventually coming to dominate (over the passage of almost 1,000 years) the two plains and also the surrounding mountains. The Thessalian *ethnos* early on formed itself into an organized state, with cities led by aristocratic families and grouped into a federation under the authority of a chief called *archos* or *archōn* (not *tagos*, as used to be thought).

Their military power first gave the Thessalians access to the Peneus basin and part of the eastern plain, as well as the southern regions of the Othrys range, the Spercheios valley, and the coasts of the Maliac Gulf; then central Greece. Winning control of the amphictiony (see DELPHI) formed by the population of these districts and based first at Anthela, then at *Delphi, the Thessalians were for a while a dominant power in

central Greece. But from c.600 BC they were forced to fall back on Thessaly proper. In the second half of the 6th cent. BC the Thessalian state was reorganized by Aleuas the Red, who created the four tetrads, each of four cities; the federal chief now received the title of tetrarch. Aleuas adapted the territories of each city for military mobilization by creating land-allotments (*klēroi*) controlled by the *tagoi*, officials charged with organizing the state's military units, and thus created an effective army.

In the 5th cent. BC the Thessalians strengthened their hold on Thessaly as a whole; of the population of the two plains a part was now integrated into the cities (which increased in number), the rest expelled to the mountains. Federal ties weakened following the rise to political and economic dominance over their neighbours of the cities of Larissa, Pherae, and Pharsalus. Urbanization progressed and wealth accumulated; aristocratic families engaged in their rivalries, but also were forced to cede to political pressure from ordinary citizens seeking a say in local government, which became progressively more democratic.

Inter-city rivalries worsened c.400 BC. The Aleuadae of Larissa directly opposed the tyrant Lycophron of Pherae with the help of the kings of Macedon, to whom they thereby gave the means of intervening in Thessaly. Lycophron's successor, Jason, sought to become master of all Thessaly, using the federal army; after initiating an important military reform (whence his title of *tagos*) he attempted to reassert federal power. After his assassination and the coming to power of Alexander in Pherae, internal wrangling brought Thessalian politics to a new low and facilitated the intervention of *Philip II of Macedon, who assumed control of the federation. Philip delegated his authority to his own appointees, four tetrarchs, through whom the submission of the Thessalians was assured. The Thessalian cavalry fought with distinction in Asia under *Alexander the Great, but in the Lamian War the Thessalians actively sided with the Greeks. In the 3rd cent. BC Thessaly was effectively partitioned, with some areas in Macedonian hands and others controlled by the Aetolian Confederacy; it now became a theatre for the military engagements of other powers, including, from the end of the century, the Romans.

The declaration of Greek freedom by *Flamininus in 196 BC ostensibly liberated the Thessalian cities, but Rome kept control of them. Enlarged after 146 BC and again under *Augustus to include the perioecic regions, the Thessalian federation survived as a Roman administrative tool until the end of the 4th cent. AD. *See also* MAGIC; ORPHEUS.

BH

Thucydides (*see following page*)

Tiberius (Tiberius Iulius Caesar Augustus), emperor (b. 16 November 42 BC; d. 16 Mar. AD 37) was the son of Tiberius Claudius Nero and *Livia. His mother Livia was divorced and married Octavian, the future *Augustus in 38 shortly before the birth of Tiberius' brother Nero Claudius Drusus. After public service in Spain with Augustus (Suet. *Tib.* 8), Tiberius was quaestor in 23 BC, five years earlier than normal. From 20 BC, when he crowned the Roman nominee Tigranes in Armenia, until AD 12, when he returned to Rome after retrieving the situation on the Rhine after the Varian disaster (AD 9; Publius Quinctilius Varus lost three legions), Tiberius' military career was uniformly successful. In 15 and 14 BC he completed with Drusus the conquest of the Alps; from *Agrippa's death in 12 until 9 BC he was reducing Pannonia; from Drusus' death to 7 BC and again from AD 4 to 6 he campaigned in Germany. Between AD 6 and 9 he was engaged in suppressing the revolts of Pannonia and Illyricum.

After Agrippa's death Tiberius divorced Vipsania Agrippina (the 'Elder Agrippina') to marry Augustus' daughter *Julia; their son died in infancy. After his second consulship (7 BC), Tiberius was granted tribunician power (*see* TRIBUNE OF THE PLEBS) and *imperium in the east for five years for a diplomatic mission, the restoration of Roman authority in Armenia, but the attempt to advance Augustus' grandson and adopted son Gaius Caesar to a premature consulship, made with or without the emperor's approval, helped provoke Tiberius' withdrawal to *Rhodes. He returned to Rome, still out of favour, in AD 2. By spring AD 4 both Augustus' adopted sons were dead and he adopted Tiberius, together with Agrippa Postumus, while Tiberius adopted his nephew *Germanicus. Tiberius received tribunician power for ten years, renewed in AD 13 for a further ten; concurrently he held proconsular *imperium*, in 13 made equal to that of Augustus.

When Augustus died in AD 14 Tiberius was thus in full power. The nature of the embarrassing 'accession debate' (Tac. *Ann.* 1. 10–13) of 17 September remains unclear: a fresh conferment of power, or a political discussion of the (less autocratic) form to be taken by the new Principate. Certainly, he abolished Augustus' advisory council (*consilium principis*), which in his last months had made authoritative decisions; matters came directly to the senate. Abroad, Tiberius' dislike of extravagant honours (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 37 f.) was tempered by precedent and a need to conciliate his subjects which could prevent him making his wishes clear, as to Gytheum in Laconia in AD 15 (EJ 102 (trans. D. Braund, *Augustus to Nero*, 31 B.C.–A.D. 68 (1985), 127)).

[continued on p. 790]

THUCYDIDES

Thucydides, author of the (incomplete) History of the War (Peloponnesian War) between Athens and Sparta, 431–404 BC, in eight books.

Life

He was born probably between 460 and 455 BC: he was general (*stratēgos*) in 424 (4. 104) and must then have been at least 30 years old; while his claim in 5. 26. 5 that he was of years of discretion from beginning to end of the war perhaps suggests that he was not much more than grown up in 431. He probably died about 400. He shows no knowledge of 4th-cent. events. The revival of Athenian sea power under Conon and Thrasylbulus, from 394 on, made the decision of Aegospotami (405: see ATHENS (HISTORY)) less decisive than it seemed to Thucydides (compare e.g. 5. 26. 1 with Xen. *Hell.* 5. 1. 35). Of the three writers who undertook to complete his History, only *Xenophon took his view that the story ended in 404 (or 401). *Theopompus took it down to 394, and so probably did Cratippus (Plut. *Mor.* 345d). If, as seems likely, the very respectable author Oxyrhynchus Historian is Cratippus, then both his work and Theopompus' are on a very much larger scale than Xenophon's, a scale like Thucydides' own. This fact, as well as considerations of language and outlook, makes it likely that Xenophon wrote his continuation (*Hell.* books 1–2) earlier than the others, and indeed, before the battle of Coronea in 394. But if this be so, then Thucydides cannot have lived more than a year or so into the 4th cent. Marcellinus, in his *Life*, ch. 34, says that Thucydides was 'over 50' when he died. If he was born about 455 and died about 400, this will be true. The figure may be from Cratippus, who evidently gave some biographical data: Marcellinus quotes him just before (33) for the view that Thucydides died in Thrace.

Thucydides, then, was part of that ardent youth whose abundance on both sides seemed to him to distinguish the war he wrote of. Something of his ardour may be felt in 2. 31: his pride in the soldier's profession and his devotion to the great commander, *Pericles.

He caught the *plague, some time between 430 and 427, but recovered, and in 424 failed in the task of saving Amphipolis from Brasidas. Not to have been a match for Brasidas does not prove him a bad soldier: from his history one receives the impression of a first-rate regimental officer, ashore or afloat, who saw war as a matter of style; perhaps his defence of the generals before Megara in 4. 73. 4 (cf. 108. 5) says worse of his judgement of problems of high command than his failure against Brasidas. He was exiled for this (424 winter) and returned twenty years later, after the war was over, and died within a few years.

He had property and influence in the mining district of Thrace (4. 105. 1). His father's name was Olorus (4. 104. 4), the name of Cimon's Thracian grandfather; his tomb was in Cimon's family vault. It is almost certain he was related by blood to Cimon, and probably to Thucydides son of Melesias, the statesman (*JHS* 1932, 210); born in the anti-Pericles opposition, he followed Pericles with a convert's zeal.

Parts of the history

The incomplete history falls into five parts: A, an introduction (book 1); B, the ten years war (2. 1–5. 24); C, the precarious peace (5. 25–end); D, the Sicilian War (6 and 7); E, fragment of the Decelean War (8). It is convenient to take first B and D, the two complete wars.

B is enclosed between two statements that 'the continuous war has herein been described'. It was therefore provisionally finished (if these are Thucydides' words). It contains one allusion to the fall of Athens (2. 65. 12) and several allusions to events late in the 27 years: these are no doubt additions made to an already existing narrative, since one passage certainly (2. 23. 3) was not written as late as the last decade of the century. The narrative gets rather more summary after Thucydides' exile (424): e.g. after the futile embassy to Artaxerxes I of *Persia (4. 50) nothing is said of the important negotiations with Darius II.

D is the most finished portion. As it stands it is adapted to a history of the whole war (6. 7. 4, 6. 93. 4, 7. 18. 4, cf. 7. 9 etc., also 7. 44. 1, 7. 87. 5), and twice at least refers to events of 404 or later (7. 57. 2, 6. 15. 3–4). But these may be revisions and it has been suggested that Thucydides published it separately; and this opinion, though little held now, is not disproved. B and D are connected by C, sequel to B and introduction to D, and provided accordingly with a second preface. For symptoms of incompleteness, see below. C covers five and a half years, very unequally. Its two outstanding features are the description of the Mantinea campaign, and the Melian Dialogue. The former should perhaps be

regarded, with B and D, as a third completed episode. The latter foreshadows the dramatic style of D; but if we read 5. 111 with 8. 27 we shall draw no facile moral (see 8. 27. 5).

E has the same symptoms of incompleteness as C and, moreover, stops abruptly in the middle of a narrative. It is very full, covering barely two years in its 109 chapters.

A consists of (1) 1. 1–23, a long preface, illustrating the importance of Thucydides' subject by comparison with earlier history (the so-called 'archaeology') and stating his historical principles; (2) the causes of the war—that is, for the most part, an account of the political manoeuvres of 433–432; he adds important digressions, especially 1. 89–117, a history of the years 479/8–440/39 (the so-called *pentekontaetia*), partly to illustrate his view that the war was an inevitable result of Athens' power, partly to make his history follow without interval on that of *Herodotus (1. 97. 2). The second motive perhaps explains the length of another digression (1. 128–38) on the fate of Pausanias the Spartan regent and of *Themistocles.

Incompleteness

E stops in mid-narrative, in winter 411: Thucydides intended to go down to 404 (5. 26. 1). It shares with (roughly) C two peculiarities, absence of speeches and presence of documents, which are thought to show incompleteness; for these see below. The plan to make of BCDE a continuous history of the 27 years is only superficially achieved, even to 411: e.g. there is nothing of Atheno–Persian relations between 424 and 412, vital though these were (2. 65. 12). We shall see below that Thucydides kept his work by him and revised continually; so he left double treatments of the same theme, one of which he meant no doubt to suppress—e.g. the tyrannicides, the killers of *Pisistratus' son Hipparchus (1. 20. 6. 54–59); possibly 1. 23. 1–3 is a short early variant of 1. 1–19; 3. 84 of part of 82–3 (E. Schwartz, *Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* (1919), 286 f.). It may be even suspected that 8. 82. 2 is a less accurately informed version of 86. 4–5 and the two have been merely harmonized by 85. 4. If this last suspicion were just, it would be good evidence that Thucydides' remains were put into shape by an editor, whose hand may be further suspected in the misplacement of 3. 17, in 1. 56–7 (whose author—as it stands—surely misconceived the course of events), perhaps even in 1. 118. 2 (where the last sentence seems to leap from the 450s to 432); an editorial hand has, indeed, been suspected wholesale. Though no single case is quite decisive, it is unlikely Thucydides left his unfinished work in need of no editing. If we look for an editor, one thinks naturally of Xenophon, who wrote the continuation (it seems) immediately after Thucydides' death; the suggestion was made in antiquity (Diog. Laert. 2. 57). His soldierly (if not his intellectual) qualities might commend him to Thucydides, but if it was indeed he, he worked with extreme piety, and his hand is very little apparent. Xenophon's limits and virtues alike disqualify him for the authorship of 1. 56–7.

Speeches and documents

Ancient craftsmen, and Thucydides notably, aimed at exactness; but in his speeches, Thucydides admits (1. 22. 1) that exactness was beyond his powers of memory. Here, then, as in reconstructing the far past (1. 20–1), he had to trust to his historical imagination, whose use generally he planned to avoid (*ὡς ἂν ἐδόκουν ἑμοὶ εἰπεῖν*, 'what I think they would have said': this meant applying to the speeches the sort of rationalizing schematism that, e.g., Hecataeus applied to *geography); and even here, he promises he will control its use as rigorously as he can by the tenor of the actual words. It is much debated whether he made this profession early or late; and it has been much explained away. But it is unreasonable to doubt that from the start Thucydides took notes himself, or sought for hearers' notes, of the speeches he considered important. But since he used speeches dramatically, to reveal the workings of men's minds and the impact of circumstance, it is clear that verbatim reports would not have served even if he could have managed to get them, and he was bound to compromise (unconsciously) between dramatic and literal truth. It is likely that, as his technique developed, dramatic truth would tend to prevail; it is tempting to put his profession of method early, a young man's intention. Even so, while we cannot suppose that, at a moment when morale was vital, Pericles used the words in 2. 64. 3; while it is unlikely that the Athenian debater at Melos developed exactly the same vein of thought as Phrynichus before Miletus (5. 111–8. 27); while Pericles' first speech (1. 140 ff.) is perhaps composite, and hard to assign to a single occasion; it is yet dangerous to treat the speeches as free fiction: their dramatic truth was combined with the greatest degree of literal truth of which Thucydides was capable. He tried to recreate real occasions.

There are no speeches in E, and (except the Melian Dialogue) none in C: Cratippus (a younger contemporary) says Thucydides had decided to drop their use. Modern critics treat their absence as a symptom of incompleteness; they would have been added had he lived. But it is possible that these parts without speeches are experiments in new techniques. Thucydides may have felt, as many readers do, that the narrative of the ten years is a compromise between the

methods of tragedy and of a laboratory notebook, so that between the profoundest issues and the particular detail, the middle ranges (e.g. an intelligible account of strategy) are neglected. In the later narrative the methods are more separated. The Sicilian War was capable of almost purely dramatic treatment; C and E evidently not. And in consequence in E at least a new technique is developed, less like either drama or chronicle, more of an organized narrative, with more of the writer's own judgements of values and interpretations of events. It is questionable if E would be improved by speeches, that is, could be profitably (or at all?) transformed into the style of B or D: was Cratippus perhaps right about Thucydides' intention?

This would not prevent some of the speeches in books 1–4 being composed (or revised) very late. The new experiment would not entail eliminating the dramatic from those books; Thucydides experimented to the end and never solved his problem. It is commonly thought that the Funeral Speech (2. 35 ff.) was written or rewritten after Athens' fall; and 2. 64. 3 surely was. The Corcyra debate (1. 31–44), on the contrary, has good chances of being an actual report, written up soon after delivery. Though some speeches aim at dramatic characterization (Gorgiastic (see GORGIAS), 4. 61. 7: Laconic i.e. Spartan, 1. 86), all are in Thucydides' idiom. But the personalness of this idiom is often overestimated (J. H. Finley, *Thucydides*² (1947)).

It is noteworthy that those portions which lack speeches have (instead?) transcriptions of documents: that is, E and (roughly speaking) C. (Not exactly C: C ends with the Melian Dialogue (which in colour belongs to D?) and B has documents instead of speeches in its latter part, i.e. after the occasion of Thucydides' exile.) If, then, we take C and E as experiments in a new method, the experiment begins in the latter part of B. These documents are usually thought (like the absence of speeches) a sign of incompleteness, since they offend against a 'law of style' which forbids the verbatim use of foreign matter in serious prose. We need not debate the general validity of this law: with so inventive a writer as Thucydides, his laws of style are to be deduced from his practice, and 5. 24. 2 (cf. 2. 1) suggests that the end of B is provisionally finished. Are they part of the experiment? One may be surprised (though grateful) that Thucydides thought the full text of the Armistice (4. 118–19) worth its room. One of the documents (5. 47) is extant in fragments (*IG* 1³. 83) and confirms the substantial accuracy of the copies. One conflicts gravely with the narrative (5. 23, 5. 39. 3): it would seem the narrative was written in ignorance of the exact terms, and has not been revised.

'Early' and 'Late'

Thucydides says (1. 1. 1) he began to write his history as soon as war started; and it is at least arguable that much of the existing narrative, in all five parts of the work, was written, substantially as we have it, very soon after the events. But he worked slowly, and, as he says at 1. 22. 3, laboriously; correcting in the light of better information (we only detect this process where it is incomplete; e.g. 5. 39. 3 was due for correction in the light of 5. 23) or of later events (1. 97. 2; 4. 48. 5, where the qualification *ὄσα γέ* may have been put merely *ex abundantia cautela*, from excess of caution, but more likely when the troubles started again in 410). If his point of view, or his method, changed materially during this process, it becomes of importance to know from which point of view this or that portion is written. More than a century ago, Ullrich called attention to this, believing that an important change of approach came with his discovery (announced in the second preface, 5. 26) that the war had not ended in 421.

Two criteria have been used to determine earliness or lateness: (a) reference to, or ignorance of, datable events or conditions; (b) the stage in Thucydides' own development which a passage reveals.

(a) References to late events cannot be written early, but they may be inserted in early contexts: e.g. those who think D early regard 6. 15. 3–4 and 7. 57. 2 as additions. Ignorance of late events is very much harder to establish: those same who think D early may suspect in 6. 41. 3 ignorance of *Dionysius I's tyranny, or even (a very slippery question) in 6. 54. 1 ignorance of Herodotus' history—but cannot prove their suspicions; yet where such ignorance is certain (see below), we may be sure that the narrative (or line of thought) which warrants them was conceived early. The results of this method are modest: e.g. (1) 1. 10. 2 was not written after the catastrophe of 404: therefore the war against which earlier wars are being measured is not the completed 27 years, and the 'end of war' mentioned in 1. 13. 3–4, 1. 18. 1, is presumably 421; (2) 2. 23. 3 was not written after the loss of Oropus in 411: therefore some of the narrative of B was written much as we have it before 411; (3) 2. 65. 12 refers to the fall of Athens: therefore B received additions down to 404 at least.

(b) More has been hoped from the second method. Thucydides worked from his 20s to his 50s, his material growing under his eyes: there must surely be some intellectual or spiritual growth, some change of outlook. The best exponent of this method is E. Schwartz, who gives (*Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* (1919), 217–42) an eloquent

account of Thucydides' growth. The danger of this method is evident: in the ablest hands it yields quite different results (Meyer, Schwartz), and its first postulate may be doubted, namely, that Thucydides' opinion on the 'true cause' of the war (1. 23. 6) was not formed till after the fall of Athens. No doubt that was his view after 404; no doubt 1. 23. 6 and 1. 88 were written (inserted?) pretty late. But much the same view is expressed by the Corcyran envoy in 1. 33. 3 (cf. 42. 2); and whether the envoy said it or not it was surely Pericles' view. Pericles believed that if Athens used her opportunity in 433 she was bound to provoke in Sparta an enmity that must be faced; all his career, against Cimon and his successors, he had fought for his conviction that Athens and Sparta were natural enemies and Greece not large enough for both. His admirers held that this clear principle (1. 140. 1) was obscured in debate by the irrelevant particulars (1. 140. 4–141. 1). We have not to consider whether Pericles was right: rather, the effect on Thucydides. The devout disciple saw the story unfold in the terms his master had foreseen (2. 65). How far such a 'Pericles-fixation' may have warped Thucydides' judgement, see below.

If this first postulate go, the second will follow it, namely that only after 404 was Pericles given the importance he now has in books 1–2, since after 404 Thucydides started to rewrite his History as a 'defence of Pericles' (Schwartz 239). It hardly needs to be said that many hold to these postulates and the present writer's disbelief is as subjective as their belief. If these are untrue, truer postulates may be found: the attempt to recreate Thucydides' experience should (and will) never be dropped.

Truthfulness

Perhaps no good historian is impartial; Thucydides certainly not, though singularly candid. His tastes are clear: he liked Pericles and disliked Cleon. He had for Pericles a regard comparable to Plato's for *Socrates and an equal regard for Pericles' Athens. These things were personal: but in principle, concentrations of energy (like Athens or *Alcibiades) were to his taste. Their impact on a less dynamic world was likely to be disastrous—but whose fault was that? The world's, he says, consistently (1. 99; 1. 23. 6 etc.; 6. 15; 6. 28; cf. 2. 64. 3–5): and though this consistency may surprise us, we need not quarrel with it. Such judgements are rare, since Thucydides conceives his task as like medical research (see below, and cf. 3. 82. 2) where blame is irrelevant; the disconcerting simplicity of 2. 64. 3 (power and energy are absolute goods) is the more striking.

We need not here investigate Thucydides' possible mistakes. The present writer believes that Pericles (having planned an offensive war) lost his striking power, first because Potidaea revolted, next because of the plague. Forced to the defensive, he left that as his testament. Thucydides was reluctant to face the fact of this failure, and accepted the testament, siding with the defeatist officer class against the revived offensive of Cleon (4. 27. 5, 28. 5, 65. 4, 73. 4; cf. 5. 7. 2). This is why Pericles' huge effort against Epidaurus (6. 31. 2; motive, cf. 5. 53) is recorded as a minor futility (2. 56. 4); why Phormio's first campaign in Acarnania (2. 68. 7–9; of 432?) is left timeless; why we hear nothing of the purpose of the Megara decree; why, when that nearly bore fruit at last, Thucydides suggests that the capture of Megara was of no great moment (4. 73. 4; but cf. 72. 1).

Such criticisms hardly detract much from his singular truthfulness. Readers of all opinions will probably agree that he saw more truly, inquired more responsibly, and reported more faithfully than any other ancient historian. That is a symptom of his greatness, but not its core. Another symptom is his style: it is innocent of those clichés of which *Isocrates hoped to make the norm of Attic style; in its 'old-fashioned wilful beauty' (*Dionysius of Halicarnassus) every word tells. Like English prose before Dryden and Addison, it uses a language largely moulded by poets: its precision is a poet's precision, a union of passion and candour. After Thucydides history mostly practised the corrupting art of persuasion (cf. Isoc. 4. 8): his scientific tradition survived in the antiquarians, of whom he is the pioneer (1. 8. 1, 2. 15. 2, 3. 104. 4–6, 6. 55. 1), but the instinctive exactness of early Greek observation was lost. To combine his predecessors' candour of vision with his successors' apparatus of scholarship was a necessity laid on him by his sense of the greatness of his subject: he could no more distort or compromise with what he wished to convey than Shakespeare or Michelangelo could.

Thucydides would no doubt prefer to substitute, for these great names, the practice of any honest doctor. He was not modest, but in his statement of his principles he is singularly unaware of his unique equipment, and claims rather that he has spared no pains. The proper context for this statement (1. 20–2) is, first, his very similar statement about his own account of the plague (2. 48. 3), and then the physician Hippocrates' maxim, 'ars longa vita brevis'. The 'art' which outlasts individual lives is the scientific study of man: the physician studied his clinical, Thucydides his political, behaviour. To know either so well that you can control it (and civilization is largely made up of such controls) is a task for many generations: a piece of that task well done is something gained for ever (1. 22. 4).

Style

In a famous sentence (*Thuc.* 24) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives as the four 'tools' in Thucydides' workshop τὸ ποιητικὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων, τὸ πολυειδές τῶν σχημάτων, τὸ τραχὺ τῆς ἁρμονίας, τὸ τάχος τῶν σημασιῶν, 'poetical vocabulary, great variety of figures, harshness of word-order, swiftness in saying what he has to say'. The first, third, and fourth of these criticisms are undoubtedly true. Thucydides' style has a poetical and archaic flavour (it is often difficult to distinguish clearly between the two), as a reader sees at once when he turns from Thucydides to *Andocides and *Lysias. His consistent use of αἰεί for ἀεί, ξύν for σύν, and σσ for ττ is one of the signs of this tendency. 'Roughness' is to be seen in his bold changes of construction and his violent hyperbata, in which he wrests an emphatic word from its natural place in the sentence to give it more prominence (1. 19 κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν, 1. 93. 4 τῆς θαλάσσης). 'Speed' is perhaps the most striking of all his characteristics. He achieves an extreme concision, hardly to be paralleled in Greek prose except in the gnomic utterances of Democritus. A sentence like δοκεῖ... καταστροφή (2. 42. 2) is gone in a flash, and no orator, composing for the ear, could have risked such brevity. At 2. 37. 1 (μέτεστι... προτιμάται) two antitheses are telescoped into one. τὸ πολυειδές τῶν σχημάτων is much more open to question, especially as Dionysius has just before credited Thucydides with the use of the θεατρικὰ σχήματα (pariosis (balance of clauses), paronomasia (play on words), and antithesis) affected by *Gorgias and other writers of the sophistic school (see SOPHISTS). Thucydides' thought is, it is true, markedly antithetical in cast (e.g. 1. 70. 6), and antithesis is sometimes strained (e.g. 2. 43. 3). But, unlike the Gorgianists, he has no affection for merely external antithesis, and he often deliberately avoids formal balance (e.g. 4. 59. 2). He eschews almost entirely certain other common adornments of style. He is too austere to use metaphor at all freely, or asyndeton (more suited to the spoken word). He does employ certain devices of assonance, neither, like Gorgias, as ἡδύσματα, nor, like Demosthenes, for emphasis pure and simple, but for the emphasizing of a contrast (3. 82. 8 εὐσεβεία... εὐπρεπεία, 6. 76. 2 κατοικίσαι... ἐξοικίσαι, 76. 4 ἀξυνετωτέρου... κακοξυνετωτέρου). He has a strong leaning, as Dionysius observed (*Amm.* 2. 5), towards abstract expression (e.g. 3. 82-3), sometimes carried to the length of personification (πόλεμος 1. 122. 1, ἐλπὶς 5. 103. 1). He probably coined abstracts (especially in -σις) freely, as *Euripides did, according to the fashion of the late 5th cent., and sometimes used them out of season (7. 70. 6 ἀποστέρησιν, and the odd-looking negated abstracts, 1. 137. 4 οὐ διάλυσον, etc.). Like *Antiphon, he experimented freely with the use of neuter adjective, or even participle (1. 142. 8 ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι), to convey an abstract idea. His periods are usually loosely constructed (e.g. 3. 38. 4-7), of clauses longer in actual words, and far richer in content, than those of other Greek prose-writers (e.g. 2. 43. 2-6). JDD

[The above entry by Wade-Gery and Denniston, which goes back essentially to the first edition of the big *OCD* of 1949, and was more or less reproduced in the 2nd edn. of 1970, is an established classic, and it seems an impertinence to attempt to replace it. But merely to reprint it would be unhelpful, when Thucydides has been so intensively worked on. What follows is therefore a sketch of work on Thucydides since the 2nd edn. of 1970.]

The most noticeable feature of Thucydidean scholarship since 1970 is the move away from preoccupation with the 'composition question' (the identification of layers of the History, with attempts to date them) to study of Thucydides' text as a complete literary whole. There is a parallel here with the move in Homeric scholarship (see HOMER) over the same period away from 'analytical' approaches and towards a 'unitarian' interest in the architecture of the two great poems. Of the 1970 Thucydides bibliography (not reprinted here), it is striking how many items addressed themselves to questions of composition, a topic to which Wade-Gery's *OCD* article was itself an influential contribution. One discussion which appeared just too late for the 2nd edn. was the relevant section of O. Luschkat's 1970 *RE* survey. The related question, whether Thucydides' work was finished, has continued to attract study, notably in Andrewes's contribution to the final (1981) volume of A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, *HCT*, with the reply by H. Erbse, *Thukydidesinterpretationen* (1989). (See also ch. 5 of Dover, *Greece and Rome New Survey* no. 7 (1973), an admirable general survey of Thucydides.) And H. H. Rawlings III, *The Structure of Thucydides' History* (1981) has speculated about the possible content of the unwritten books 9 and 10. But even this was part of a wider attempt to detect patterning within the larger existing structure.

It would be absurd, in view of F. M. Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* (1907), to claim that the present generation is the first to repudiate 'positivism' and treat Thucydides as a literary text to which methods used on tragedy and epic could be applied; but Cornford was missing from the bibliography in both the 1949 and 1970 editions of this dictionary. Perhaps the trouble was that he also gave hospitality to an anachronistically modernizing thesis about the causes of the Peloponnesian War. A notable absentee from the 1970 edition, which carried items as late as 1970 itself, was H.-P. Stahl, *Thukydides: Die Stellung des Menschen im geschichtlichen Prozess* (1966), a book which allotted as much

space to narrative as to speeches (now translated, with two additional chapters, as *Thucydides: Man's Place in History* (2002)). And H. Strasburger's studies of the 1950s (collected now in Strasburger, *Studien zur alten Geschichte* (1982)) deserved inclusion in 1970 for their insistence on Thucydides' Homeric aspect, as did H. Kitto, *Poiesis* (1966) for its examination of Thucydides' tragic effects. Moving on to the post-1970 era proper, V. Hunter in 1973 set the tone for two decades by her title of her book *Thucydides the Artful Reporter*; Herodotus had for centuries found himself periodically in the pillory for alleged distortion and invention, but Thucydides' authoritative and apparently scientific manner had usually been respected. Now it was suggested that Thucydides might simply have made things up, particularly his imputations of motive. This approach was also pursued by C. Schneider, *Information und Absicht bei Thukydides* (1974). (Cf. below on the narratological problem of 'restricted access.') Historical as well as historiographic aspects are affected: thus whereas G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (1972) had sought to justify Thucydides (and threw in an excellent introductory section on Thucydidean methodology), E. Badian, *From Plataea to Potidaea* (1993), a collection of essays going back to the 1980s, is in complete contrast, an acute demonstration by a historian of the consequences of distrusting Thucydides.

Now the lid was off. One way of going further was to challenge the premiss that ancient historiography had pretensions to being an exact or any sort of science: perhaps (A. J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography* (1988)) it was merely a branch of rhetoric with a different aim from factual description; perhaps, indeed, the 'facts' are nothing of the sort. (This is not just an 'ancient' problem; but enough documentary evidence exists to control Thucydides and reassure us that there was indeed a Peloponnesian War.)

Another more acceptable approach has been to disregard the signs of incompleteness in Thucydides and insist in post-modern fashion (W. R. Connor, *CJ* 1977) on the autonomy of the text: whatever the authorial intention, we have a long speech-punctuated narrative of Greek prose containing patterns, significant repetitions, ring-composition, etc. See Connor, *Thucydides* (1984), but cf. also S. Hornblower, *Thucydides* (1987) for an attempt to combine literary criteria with recognition of the composition problem.

The detailed work of Colin Macleod (*Collected Essays* (1983)) deserves a special word; there has been no finer treatment of the rhetoric of the Thucydidean speeches. On rhetorical issues, note also W. K. Pritchett's excellent *Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Thucydides* (1975).

More recently still narratology has been tried on Thucydides. Narratology is nothing more frightening than the study of a branch of rhetoric, specifically of the principles underlying narrative texts. First used on modern, then on ancient, novels, it was applied in 1987 to Homer by I. de Jong (*see HOMER; LITERARY THEORY AND CLASSICAL STUDIES; NARRATIVE*), who demonstrated how narratology can help us see how Homer achieves his famously objective manner. The technique has been most fully applied to Thucydides by T. Rood, *Thucydides: Narrative and Explanation* (1998), but see already the short essay by W. R. Connor in M. Jameson (ed.), *The Greek Historians* (Raubitschek Festschrift) (1985), using, however, the term 'narrative discourse' not narratology. Some narratological terms and insights are familiar to Thucydideans under other names; e.g. 'restricted access' means the difficulty encountered by a non-omniscient narrator interested in an agent's motives. The usual response, e.g. in messenger speeches in tragedy (and in Thucydides?) is for the narrator silently to assume an omniscient pose. But the greatest narratological weapon has been focalization, i.e. the point of view or perspective from which an event is described. Choice of Homeric (and Thucydidean?) vocabulary can sometimes be explained by the wish to present events or express emotions from a certain standpoint, which may or may not be that of the author rather than that of the imagined or historical agent. (K. J. Dover, *The Greeks and their Legacy* 2 (1988), 74 ff. has ingeniously pointed to one purely linguistic way of determining whether a motive reflects Thucydides' own view or that of an agent.) Again, all this is not quite new: in the 18th cent. Adam Smith in lectures on rhetoric distinguished between 'direct' and 'indirect' narration. And H. D. Westlake, *Studies in Thucydides and Greek History* (1989), ch. 14 shows that problems of 'personal motives in Thucydides' can be usefully studied in very plain language. There is much work still to be done, but provided it is recognized that there was a relation between what Thucydides says and a real world which existed in the 5th cent. BC, only good can come of the recognition that his text is susceptible to literary 'close reading'.

The broad trends indicated above do not at all exhaust recent Thucydidean work. There have been commentaries on book 2 by J. S. Rusten (1988: markedly linguistic) and books 2–5.24 by P. J. Rhodes (1988: markedly historical) which illuminate by exact methods traditionally applied, as does the outstanding monograph of K. Maurer, *Interpolation in Thucydides* (1995). On Thucydides' reception, see R. Nicolai in J. Rusten (ed.), *Thucydides* (2009), ch. 17 and S. Hornblower, *Thucydidean Themes* (2010), ch. 15. Otherwise monographs and articles have explored Thucydides' treatment or non-treatment of particular themes such as chance and intelligence (L. Edmunds, *Chance and*

Intelligence in Thucydides (1975)), *ΑΝΑΓΚΗ* (M. Ostwald, *ΑΝΑΓΚΗ in Thucydides* (1988)), religion, esp. Delphi (S. Hornblower, *Thucydidean Themes* (2010), ch. 1 and 2), money (L. Kallet-Marx, *Money, Expense and Naval Power in Thucydides' History 1–5. 24* (1993) and L. Kallet, *Money, Rhetoric and the Corrosion of Power in Thucydides* (2001)), the tradition of funeral orations (J. Ziolkowski, *Thucydides and the Tradition of the Funeral Oration at Athens* (1981), N. Loraux, *The Invention of Athens* (1986)), and his indebtedness to Herodotus (C. Pelling, in M. Flower and M. Toher (eds.), *Georgica* (1991); S. Hornblower, *Comm. on Thuc.* vol. 2 (1996) 19–38, 122–45). This survey may end with the suggestion that two areas still needing more work are Thucydides' detailed intertextual relation to Homer and to Herodotus.

SH

Tiberius respected Augustus and exploited his memory when taking unpopular steps (Tac. *Ann.* 1. 14. 6–15. 1). In dealing with the Germans he followed the policy of containing the empire that Augustus laid down in his political testament (Tiberius may have helped to draft it). This conflicted with the views of Germanicus, who was recalled in AD 16. Augustus' methods of coping with Britain and Armenia were also followed: on his mission to the east (AD 17–19) Germanicus established another Roman nominee in Armenia, who survived successfully until 35; further negotiations, backed up by the threat of force, were conducted by Lucius Vitellius. Tiberius did not shrink from annexing dependent monarchies: Germanicus took over Commagene and Cappadocia, which made it possible to halve the Roman sales tax.

Two innovations in provincial administration are credited to Tiberius: prorogations of governors, and governorships in absence. Both were due to a shortage of satisfactory candidates, deplored by Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 6. 27). The second was clearly deleterious and the first kept some poor governors in office (e.g. Pontius Pilatus in Judaea).

The most notorious feature of Tiberius' principate was the incidence of trials before the senate (introduced by Augustus), some *extra ordinem* (Marcus Scribonius Libo Drusus in 16; *Sejanus in 31), most for diminishing the majesty (*maiestas*) of the Roman people, the emperor, his family, or other notables, by whatever means, however trivial; at first some were discouraged by the emperor (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1. 73 f.). That of Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, also accused in AD 20 of extortion and of poisoning Germanicus, is documented not only in Tac. *Ann.* 3. 8–19, but in the decree embodying the senate's decisions and approved by the emperor (W. Eck and others, *SC de Cn. Pisone patre* (1996)), which affords an unappetizing insight into the atmosphere of the reign.

Tiberius' reign opened with army mutinies, soon suppressed; the revolt in Gaul (AD 21; see GAUL (TRANSALPINE)) was minor. Two factors undermined his

principate. Tiberius inherited a poor military and economic situation: the German war was unprofitable; politicians were short of cash and were resorting to prosecutions to obtain it (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2. 34), there was unrest at Rome due to grain shortages, and provincials were chafing under tax burdens (cf. the revolt of 21). Tiberius' answers (gifts to individuals, treasury disbursements when senators became unable to pay their debts in 33 (Tac. *Ann.* 6, 16 f.), and public economy), were inadequate, and his marked frugality (though personally generous, he built little, and gave donations and games sparingly) increased his unpopularity.

Second, there had been family jealousy since 7 BC, and the people and many senators favoured his stepsons. Rivalry after AD 4 led to the downfall of Agrippa Postumus and his adherents. Feared by former opponents, Tiberius could not make politicians trust his *moderatio* (moderation) and *clementia* (clemency). They looked forward to the succession of Germanicus (Tiberius was 55 in AD 14). On his death in AD 19 and that of Tiberius' son Drusus Iulius Caesar in 23 the succession question opened up again, with the sons of Germanicus pitted against Sejanus, who seems to have supported Drusus' surviving son Tiberius Iulius Caesar Nero Gemellus. Instead of confronting the problem, Tiberius, encouraged by Sejanus, retired to Campania and then to Capreae (mod. Capri: AD 27), never to enter Rome again. While he was at the mercy of Sejanus and his freedmen, the struggle went on at Rome, until Nero Iulius Caesar and Drusus Iulius Caesar and their mother Vipsania Agrippina were disgraced (AD 29–30) and Tiberius was given evidence that Sejanus was attempting the downfall of Germanicus' youngest son *Gaius (31; Suet. *Tib.* 61), who then became the only likely successor. A purge of Sejanus' followers (and of supporters of Gemellus and rivals of Gaius' chief aide Macro) continued until Tiberius' death on 16 March 37, which was greeted with rejoicing.

Tacitus delivers a favourable verdict on Tiberius' principate down to Sejanus' ascendancy; the five 'ages' ending with a death are another device for moving from promising

beginning to disastrous end, like the hypocrisy (*dissimulatio*) also imputed to him.

Tiberius was a forceful orator, a poet (neoteric), a connoisseur, and perhaps a Sceptic (he was careless of religious ritual); he kept his intellect and relish for irony (Philon, *Leg.* 142; Tac. *Ann.* 6. 6). Stories of vice on Capreae (and *Rhodes) may be discounted; real defects, a cultivated sense of superiority, relentlessness and lack of affability, meditated ambiguity of language, remained.

JPB/BML

Tibullus, Albius, born between 55 and 48 BC. A short Life, possibly derived from *Suetonius, tells us that he was good-looking (cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1. 4. 6) and well-dressed; also that he was of equestrian rank (see *EQUITES*) and won *dona militaria* (military awards) on campaign in Aquitania. The Life is preceded by an epigram of Domitius Marus, which fixes the date of Tibullus' death in 19 BC.

Tibullus implies that his patrimony was diminished, possibly, like that of *Propertius, by Octavian's confiscations of 41–40 BC (1. 1. 19–22, 41–2; see *AUGUSTUS; PROSCRIPTION*), though other explanations are possible (e.g. later land confiscations of 36 or 31 BC, extravagance of his father, cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.105–11). However, *paupertas* is a literary topos and neither he nor Propertius was reduced to economic dependence. *Horace indeed suggests that he was well-off, and possessed a *villa at Pedum (c.32 km. (20 mi.) E. of Rome) between Tibur and Praeneste (*Epist.* 1. 4; cf. *Odes* 1. 33). Tibullus did not belong to the literary circle of *Maecenas, but rather his patron was Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus. He set out to the east in Messalla's entourage, but fell ill at Corcyra and returned to Italy (1. 3). He also served under Messalla in Aquitania (1. 7. 9 and Life).

Of the three books of Tibullus, referred to as the *Corpus Tibullianum*, only the first two belong to Tibullus himself. The dates of publication are uncertain: book 1 refers to Messalla's triumph (25 September 27 BC), book 2 to the installation of his son as one of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, a college of fifteen men whose job it was to look after certain ritual texts (this happened perhaps not long before Tibullus' death). It seems likely that Tibullus' first book appeared after Propertius' first, but before the completion of Propertius' second. Propertius 2. 5. 25 ff. seems a retort to Tibullus 1. 10. 61 ff. (on the question of the acceptability of violence in love-affairs).

Tibullus' first book deals with his love for a mistress, Delia (1, 2, 3, 5, 6); uniquely for Latin elegy it professes comparable devotion to a boy, Marathus, too (4, 8, 9). Apuleius tells us that Delia existed and that her name was Plania (*Apol.* 10). We need not doubt this, though her attributes (and those of Marathus) seem pretty conven-

tional. Book 2 celebrates a different mistress, whom the poet calls Nemesis (3, 4, 6), a mercenary character who in many ways represents the antithesis of Delia. Nothing certain can be said about the social status of any of these lovers (but for Delia cf. 1. 6. 68, which shows that she is not a *matrona*).

Tibullus, like Propertius, expresses the belief that love must be his life's occupation (e.g. 1. 1. 55–60.), and, like Propertius, he claims love to be his *militia* (1. 1. 75–6.), in spite of his actual forays into the world of action (1. 3. 1–3, 1. 7. 9); like Propertius too he presents himself as the slave of his lovers (1. 5. 5–6., 1. 9. 21–2, 2. 4. 1–4.). In his use both of military and servile figures Tibullus is more specific than Propertius, including, for example, a willingness to undergo servile punishments, and some scholars detect in them an intended, almost Ovidian humour (cf. *OVID*).

Unlike Propertius, Tibullus makes virtually no use of mythology (but cf. the extended myth of Admetus and Apollo at 2. 3. 11–28). Tibullus' impossible dream in book 1 is that Delia will join him in his country estate to enjoy a rural idyll (esp. 1. 5. 21–34.). Tibullus' aspirations to live the country life, expressed in more than one poem, separate him from the urban *Catullus, Propertius, and Ovid. This viewpoint, however, changes in the poems addressed in a more Ovidian spirit to Nemesis in book 2.

Apart from the love poems, books 1 and 2 contain poems in honour of Messalla (1. 7, 2. 5), an elegy on the blessings of peace (1. 10), and a representation of a rustic festival (2. 1). Book 2's six poems amount to only just over 400 lines, but echoes of 1. 1 in 2. 6 point to intentional ring composition and argue against the view that the book was incomplete.

The third book is a collection of poems from the circle of Messalla. It begins with six elegies by Lygdamus, and also contains the *Panegyricus Messallae*, five poems on the love of Sulpicia for Cerinthus (known as the Garland of Sulpicia), and six short poems by Sulpicia herself. The book concludes with an elegy purportedly by Tibullus (3. 19. 13), but probably from a later date, and an anonymous epigram.

In Quintilian's view, Tibullus was the most 'refined and elegant' of the Roman elegists (10. 1. 93). The judgement is justified by the smooth construction and careful choice of vocabulary which lend his poems a sophisticated simplicity not found in the other elegists.

The almost total loss of Cornelius Gallus makes it difficult to estimate Tibullus' originality, but it was probably considerable. Ovid's debt to Tibullus is acknowledged in his elegy on his death, *Amores* 3.9. ROAML/RMA

Timaheus of Tauromenium (mod. Taormina) in *Sicily, c.350–260 BC, the most important western Greek

historian; son of Andromachus, the dynast who re-founded Tauromenium in 358. Andromachus gave Timoleon (see SICILY §5) a warm welcome in 345 and lent him his support (T 3). Timaeus was exiled in c.315 probably on account of his hostility towards the tyrant Agathocles after he had captured Tauromenium (fr. 124d) and spent at least 50 years of his exile at Athens (fr. 34), where he studied under Philiscus of Miletus, a pupil of *Isocrates (T 1), and wrote his great work of history. It is conceivable that he returned to Sicily in c.265 but not certain. Timaeus died, allegedly at the age of 96 (T 5), shortly after 264 (see below).

Works

1. *Olympionikai*: a synchronic list of Olympian victors, Spartan kings and ephors (magistrates), the Athenian *archontes* (see LAW AND PROCEDURE, ATHENIAN), and the priestesses of *Hera in Argos (Polyb. 12. 11. 1 = T 11, frs. 125–8). Thereafter it became standard practice to date historical events by the years of the Olympian Games; see TIME-RECKONING. 2. (*Sikelikai*) *Historiai* = *Sicilian History* in 38 books from mythical times to the death of Agathocles 289/8 (T 6–8). He also wrote a ‘separate account’ on the ‘(Roman) Wars against Pyrrhus’ and the events until the epochal year 264 (T 9), where *Polybius’ history starts, ‘a *fine Timaei*’ (from where Timaeus left off) (cf. Polyb. 1. 5. 1; 39. 8. 4 = T 6).

The arrangement is known only in outline: the five books of the introduction (*prokataskēuē*) dealt with the *geography and ethnography of the west and accounts of ‘colonies, the foundation of cities, and their relations’ (T 7). Books 6–15 contained the earlier history of Sicily until *Dionysius I’s accession to power in 406/5; books 16–33 treated the tyranny of Dionysius I and II (406/5–344/3) and events down to Agathocles. The last five books 34–8 were devoted to the history of Agathocles (T 8). The work is known through 164 fragments, the extensive use made of it by *Diodorus Siculus (4–21 for the Sicilian passages), and Polybius’ criticism in book 12.

Characteristics

1. *Subject matter*: Timaeus did not restrict his treatment to Sicily but dealt with the whole west including Carthage. Most importantly he was the first Greek historian to give a comprehensive if summary account of Roman history until 264 (T 9b). Hence Aulus *Gellius (NA 2. 1. 1 = T 9c) even talks of ‘historical works which Timaeus wrote in Greek on the history of the Roman people’. 2. *Conception of history*: Timaeus took an extremely broad view of history, including myth, geography, ethnography, political and military events, culture, religion, marvels, and *paradoxa* (the unexpected or unbelievable).

3. *Sicilian patriotism*: Timaeus frequently distorted events in favour of the Siceliots (fr. 94) and conversely wrote less favourably about the Athenians and Carthaginians (on the Sicilian expedition, cf. K. Meister, *Gymnasium* 1970, 508 ff.); he always emphasized the contribution of the western Greeks to Greek intellectual life (e.g. *Pythagoras, frs. 12 ff., 131 f.; Empedocles, frs. 14, 134; *Gorgias, fr. 137). 4. *Hatred of tyrants*: Timaeus, a conservative aristocrat, distorted not only the historical picture of Agathocles, who had exiled him (fr. 124), but also of other tyrants, e.g. Hiero I and Dionysius I (frs. 29, 105). 5. *Historical classification of his work*: Timaeus’ work displays rhetorical, tragic, and ‘pragmatic’ (frs. 7, 151) features (cf. Polyb. 12. 25; frs. 22, 31) in equal proportion, hence it is an excellent example of the early blend of different kinds of historiography. 6. *Historical criticism*: Timaeus was the first Greek historian critically to appraise almost all of his predecessors, historians and other writers alike. He frequently went too far, which earned him the nickname *Epitimaeus* (‘slanderer’); he was first so called by Ister (T 1, 11, 16). He was especially vehement in the attacks on his immediate predecessor Philistus (fr. 38, T 18, fr. 154).

Timaeus in turn was criticized by Polybius (book 12) for factual errors, his harsh criticism, and his historical methods (mere book-learning, want of autopsy, lack of political and military experience).

Timaeus was ‘the most important historian between *Ephorus and Polybius’ and became ‘the standard authority on the history of the Greek West for nearly five centuries’ (Pearson). Of Greek authors he was used by e.g. *Callimachus, *Lycophron, Eratosthenes, Agatharchides, Polybius, Posidonius, *Diodorus Siculus, *Strabo, and *Plutarch; of Roman writers by Q. Fabius Pictor, *Cato the Elder, *Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, *Ovid, and Aulus Gellius. The writings of Ister (T 10), Polemon of Ilium (T 26) in reaction to his work as well as Polybius, book 12, bear witness to Timaeus’ great impact on historiography. See also HISTORIOGRAPHY, GREEK; HISTORIOGRAPHY, HELLENISTIC. KM

timber was a valuable economic product in Greece and Rome. Many Mediterranean lands were forested in ancient times, but these timber stands were drastically reduced by human exploitation and by the grazing of animals, especially goats. The Mediterranean climate is capable of sustaining forests so long as they are intact, but once the trees are cut, the combination of marginal rainfall and grazing animals makes forest regeneration difficult, if not impossible. In general, the history of timber supplies is one of gradual depletion, with little effort in antiquity to replant harvested lands. Only in those areas of continental rainfall conditions which lie at

some distance from dense human settlement (e.g. the mountains of *Macedonia) have forests survived into modern times. Thus lacking much apparent physical correlation between modern scrubland and ancient forests we are dependent upon references in the ancient authors (e.g. Theophrastus and *Pliny the Elder) for a description of the location and abundance of ancient timberland. Moreover, recent advances in palaeobotany as an archaeological tool have assisted in locating and describing some ancient forests not otherwise known to us. For example, *Cyprus was quite heavily forested from the central Troodos mountains down to its shorelines. Cypriot cedars of Lebanon and tall pines were much in demand for heavy construction and shipbuilding. The clearing of forest land for a variety of common uses (see below) was compounded in Cyprus by the extensive use of wood as fuel for the island's renowned smelting of copper. The result was the virtually complete stripping of the island of its famous forest cover. Much of the timberland in Cyprus today is the result of modern reforestation.

With the growth and spread of the human population throughout the Mediterranean in antiquity, there were commensurate pressures on forest lands. They were cleared for conversion to agriculture, wood was harvested for fuel—either to be burned directly or to be converted into charcoal—and used for furniture, tools, and other domestic needs. Coniferous tall timbers—which were light and strong—were used for the construction of private and public buildings and ships. With the disappearance of nearby forests by late prehistoric times, the timber-starved cities of the Mediterranean turned further afield for their supplies. Beginning in the Classical period, the main sources were Macedonia and Thrace (especially for the pines and oaks necessary for shipbuilding, oars, and pitch), Achaea, parts of *Crete and Cyprus, the south coast of the Black (Euxine) Sea, Cilicia, the mountains of the Levant, southern *Italy, and *Sicily.

As tall timbers became scarcer, the competition among Greek city-states for remaining supplies increased. For example, when the forest products of Achaea were denied to Athens because of depletion and politics, the Athenians turned increasingly to Macedonia, as several surviving inscriptions inform us. The Spartan general Brasidas' prolonged campaigns in Macedonia during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) can be seen in part as a Spartan attempt to prevent Athenian access to the timberlands necessary to maintain the Athenian fleet (see NAVIES). Other inscriptions tell of the importation of heavy construction timbers into Greece during the Hellenistic era. While there is no doubt, however, about the

economic, military, and diplomatic importance of timber resources, we are rather poorly informed about the details of forest management, the harvesting of wood, and its transport by land and sea. Inscriptions inform us that the kings of Macedon exercised a royal monopoly over forest resources, and let contracts for the harvest and export of timber. Many Hellenistic dynasts in the eastern Mediterranean exercised similar prerogatives over the timberland under their control.

The timber shortage was never so acute for the Roman republic as for the Greek cities, due to the ample forest resources of lowland Italy, Sicily, and the accessible lower slopes of the Apennine and Alpine ranges. As wealth increased and tastes became more exotic, the Roman timber trade (like the trade in decorative building stone) went further afield to satisfy the demand for more exquisite and rare woods. ENB

time-reckoning Ancient culture knew a range of expedients for dividing the 24 hours of the day, for marking the succession of days in the month or year, and for dating important historical events. *Hesiod already used the rising of particular constellations to mark the changing seasons, and ascribed propitious and unpropitious qualities to the days of the month that corresponded to the phases of the moon. By the 5th cent. BC, Athenian astronomers—like their Babylonian colleagues—knew that the lunar month is approximately $29\frac{1}{2}$ and the tropical year approximately $365\frac{1}{4}$ days long, and could divide the day and night up into twelve 'seasonal' hours that varied with the length of daylight. Astronomers (see ASTRONOMY) from Meton to Hipparchus and Claudius Ptolemy developed increasingly accurate lunisolar cycles and learned to explain and predict solar and lunar eclipses. They also created *parapégmata*, or public calendars, which traced the risings and settings of stars and predicted weather throughout the year. Civil practices, however, were never guided solely by astronomical expertise. Most people continued to divide the day and night into rough sections rather than precise hours. The Athenian calendar's failure to correspond with the actual movements of the moon was notorious, while the Roman months, before *Caesar reformed the calendar, deviated by a quarter of a year and more from what should have been their place in the seasons. Intercalation was often practised for political rather than calendrical ends. Only in the 1st cent. BC and after, when the spread of *astrology made it urgent to know the year, day, and hour of an individual's birth, did an interest in precise calendar dates become widespread outside scientific circles. The chief motive for interest in the calendar lay, normally, in its days of ritual or ominous import rather than in its technical basis.

Historical events were at first normally dated, by both Greeks and Romans, by the year of a given priest or magistrate into which they fell: rough lengths for a single generation were used to date past dynasties of rulers. *Thucydides protested (5. 20) against the first of these methods, but he himself (esp. in his introductory *Archaeology*) seems to have used the second, generation-count, method; and the temptation, to compute dates by means of assumptions about the length of human life, was persistent. Thus even in the 2nd cent. BC, Apollodorus used an 'acme' system to date famous but poorly attested individuals like philosophers and historians; that is, he assumed that an individual reached his acme (conventionally put at age 40) at the date of some well-known external event which had occurred in the life of that individual (see F. Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik* (1902)). From the end of the 4th cent. BC, however, when the *Seleucid era of 312/11 BC came into widespread use, more precise eras and methods gradually came into use. Scholars like *Eratosthenes and *Timaeus tried to co-ordinate historical dates from different societies by measuring their distance from some single, common era, like that of the first Olympian Games in 776 BC or the founding of Rome in 753/2 BC. Other eras sometimes used included that of the Trojan War (normally given as 1183/2 BC) and the astronomers' era of Nabonassar, 26 January 747 BC.

ATG

Titus (Titus Flavius Vespasianus), Roman emperor, AD 79–81. Born on 30 December 39, he was the elder son of *Vespasian and was brought up at court along with Britannicus, *Claudius' son. He had considerable physical and intellectual gifts, especially in music and singing so that at one stage some viewed him as potentially a second *Nero. He married Arrecina Tertulla, daughter of the praetorian prefect of *Gaius (Caligula); and she bore him a daughter, Julia. After her death he married Marcia Furnilla, whom he later divorced. He spent his early career as a military tribune in Germany and Britain, and it was probably in Lower Germany that he established his friendship with *Pliny the Elder, who subsequently dedicated the *Natural History* to him. Although only of quaestorian rank, he joined his father in 67 in his mission to suppress the Jewish revolt (see JEWS), taking command of legio XV Apollinaris and displaying great personal bravery. He was dispatched to convey Vespasian's congratulations to Galba, but turned back on hearing of the turmoil in Rome, pausing to consult the *oracle of Venus at Paphos on Cyprus, whose allegedly encouraging response he brought to his father. He was closely involved in preparations for the Flavian bid for power which culminated on 1 July 69 when Vespasian was first acclaimed emperor by the troops in Egypt. Titus, however, remained

in Judaea to take charge of the military operations and after the Flavian victory was created consul in his absence and given proconsular *imperium*. In 70 he captured Jerusalem and was hailed as *imperator* by his troops. His exploits on campaign were recorded by the Jewish historian *Josephus, who had been befriended by the Flavians.

Hostile observers thought that Titus might use the affection of his troops to seize power for himself, since the soldiers in the east were demanding that he take them all back with him, but there is no sign of any disloyalty to his father. Once back in Rome he celebrated a *triumph with Vespasian and was elevated to share his position, receiving the tribunician power (dated from 1 July 71), holding seven consulships with him, and sharing the office of censor; he also became leader of the young men (*princeps iuventutis*) along with his brother, *Domitian. He was appointed praetorian prefect (*praefectus praetorio*), a post normally held by equestrians (see EQUITES), and incurred hostility because of his ruthless suppression of the alleged conspiracy of Aulus Caecina Alienus and Epruius Marcellus. He was also disliked for his liaison with Berenice (daughter of the Jewish king Agrippa II), whom he had met in Judaea and who came to Rome in 75, where she probably remained until 79.

Titus succeeded smoothly after Vespasian's death on 23 June 79, and belied the fears of some by the quality of his administration. He ended, however unwillingly, his affair with Berenice, banished informers, and refused to accept treason charges. He declined to put any senator to death or confiscate property, and had a courteous relationship with the senate. Titus once memorably remarked, on observing that he had benefited no one all day, 'Friends, I have lost a day' (Suet. *Tit.* 8). He dedicated the *Colosseum begun by Vespasian, built baths, and provided lavish public spectacles. He reacted energetically to alleviate the natural disasters which occurred during his reign, the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 and a serious fire and plague in Rome in 80. There were rumours that Titus' relationship with his brother Domitian was sometimes strained and even that he was poisoned, but his death on 13 September 81 is likely to have been from natural causes. He was remembered with affection as the 'delight and darling of the human race' (Suet. *Tit.* 1), though *Cassius Dio shrewdly commented that had he lived longer his regime might not have been judged so successful.

JBC

toga The toga was the principal garment of the free-born Roman male. It was also worn by *Etruscan men and originally also by women. It was usually made of undyed light wool, but for mourning was of dark wool, the *toga*

pulla, and, for boys of high birth and the holders of certain offices, it had a purple *praetexta* border along its upper edge. A decorated version worn by victorious commanders in triumphal processions (see TRIUMPH), the *toga picta* or *trabea triumphalis*, was made of purple wool and gold thread.

In shape the toga was a very large semicircle, a single piece of cloth which in the 1st cent. AD measured up to 5.5×2.75 m. (19½×10 ft.). It was worn without a fastening and the wearer had to keep his left arm crooked to support its voluminous drapery. It was put on thus: one corner was placed before the feet and the straight edge was taken up and over the left shoulder, across the back and under or over the right arm, across the chest, and over the left shoulder again, the second corner hanging behind the knees; the curved edge became the garment's hem. By the imperial period, two features had developed which helped to accommodate the garment's increased size: an *umbo* or 'navel' at the waist, resulting from the upper part of the under layer being pulled over the second layer, and a *sinus* or 'lap', created by folding down the straight edge where it passed under the right arm. In the 3rd cent. AD the *umbo* was generally folded into a band lying across the wearer's chest, and in the 4th cent. the *sinus* was usually long enough to be thrown over the left forearm.

As a result of Roman conquests the toga spread to some extent into the Roman western provinces, but in the east it never replaced the Greek rectangular mantle, the *himation* or *pallium*. Its increased size and cost caused it to decline among ordinary Romans, but portrait statues record its use by wealthier citizens at least until the end of the 4th cent. AD. A late version, smaller and decorated, is familiar from the ivory diptychs of the consuls. In the long term the toga developed into the sash-like *loros*, a vestment exclusive to the Byzantine emperor. See DRESS. HG-T

topos, a standard form of rhetorical argumentation or a variably expressible literary commonplace.

In classical rhetoric, *inventio* aids the orator to find elements of persuasion: *topoi* or *loci* are both the places where such elements (especially plausible argumentative patterns) lurk, and those patterns themselves (e.g. Arist. *Rh.* 2. 22–3; Quint. *Inst.* 5. 10); if universally applicable (in various senses) they can be called *koinoi topoi* or *loci communes*. They are the habitual tools of ordinary thought but can also be studied and technically applied. No two rhetoricians provide the same catalogue, but some of the more familiar *topoi* include arguments *ad hominem* or *a fortiori*, from homonymy or etymology, from antecedents or effects.

Although in this sense the ancient discussions remain important for contemporary analyses of everyday argumentation, the general decline of rhetoric in modern culture has led *topoi*, like other rhetorical concepts, to seek refuge in literary studies. The recent critical *topos* of applying the term also, and especially, to commonly but variably expressed literary contents (clichéd metaphors and commonplace thoughts) ultimately derives from E. R. Curtius, who sought in his *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (1990; Ger. orig. 1948) to refound the cultural unity of Europe upon the heritage of Latin rhetoric. Correspondingly, many of Curtius's own examples—'brevitas-formula', the composition of a poem as a nautical voyage, 'emphasis on inability to do justice to the topic', 'I bring things never said before', 'praise of forebears and their deeds', etc.—remain closely linked to traditional rhetorical structures. But his extension of the concept from rhetorical forms to literary contents paved the way for the banalizing inclusion of unformalized commonplaces (already Curtius, who sometimes linked *topoi* with unconscious 'archetypes', included 'all must die', 'ape as metaphor', *locus amoenus* ('charming place'), 'perpetual spring', *puer senex* ('boy/old man' i.e. roughly 'old head on young shoulders'), 'the world upside-down'). To be sure, communication both ordinary and literary depends upon shared premisses, and novelty, like familiarity, can only be perceived against the background of what is already known. Ancient authors, perhaps because their audience was more restricted and shared with them a more limited cultural background, seem to have been fonder of such commonplaces than modern ones and to have drawn upon a smaller stock (sometimes doubtless supplied by appropriate rhetorical manuals). But they can use them for very different purposes (e.g. to create complicity with the audience, to advertise generic affiliations, to vary surprisingly in detail or context, to provide reassurance by not varying) and may often have believed in their truth. GWM/GBC

torture at Athens and under the Roman republic was normally thought inappropriate for citizens. It might be used on slaves (see SLAVERY) and perhaps on foreigners, for example prisoners of war. Slaves might be tortured in order to extract confessions of their own guilt or evidence against other persons (the unreliability of this second kind of evidence seems to have been recognized in practice at Athens). At Rome the investigation by torture was called *quaestio*; the evidence of the tortured was not *testimonium* (evidence). Evidence under torture by slaves was not accepted against their own masters, except in matters such as treason and sacrilege, as with the Catilanian conspirators (see CATILINE) (Cic. *Part. or.* 118).

Augustus extended these exceptions to include *adultery in certain situations (*Dig.* 48. 5. 28 pref.) but preserved the letter of the principle by having the slaves sold to a representative of the public (Cass. Dio 55. 5; the change is wrongly ascribed to *Tiberius by Tac. *Ann.* 2. 30, cf. 3. 67). A master might prefer to liberate slaves liable to torture and it is perhaps for this reason that we first hear of the torture of free men of humble status under the Principate (Cass. Dio 57. 19; *Dig.* 48. 18. 1. 13). But we also find occasionally the torture of men of status suspected of conspiracy (Tac. *Ann.* 11. 22; 15. 56)—a practice with a long history: thus *Alexander the Great had Philotas tortured. In general we find emperors during the Principate urging that the use of torture be confined to serious cases and arguing that evidence taken under torture was fragile (*Dig.* 48. 18. 1 *pass.*); the general line taken is that torture should not be resorted to unless there is other evidence of guilt. However, we can draw no secure inference from this about what happened in practice. In the late empire torture of humbler citizens seems to have become accepted and was even extended to civil proceedings, though there was never much use of torture in civil suits (*Cod. Theod.* 2. 27. 1. 2a; *Cod. Just.* 9. 41. 15). AWL

tourism Well-known Greek tourists include *Solon, said (Hdt. 1. 30) to have visited Egypt and Lydia ‘for the sake of seeing’ (*theōria*), and *Herodotus himself. Seaborne *trade and sightseeing were surely companions from an early date, as they still were in the 4th cent. (Isoc. *Trapeziticus* 17. 4). A genre of Greek periegetic (‘travel’) literature arose by the 3rd cent., from which date fragments survive of a descriptive work, *On the Cities in Greece*, by Heraclides Criticus (ed. F. Pfister (1951); for partial trans. see Austin 83); the only fully preserved work of this type is *Pausanias, illustrating the thin line between sightseers and pilgrims. Under Rome ancient sightseeing came into its own. A papyrus (*PTeb.* 1. 33 = Bagnall and Derow 58) of 112 BC gives instructions to prepare for a Roman senator’s visit to the Fayūm, including titbits for the crocodiles; the colossi of Memnon and other pharaonic monuments are encrusted with Greek and Latin graffiti. Greece too was a firm favourite (for the itinerary see Livy 45. 27–8). Roman tourists were wealthy, their numbers restrained (cf. the 18th-cent. Grand Tour in Europe); they might combine sightseeing (artworks, monuments, natural phenomena) with overseas study (as with *Cicero), thermal cures, and visits to *sanctuaries. See PILGRIMAGE (CHRISTIAN). AJSS

trade, Greek Exchange in some form has probably existed since the emergence of the first properly human social groups. Trade, whether local, regional, interregional or international, is a much later development. It is a cer-

tain inference from the extant documentary records in Linear B script that the world of Mycenaean age palace-economy knew all four main forms of commerce (see MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION), and a reasonable guess that a considerable portion of the long-distance carrying trade was in the hands of specialized professional traders. But whether that trade was ‘administered’ (state-directed) or ‘free-enterprise’ is impossible to say. It is one sign among many of the economic recession experienced by the Greek world generally between about 1200 and 800 BC that in these dark centuries regional and international trade dwindled to vanishing-point; the few known professional traders were typically men of non-Greek, especially *Phoenician, origin.

In book 8 of *Homer’s *Odyssey* the sea-battered hero finds his way at last to the comparative calm and safety of Phaeacia, a never-never land set somewhere in the golden west, only to be roundly abused by a Phaeacian aristocrat for looking like a sordidly mercenary merchant skipper rather than a gentleman amateur sportsman. *Hesiod, composing perhaps about the same time (c.700 BC) in inland, rural Boeotia, was prepared to concede that a moderately prosperous peasant farmer might load the surplus of the grain-crop produced by himself and his small workforce into his own modest boat and dispose of it down the nearby coast during the dead season of the agricultural year immediately after the grain-harvest. But to be a full-time trader was no more acceptable to Hesiod than to Homer’s Phaeacian aristocrat. Each in his way was waging an ideological polemic against the development of professional trading (*emporía*) and traders (*emporoi*).

This prejudice issued from a world ruled and dominated by landed aristocrats. It was perfectly all right for a Greek aristocrat to visit his peers in other communities, then just acquiring the newfangled constitutional form of the *polis, bearing gifts of richly woven garments or finely wrought metalwork, and to come home laden with comparable or even more lavish prestations. It was quite another matter to spend most of the recognized sailing season (late March to late September) plying the Mediterranean with a mixed cargo of, say, perfume flasks from Corinth, hides from Euboea, salt fish from the Black (Euxine) Sea, and wine-amphorae from Chios or Thasos, making only a humble living and precluded from participating in the military and political activities that defined the status of an élite leader of his polis. Such trading was considered an occupation suitable only for the lower orders of Greek society, the dependants (possibly unfree) of a great landlord.

Yet the significance of traders in the early polis era of Homer and Hesiod must not be confused with the significance of trade, especially long-distance sea-borne

commerce. Without the latter there would have been no opening from the Aegean to both east (for example, the multinational *emporion* (trading place) at Al Mina on the Orontes) and west (notably Ischia-Pithecusae (Pithekoussai)), beginning in the half-century from 825 to 775, no movement of colonization to southern Italy, Sicily, and the Black Sea (see COLONIZATION, GREEK), no comparative knowledge of other, non-Greek cultures and thus no alphabet—and so, maybe, no Homer and Hesiod. By 600 BC the economic position and social status of traders may have improved, with the development of purpose-built sail-driven, round-hulled merchantmen, the creation of institutions and techniques designed to facilitate multinational commerce, and the establishment of permanent *emporion* in Egypt and Etruria.

Naucratis in the Nile delta was founded in about 630 by Greek traders from western Asia Minor, the adjacent Greek islands, and Aegina, under the auspices of the Egyptian pharaoh Psammetichus (Psamtik). In return for Greek oil, wine, and luxury goods the Greek traders of Naucratis received Egyptian grain, metals, and slaves, from which exchange the Egyptian treasury derived extra value in taxes. Permanent transnational market-centres and ports of trade were thus established under official governmental direction, linking economies of dissimilar type. Soon Naucratis had an Italian counterpart at Gravisca in Etruria, the happy hunting-ground of one Sostratus of Aegina.

This Sostratus, who may be identical with the Sostratus of *Herodotus (4. 152), specialized in the run between Etruria and the Aegean by way of the haulway (**diolkos*) built across the isthmus of Corinth in about 600. He was a free citizen, literate (in addition to his dedication to *Apollo at Gravisca he used personalized merchant-marks on the pots he carried), and an independent entrepreneur who presumably owned his own merchant ship (or ships). Perhaps he knew some Etruscan, as the Phocaeans and Samians who traded further westwards to the south of France and Spain knew the local Celtic languages and, as surviving business letters on lead attest, employed locals in their import-export businesses. A similar lead letter of the 6th cent. has survived from the other, eastern end of the world of Archaic Greek commerce, at Berezan (Olbia) in the Black Sea. But this tells an apparently darker and possibly more typical tale of (allegedly) illicit detention and confiscation; and one of the traders involved seems to have been a dependent agent-trader not a free trader working on his own behalf.

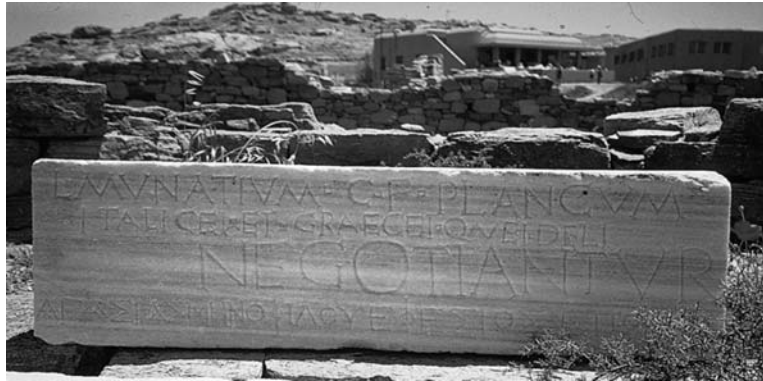
By the middle of the 5th cent. the place of Al Mina, Naucratis, and Gravisca had been taken by Athens' newly developed port city of Piraeus. It was the Athenians' famous victory at Salamis (480 BC) that enabled the

development of Piraeus into a commercial as well as military harbour facility. A century later, *Isocrates hailed its creation: 'for Athens established the Piraeus as a market in the centre of Hellas—a market of such abundance that the articles which it is difficult to obtain, one here, one there, from the rest of the world, all these it is easy to produce from Athens' (*Panegyricus* 42). This testimony is corroborated by archaeology and echoed by writers as diverse as *Thucydides, the pamphlet known as the 'Old Oligarch', and Athenian comic playwrights. As early as 421, we learn from Eupolis' *Marikas*, the characteristic institution of the maritime or bottomry loan had been developed to finance long-distance trade, above all in the staple necessity, grain, on the regular large-scale importation of which Athens had come to depend both economically and (since it was the poor majority of citizens who mainly benefited) politically.

During the currency of her 5th-cent. empire Athens, thanks to her permanently commissioned fleet of *trireme warships, was able to suppress *piracy, one of the major threats to peaceful commerce throughout antiquity, as well as to direct trade towards the Piraeus on economically favourable terms. Loss of empire was among other things bad for Aegean Greek trade generally, and bad for Athens' access to staple grain and the raising of taxes and dues on shipping and goods in particular. Over the course of the 4th cent. a whole series of legal measures was enacted by Athens to compensate for loss of military power (several mentioned in *Athēnaion politeia* attributed to *Aristotle). A combination of the stick (penalties for residents who contracted loans on cargoes of grain bound elsewhere than to Piraeus, or for not offloading a certain minimum percentage of a cargo there, and so on) and the carrot (establishment for the benefit of Athens-based traders of new specialized maritime courts; granting permission to foreign traders to set up on Attic soil sanctuaries for their native gods—Isis and Astarte) was employed to good effect.

One measure practised by trading communities in other periods was significantly conspicuous by its absence: the Athenians never discriminated in favour of their own citizen merchants. This was partly no doubt because they constituted a small minority of the trading and commercial population, but it was also because the barriers between citizen status and the status of the majority (*metics, slaves) involved were high and sturdy—as the exceptional breach in the case of Pasion amply proves. (See CITIZENSHIP, GREEK; SLAVERY; STATUS, LEGAL AND SOCIAL (Greek).) See also MARKETS AND FAIRS. PAC

trade, Roman The central issue for historians has long been, and remains, how to characterize properly the scale



trade, Roman This Latin inscription for a Roman general in the first war against *Mithradates VI was set up c.87 BC by 'the Italians and Greeks who conduct business (*negotiantur*) on Delos'. Roman trade largely depended on the investments and credit of Italian *negotiatores* or 'moneymen', who often settled in Mediterranean ports. The community at *Delos, a major entrepôt in the decades around 100 BC, was particularly large and rich. Antony Spawforth

and importance of trade and commerce in the overall economy of the Roman empire. Some seek to emphasize how different, and essentially backward, the Roman *economy was in comparison to the modern. They point to the Roman élite's apparent snobbish contempt for commerce (Cic. *Off.* 1. 150–1). The primacy of *agriculture cannot be denied, and it is noteworthy that the Roman *agricultural writers, with the large landowner in mind, betray both very little interest in markets and an aversion to risk which did not inspire entrepreneurial experiments. Factories in the modern sense did not exist in the ancient world (see *INDUSTRY*). Cities did not grow up as centres of manufacturing; far from it, they can be represented merely as centres of consumption (see *URBANISM*). The cost and difficulty of transport, particularly over land, are claimed to have made it uneconomic to trade over long distances anything other than luxury products. Of course, basic goods, such as *wine, *olive oil, and grain, also *pottery of all kinds, can be demonstrated to have been carried in large quantities over long distances. But, it is argued, something other than the free-market mechanism is at work here. First, there was the considerable circulation of goods within the extensive households of the rich, from their estates to their town houses, to their retinues and clients. Further, staples could be exchanged in large quantities as gifts between members of the élite. Examples can be identified at all periods and it has been demonstrated plausibly that such a mechanism was particularly important in the later Roman empire. The circulation of goods within the household of the emperor is the same phenomenon writ large. Secondly, and more importantly, it is claimed that the movement of staples was primarily an act of redistribu-

tion, organized by the central government, and on a smaller scale by local communities, to ensure the supply of essentials to the large cities, such as Rome, and to maintain the Roman armies, precisely because the private sector was not up to meeting needs on such a scale (see *FOOD SUPPLY*).

A different model has been proposed. While it is true that the Roman aristocracy on the whole maintained a distance from direct involvement in trade, even they can, and did, benefit from its profits through intermediaries (see e.g. Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 21). Besides, beyond Rome, it is much less clear that local élites shared the same distaste for trade, with investments, frequently managed by their *freedmen, in potteries, *mines, *textile production, and the like. The landowners needed markets for their products, but were able to affect a lack of interest in trade, because the whole process, often starting with a contract to gather the crop, lay in the hands of *negotiatores* (businessmen). The landowner was provided with a certain return, while the *negotiator* had to organize the trade and to take the risks (for an example of miscalculation of those risks see Plin. *Ep.* 8. 2). The number of shipwrecks in the Mediterranean recorded for the period 100 BC to AD 300 is much larger than for either the preceding period or the Dark Ages; this suggests a level of operation which was not to be reached again until the high Renaissance. The greatest spur to the development of this trade was the creation of a fully monetarized economy throughout the empire. Barter, exchanges in kind, of course, continued to exist; but it is quite clear from Egyptian papyri that the use of money in transactions was the norm. Strabo (7. 5. 5), in the early empire, could go out of his way to note the lack of use of coin

among the Dalmatians, as a characteristic of barbarian peoples. The availability of coin could and did vary from place to place and time to time. This made the existence of bankers (*see* BANKS) who could provide credit to facilitate deals essential. It is true that the empire did not see the growth of large international banks; but at the local level money-lenders were the key to exchanges both large and small. There are those historians who see in the spread of the use of money the creation of a Roman unified 'world economy'. This is a clear exaggeration. The empire consisted of a range of regional economies at different stages of development, which linked up with each other in ways which changed with time.

At the regional level regular markets (*nundinae*) were vital. They are found throughout the empire and were as important, perhaps more so, to the peasant as to the large landowner. The existence of these markets was strictly regulated. The senate had to be petitioned for permission to hold markets; many such requests came from large landowners who wished to hold markets on their estates. The reason for the control was probably to limit competition with well-established markets in the local towns (Plin. *Ep.* 5. 4, 5. 13). This suggests that at this local level the volume of trade in the countryside was somewhat limited. There are signs that some products circulated largely on a regional basis (the distribution of Roman lamps, which were traded over surprising distances, nevertheless reveals several broad regional patterns of trade) (*see* MARKETS AND FAIRS).

At the other end of the scale came the huge cities, such as Rome. These constituted enormous markets. Much is made of the state-sponsored system for supplying Rome with corn. However, state grain met no more than a portion of the city's annual grain needs. The rest had to be supplied by the free market. Furthermore, the importation of the state grain depended upon private traders, who in times of crisis had to be offered considerable incentives to involve themselves in the trade (Suet. *Claud.* 18). Monte Testaccio, the dump of Spanish oil amphorae, behind the port on the Tiber in Rome, is testimony to the enormous trade in oil (estimated at some 23 million kgs. per year). The annual consumption of wine in the city has been put at between 1 and 1.8 million hectolitres. For much of the empire all this was provided by the free market. Only later did oil and wine become part of the *annona* (*see* FOOD SUPPLY). The city of Rome was an enormous stimulus to trade.

The expansion of the empire itself could open up major new markets to be exploited. The most researched example is the large market among the Gauls for Italian wine, particularly from the west coast of Italy. However, it is all too easy to exaggerate the effect of these new mar-

kets on the agrarian economy of Italy. There were transformations, but they were confined largely to coastal regions within easy reach of ports, and they were limited in time. By the 1st cent. AD these regions were having to compete with expanding trade in wine from Spain and south Gaul.

Because pottery survives on archaeological sites, its importance in trade can be exaggerated. However, it is clear that the industrial scale of production of *terra sigillata* in Gaul presupposes something more than a local market. Pottery on the whole was not often the primary cargo of ships, but it was frequently a part-cargo and could be an important commodity for the return leg of voyages, whose primary concern was the transport of more valuable goods. *See* POTTERY, ROMAN.

Trade was carried on beyond the limits of the Roman empire. Most notable was the trade in luxuries, spices, ivories (*see* ELEPHANTS; IVORY), etc. beyond the Red Sea with the east coast of *Africa and *India. A Greek papyrus in Vienna (*PVindob.* G40822) records one such transaction, involving nard, ivory, and textiles to a value of over 130 talents. When it is realized that some of the large ships on the eastern run could carry up to 150 such cargoes, the potential profitability of the trade is amply demonstrated. However, the handbook from the 1st cent. AD, the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* ('The Voyages round the Red Sea'), shows that although the primary interest was in these very valuable goods, shippers were also on the look-out for more mundane staples to fill their holds.

Large-scale trade continued right through the late empire. In some ways traders became less independent, more tied into work for the imperial government or for the great aristocratic houses. The patterns changed somewhat, with more regional trade and less international. This, however, should not be taken as a sign of a major decline in the system which constituted such an important part of the overall economy of the Roman empire. JJP

tragedy, Greek (*see following page*)

tragedy, Latin *Varro and *Atticus put the first performance of a Latin tragedy (by Livius Andronicus) in the year 240 BC at *Jupiter's September festival. Performances continued at this and other public festivals down to the end of the 1st cent. BC and perhaps into the 1st cent. AD. Celebrations of temple dedications and funerals of men of the aristocracy also provided occasions for performance. In 240 both new and old Greek plays were still being staged at Athens and elsewhere in the Greek world. The 5th-cent. poets *Aeschylus, *Sophocles, and *Euripides, enjoyed the greatest continuing prestige both in the theatre and in the syllabus of the grammatical schools.

[*continued on p. 807*]

GREEK TRAGEDY

tragedy, Greek Tragedy, one of the most influential literary forms that originated in Greece, is particularly associated with Athens in the 5th cent. BC, the period that saw its most distinctive development. All but one of the surviving plays date from the 5th cent. (the exception, *Rhesus*, attributed to *Euripides, is probably 4th cent.), but these represent only a tiny sample of the vast body of material produced from the late 6th cent. onwards; new plays were still being composed as late as the 2nd cent. AD. The popularity of the dramatic festivals at Athens attracted interest in other cities, with the result that performances of tragedy rapidly became common elsewhere, and what began as a medium reflecting the life of a particular community acquired universal appeal in the Greek-speaking world. By the end of the 3rd cent. BC, Roman translations and adaptations began to extend the range of its influence still further.

The material that follows is divided into two sections.

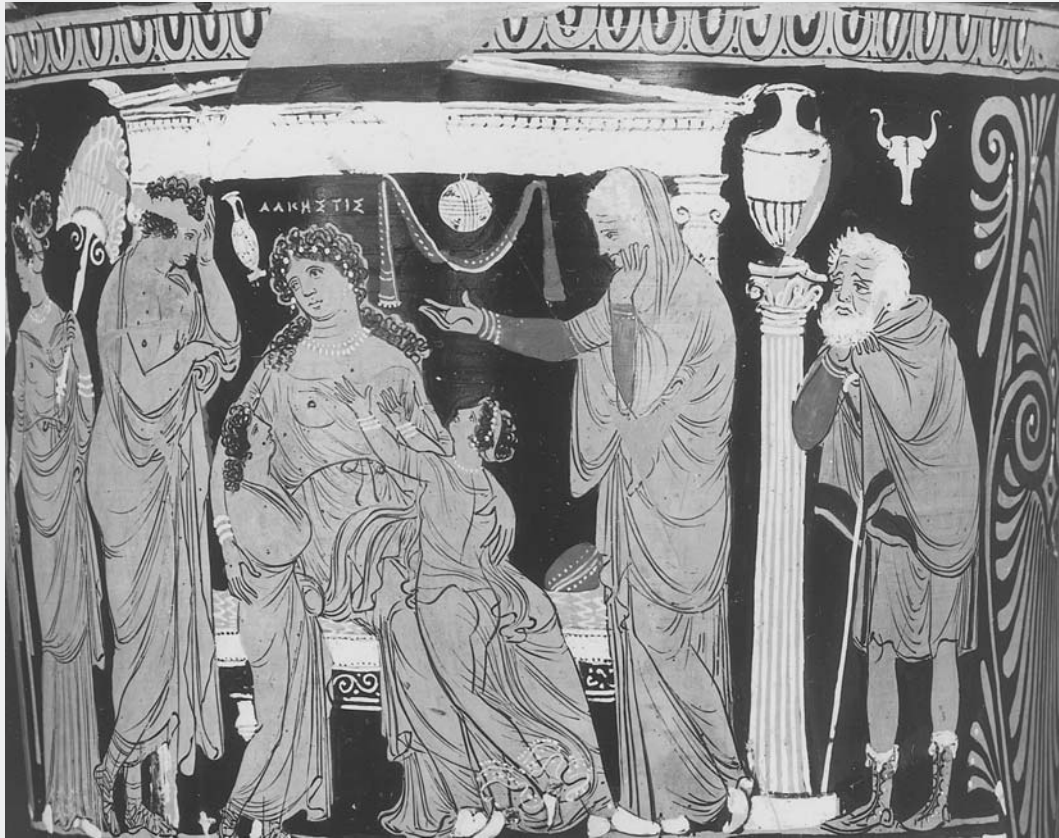
- I Tragedy at Athens in the 5th cent. and earlier
 - 1. Origins
 - 2. Early history
 - 3. Dramatic festivals
 - 4. Form and performance
 - 5. Subject-matter and interpretation
- II Tragedy in the Greek-speaking world and beyond
 - 1. The formation of a repertoire
 - 2. Actors and festivals
 - 3. Reception in antiquity
 - 4. Modern reception

I. 1. Origins

Much the most valuable information about how Athenian tragedy came into being is preserved in the fourth chapter of *Aristotle's *Poetics*. In particular, he states that (a) tragedy came into being from an improvisatory origin, from the leaders (*exarchontes*) of the *dithyramb; (b) *Aeschylus increased the number of actors from one to two, reduced the choral part, and made the (spoken) word 'protagonist'; (c) *Sophocles introduced the third actor and scene-painting; (d) because tragedy developed from the satyr-play-like (*ek saturikou*), it was slow to become serious, abandoning its small plots and ridiculous diction; (e) because of the satyric and more dance-like nature of the poetry, the first metre to be used was the trochaic tetrameter, which was then replaced by the iambic trimeter.

Although it has been maintained that this account is mere hypothesis, there are good reasons for lending it some credence. One is that Aristotle was in a position to know much more than we do about the matter. And indeed in the next chapter he says that the changes that occurred in tragedy are, unlike the case of comedy, known. Moreover, the development of serious drama from boisterous performance (for this there are non-Greek parallels) is unlikely to be Aristotle's hypothesis, partly because it does in fact contradict the theoretical framework he sets out earlier in the same chapter, in which there is an early historical division between serious and trivial poetry. Some have seen an inconsistency in the development of tragedy both from the dithyramb and from the *saturikon*. But in fact the early processional dithyramb in honour of *Dionysus would naturally be performed by *satyrs, and there is evidence that satyrs did indeed perform the dithyramb. In any case *saturikon* means 'satyr-play-like', i.e. not necessarily a performance by the satyrs themselves. The word *tragōidia* probably originally meant the song sung by singers at the sacrifice of a goat (in which the goat also may have been a prize), and has no inherent connection with the satyrs, who anyway were at this period more like horses than goats.

There are several advantages to Aristotle's view that he does not mention. An origin of tragedy in the dithyramb, which was a Dionysiac hymn, coheres with the fact that tragedy was performed (along with dithyramb) in the cult of Dionysus. The cult is marked by the participants' change of identity, a change that may be achieved by the use of masks (notably satyr-masks), and this makes it a likely context for the genesis of drama. Further, Aristotle's account coheres well both with the formal structure of extant tragedy (see § 2) and with the practice of performing a satyr-play, written by the tragedian, after each tragic trilogy (thereby forming a tetralogy). According to an ancient tradition, satyric drama was instituted so as to preserve the Dionysiac element that had been lost from tragedy (Chamaeleon fr. 38; etc.).



tragedy, Greek A ceramic water jar from S. Italy (350–325 BC) with a scene based on a stage performance of a tragedy, showing the mythical Alcestis on her death bed. Figured scenes on Greek *pottery from S. Italy drew heavily—but shed ambiguous light—on the Greek theatre. Antikenmuseum, Basel. Photo: Claire Niggli

Such a development may well have occurred, and is not inconsistent with the Alexandrian view, to be found in *Horace's *Ars Poetica* (220–1), that satyric drama was a later addition to tragedy. But the possibility remains nevertheless that it was invented to complement the Aristotelian theory.

Another ancient tradition locates the origin of tragedy in the northern *Peloponnese. *Herodotus (1. 23) tells us that the first known composition of dithyrambs was in Corinth, by Arion of Methymna (c.600 BC). A late notice (*Suda*, *Arion*) says both that Arion invented the *tragikos tropos* (i.e. probably the style or mode of music which afterwards belonged to tragedy) and that he was the first to name what was sung by the dithyrambic chorus and to bring on satyrs speaking verse (these may or may not be meant to refer to separate kinds of performance). Another late notice attributes to *Solon's elegies the statement that Arion composed the first *drama tēs tragōidias* (fr. 30a West). Further, Herodotus (5. 67) records that at Sicyon the tyrant Cleisthenes transferred *tragikoi choroi* honouring the sufferings of the hero Adrastus to the cult of Dionysus, and the rest of the sacrifice to another hero, Melanippus. (The implication of this, that a crucial stage in the genesis of tragedy was the coalescence of hero-cult with the cult of Dionysus, is for various reasons an attractive one.) Sicyon was also the birthplace of Epigenes, whom *Suda* (*Thespis*) calls the first tragic poet. Support for an origin in the northern Peloponnese is provided by an apparently Doric feature of tragic language, the use of long *a* for *η*, especially in the lyric portions.

I. 2. Early history

Little is known about Athenian tragedy before Aeschylus. We have four names (Thespis, Choerilus, Pratinas, and Phrynichus), to whom are attributed a few extant fragments, at least some of which are spurious. Especially suspect are

the traditions about the Attic Thespis as the inventor of tragedy. Here the general unreliability of traditions about 'first inventors' is compounded by the suspicion that with Thespis the Athenians attempted to reclaim the invention of tragedy from the Dorians. Even the view often stated in modern handbooks that Thespis first produced tragedy at the City Dionysia in one of the years 535–533 BC has recently been shown to be suspect. It is equally possible that tragedy was instituted at the City Dionysia by the new democratic regime at the very end of the 6th cent. If anything in the tradition about Thespis deserves any credence, it is the remark attributed to Aristotle that he added prologue and speech to what had been a choral performance (Themistius 26. 316d). Although Aeschylus introduced the second actor (see above), his dialogue is (in contrast to Sophocles and Euripides) still mostly between an actor and chorus leader—even in the *Oresteia*, in which he employed the third actor recently introduced by Sophocles. All this, taken together with the fact that in Aeschylus the lyric portions generally form a greater proportion of the drama than they do in Sophocles and Euripides, suggests that the early development of tragedy was the gradual transformation of a choral performance into the structure of choral odes alternating with spoken scenes familiar from extant tragedy. This is supported also by the word for actor, *hupokritēs*, which almost certainly meant 'interpreter' (although it has been claimed that it meant 'answerer'). Perhaps the 'leader' of the dithyrambic performance also interpreted it. Scholars also used to argue (from the fact that there are 50 Danaids in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, taken together with Pollux 4. 110) that the number of the chorus members in early tragedy was 50, and so considerably larger than the twelve or fifteen of later tragedy. But this view has fallen out of favour, not least because of the discovery of a papyrus (*POxy.* 2256 fr. 3) which has generally been taken to show a relatively late date for Aesch. *Supp.* A respect in which Aeschylus is undoubtedly distinct from Sophocles and Euripides is his tendency to devote the whole trilogy to a single story (e.g. the *Oresteia*).

I. 3. Dramatic festivals

The production of tragedy was not confined to Attica, but it was in Attica that tragedy acquired its definitive form, and it is from Attica that we have almost everything that we know about it. From the end of the 6th cent. BC, if not before, tragedies were performed in the Athenian spring festival of Dionysus Eleuthereus, the City Dionysia. This remained the main context for tragic performances, although they occurred also at the Rural Dionysia, and (probably in the 430s) a competition for two tragedians each with two tragedies was introduced into the Lenaea. In all these festivals the tragic performances were one feature of a programme of events which, at the City Dionysia, included processions, sacrifice in the theatre, libations, the parade of war orphans, performances of dithyramb and comedy, and a final assembly to review the conduct of the festival.

At the City Dionysia three tragedians generally competed each with three tragedies and a satyr-play. In charge of the festival was a leading state official, the eponymous archon (see LAW AND PROCEDURE, ATHENIAN), who chose the three tragedians (perhaps after hearing them read their plays, Pl. *Leg.* 817d). He also appointed the three wealthy *chorēgoi* who bore the expenses of training and equipping the choruses. Originally the tragedian acted in his own play, but later we find tragedians employing actors, as well as the appointment of protagonists by the state. This last method may have been instituted when prizes were introduced for actors in 449 BC. In a preliminary ceremony called the *proagōn* it seems that each tragedian appeared with his actors on a platform to announce the themes of his plays. Ten judges were chosen, one from each of the tribes (*phylai*), in a complex process involving an element of chance. The victorious poet was crowned with ivy in the theatre.

RASS

I. 4. Form and performance

Some features of the tragic performances are best understood if set in the context of Greek festival practice. The notion of performers in sports and the arts competing in honour of the gods was familiar throughout the Greek world (see GAMES). Individuals entered for athletic events like running or boxing or for musical contests as solo instrumentalists, and groups participated in many forms of song and dance or in team activities such as relay races. In the case of the City Dionysia the emphasis was on competition by choruses, whether for dithyramb, tragedy and satyr-play, or comedy; thus despite the novelty of dramatic representation there was a strong element of continuity with established practice, and the competition for the best leading actor (*prōtagōnistēs*), introduced in the mid-5th cent., can be compared with competitions among solo musicians or rhapsodes.

The importance of the choral element is shown by the fact that the main responsibility of each of the financial sponsors (*chorēgoi*) was the recruiting and maintenance, costuming and training of the chorus, while the city paid the leading actors and the poets. Given the competitive nature of the events it was important to have rules governing (e.g.) the

choice of playwrights, the allocation of leading actors, and the procedures for judging; the apparent limitation on the number of speaking actors (often called the ‘three-actor rule’) may have been less a matter of strict regulation than a practical consequence of using masks. In masked drama it is natural to confine the speaking in any one scene to a limited number of parts so that the audience can tell where each voice is coming from, and since the masks (with wigs attached) completely covered the actors’ heads one performer could easily play several different roles. All the surviving plays were evidently composed to be performed (with minor, mainly musical, exceptions) by not more than three speakers at a time, and the doubling of roles was certainly standard. Dramatists may well have exploited the effects to be gained from giving two related leading parts to the same actor (e.g. Deianira and *Heracles in Soph. *Trach.* or Pentheus and Agave in Eur. *Bacch.*). Non-speaking roles for attendants, bodyguards, trains of captives, etc. were a different matter—powerful visual effects could be achieved by bringing groups on stage—and occasional extra solo singers (e.g. the child at Eur. *Andr.* 504–36) or supplementary choruses (e.g. the huntsmen at Eur. *Hipp.* 61–71) might also be used.

The metrical patterns of the surviving plays show that the typical 5th-cent. tragedy was formally much more complex than most modern drama. There was a strong musical element which bears some comparison with modern opera, most noticeably the sequences of song (and dance) performed by a chorus on its own, which mark a break of some kind in the action and cover any necessary (usually short) lapse of time. Audiences could expect to see about five such performances within a single play, with the chorus in the orchestra as the centre of attention. Then there were the sung exchanges, or exchanges of alternating speech and recitative or song (*amoibaia*), between the chorus and one or more of the actors: these belonged to the same time-frame as the spoken dialogue and were used to intensify emotion or give a scene a ritual dimension, as in a shared lament or song of celebration. Singing by individual actors became more and more important as time went on; Euripides was famous for his monodies (cf. e.g. *Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1329–63), but there were striking examples from earlier tragedy, like the solo by the mad Io at Aesch. (?) *Prometheus Bound* 561–88. The musical accompaniment was provided by a player on a double pipe (*aulos*), who often appears in vase-paintings of dramatic scenes.

Virtuoso performance was not only musical: the speeches and dialogues in iambic trimeters intended for spoken delivery were carefully designed to have an emotive impact, whether in the narrating of shocking off-stage events, the presentation of sharply conflicting points of view in formal debate (*agōn*) scenes, or the cut and thrust of symmetrically alternating lines or pairs of lines (*stichomythia*). All the surviving plays are designed to give the leading actor a series of ‘big speeches’, in which to show off his talent as an interpreter of character and feeling.

The physical circumstances of Greek theatres—open-air auditoria with a more or less central dancing-space for the chorus—had important consequences for acting style and dramatic design (see THEATRES (GREEK AND ROMAN), STRUCTURE). The sense of the watching community must have been strong in open-air daylight performances in front of large crowds, and the constant presence of a choral group as witnesses to the action contributed to the public character of the events portrayed. This was not drama on an intimate scale, although it could deal with intimate subject-matter: it depended on large effects of gesture and movement that could be ‘read’ by very diverse audiences, and all the evidence suggests that it was considered to have popular, not élitist, appeal. The comic poets would certainly not have spent so much time parodying tragedy if tragedy had not been a familiar medium that meant something important to their audiences.

I. 5. Subject-matter and interpretation

All but one of the plots of the surviving sample of tragedies are drawn from heroic myth, familiar to 5th-cent. audiences from epic poetry. Aeschylus’ *Persians* (472 BC) deals with the events of 480 (the Persian Wars: see GREECE (HISTORY)), but these are refracted through a Persian setting, and no Greeks are named. Other examples are known of plays on contemporary subjects; at the other extreme Aristotle (*Poet.* 1451^b) cites Agathon’s *Antheus* as an example of a play with entirely fictitious characters and plot. But the normal choice of material was from the heroic past, handled without any sign of antiquarian interest; it must have come naturally to tragedians to use the habits familiar to the lyric poets and to contemporary vase-painters and sculptors. Epic story-telling by rhapsodes must have been a shared experience, and many of the heroes continued to be deeply implicated in Greek life through their worship in cult. It is no accident that Athenian tragedy often deals with heroes who were the object of cult in Attica: *Theseus, *Heracles, *Aias, Erechtheus and his family, Iphigenia, *Oedipus.

*Plato called *Homer ‘first of the tragic poets’ (*Resp.* 607a), and it is true that his poetry, particularly the *Iliad*, offered tragic interpretations of events as well as the raw material for dramatic plots, but the plays that have survived all have a strongly contemporary application to the problems of the Athenian *polis. Stories of intra-familial conflict

like that of Oedipus could be re-cast to lay stress on the tensions between family and city, or the Argonautic tale of Jason and *Medea could be shaped in such a way as to make an Athenian audience look closely at the problematic categories of citizen and foreigner, male and female, civilized and barbarian as defined in their society.

Recent criticism has emphasized the ideological content and didactic function of 5th-cent. tragedy, linking it as a form of public discourse with debates and decision-making in the assembly (*ekklēsia*) and with the speeches aimed at popular juries in the law courts (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN). The importance of *rhetoric is obvious in all these contexts; the tragedies themselves contain much self-conscious reference to rhetorical techniques and to their own strategies of persuasion. Drama in all its forms could function as a powerful medium for the communication of ideas; the tragedians of the 5th cent. seem to have aimed at a balance between displacement (through the choice of a time and place different from the here and now) and the explicit linking of the play with the audience's world, as in the use of aetiology (e.g. the foundation of the Areopagus (see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN §2) in Aesch. *Eum.* or the prophecy of Athenian and Ionian prosperity at the end of Eur. *Ion*) and in appeals through *ritual to their sense of community (e.g. the burial procession at the end of Soph. *Aj.*). There is often a similar tension of opposites in the way in which noble characters who speak in ornate and elevated language are set in plots entailing transgressive desires and actions such as kin-killing, *incest, civil conflict, treachery, or irrational violence. Comparison between early and late plays based on the same stories can help critics to trace changing patterns of attitude and perception reflected in subtle changes of language.

The study of ritual practice and of ritual patterns in drama has helped to redefine the questions that it is appropriate to ask about the gods in Greek tragedy. As in Homeric epic, the gods are everywhere, but the plays are not about theology, and critics are less ready than they used to be to identify the religious beliefs of the individual dramatists. Even a more than usually god-focused play like Eur. *Heracles* asks questions rather than finding answers, combining sceptical challenges to divine morality with aetiological reminders of Attic hero-cult. But it would be wrong to underestimate the religious intensity of plays like Aesch. *Ag.*, Soph. *OC.*, or Eur. *Bacch.*; as always, it is through the use of language that the plays achieve their deepest effects. Existential issues like time and mortality, and questions that apply to individuals as well as to communities (such as 'Who am I?' and 'How should I behave?') are strongly represented in tragedy alongside questions relating to contemporary society. This must have been an important factor in the spread of the medium beyond Attica and even outside the Greek-speaking world.

II. 1. The formation of a repertoire

Interest in Attic drama outside Athens can be traced to an early stage in its history: Aeschylus was invited to Sicily to compose a drama celebrating the foundation of the city of Aetna in 476/5 and returned to Sicily late in his life. Euripides had links with *Macedonia, particularly reflected in his lost play *Archelaus*; so too did Agathon, and Eur. *Andr.*, with its references to the history of the Molossian royal family, offers a further hint that patrons from elsewhere might take an interest in commissioning plays. But the most extensive range of evidence comes from the end of the 5th cent. onwards and is seen (e.g.) in theatre-building in different parts of the Greek world and in the production in southern Italy and Sicily of large quantities of painted pottery showing tragic scenes. This evidence needs to be combined with what is known from Attica about revivals of plays at the Rural Dionysia (beginning in the 5th cent.: evidence in DFA³ 42–56; D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (1986), 212–22; P. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia: The Chorus, The City and the Stage* (2000), 282–4) and eventually in the city as well. (The first recorded instance at the City Dionysia was in 386 BC, when an old tragedy was put on by the *tragōidoi* (tragic actors; IG 2². 2320), but revivals of Aeschylus' plays had exceptionally been allowed in the city since his death; *Life of Aesch.* 12.) The fact that revivals became popular does not have to mean that tragedy was in decline: it is hard to imagine an acting profession developing without a repertoire, and the wider the demand from different communities, whether local audiences in the Attic demes (local districts) or cities outside Attica eager to build a theatrical tradition, the greater must have been the incentive to re-perform successful plays.

There seems to have been no shortage of new writing, however, and the competition for new plays continued for centuries (evidence in *TrGF I*). Many names are known of tragic poets from other cities who came to Athens to compete, e.g. Theodectes from Phaselis in Asia Minor, one of the most admired of the 4th-cent. dramatists. From the 5th cent. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides held pride of place as 'classic' writers and were honoured with statues in Lycurgus' remodelled theatre of Dionysus at Athens. The fact that Lycurgus found it necessary to decree that official copies of the texts of their plays were to be preserved as a protection against interpolation by actors (Plut. *Mor.* 841 f) is further evidence of their popularity. But they were not the only ones to survive: others of their contemporaries, e.g. Ion of Chios and Achaëus, had a lasting reputation, and some of the new plays themselves acquired classic status.

Aristotle's familiar references to such plays as Astydamos' *Alcmeon* (*Poet.* 1453^b) or Theodectes' *Lynceus* (*Poet.* 1452^a, 1455^b) show how well known they were in his time, and papyrus fragments make clear that some went on being read and re-copied by later generations. The fact that only a very small proportion of the most celebrated tragedies has survived may have more to do with the constraints of the school curriculum in late antiquity and the early Byzantine period than with the intrinsic quality of some of the lost material.

None the less, as tragedy became an 'international' medium changes were certainly taking place, and some of them may have contributed to the eventual decline in its ideological importance. Some developments noted by Aristotle were the increasing influence and prestige of actors at the expense of dramatists (*Rh.* 1403^b), the habit of some tragedians of writing plays for reading rather than performance (*Rh.* 1413^b), and the growing tendency to use choral songs unconnected with the action of a particular play (*embolima*, *Poet.* 1456^a). This last may not be evidence for a decline in the musical element in tragedy, even if the chorus was indeed tending to be less fully integrated in the action, but it may suggest a trend towards the development of a more adaptable and independent repertoire of song and dance. This should perhaps be associated with the growth of professional troupes, who might on some occasions take the place of specially recruited chorusmen. Aristotle also noted (*Rh.* 1404^b) that Euripides had 'shown the way' to more natural diction in tragedy, which he evidently felt to be a desirable modern feature.

In the Hellenistic period the very thorough scholarly work done by the Alexandrian critics on what they could locate of earlier tragedy was ultimately more important than the output of new plays, although there were many tragedians still active, enough of them winning distinction at Alexandria to constitute a 'Pleiad' (*TrGF* I CAT A 5). The most remarkable surviving text from the period is the *Exagōgē* of Ezekias, a product of the union of Greek and Hebrew traditions.

II. 2. Actors and festivals

Growing professionalism must have been an important factor as the influence of tragedy began to spread, and it may have been helped at an early stage by the fact that the crafts of play-writing and producing, and of acting, often ran in families. It was actors who had the best opportunities of becoming well known in the Greek cities; as star performers they could command large fees for performances, and it was they who evidently took the initiative in putting on revivals. The organization of actors from the 3rd cent. onwards into powerful regionally defined guilds (the artists of Dionysus) gave them protection, immunities, and privileges as well as better access to the patronage of rulers and cities (evidence in *DFA*³ 279–321). This is the decisive development for the history of performance in Hellenistic and Roman times, and it linked tragic performers with comic actors, rhapsodes, and musicians of all kinds. Along with the growth in the power and influence of performers went the development of festivals. Dramatic performances were regularly put on not only at festivals of Dionysus, now very common in the Greek-speaking world, but also at many other events: special occasions such as the 'Olympian festival' held by *Philip II of Macedon after he took Olynthus in 348, a pattern followed by many other victorious generals, and regular festivals in honour of other deities, such as the *Mou-seia* at Thespiae, the *Naia* at Dodona, the *Soteria* at Delphi, and others in Asia Minor, the Aegean islands, and Egypt. Over time it probably became common to act selected scenes or speeches, 'highlights' from famous plays; inscriptions often do not make clear what the *tragōidoi* performed, but they confirm the impression given by other sources that there was a vigorous theatrical life in the Greek-speaking cities of the Roman empire long after tragedy had ceased to have any importance as a major literary genre. PEE

II.3. Reception in antiquity

Recent scholarship has widened the range of what counts as relevant evidence for the reception of tragedy in antiquity. This fresh approach to familiar material has been given impetus by many publications of new or neglected texts from papyri and inscriptions, and by studies of artefacts related to theatre production. The extensive bibliography for 1996–2006, covering this range of evidence, is helpfully reviewed in J. R. Green, 'Theatre Production: 1996–2006', *Lustrum* 50 (2008) 7–302 and 367–91.

For centuries, scholars have known the ancient *Lives* of the tragedians, along with the remnants of Alexandrian and later commentary represented by the scholia and transmitted in the manuscripts of some of the plays. There are also plenty of anecdotes about the poets, and judgements on their works, which survive in other ancient sources, many of them collected in the *Testimonia* in the several volumes of *TrGF*. This material has often been disregarded in the past as yielding little that is verifiable in strictly biographical or historical terms, but re-examined from a fresh point of view it can throw interesting light on how tragedy was received or evaluated at different periods. In the same way, quotations in late anthologies (e.g. Stobaeus), or passages used as school exercises or by teachers of rhetoric, have helped to fill out

the picture, while not of course proving that the entire plays from which they are drawn were still current. It has long been clear, in any case, that the continuing prestige of Greek tragedy in antiquity owed much to the durability, from the Hellenistic period onwards, of an educational system which gave weight to the reading and imitation of classic models in pursuit of what would now be called 'communication skills'. In the longer term, it was the adoption by Christian educators of this system and some of its models that gave tragic texts a chance of surviving into the Byzantine world and beyond.

Two other trends, influential in the Humanities more generally, have helped to give new energy to the study of ancient reception: a growing interest in the history of reading and canon-formation by scholars in many disciplines, and the move in literary criticism away from the study of influences and traditions towards the more dynamic model of intertextuality. This has made it easier to explore the use of tragic stories, motifs, and language against the background of changing cultural contexts, and to see how deeply tragedy informed writing, and sometimes performance, in other genres. Its presence was felt not only throughout the history of comedy—in stylistic parody, or burlesque of tragic situations—but in Hellenistic poetry and in the work of prose authors, too, from the orators and Plato to *Plutarch, *Lucian, and the novelists.

Long-term survival also depended on the familiarity of Greek tragic plays in Latin-speaking communities. Translation, adaptation, and imitation are well documented in Latin from the time of Livius Andronicus (*see* TRAGEDY, LATIN), a tradition that had its own resonance in other genres of Roman literature. There was also a new type of performance, which drew heavily on famous figures and situations from tragedy and became hugely popular in the Graeco-Roman world from the 1st cent BC onwards. This was pantomime, a medium in which mimetic dance by a solo performer, with musical backing from a chorus, took the place of dialogue between different characters and could offer a particularly powerful means of crossing linguistic frontiers. The pervasiveness of tragic figures and subjects in the visual arts of the Roman empire is another sign that tragedy still offered a widely recognized way of looking at the world long after the transformation of the culture that created it.

PEE

II.4. Modern reception

Reception of Greek tragedy has become a major focus in classical reception studies. With the realisation in the 1980s that there was a need to document the vibrant history of ancient plays in the modern world (especially noticeable with the increase in productions worldwide from the 1960s onwards) came the understanding that the performance history of Greek tragedy was an important part of the history of classical scholarship as well as theatre history. In recent years the reception of Greek tragedy has extended back into antiquity with the result that its range now encompasses performances from the fifth century BC to the present, as well as the transmission of the texts and their translations into Latin and modern vernacular languages.

The starting point for the 'modern' reception of Greek tragedy used to be the Renaissance, notably the Italian humanist 'discovery' of tragedy. Not only does this ignore the uninterrupted history of scholarship in Byzantium and the near east, it also overlooks the importance of the arrival in Italy of Byzantine scholars following the 1453 Ottoman sack of Constantinople. The first printed edition of Greek tragedy (*E. Med., Hipp., Alc. Andr.*) by Janus Lascaris appeared in Florence in 1495 before the *editio princeps* of the plays of Sophocles (1502) and Euripides (2 vols. 1503–4, excluding *El.* not published until 1546) by Aldus Manutius (1449–1515). Numerous translations into Latin, Italian, French, German, and (slightly later) English soon followed; and the ready availability of these translations has been emphasized by scholars who seek to modify the view that Seneca was the sole tragic model in the early modern period.

Euripides maintained the dominant status accorded to him by Byzantine scholars down to the end of the 17th cent. Sophocles' *O. T.* was the first tragedy to receive a major production (Vicenza, 1585), and following the publication of André Dacier's edition of Aristotle's *Poetics* (1692), along with his translations of *O. T.* and *El.*, Sophocles held sway. Although Aeschylus' plays were the last to be published (1518), performance reception has corrected the view that he remained unpopular until his 'discovery' by the Romantics. Pierre Brumoy's *Le Théâtre des Grecs* (1731) and James Thomson's highly successful play *Agamemnon* (1738) both testify to serious early 18th-cent. engagement with Aeschylus.

The crucial role played by Greek tragedy in shaping the life of the mind from the Romantic period onwards, when the 'tragic' emerges in German philosophy as a concept independent of the art work itself, has received much scholarly attention. Equally fertile was Greek tragedy's role in shaping emergent psychoanalytical theory and French philosophical inquiry post-WW2. In recent years the most notable shift has been in the ever-widening geographical and cultural range of tragedy's reception, which has resulted in some of the most vibrant intercultural performances in world theatre. FM

Tragedies at Rome presented Greek myths and were usually adaptations of classical (and occasionally later) Greek tragedies. Early poets at Rome were of non-Roman origin and low social status. Roman republican tragedy only survives in fragments.

Roman theatres probably never had much space in front of the stage platform for elaborate choral dancing; all action took place on the stage. The surviving scripts of Euripides' *Hecuba*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and *Medea*, and the remnants of *Ennius' adaptations in particular permit deductions about how the early Latin tragedians went about their business. The Greek choral odes did not disappear, but the volume of singing and dancing assigned to the chorus (as an act-divider) was reduced; instead this group was integrated into the plot. At the same time the speeches of the heroic personages were given much more musical accompaniment. The metrical structure of Latin scripts was usually more varied and complex than that of the Attic models and was influenced by conventions long established among local theatrical performers. In terminology and outlook dramatic scripts were modified to reflect Roman values and contemporary interests.

Serious drama took up themes from Roman legend and history from the 3rd cent. onwards and developed them within the dramatic structure which had arisen from the fusion of Attic script and local theatrical tradition. This created the Roman dramatic genre of *fabula praetexta* (historical drama). Accius presented the Roman king Tarquin (see TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, LUCIUS) talking with his councillors about a dream (Cic., *Div.* 1. 43–5), thereby adapting a common structure of Greek tragedy.

Despite continuing popularity at the public festivals (as demonstrated by revivals), the 3rd- and 2nd-cent. plays ran into considerable academic condemnation in the 1st cent. BC as a result of close comparison with their Attic originals and of acceptance of the generic schemes established in Hellenistic criticism. The *Thyestes* composed by Lucius Varius Rufus for performance at the festival celebrating Octavian's victory at *Actium (see AUGUSTUS) is the last known tragedy to be given a full-scale stage performance; it won praise from contemporaries, just as *Ovid's (lost) *Medea* (see Quintil., *Inst.* 10. 1. 98).

Composing for public performances continued in the 1st cent. AD (see Tac., *Ann.* 11. 13. 1). But increasingly there were, on the one hand, presentations of individual star sections of well-known plays and, on the other hand, recitations of plays often written by noblemen. The only surviving scripts from the imperial period are the pieces transmitted under the name of *Seneca; they are each divided into units separated by choral odes, and they

show a metrical practice obedient to the demands made in the Augustan period, following Greek customs. Tragedy was not among the poetic genres attempted in late antiquity. HDJ/GM

Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Traianus), Roman emperor AD 98–117, was born probably in 53 at Italica in Spain, the son of Marcus Ulpius Traianus, a distinguished consular under the Flavians. His unusually long period of service as a military tribune (though hardly ten years as *Pliny the Younger alleges) included a time in *Syria during the governorship of his father c.75. While legionary legate in Spain he marched against Lucius Antonius Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany, who revolted against *Domitian in 89. He was consul in 91, and then having been appointed by *Nerva in 97 as governor of Upper Germany, was adopted by that emperor, who faced growing discontent among the praetorians, as his son and co-ruler, and became *consul ordinarius* (see CONSUL) for the second time in 98. After Nerva's death Trajan first inspected the armies in Pannonia and Moesia, and on his arrival in Rome re-established strict discipline by disposing of the praetorian mutineers against Nerva.

As emperor his personal conduct was restrained and unassuming, qualities also exhibited by his wife Plotina, who from about 105 had the title *Augusta*. He was courteous and friendly with individual senators, and treated the senate with respect, avoiding confiscations of property and executions. Pliny's speech (*Panegyric*) delivered in 100, the year of Trajan's third consulship, gives a senatorial appreciation of his excellent qualities. Trajan intervened to help children who had been maltreated by their fathers, and free-born children exposed at birth, and made further exemptions from the inheritance tax. He required that candidates for public office in Rome should have at least one third of their capital invested in Italian land, and he perpetuated the alimentary scheme, probably instituted by Nerva, through which sustenance was provided for poor children in Italian communities. Trajan undertook many utilitarian and celebratory building projects, including baths, a canal to prevent the river Tiber from flooding, a new harbour at *Ostia, the via Traiana which extended the via Appia from Beneventum to Brundisium, a forum and basilica in Rome dedicated in 112 (*forum Traiani*), and a column depicting the Dacian Wars. He was generous to the Roman people, extending the corn doles, paying out enormous largesse partly financed by the booty of the Dacian Wars and the treasure of the Dacian king Decebalus, and providing lavish spectacles; to celebrate the Dacian victory he gave games on 123 days in which 10,000 gladiators fought.



Trajan Detail of the frieze spiralling round Trajan's Column, at Rome, dedicated in AD 113. With reliefs depicting Trajan's Dacian Wars, and 28.9 m. (95 ft.) in height, the column is the most spectacular example of Roman (narrative) *sculpture placed at the service of imperial *propaganda. The pedestal was employed as Trajan's mausoleum. © Scala, Florence, courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali

The correspondence between Trajan and Pliny, who had been specially appointed to resolve administrative and financial problems in the communities in Bithynia, shows the kind of attitude towards provincial administration that the emperor had inspired in his officials, even if the emperor's replies were not directly composed by Trajan himself. They exhibit justice, fairness, and personal probity: 'You know very well that it is my established rule not to obtain respect for my name either from people's fears and anxieties or from charges of treason' (Plin. *Ep.* 10. 82). The letters about the treatment of Christians (10. 96–7; see CHRISTIANITY) illustrate the fair-minded attitude of the emperor and his governor.

Experienced in military command, Trajan took a personal interest in the troops, whom he described as 'my excellent and most loyal fellow-soldiers', in instructions issued to governors about the soldiers' testatory privileges (*Digest* 29. 1). Two new legions were formed, both named after himself—II Traianic Brave and XXX Ulpien Victorious, and on campaign the emperor took personal charge, marching on foot at the head of his men. Trajan's reign was marked by two great wars of conquest, in Dacia and *Parthia. His invasion in 101 of Decebalus' Dacian kingdom beyond the Danube could be justified on the grounds that the accommodation with the Dacians reached by Domitian was unsatisfactory to long-term Roman interests, and that Decebalus' power was increasing. However his principal motive may have been to win military glory. Trajan crossed the Danube at Lederata and marched north-east to Tibiscum and Tapae; there is insufficient evidence to demonstrate the presence of a second invasion column. The Dacians resisted with great determination and courage and inflicted heavy losses on the Romans in a pitched battle. In 102 Trajan resumed campaigning and by threatening Decebalus' capital at Sarmizegethusa forced the king to accept a peace by which he surrendered some territory and became a vassal of the Romans (Cass. Dio, 68. 9). Leaving garrisons behind, Trajan returned to Rome where he celebrated a triumph, accepted the title *Dacicus*, and issued coins depicting the defeat of Dacia. In 105 the emperor renewed the war, ostensibly because Decebalus was contravening the treaty, and crossed the Danube on a bridge built by Apollodorus at Drobeta (mod. Turnu-Severin). After Sarmizegethusa had fallen to the Romans, Decebalus committed suicide and his treasure was captured. Coins now proclaimed 'the capture of Dacia', and the area was turned into a Roman province with a consular governor and two legions (IV Flavia Felix and XIII Gemina). On the site of a legionary fortress about 30 km. (18 mi.) to the west of the Dacian fortress of Sarmizegethusa a new colony was established, which

served as the capital of the province. At Adamklissi a community called *Municipium Tropaeum Traiani* was set up, and a trophy containing a dedication to *Mars the Avenger made by Trajan in 107/8. In Rome, Trajan's column celebrated the emperor's prowess and the glorious achievement of the Roman army; his ashes were to be deposited in its base.

Expansion continued with the annexation of Arabia in 106 by Aulus Cornelius Palma Frontonianus, the governor of Syria. Elsewhere in the east, contacts between Rome and Parthia, the only sophisticated empire on the periphery of Roman territory, had been characterized by diplomatic rapport and avoidance of serious warfare during the previous 150 years. The kingdom of Armenia, between the two empires on the upper Euphrates, though sometimes prey to Parthian influence and intervention, was generally ruled by a Roman nominee. Trajan took exception to the attempts of King Osroes of Parthia to establish control of Armenia, and refusing all diplomatic advances arrived in *Antioch early in 114. Without major opposition he incorporated Armenia into the empire and then launched an attack on Parthia through Mesopotamia while the Parthian king was beset with civil strife. In the campaigns of 115–16, the Romans crossed the Tigris into Adiabene and then advanced down the Euphrates, capturing the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon. Trajan was acclaimed *imperator* (victorious commander), and accepted the title *Parthicus*. At least one new province (Mesopotamia) was created, and possibly another (Assyria); coins celebrated the 'capture of Parthia', and 'Armenia and Mesopotamia brought into the power of the Roman People'. The emperor advanced to the Persian Gulf, but his success proved transitory as serious uprisings occurred in the captured territory to the army's rear, and a major insurrection of the *Jews in the eastern provinces spread to Mesopotamia in 116. Trajan tried to contain the military situation, and Lusius Quietus had some success in northern Mesopotamia while a vassal king, Parthamaspatas, was imposed on the Parthians. However, as the situation remained precarious, Trajan decided to retreat. Parthamaspatas proved short-lived, despite grandiloquent Roman coins proclaiming a 'king granted to the Parthians', and with his health declining Trajan decided to return to Italy; but in early August he died suddenly at Selinus. *Cassius Dio explained Trajan's aggrandisement in the east as a desire to win glory and this remains the most likely explanation for a man who had already achieved great military success. The policy was a disastrous failure but criticism was muted because he was generally popular with senators. By 114 the appellation 'Best' (*Optimus*), which had appeared early in the reign, had become one of his official titles, and is recalled

in the ritual acclamation of the senate—‘May you be even luckier than Augustus and even better than Trajan.’ JBC

Transalpine Gaul See GAUL (CISALPINE).

translation ‘Translation is so far removed from the sterile equation of two dead languages that of all literary forms it is the one charged with the special mission of watching over the maturing process of the original language and the birth pangs of its own’ (W. Benjamin, *The Task of the Translator* (1923), trans. H. Zohn (1968)). In just this way the developing literature and culture of Rome can be seen as a series of acts of translation from Greek sources. Translation mediated the relationship between Greece and Rome and, thereafter, Rome and the European vernaculars; Isidorus of Seville (10. 123) etymologizes *interpres*, ‘translator’, as one standing *inter partes* ‘between the two sides’. Members of the Roman élite learned, read, and spoke Greek, competing with each other in the cultural fruits of Hellenization (see HELLENISM): *Cato the Elder ostentatiously addressed a Greek audience in Latin, using a translator, but could easily have spoken in Greek (Plut., *Cat. Mai.* 12. 4). Latin literature may be said to begin with Livius Andronicus’ versions of Greek plays and of *Homer’s *Odyssey* in native Saturnian verse. The republican dramatists closely adapted Greek comedy and tragedy for the Roman people. In the view of Aulus *Gellius, *Virgil ‘translated’ *Theocritus, *Hesiod, and Homer (early examples of the porous boundary between translation and imitation). Knowledge of the Greek language aided the expansion of Roman power; e.g. *Cicero, himself an experienced translator (he produced, *inter alia*, a version of Aratus’ influential *Phaenomena*), sought a unified Graeco-Roman culture as the basis of an ordered polity, while standardization of Latin grammar on the model of Greek helped to cement a language for empire. Public documents were translated into Greek, often with adjustment to the different conceptual worlds (so Augustus’ **Res gestae*, and cf. the famous trilingual inscription set up by Cornelius Gallus in Egypt). A number of prominent Roman authors came from non-Latin-speaking municipalities, while *Ennius famously spoke three languages: Latin, Greek, and Oscan. Translation also encouraged Roman self-consciousness about Latin and its limitations, fueling a sense of both inferiority and competition; so *Lucretius (1. 139) complains of the poverty of the language, *egestas linguae*.

The Greeks of the Classical and Hellenistic eras, by contrast, seem to have been primarily monoglot (with obvious exceptions like *Polybius or Philodemus)—foreigners were *barbaroi* (see BARBARIAN), i.e. people who did not speak Greek. Colonization (see COLONIZA-

TION, GREEK; COLONIZATION, HELLENISTIC) and contact with the empires of Asia Minor must have created a need for translation, but e.g. *Herodotus appears to have been dependent on native interpreters for his knowledge of matters Persian and Egyptian, while Plutarch later suggested that Greeks mistrusted such bilingualism (*Them.* 6.2). Initially most Greeks showed scant interest in reading the great Roman authors (though some claimed that Latin was a dialect form of Greek). It was not until the 3rd cent. AD, apparently, that Greeks in the eastern part of the empire, seeking employment in the Roman administration and needing Latin for competence in law, started to study Latin literary texts on any scale; a writer like Claudian would have studied the same syllabus in Egypt as someone educated in Italy (and there are practical bilingual textbooks from this period known as *Hermeneumata*). See BILINGUALISM.

It was the Romans, not the Greeks, who conceptualized the process of translation, establishing the framework and norms of western translation practice until the end of the 18th cent. and beyond; words used include *vertere*, *mutare*, *transferre*, *Latine exprimere*. *Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 7. 9. 1) recommends practice in translating between Latin and Greek for promoting verbal fluency and critical discernment. The canonical case against undue ‘literalism’ is put by *Horace (*Ars p.* 133–4) and by *Cicero, who describes translating speeches by *Demosthenes and *Aeschines not word for word (*non verbum pro verbo*), but so as to retain style and impact (*De optimo genere oratorum*, 14); St Jerome (letter 57. 5) gave the classic formulation: ‘not word for word but sense for sense’ (*non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu*).

Translation must be a matter of concern to all students of antiquity. It is often thought of as the substitution for a foreign word of a word of the same or similar meaning, on the model of a dictionary: *amor* ‘means’ love. Indeed translatability, the idea that alien cultural and linguistic systems can be made intelligible to us, lies at the root of humanistic inquiry (often involving counter-claims that certain terms, e.g. *pietas* or *aretē*, are untranslatable). However, the semantic field of a word in one language is never identical with that of a word in another (*amor*, it can be argued, has different connotations and affiliations from *love*, as do *philia* and *eros*); and words are constantly changing their significations according to shifting context and use. So it may be better to think in terms of semantic ‘equivalence’ rather than identity; translation involves simultaneous sameness *and* difference. Indeed, any theory of translation obviously implies and is dependent upon, a theory of language. It is thus a philosophical or even metaphysical matter as well as an index for cultural exchange.

Translation has often been marginalized as a second-order activity, because the translation has been perceived as subordinate to its wider purpose and so lacking in originality and in lasting literary quality. However, translations can become classics in their own right and are also recognized as crucial in the transmission of texts and of knowledge (examples range from the role of Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin translation in enabling the recuperation of Greek science and philosophy into the western intellectual tradition during the Renaissance to the inclusion of translated excerpts in modern literature). L. G. Kelly (*The True Interpreter: A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West* (1979)) said that 'Western Europe owes its civilization to its translators' and corresponding claims might be made about other cultures that have made substantial contributions to making or disseminating translations. Comparison of texts and translations has made Greek and Roman literature, historiography and philosophy a meeting point for linguistic and hermeneutic debates. The first extended examination of translation questions in English is Alexander Tytler's *Essay on the Principles of Translation* (1790). Before that the best discussions are to be found in prefatory remarks by practising translators; in the *Preface to Ovid's Epistles* (1680) Dryden gives his famous threefold model—metaphrase (word for word), paraphrase (retaining the sense), and imitation (modernization and adaptation). Translation studies became more prominent as an academic specialism in the 20th cent., producing a technical vocabulary (e.g. source and target language, formal and dynamic equivalence) and also providing a variety of perspectives on the relationship between language, writer, reader and context. George Steiner (*After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (1970)) saw translation as foundational for interpretation and human communication in general and used a four-phase model beginning with trust in the value of the source text and leading through sometimes violent seizure and internalization in the new context to a degree of reciprocity in language and understanding between old and new. Anthropological approaches have characterized translation as a 'thick' process in which successive iterations attract accretions and provide a 'commentary' not only on the original text but also on the literary and cultural traditions it has encountered on the way to its current expression. Metaphors used in other models include transgression, conversation or dialogue. Most approaches recognize the differences between the competing aims of assimilation into the new language (with its risk of bland smoothing out of linguistic problems) and communication of the 'foreignness' of the original. Translation of Greek and Latin texts raises particular issues of form,

metre and register as well as of linguistic equivalence, especially in the communication of ambivalence, irony and humour. Sensitivity to translation questions is increasingly a part of classical pedagogy (a translators' note usually accompanies student and popular editions). Translation analysis has also reassessed differences and overlaps between the function and methods of different types of translation and their impact on reader and spectator response. Features include the use of literal or scholarly translations as mediating texts by poets and dramatists and the role of translated passages alongside originals in multi-lingual contexts. In addition to its importance for literary history, analysis of translations of Greek and Latin texts also contributes to research on gender, class, international relations, national and cultural identities and the history of scholarship. Translation analysis has also been aided by the development of related research areas such as the history of the book. *See also* RECEPTION. CAMA/LH

transport, wheeled (*see also* NAVIGATION). The wheel played a prominent role in traction in the ancient Mediterranean lands (contrast its absence in pre-Columbian societies of the Americas). It is more difficult to gauge its economic and social efficacy.

The role of chariots in the poems of *Homer (an echo of the late 2nd-millennium fashion for this form of warfare, also apparent in Indian epic), established an élite function for light wheeled vehicles: this was reinforced by their use for a variety of ritual movements of cult-personnel or objects. Such vehicles were essentially for use over short distances, whether in war or religion. The war-chariot continued to be of social and military significance in the La Tène cultures (cf. that of the Vix burial, c.500 BC, near Mont Lassois, Côte d'Or), which may have had some influence on Italic and Roman practice, in which the *tensa* for religious images, and *carpentum* or *pilentum* for privileged participants (such as *matronae* from 395 BC, Livy 5. 25. 9), were important. The light cart (*zeugos*, a yoke) for relatively rapid movement of people was a luxury but quite widespread where the terrain was suitable. Roman practice adapted from the Celtic chariot the *essedum* and *cisium* for light rapid transit (a 90-km. (56-mi.) journey in ten hours at night with a relay of *cisia*, Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 19).

Carts and wagons (*hamaxa*, *plaustrum*) for the movement of heavy materials, particularly bulk foodstuffs, are attested in the cultures of the Fertile Crescent, and in Danubian Europe, from an early period, and remained in constant use in the Greek and Roman countryside, as well as for transporting goods for state-purposes as at war. The heavy *raeda* (up to 450 kg. (1,000 lb.) burden in

late-antique legislation) was an important example: note also the *angaria* or heavy wagons of the *cursus publicus* (see POSTAL SERVICE).

Much of the Roman vocabulary for wheeled vehicles was of Celtic origin, but it remains unclear when, to what extent, and for what purpose which Celtic-speaking peoples disseminated the designs and their names. Nor is it clear whether the origin is to be sought more in the nomadic social forms of La Tène Europe (cf. Caesar, *BGall.* 1, 3, on the Helvetii) or in the needs of temperate agricultural production and marketing.

Three factors govern the history of wheeled traction: vehicle design, source of traction energy, and environmental modification. For the first two we are very heavily dependent on the often inadequate representations of ancient stone reliefs: archaeological finds are beginning to correct the pessimistic picture derived from these. The technology of load-bearing wheels and axles, like so many practical deployments of *technology in antiquity, seems to have been discontinuous and unsystematic, but occasionally sophisticated: suspension was less often disregarded than was once thought. Harnessing techniques were primarily orientated towards the ox (large ox-teams were the principal traction for very heavy loads like building materials), but they were less ill-adapted towards horses and mules than was once thought. Road-building (see ROADS) was not primarily designed to aid long-distance wheeled transport, and the extent to which even the Roman road-network at its greatest extent and pitch of maintenance did so is disputed.

Other sources of traction therefore remained important: human portage (of individuals in sedan-chair, *diphros/sella* or litter, *phoreion/lectica*; or of goods, particularly over short distances in cities); trains of beasts of burden, horses, donkeys, mules, and increasingly in the east, camels (as a means of carrying humans horses retained a certain cachet, and wheeled transport was sometimes considered unmasculine or soft). Both of these were relatively efficient, but for certain very heavy loads (such as ships on the Corinthian **diolkos*) there was no alternative to dragging, which was not. River-transport (see NAVIGATION) and coastal trans-shipment were naturally preferred. Descriptions such as *Strabo's of the Alpine passes under *Augustus suggest that wagons would be used on stretches of road between trans-shipment points and the steepest sections where baggage animals or porters must have taken over (e.g. 4. 6. 10–11).

In moneyed circles vehicles became very elaborate. They were a regular feature of urban existence, as can be deduced from the rutted pavements of urban roads: civic regulations governed the hours of access and regulated the type of user. But the élite came to disregard the

former disapproval of the litter (which had also been subject to attempted control by legislation from time to time) and *lecticarii* (of whom eight might be required for an ornate litter) were a normal part of very rich households (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1. 2. 7). The emperors in particular expressed their standing through the opulence of their travelling-equipment. NP

tribune of the plebs The *tribuni plebis* (or *plebi*) were the officers of the **plebs* first created in 500–450 BC (traditionally in 494, the date of the first secession of the *plebs* and their corporate recognition; see ROME (HISTORY) §1.2). The word is evidently connected with **tribus*, but it is uncertain whether the tribunes were at first chiefs of the tribes who later became officers of the *plebs* (they are sometimes *phylarchoi* in Greek, but *dēmarchoi* is standard), or whether the title imitated that of the military tribunes (*tribuni militum*) already existing. The original number of the tribunes is variously given as two, four, or five; by 449 it had certainly risen to ten. The tribunes were charged with the defence of the persons and property of the plebeians (*ius auxilii*). Their power derived not from statute (initially, at least) but from the oath sworn by the plebeians to guarantee their *sacrosanctitas*, or inviolability. Elected by the plebeian assembly (*concilium plebis*, more usually called *comitia plebis tributa*) and exercising their power within the precincts of the city, the tribunes could summon the *plebs* to assembly (*ius agendi*) and elicit resolutions (*plebiscita*). They asserted a right of enforcing the decrees of the *plebs* and their own rights (*coercitio*); connected with *coercitio* was a measure of jurisdiction, including, probably, capital. They possessed, moreover, though perhaps not from the very first, a right of veto (*intercessio*) against any act performed by a magistrate (or by another tribune), against elections, laws, *senatus consulta* (decrees of the senate). From this veto only the *dictator (until c.300 BC) and, perhaps, the *interrex* were exempt (*interreges* were men with temporary consular powers, appointed to supervise the election of new consuls if both consulships became unexpectedly vacant).

This revolutionary power was gradually recognized by the state. The tribunes became indistinguishable from magistrates of the state, although without **imperium* or insignia. The full acknowledgement of their power came with the recognition of *plebiscita* as laws binding upon the whole *populus* and not just the *plebs* (by the *lex Hortensia* of 287). Tribunes were first admitted to listen to senatorial debates; at least from the 3rd cent. BC they had the right to convoke the senate; in the 2nd cent. the tribunate became sufficient qualification for membership of the senate (probably by a *lex Atinia* of 149). From the 4th

and 3rd cents. the tribunate became in part an instrument by which the senate could control magistrates through the veto and the right to summon the senate. But the revolutionary potential and popular origins of the office did not disappear. In the first surviving contemporary discussion of the tribunes, from about the middle of the 2nd cent., *Polybius (6. 16) states that 'they are bound to do what the people resolve and chiefly to focus upon their wishes'. Succeeding years saw the tribunate active in the pursuit of the people's interest and the principles of popular sovereignty and public accountability, as evidenced by the beginning of the practice of addressing the people in the forum directly (145), the introduction of the secret ballot in assemblies (139 and 137), concern with the corn supply (138), the agrarian legislation of Tiberius *Gracchus (133), and above all by the legislation and speeches, for which contemporary evidence survives, of Gaius *Gracchus (123–122). This movement continued sporadically into the tribunates of Lucius Appuleius Saturninus at the end of the 2nd cent. but did not long survive the domestic chaos of 100 and the convulsion of the Social War of 91–89 BC (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.5) and consequent enfranchisement of peninsular Italy. Active tribunes came increasingly to be associated with the particular interests and grievances of the urban *plebs* (and frequently with those of one or another of the emergent dynasts); the effective popular instrument was now the army. From the 130s on attempts were made to limit the legislative potential of the tribunate as well as the use of the veto. *Sulla excluded tribunes from the magistracies of the Roman People and abolished, or severely curtailed, their power to legislate, their judicial powers, and their veto. In 75 the bar from magistracies was removed, and in 70 the full *tribunicia potestas* was restored to the tribunes. This tribunician power, divorced from the office but retaining its associations, was valued by the architects of the imperial state in the construction of their personal power. *Caesar assumed at least the tribunician *sacro-sanctitas*, and *Augustus, probably in three steps (36, 30, 23 BC), gained a permanent *tribunicia potestas*. Reft of its power and all independence, the tribunate itself remained as a step in the senatorial career for plebeians alternatively with the aedileship until the 3rd cent. AD, and there is still evidence for the title in the 5th. PSD

tribus, division of the Roman people. In early times the Roman people were supposedly divided into three tribes (the word *tribus* may be connected with Latin *tres* = three) called Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. There is no known parallel for this structure elsewhere in Italy. The suggestion that *Virgil (*Aen.* 10. 202, with Servius' comm.) refers to a tribal division at Mantua is doubtful,

while in the Iguvine tables (religious inscriptions on bronze from Iguvium (mod. Gubbio) in Umbria) *trifu* (= *tribus*?) means the whole community. Everything about the three original Roman tribes is obscure. The modern theory that they represent different ethnic groups (e.g. Latins, Sabines, and *Etruscans) is unfounded and improbable. The three tribes were subdivided into *curiae* and were supposedly the basis of the earliest military organization of the state. A vestige of this system survived in the Roman cavalry; the six oldest centuries of cavalry comprised two each of Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres.

In republican times these original tribes had been replaced by a system of local tribes, to which Roman citizens belonged by virtue of residence. Tradition ascribes the local tribes to Servius *Tullius, who divided the city into four tribes, and the countryside into a number of 'rustic' tribes. By 495 BC there were seventeen rustic tribes. As Rome expanded during the 4th and 3rd cents., further tribes were created to incorporate newly won territory in which Roman citizens were settled or citizenship was conferred on the native inhabitants. By 241 BC the number of tribes had reached 35 (4 urban, 31 rustic). After that it was decided not to create any further tribes, but to include all additional territory in the existing 35. As a result the tribes ceased to be confined to single districts, and came to include separate territories in different parts of Italy.

This process became more marked when Roman citizenship was extended to all of peninsular Italy after the Social War of 91–89 BC (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.5). An attempt to restrict the new citizens to a small number of tribes (in order to diminish their voting power in the *comitia*) was thwarted, and they were distributed among the existing 31 rustic tribes.

The distribution of citizens among the tribes was always a sensitive political issue. In 312 BC the censor Appius Claudius Caecus caused a storm when he registered lower-class citizens (probably including *freedmen) in the rustic tribes. This act, the precise significance of which is not certain, was reversed in 304, and in general during the republic freedmen were confined to the urban tribes, which came to be regarded as socially inferior and politically disadvantaged. The punishment of 'removal from a tribe' (*tribu movere*), which the censors could inflict, in effect meant relegation to an urban tribe.

Every citizen had to belong to a tribe, a rule which continued in imperial times even for provincials who attained the Roman citizenship. It is not known how or why particular tribes were chosen in such cases, and no consistent rule was followed, although certain tribes tended to be favoured in certain provinces. Thus citizens from Gallia Narbonensis (see GAUL (TRANSALPINE))

were enrolled by preference in the tribus Voltinia, and those from the eastern provinces in the Collina and Quirina. From the Ciceronian age it was normal for a Roman citizen to include his tribe (written in abbreviated form) as part of his formal nomenclature.

The tribes were used as constituent voting units in political assemblies, and as the basis of army recruitment, the census, and taxation. During the early republic officials called *tribuni aerarii* had charge of the financial obligations of the tribe. Officers called *curatores tribuum* are also attested, but their role is uncertain (as is their relation to the *tribuni aerarii*).

AM/TJCO

tributum was a direct tax paid by individuals to the Roman state. Until 167 BC citizens of Rome were liable to pay a *tributum* which was in principle an extraordinary (in contrast to the regular *vectigalia*) levy on their property and might be repaid. The total size of the levy was decided by the senate and varied from year to year. In some years, e.g. 347–345, no *tributum* was levied. After its suspension in 167 BC this form of *tributum* was only again levied in the exigencies of the civil wars after *Caesar's murder. Under the emperors Rome and Roman Italy were exempt from direct taxation. After 167 BC *tributum* came to denote the direct taxes raised in the provinces, either in the form of a land-tax (*tributum soli*) or poll-tax (*tributum capitis*). These were paid by all inhabitants of the provinces, whether Roman citizens or not, except by citizens of *coloniae* (see COLONIZATION, ROMAN) which normally possessed the *ius Italicum* (a privilege by which provincial land was deemed for some purposes to be in Italy) and were consequently exempt, usually from both taxes (*Dig.* 50. 15. 1 and 8), by citizens of cities which had been granted immunity (*immunitas*) by special dispensation, or by persons specifically exempted by a *lex, senatus consultum* (decree of the senate), or imperial decree (*SEG* 9. 8. 3).

The *tributum soli*, under the republic, was normally either a fixed sum (*stipendium*) as in Spain and Africa, or a tithe (*decuma*) paid in kind and leased by the censors in Rome to *publicani*, as in Asia (see ASIA, ROMAN PROVINCE) after the *lex Sempronia* (see GRACCHUS, GAIVS) of 123 BC (*App. BCiv.* 5. 4. 17–20). Under the emperors the system of leasing of direct taxes to *publicani* was abandoned. *Augustus instituted periodic provincial censuses which formed the basis of assessment. Each provincial city normally received a bloc assessment. The individual provincial was liable to his city, the city to the Roman government. Local magistrates were responsible for collection in their city and its territory. The tax was levied in cash or kind according to custom and regional circumstances.

The *tributum capitis* seems first to have been imposed, along with *tributum soli*, in Africa in 146 BC (*App. Pun.* 135; see AFRICA, ROMAN); otherwise it is not attested before the period of the civil wars. Under the emperors details of its character and incidence are exiguous, although it was almost certainly universal in the provinces. In *Syria we happen to know (*Dig.* 50. 15. 3) that inhabitants were liable from age 14 for men and 12 for women to 65.

In *Egypt the Romans raised a complex pattern of taxes in cash and kind (especially in grain) on the land and its produce, and also imposed a poll-tax (*laographia*) paid by native Egyptian males from 14 to 60, by the inhabitants of the *metropoleis* at reduced rates, but not by the citizens of the Greek cities.

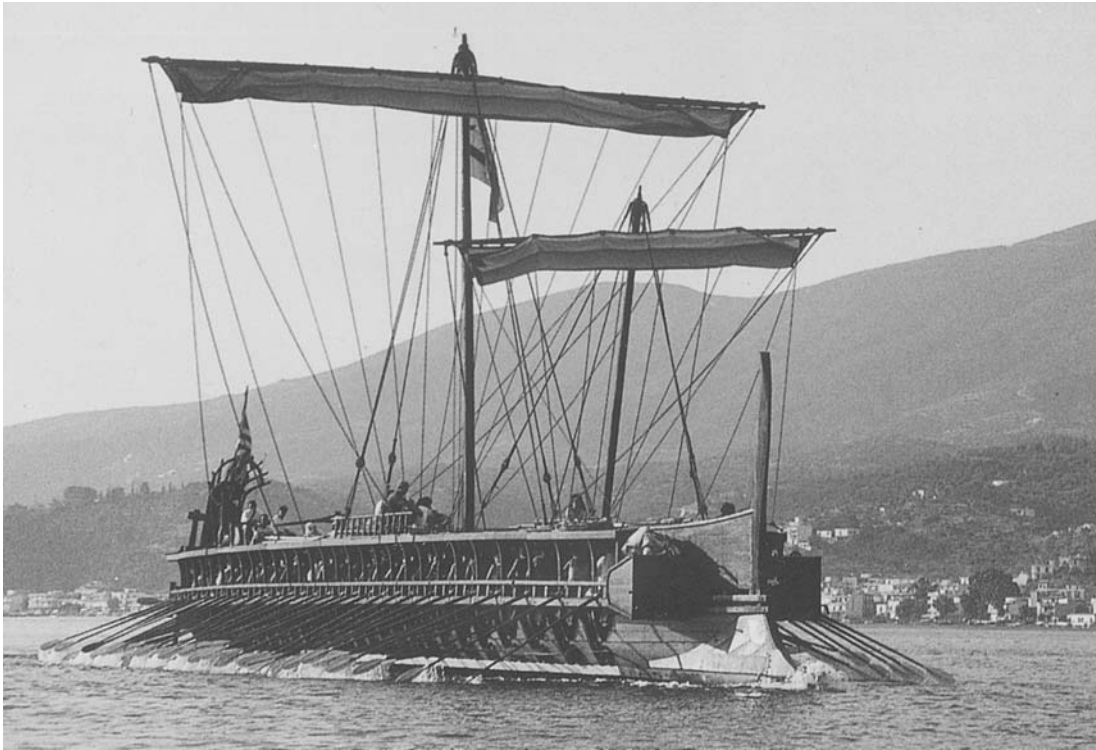
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trierarchy The word *triērarchos* means ‘*trireme-commander’, but at Athens in the 5th and 4th cents. BC the trierarchy was a liturgy (work for the state at one's own expense), which the richest citizens could be called on to perform for a year. The state provided the ship and its basic equipment, and normally paid for the crew, but the trierarch had not only to command the ship but also to bear the costs of maintenance and repair, which could amount to as much as one talent. After 411 it became common for two men to share responsibility for a ship, and contractors could be found who would relieve the trierarchs of their personal involvement; reforms in 357 and later involved the organization of those liable in *symmorai* (‘partnerships’). The liturgy was abolished by Demetrius of Phalerum (see ATHENS (HISTORY)) in 317–307.

The institution is found in some other states (*Rhodes, *Arist. Pol.* 5. 1304^b; Teos and Lebedus, *Syll.*³ 344, 66; Priene, *Syll.*³ 1003, 29), but elsewhere *triērarchos* denotes simply the captain of a warship, and that is perhaps the meaning of the word in *Herodotus (e.g. 6. 14. 2).

CGS/PJR

trireme The trireme (Gk. *triērēs*, Lat. *triremis*) was the standard warship of the Classical world for much of the time from the 5th cent. BC to the 4th cent. AD. A long rowing-ship, its principal weapon was a bronze ram, fixed on the prow at the water-line. It was rowed by oarsmen arranged in groups of three, sitting one above the other and each oarsman pulling a single oar of equal length. The topmost level of men were called in Greek *thranitai*, the middle ones *zygioi*, and the lowest ones *thalamioi*. On an Athenian trireme of the Classical period there were 170 oarsmen, ten marines, four archers, and sixteen sailors, including the helmsman, making a total of 200. Trials of a modern reconstruction of an Athenian trireme have shown that speeds in excess of 9 knots are possible. Triremes could be rowed with only some of the oars manned, but this reduced speed considerably. For long



trireme The *Olympias*, a modern replica of a trireme, under oars off Poros (Greece) in 1992. Painstakingly researched, and built using (as far as possible) authentic techniques and materials, it has provided valuable insights into seaworthiness and speed. © Alexandra Guest / The Trireme Trust

sailing passages sails were used, but masts were usually removed and left on the shore before battle.

The origins of the trireme are uncertain. There is no reliable evidence as to where the ship was first developed, although modern scholars tend to favour either Phoenicia (see PHOENICIANS) or Egypt as its birthplace, and to date its invention to the second half of the 6th cent. BC. The heyday of the trireme was the 5th cent. BC, when the finest practitioners of trireme warfare were the Athenians, who perfected the art of manoeuvring at speed to ram and disable enemy ships.

From the mid-4th cent. BC larger warships with oarsmen arranged in groups of four, five, six, or more were developed. These ships relied far less on ramming and high-speed manoeuvring, and more on boarding and missile weapons. Thus the trireme became less important in Mediterranean fleets until the creation of the Roman imperial navy, which used triremes extensively until the 4th cent. AD. See NAVIES.

triumph In the Middle and Late republic, the procession of a general, with a select body of his troops, to the temple

of *Jupiter on the Capitol, to celebrate and give thanks for a major victory. As Roman scholars saw (see Varro, *Ling.* 6. 68 with some uncertainty), the word was derived from Greek *thriambos* (modern scholars believe via *Etruscan), which Varro knew as a cult name of *Dionysus. The cult of Dionysus was introduced to Rome, together with that of *Demeter and *Persephone, in the 490s BC according to Roman tradition, and they were identified with the Italian fertility deities Ceres (to whom the temple was chiefly dedicated), Liber and Libera. The temple stood on the Aventine hill, then outside the *pomerium* (religious boundary). Although in this temple Liber-Dionysus was a junior partner, we learn incidentally that he had a (presumably) ancient presence on the Capitol itself, where his statue is later well attested and where he must have had a *sacellum* i.e. shrine (since no temple is known) where, on his festival, the Liberalia, he received offerings. (See *Fasti Farnesiani* under 17 March: *Liberio in Ca[pitolio]*.) They must have been carried up to him by a solemn procession; but since we do not hear of the cult during the republic, it presumably fell into abeyance at some time and was restored only under *Augustus.

The word *Triump(h)us* first appears on our record in the *Carmen Arvale* (hymn of the arval brethren), probably of the early 4th cent. BC, where it is repeated five times in the vocative (*Triumpe*) in the last line, to form the climax to the hymn. Here it cannot have anything to do with its later connection with military success: not only would this be entirely out of place in this primitive fertility hymn, but the vocative must be taken as parallel to the other vocatives in the hymn, as an appeal to a deity for the promotion and protection of the crops. Its placing and the fivefold repetition mark it out as singularly passionate. The god thus appealed to can only be the fertility god Liber, who, together with the identification with Dionysus, apparently took over the cult name of *thriambos*. This must have been the ancient god on the Capitol, not the minor associate in the temple of Ceres. The procession to Liber on March 17 may well have been called by the Latin form of that term. It does not seem too bold a conjecture to suggest that the original 'triumph' procession was one that carried up offerings to Liber Pater. It would fit in with the society revealed by the *Carmen Arvale* and largely disguised by the late literary sources, with their emphasis on conflict and violence.

We do not know when the Romans decided to celebrate major victories with a procession to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. By the time Roman history came to be written, the procession, as well as a less splendid one called *ovatio*, had come to be regarded as coeval with the city. All the kings are reported to have celebrated victories in this way, except for Numa Pompilius, regarded as the founder of the peaceful institutions of the city. Whenever it was, the procession to take the offerings up to Liber Pater on the Capitol to invoke his blessing on the crops provided an obvious precedent—as far as we know, the only procession taking offerings up to a Capitoline deity. It seems to have been thus that Liber-Triumpus (Dionysos-Thriambos) gave his name to the victory cortège, which came to monopolize it.

If the triumphs of the kings are obviously fictitious, the earliest republican triumphs must be discarded along with them and with many of the details of the earliest history of the republic. (See the lists for the earliest years in *MRR* with annotation). We do not know at what point we may regard the lists of triumphs, or even the lists of senior magistrates, as fully historical—certainly not before some time in the 4th cent. Even after that point, they remained subject to manipulation in the interests of families (as Cicero knew: see *Brut.* 62). Even *Livy*, who faithfully recounted early names and offices as he found them in his source, had serious doubts. (See 8. 40, probably influenced by the *Brutus* passage). And triumphs would be easier to invent than actual names and offices.

The invention of the triumph may owe something to the influence of the Etruscans: Etruscan paintings show rituals that appear to be similar, though we cannot fully interpret them. By the time the triumph had developed set forms, the triumphal procession entered Rome through the *porta triumphalis* ('triumphal gate') through which no one else might enter. (It may have been part of the *porta Carmentalis*). It made its way to the Capitol by a long route including open spaces where large numbers could see it. It comprised, essentially, the *triumphator* (dressed in the costume said to have been the kings' and close to Jupiter's) on a four-horse chariot, with any sons of suitable age as outriders; eminent captives (normally destined for execution) and freed Roman prisoners of war dressed as the *triumphator's* freedmen; the major spoils captured; his army; and animals for sacrifice. The whole senate and all the magistrates were supposed to escort it. Increasingly costly and elaborate details were added from c.200 BC, including banners, paintings of sieges and battles, musicians, and torch-bearers. The *triumphator* was preceded by his lictors (attendants who carried the *fascēs* or rods of office), and a slave rode with him, holding a laurel wreath over his head and reminding him that he was mortal. The soldiers chanted insulting verses, no doubt to avert the gods' displeasure. The right to triumph depended on a special vote of the people allowing him to retain his military **imperium* in the city, and so in fact on the senate's decision to ask for this vote.

To celebrate a triumph was the height of a Roman aristocrat's ambition. Even **Cicero*, after some minor successes in his province, could not disguise his hope for a triumph. (**Cato the Younger* tactfully made it clear to him that he could not expect one: see *Fam.* 15. 5, telling him to be content with having achieved a supplication). By then the interpretation of the rules (see below) had largely become a plaything of politics and of power. **Pompey* could celebrate two triumphs without having been a magistrate, one of the legal prerequisites; and **Caesar* could bestow triumphs as a gift on two of his *legati*.

We do not know what the rules of entitlement were for the early credible triumphs. By the late republic a strict set of rules, no doubt gradually developed, was observed while the political system was functioning, and was kept in place owing to the mutual jealousies within the aristocracy; these ensured equality of opportunity inside its class. The prerequisites for expecting the necessary decisions by senate and people were a decisive victory in a declared war against a foreign enemy; the commander must have fought under his own auspices (*auspicial*), which meant that he must have fought as a magistrate or promagistrate in his own **provincia*; and at least 5,000 of

the enemy had been killed in the battle. From 231 BC a general refused the necessary votes for a triumph might celebrate one on the Alban Mount, for which no authorization was deemed to be needed, but for reasons we do not know, this faded out by the end of the republic. It is possible that the senate, whose authority the practice undermined, succeeded in having it stopped by law.

In the late republic, and probably much earlier, the first step towards asking for a triumph was having oneself acclaimed as *imperator* (victorious commander) by one's victorious army. This by no means guaranteed approval by the senate. What often guaranteed acceptance was a supplication, especially a lengthy one decreed by the senate. The cost would be paid out of public funds, which were normally considerably enriched by the general's booty. Like all political decisions, the award could be influenced by exceptional political power. (See, as early as the mid-2nd cent., the triumph of Appius Claudius Pulcher.) With the rise of the dynasts towards the end of the republic, the senate, in this as in other respects, had to yield to their power. (See above for the behaviour of Pompey and Caesar).

The last 'republican' triumph was celebrated, by then as a special distinction awarded by Augustus, by Lucius Cornelius Balbus in 19 BC. It was the first triumph awarded to one who was a naturalized Roman citizen, and the last triumph displayed on a public record.

Under the empire in its developed form only the emperor, as sole holder of *imperium*, had the right to triumph. He could occasionally share it with a son (see *TTTUS*), whose right to the succession he wanted to strengthen. The men who, as *legati*, achieved the actual victory, received *ornamenta triumphalia* ('triumphal ornaments'). This honour was gradually divorced from purely military success. *Trajan tried to restore the old standard, but after *Hadrian it seems to have faded out.

With competition among aristocratic families removed, there may have been fewer triumphs. Although there was now no public record, some record was apparently kept, at least in the 1st cent. AD: Orosius informs us (7. 9. 8) that the total number of triumphs from Romulus to *Vespasian was 320, and he presumably had genuine information. But with the emperor in sole control, standards were not consistently kept up. At least sometimes triumphs were now celebrated for political reasons, divorced from military merit. Tacitus, with obvious distress, occasionally mocks the decline (e.g. *Germ.* 17. 5).

However, there could still be brilliant triumphs under military emperors, most notably the triumph of Vespasian and Titus over Judaea, in which the booty taken from the temple in Jerusalem was displayed: see Joseph. *BJ* 7. 131 ff. for a detailed description of the procession and (148 ff.)

of the spoils from the Temple, shown to this day on the Arch of Titus in the Forum.

Josephus incidentally informs us of a major innovation in the procession. Under the republic, although captured enemy commanders were usually executed (but see, e.g., Perseus), this was done quietly after the triumph: see, e.g. Jugurtha, *Plut. Mar.* 13. 4; Vercingetorix, *Dio* 43. 19. 4. Under the empire the execution took place while the procession was in progress; the *triumphator* waited by the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol for the announcement, and the crowd cheered wildly when they heard it (Joseph. *BJ* 7. 153, 'an old-fashioned custom', i.e. dating back to the earliest days of the empire). We do not know how long the custom lasted (did, e.g., the philosopher Marcus *Aurelius follow it?). Women were customarily spared, following a precedent set by Caesar in the case of Arsinoe IV (later executed by *Cleopatra VII and Mark *Antony); thus, e.g. Zenobia (*Vit. Aur.* 34. 3). Cleopatra would surely have been spared (see *Dio* 51. 12. 5), had she submitted to the shame of being displayed in Octavian's triumph (see *ibid.* 1. 1-2, *Plut. Ant.* 84. 2. 4).

Triumphal-style celebrations continued for centuries, both in Rome and in Constantinople, but with the adoption of Christianity the Roman triumph, culminating in the sacrifice to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, came to an end. The joint triumph of *Diocletian and Maximian in 303 may be regarded as the last Roman triumph.

The best description of the procession is by W. Ehlers, *RE* 7A (= 13).1, coll. 501-10. A complete list of triumphs from the triumph of *Romulus to the triumph of Balbus in 19 BC (called by scholars *Fasti Triumphales*) was engraved, together with a list of consuls (*Fasti Consulares*), probably on the Arch of Augustus in the Roman Forum voted to him in 20 BC for his success in recovering the Roman arms from the Parthians. Most of the surviving portion was found in excavations in 1546 and 1547; small fragments were discovered at various times later, most recently in the 1920s.

The standard edition is by A. Degrassi in *Inscr. Ital.* 13. 1; an *editio minor* (so called) by Degrassi, a paperbound Paravia volume, contains the text and full discussion (1954). Small fragments of other lists survive: see Degrassi and, for an illustration of one, also M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (2007) fig. 37. EB

trophies (Gk. *tropaia*, Lat. *trophaea*, from *tropē*, a turning i.e. rout of the enemy). The act of dedicating on the field of battle a suit of enemy armour set upon a stake is a specifically Greek practice. Originally intended as a miraculous image of the *theos tropaios* who had brought about the defeat of the enemy, a trophy marked the spot where the enemy had been routed. Trophies were also



trophies Relief slab from from the Tropaeum Traiani ('Trophy of Trajan') at Adamklissi (in modern Romania), erected by *Trajan in 108/9 to celebrate his conquest of Dacia. The slab depicts hand-to-hand combat between a Roman legionary and two trousered *barbarians'. Representations of contemporary events were a feature of Roman *sculpture. Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest

dedicated in the sanctuary of the deity to whom victory was ascribed. They appear in art at the end of the 6th cent. BC and were certainly in use during the Persian Wars (see GREECE (HISTORY)).

The trophies of the 4th cent. became permanent monuments. The battle of Leuctra (371 BC) was commemorated by a tower surmounted by a trophy of arms, and from this period onwards the name was applied to various kinds of towers and buildings commemorating military and naval victories. Trophies became a common motif of art; sculptured trophies accompanied by statues of captives and victors decorated the buildings of Hellenistic kings and took an important place in Roman triumphal art from the 1st cent. BC. The word trophy is also applied, though not with strict accuracy, to the masses of arms on sculptured monuments which appear first at *Pergamum and later on a number of Roman commemorative monuments. The best-known Roman trophy monuments are those of Augustus at La Turbie and of Trajan at Adamklissi.

DES

Troy (mod. Hisarlık) (see Map 1, Db) lies in north-west *Asia Minor 5 km. from the Hellespont. The site consists of a mound with c.25 m. of deposits and a 1 km. sq. skirt to the south. It was noted by F. Kauffer (1793), identified as classical *Iliion* by E. D. Clarke (1810) and as Homeric Troy by C. Maclaren (1820). Soundings by Frank Calvert (1863, 1865) revealed prehistoric strata. H. Schliemann excavated much of the mound (1870–90), further excavations being by W. Dörpfeld (1893–94), C. W. Blegen (1932–38), M. O. Korfmann (1988–2006) with C. B. Rose, and since 2006 by E. Pernicka.

The site was occupied from c.2900 BC to the 6th cent. AD. The numerous phases are conventionally, but variously, grouped into nine bands. As now defined, I–III (from c.2900 BC) represent the early bronze age, IV–V (from c.2000?) probably belong in Anatolian terms to the middle bronze age, VI–VIIa (from c.1750) are mainly late bronze age, VIIb–VIII (from c.1180) span early iron age to hellenistic periods, IX (85 BC to 6th cent. AD) is Roman.

The settlement was founded on a limestone spur with a marine bay to the north, since silted up, which could be exploited for fish and seafood and which offered a harbour at a strategic point. Throughout I–VIIa a citadel stood on the highest point, fortified by a succession of stone walls punctuated by gates and towers, with superstructures of mudbrick and timber.

Troy I originated within a Thracian-Anatolian cultural continuum but during the 3rd millennium influences from Greece, central and southern Anatolia and Syria also made themselves felt. Troy II provides the clearest picture of Troy in the early bronze age. Two massive gates led into the citadel, one approached by a paved ramp. Within lay (in Middle II) a colonnaded courtyard containing five parallel 'megarons' (palatial halls), one more than 40 m. long. After a fire the citadel was filled (in Late II) with densely built *insulae* (tenement blocks) separated by narrow streets—a style continuing into Troy III and with some variation into IV and V as well. Metalworking—probably secondary smithing—was practised on the site. Gold, copper, and silver were accessible in north-west Anatolia; from Troy II tin was imported from elsewhere, perhaps central Asia. Schliemann found sixteen hoards ('treasures') of weapons, tools, vessels, and jewellery in gold, silver, bronze, and copper. Their authenticity has been questioned, but subsequent discoveries from both Troy and the north-east Aegean support their general reliability. The potter's wheel was introduced early in Troy II. Troy IV and V are less well known and appear less wealthy.

Prosperity returned in VI–VIIa, as the monumental architecture shows. Three successive citadel walls of increasing magnificence survive, characterized by shallow

vertical offsets and gates on west, south and east sides. A north-east bastion and two towers (VIh and 'VI'i) were added to the circuit in phases VIg, VIh, and VIIa respectively. Inside the citadel the ground rose in concentric terraces. Spacious free-standing houses stood on the lower terraces, more densely in VIIa than in VI. A royal palace may have stood on the summit, but no trace survives because the topmost deposits were removed in the late 3rd cent. BC to make way for a Sanctuary of Athena. Troy VI introduced a distinctive 'Grey Minyan' pottery. Its similarity to Middle Helladic products, along with the monumental architecture and the appearance of equids, caused Blegen to posit the arrival of Greeks at the beginning of VI. The theory is now generally discredited, in part because the grey fabric is seen to have local antecedents. Mycenaean-style pottery was present in VI–VIIa, most of it locally made, and is useful for dating. Re-assessment by P. A. Mountjoy (*Studia Troica* 9) indicates that Troy VI ended during LH IIIa/b transitional (c.1330), and that VIIa ended during LH IIIb (c.1180). Both events were violent and left fallen masonry (especially in VI) and signs of fire (especially in VIIa). Blegen attributed the earlier destruction to an earthquake and the later to human agency, a view widely accepted.

These two destructions are the best archaeological points for locating a 'Homeric' Trojan War. The first falls within a period when Mycenaean were attempting to expand into western Anatolia; the second coincides with the advance of Sea Peoples through the east Mediterranean, a movement in which Mycenaean were probably involved. In either circumstance an attack by some Mycenaean on Troy could be imagined. Whether this could ever have been on the scale or in the manner depicted by Greek epic is doubtful.

The picture of bronze age Troy has been revolutionized by Korfmann's excavations which have revealed a bronze age lower town to the south of the citadel. Troy thus conforms to the normal pattern of an ancient near eastern city. The lower town was occupied from at least Troy II, but the picture is clearest for VI–VII. 450 m. to the south of the citadel are traces of a footing-trench from a probable palisade and gate. Outside it lie two ditches, the inner dating to VI and the outer to VIIa. The Troy VI ditch has been traced around most of the lower town, is interrupted by several crossing-points, and is almost certainly defensive. Buildings or other signs of occupation have been uncovered within wherever excavations have been made. A Troy VI cemetery discovered by Blegen lies just outside. A remarkable water-mine was dug into bedrock below the lower town; analysis of the earliest sinter shows it to date to Troy II.

After the destruction of VIIa, occupation continued on and around the citadel in simpler houses, but with new influences from areas west of the Black Sea visible in the pottery. Since an unbroken, and in some respects new, development has now been established from this period until the arrival of Greek colonists in the 8th cent. (Troy VIII), VIIb may now be seen as marking the beginning of the iron age. CWB/DFE

Tullius, Servius, the sixth king of Rome (conventionally 578–535 BC), murdered by *Tarquinius Superbus at the instigation of his daughter Tullia. *Claudius identified him with the Etruscan adventurer Mastarna but Roman sources, deriving Servius from *servus* ('slave'), made him the son of a Latin captive Ocrisia and brought up in the household of Tarquinius Priscus. Because of his supposed slave ancestry he was attributed the enfranchisement of freedmen, the creation of the Compitalia, a close association with Fortuna (cf. Degrassi, *ILLRP* 1070 (3rd cent.?)), and perhaps the establishment of a federal Latin sanctuary of *Diana on the Aventine (whose dedication date coincided with a slave festival). As the penultimate king he was supposed (perhaps by the time of *Timaeus) to have established political and military institutions that were deemed fundamental to the republic but believed to antedate it and not to be attributable to his tyrannical successor: the centuriate organization, the first territorial tribes (see *TRIBUS*), and the census. Although their initial phases may well date from the 6th cent., the form in which our sources present these innovations is anachronistic, as is the associated ascription to Servius of the first Roman *coinage, direct taxation (**tributum*), and army pay. The so-called 'Servian wall' of Rome dates from the early 4th cent. (earlier defences securely datable to the 6th cent. have not been identified) but two phases of one of the Sant'Omobono temples (with both of which Servius was associated) do belong to the 6th cent. Accius already celebrated Servius as establishing 'liberty' for the citizens, but later writers offer varying interpretations of his reforms: as concentrating political power in the hands of the wealthy (Cic. *Rep.* 2. 37 ff.), as creating a timocratic distribution of rights and responsibilities (Livy 1. 42 f.), or simply as the work of a skilful pragmatic populist (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.8 ff.). Recent speculation has seen him as (in part) attempting to combat the power of the nascent patriciate. AD

Twelve Tables (For the historical background, see *ROME (HISTORY)* §1.2.) According to Roman tradition, popular pressure led to the appointment for 451 BC of ten men with consular *imperium*, for writing down statutes, *legibus scribundis*, in order to put an end to the patrician

and priestly monopoly of the law. They compiled ten tables, were reappointed for 450 BC, and compiled two more, including the ban on intermarriage between patricians and plebeians, which was rapidly abrogated by the *lex Canuleia* of 445 BC. An attempt to remain in office for 449 BC also failed. The fundamental consequence was that customary law was now enacted by statute and given legislative basis; and the Twelve Tables were seen as the starting-point of the development of Roman law.

We have no way of verifying this tradition; and it may be that the impetus came rather from a desire for self-regulation within the élite. But the legal, antiquarian, oratorical, and historical tradition preserves a remarkably consistent view of the content of the Twelve Tables, even if the language has been modernized. And it is reasonably certain both that they underlay the colonial charters of the late 4th cent. BC onwards and that legislation to revise them began in the early 3rd cent. BC.

Three points remain controversial: there is little evidence for the order of the different provisions and modern editions largely classify them perforce according to the later divisions of the law; it is uncertain how complete is the record preserved by our sources; and it is disputed how far they contained what was later regarded as public law. Our knowledge of the order depends on the fragments of the commentary by the legal teacher Gaius quoted in the *Digest* and on the occasional attribution of particular provisions to particular tables; but it is at least certain that the provision conventionally printed as *Tabula I, 1*, is the first. As far as the second point is concerned, there seem to be few areas of the private law of the late republic where a provision of the Twelve Tables is not at some point invoked and it is unlikely that whole fields covered by the Twelve Tables have disappeared without trace. And if one thinks in less rigid terms about the third problem, a consistent view of our tradition must lead to the conclusion that even if the Twelve Tables mostly concerned themselves with relations between individuals, they also at times concerned themselves with relations between individuals and the community.

The Twelve Tables were presumably not much systematized and perhaps put together largely from material which was readily to hand and which the ten men supposed to be actually or potentially useful, not unlike the later praetor's edict. It would be exaggerated to describe the Twelve Tables as a code. They attracted commentary from the middle republic onwards, but gradually became more and more obsolete as the praetor's edict developed, becoming progressively the province of antiquarians. MHC

tyranny (*tyrannos*, 'tyrant', was perhaps a Lydian word) is the name given to the form of monarchy set up by usurpers in many Greek states in the 7th and 6th cents. BC. The earliest occurrence of the term is in *Archilochus (*tyrannis*, fr. 19. 3 West). Tyranny was not a special form of constitution, or necessarily a reign of terror; the tyrant might either rule directly or retain the existing political institutions but exercise a preponderant influence over their working, and his rule might be benevolent or malevolent. Tyranny was given a bad sense especially by *Plato and *Aristotle, for whom it was the worst possible form of constitution.

Among the best known of the early tyrants were Pheidon of Argos, Cypselus and Periander of Corinth, Cleisthenes of Sicyon, *Pisistratus and his sons Hippias and Hipparchus in Athens, and Polycrates of Samos. Archaic tyranny seems to have been a response to the development of the city-states: typically a fringe member of the ruling aristocracy would seize power with the support of discontented members of the community; but after a time the rule of the tyrant in turn became a cause of discontent, and tyranny hardly ever lasted more than two generations. These tyrants ruled in a period of growing confidence and prosperity: by encouraging national cults, by sponsoring public works, and by acting as patrons to writers and artists, they glorified both their cities and themselves. Later tyrants were military dictators, among them Gelon and Hiero of *Syracuse and Theron of Acragas at the beginning of the 5th cent. and *Dionysius I and Dionysius II of Syracuse in the late 5th and 4th cents. VE/PJR

U

Ulysses See ODYSSEUS.

URBANISM

I. Greek and Hellenistic

Urban units are to be distinguished not simply by the size of the community, but by its topographical organization, occupational pattern, and cultural sophistication. The formation of towns is not therefore simply a matter of the agglomeration of communities, but of the forging of a community of distinct character. Archaeologists have sometimes been too willing to call early bronze age settlements towns as a result of overestimating the size of the community involved, but both the archaeological remains and the evidence of the Linear B tablets show that late bronze age palace centres of *Minoan civilization and *Mycenaean civilization were essentially urban units in their size, occupational diversity, and culture. Particularly important seems to be the role of the palaces as centres for the storage and redistribution of agricultural produce: it may not be coincidental that both the bronze age palaces and the earliest towns develop in areas marginal for agriculture and where accumulation and storage of produce is vital if a stable community of any size is to be maintained and is a source of political power.

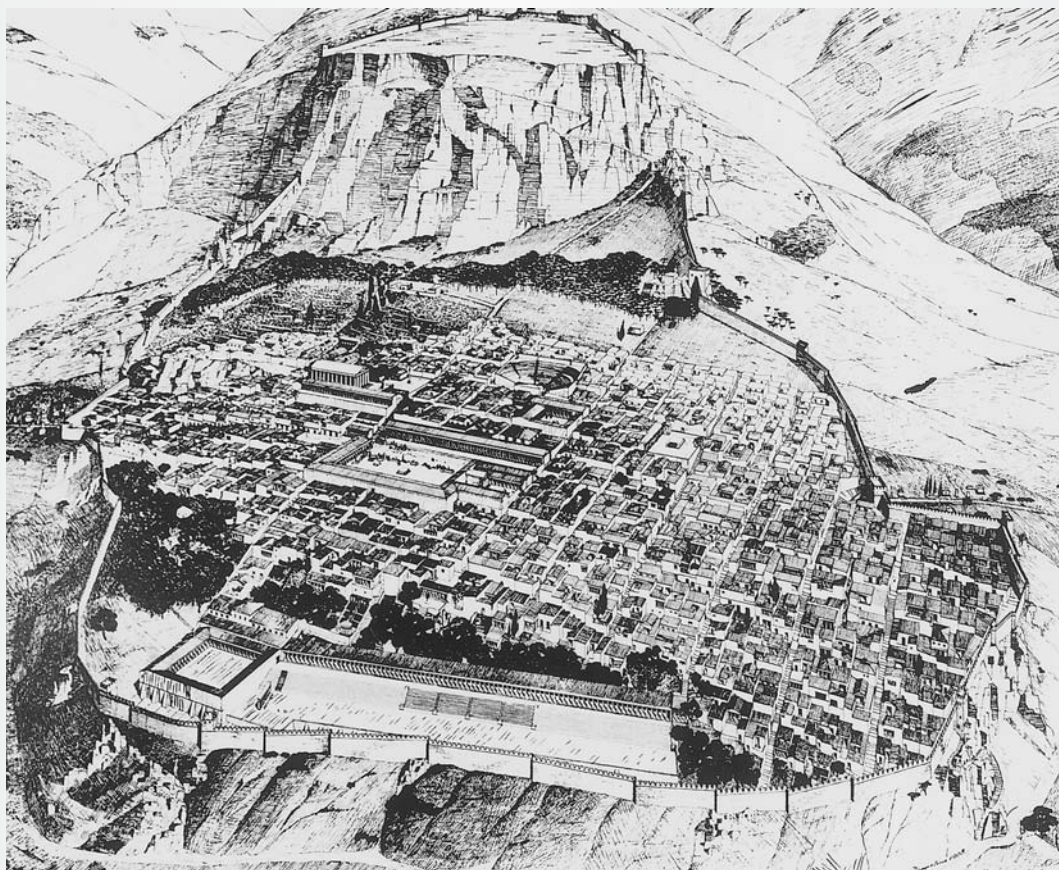
No Dark Age community deserves to be called a town, and the growth of towns in the 8th and 7th cents. seems in many cases to be a result of separate village communities coalescing for political and economic reasons (*synoecism). At Corinth, for example, the creation of a single town, with a specific area devoted to burial of the dead, and the creation of a separate potters' quarter go closely together, and are followed within half a century by temple-building and by *tyranny. Corinthian pottery already follows an independent tradition before the grouping of potting activity into the potters' quarter. The impetus to urbanism in Corinth may have come in part from Corinthian involvement in settlements abroad, which probably formed communities recognizably urban in their organization of civic space from the beginning, to judge from the way in which areas were reserved from the beginning for 'civic' activities at the Megarian colony of Megara Hyblaea in *Sicily. The members of a new community, formed from scratch, must have given thought in the abstract to the requirements and organization of communal life. This may in turn have led to changes at home as well as in the daughter-community. Unification for defence seems to play little part in the urbanization of this period, and many early towns seem to have been without walls; but it is significant that colonizing and urbanism are at this stage phenomena of agriculturally marginal southern Greece, as also is that characteristic political unit, the *polis.

Greek political thought did not recognize the existence of urban communities which were not also politically independent: *Aristotle in *Politics* 1 sees the polis as the natural evolutionary product of the growth of the village. Urbanism and political independence should therefore be seen as going closely together. One mark of both is the focusing of the

community's religious life upon certain particular *sanctuaries, both central sanctuaries and those at the margins of a city's territory which stake out claims to territorial control as well as providing a proving ground for future citizens and citizen wives. The development of functionally specific sanctuaries, including these out-of-town sanctuaries, is part of the occupational diversity characteristic of urban life and can be observed both in southern Greece and in Greek colonies from the later 8th cent. onwards.

The assumption that urban units should also enjoy political independence had consequences for urban development across a single political territory. The main settlement tends to be very much the largest settlement in a political territory, and even when there are other populous centres they tend not to develop the full range of characteristically urban services—theatres, palaestras, diverse sanctuaries, dedicated community meeting-places. This is seen particularly clearly in the case of Athens, where some of the demes (local districts; see DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN) were very much larger than *poleis* elsewhere in Greece (Acharnae may have had a population of 8,000–10,000), but where none of them seems to have developed the topographical organization, service facilities, or occupational pattern of a town.

It is characteristic of Classical towns that further attention is devoted to the space within which non-religious civic activities take place and that there are buildings specifically designed for such activities. The development of



urbanism, Greek and Hellenistic Reconstructed drawing of the 4th-cent. BC city of Priene on the W. coast of *Asia Minor. German excavations have revealed one of the best surviving examples of a Greek planned city laid out on a 'Hippodamian' grid, a hallmark of Greek urbanism. Drawing by A. Zippelius, from M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene*, 2nd edition, 1964 (illus. no. 151), German Archaeological Institute, Berlin / W. de Gruyter, Berlin

the stoa, from the mid-6th cent. onwards, had an important part to play in this: the stoa originated as a place of shelter in sanctuaries, but came to be used as a flexible meeting-place suitable both for official gatherings, such as lawcourts, and for unofficial civic activities. Flanking the *agora with stoas became a popular way of marking out the civic centre.

During the 5th, 4th, and 3rd cents. urban forms spread to mainland northern Greece, both to the seaboard under the direct influence of southern cities, and inland in Macedonia, Thessaly, and even Epirus, in association with the greater political unification of those territories. Archaeological remains from Pella in *Macedonia, for example, show it to have been culturally sophisticated in the 4th and 3rd cent. These new towns were all marked by regular land division such as had marked most new developments since the 6th cent. and which had by this time become one of the hallmarks of a Greek city. It is such regular planning, as well as specific Greek building types, that is exported to the near east with *Alexander the Great and embodied in such Hellenistic cities as Dura-Europus on the Euphrates.

The degree to which Greek urban types were bound up with Greek political arrangements emerges clearly in the very different sort of town which the Attalids created at *Pergamum as their capital city. Here it is not the terrain alone that precludes a regular grid plan, but the political requirement that the city focus upon its autocratic rulers. The irregularities of the landscape are exploited to produce a monumental architecture where some elements are clearly subordinated to others, and each element is visually dependent upon those around it, regardless of their functional relations. Familiar architectural forms are here combined in an entirely new way.

See ARCHITECTURE (GREEK); COLONIZATION; ECONOMY, GREEK; ECONOMY, HELLENISTIC; HOUSES; MARKETS AND FAIRS; SANITATION; WATER. RGO

II. Roman

The Romans, 'the most city-proud people known' in Procopius' late description (*Goth.* 8. 22. 7), founded their city-policy and urban ideology principally on their own city. Already in the 6th cent. extensive in surface-area, imposing in its public buildings and private houses, and complex in its management of space, Rome both resembled the cities of the *Etruscans and Latins (Latini) in many respects, and functioned as a show-case and pioneer of urban form.

In the 4th cent. Rome's urban functions were transformed, through the economic and prestige gains of military success, the organization of a huge territory with the expanding tribal system, and new types of relations with neighbouring cities which foreshadowed the incorporative and co-operative citizenship strategies on which a large urban population ultimately depended: the future megalopolis was conceived.

It is only from the perspective of the super-city that the long-lasting tradition of Roman urban policy can be understood. Other ancient cities produced offshoot communities which were essentially new cities. Rome alone deployed its population resources, citizen or Latin, in planned locations, maintaining a superior position in terms of status, and a continuing political and governmental relationship which went far beyond any Greek or Carthaginian *mētropolis-apoikia* tie (i.e. tie between mother- and daughter-city, founding and founded; cf. CARTHAGE).

The successes of the Roman élite from the Latin War to the Pyrrhic transformed Rome, under the physical influence of the developing urban tradition of Greek south Italy and Sicily (to which the Romans attributed their prison and provision-market; we may add the circular *comitium* (assembly place) and porticoed *forum Romanum of the end of the 4th cent.). The new foundations (Cosa, 273, or Alba Fucens, 303, are well-preserved examples of the early stages of the process) adopted from the centre a repertoire of institutional architecture—forum, porticoes, *comitium*, *temples, streets, sewers (see SANITATION (Roman)), monuments—which expanded as the city grew in grandeur through the 2nd cent. BC. In mainly military installations, such as the *coloniae maritimae* or maritime colonies (the surviving walls of Pyrgi are an example), we are reminded of the fortifications which many Italic peoples were building in the 4th and 3rd cents. on the model of Hellenic military engineering (see COLONIZATION, ROMAN).

In these cities a citizen egalitarianism (also found in the division of the territory: see CENTURIATION) was derived from Roman constitutional theory and (therefore) linked to military needs. It was particularly apparent in the regularity and uniformity of the plan, which have become the most famous features of Roman cities, and which share a theoretical parentage with the socio-aesthetic ideas of Hippodamus of Miletus; but is also reflected in the legal and political institutions and their architecture (*comitium* and basilica, for instance), and increasingly by the late republic, the provision of the latest in the people's perks or *commoda*, such as *baths and places for spectacles.

By the age of *Cicero, the local élites of many Italian towns, even places as insignificant as Aletrium, enriched by a century of imperial success, had embellished their communities with the latest in Hellenistic taste, in a way that was still intermittent at Rome. Swollen by centuries of opportunistic influx and impossible to plan (Livy also blamed haphazard redevelopment after the Gallic sack), the metropolis was less beautiful than its old enemy Capua. *Sulla, *Pompey, and *Caesar made strenuous efforts to remedy this, and *Augustus completed the process of making Rome a worthy model for the founding and embellishing of cities everywhere.

The legacy of rectilinear planning and subdivision of space apart, Roman urbanism and its apparent uniformity in the early imperial period are the product of the imitation in local communities of canons of monumentality made fashionable by people further up the chain of patronage. Cities in the provinces came to have an ideological role, as exemplars of the values of Hellenic/Roman culture and a symbol of conversion from barbarism. Fortified settlements were moved from impregnable heights to the plain (like the creation of Virunum below the Magdalensberg in Noricum, or the replacement of Wheathampstead with Verulamium (St Albans) in *Britain), gaining the easy communications and plain-land investment agriculture which were also signs of what the *pax Romana* offered local élites. Roman institutional statuses helped the process, and the bases of the army and the veteran *coloniae* which resembled them in function and planning, provided further examples, as at Augusta Praetoria (Aosta), Arelate (Arles), Emerita Augusta (Merida) in *Spain, and Thamugadi (Timgad) in Numidia (but the 'chequerboard' plan should be seen as a legacy of republican thinking rather than as something distinctively military). Meanwhile Rome itself came to resemble the other cities more. Fires and expansion into the periphery made possible the development of large areas of the city on a more regular plan. The great baths and prestige projects like the *Colosseum or Pantheon were imitated in favoured centres; in projects like the forum Traiani, however, or the great temples of the reigns from Hadrian to Aurelian, it is the grandiose architecture of the provinces that was being recreated on a grander scale in the centre.

Cities in more civilized places had always been the organs of communication, and the respecting (or not) of privileges, age, beauty, and so on became an important part of Roman government. Thus the destruction of cities (*Carthage, Corinth, Jerusalem) must be considered part of Roman urban policy, throwing into relief the more desirable role of the Roman leader as *pater urbium*. Posing as the first or new founder of a city was a potent image that came to be frequently used. New imitations of the centre were made on an ambitious scale, and certain cities were singled out to enjoy the full benefit of imperial favour (Lepcis in *Africa, Italica in Spain, Augusta Treverorum (Trier)). The whole question of the standing of cities and their claims to favour, based on the past and present attainments of their citizens, became a central feature of life under the empire. The rhetoric in which the cities competed, and which is so apparent in Antonine literature, is a part of Roman urbanism, and relevant to its extension even into remote provinces. The aspirations of communities for a higher place in the formal hierarchy of city status is a real feature of this state of affairs, and the spreading of municipal status, the upgrading of villages to cities, *municipia* to *coloniae* (see COLONIZATION, ROMAN), and the increase in city institutions in places like *Egypt and *Syria where they had been less widespread, owes more to this competition than it does to imperial vision. The city was usually the focus of administration and the base for supervision, a role which it bequeathed, despite diminished populations, to late antiquity, and through the episcopate, to the Christian Middle Ages.

In general, then, we should not credit Rome with planning the efflorescence of cities or their cultural uniformity, let alone with a set of social and economic goals to be achieved through urbanization. The symbolic importance of the city often in fact concealed situations of small structural change in the organization of the productive environment. Many cities probably had quite small permanent populations, and their demise in late antiquity, where this happened, may often have been the collapse of a façade rather than the catastrophe of a structure. NP

III. Late Roman

The traditional picture of overall decline is being modified by excavations and surveys which show wide variations in place and time, and by partly semantic disputes: are we confronting the death of civic life, or transformations that show its resilience? Is the city an Aristotelian *polis (see section I above), an agency of central government, or simply a large settlement?

Imperial supervision of the cities increased greatly from the 3rd cent. The hereditary councils of local gentry that ran them (*decuriones*), and collected and underwrote imperial taxes, were more closely watched by governors of now smaller provinces; their task was complicated by taxes now demanded in kind, though probably little heavier (see

FINANCE, ROMAN). New provincial capitals might prosper (often at others' expense), but the immunities of the growing imperial bureaucracies and clergy tempted away many of the curial class; a handful of rich councillors (*principales*) dominated and exploited their remaining colleagues. Civic *gymnasia* (see GYMNASIUM) gave way to rhetorical schools, oriented to imperial careers. Curial wealth and authority in town and country was challenged by soldiers and officials, active or retired, by bishops, monasteries, and hermits; these deployed new sources of wealth, or offered new types of patronage. Many councils, none the less, proved durable; tax-collecting was often profitable; and their numerous complaints in the law-codes reflect their political influence. Their slow decline, moreover, does not imply urban disintegration: new structures of government evolved. Bishops and retired imperial officials (*honorati*) shared increasingly in civic administration, furnishing and electing new officials: the *defensor* ('defender of the municipality', i.e. of peasants against local landowners), the corn-buyer, the Father of the City. Even tax-collecting devolved onto great aristocratic houses in 5th–6th-cent. Egypt, and perhaps elsewhere in the east. Bishops used their own and imperial resources to maintain civic food-supplies, and negotiated for their cities with emperors or invaders, inheriting the rhetor's role. Although new ruling élites, like the old, often provided festivals and buildings, their interests and loyalties also belonged to Church or court. The values of the *polis* were alien to Christianity, although many bishops, like Basil of Cappadocian Caesarea, still imbibed them with their classical education. Christian charities both inherited and challenged the tradition of civic *euergetism*, being directed to the poor, rather than fellow citizens.

Urban building reflects these changes. In the 3rd cent. this declined markedly, except for walls. A glut of existing monuments was one reason; also economic or military problems; but the more stable and prosperous 4th cent. also saw imperial confiscation of civic lands and taxes. Governors and senators tended to feature as benefactors, while local noblemen merely built lavish town-houses. From the late 4th cent., however, cities regained some control over their revenue; in the east, the Father of the City deployed it for new building. Thus, Corinth replanned and rebuilt its forum after the Visigothic sack. Moreover, as in 4th-cent. *Africa, or 6th-cent. Arabia, local benefactors may have been partly responsible for buildings for which senators, governors, or emperors took epigraphic credit. Bishops and laity who built churches, hospices, and *martyria* (mainly during the 5th and 6th cents.) thereby increased or replaced urban monuments, but radically altered civic plans and character: declining cities might show islands of settlement around major churches or even shift site to ecclesiastical centres outside the walls. Where possible, though, bishops would occupy and redevelop town centres. Although some cities, like Gaza, long remained obstinately pagan, an important relic, or simply an episcopal establishment, might confer a new communal identity and means of survival.

Public entertainments are another reflection. Imperial taxes increasingly sustained them, while local funds were often diverted by governors, or usurped by private persons. In the 5th cent. the organization of all public spectacles (except Christian festivals) was put under the Blue and Green chariot factions, which also had important roles in imperial ceremonial, communication between governors and subjects, and local defence; typically civic activities were thus integrated with the imperial system. Factions might also absorb the loyalties of traditional civic subgroups (thus, *Jews were often Blues), increasing tensions and violence (see GAMES).

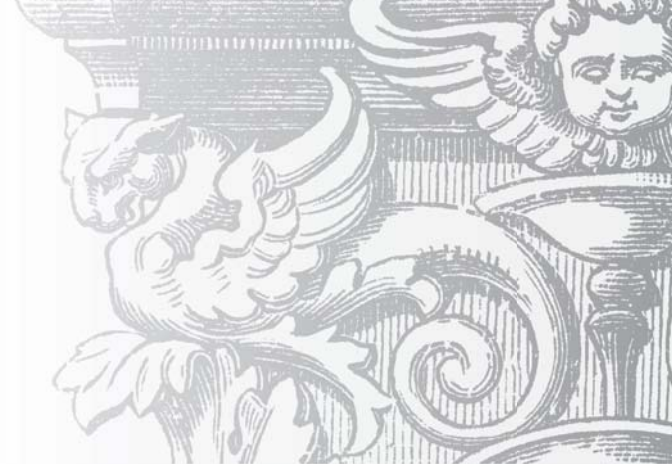
Changes in civic economies and population are hard to estimate. With exceptions, decline was earlier and deeper northward and westward. Many cities developed fields and gardens within their walls; but some eastern cities in the 5th and 6th cents. (e.g. Palestinian Caesarea) were more populated and prosperous than in the early empire. A reduced wall circuit need not imply reduced numbers; some cities, like Corinth and Burdigala, had large extramural settlements. Decline in one urban quarter might mean growth in another, as at *Ephesus. The 6th–7th-cent. transformation of colonnades into souks in some eastern cities indicates lively commerce, though also loss of the classical urban ideal. Some cities (at least in *Egypt) were major producers, especially of textiles, but most were probably consumers, dependent on rents, taxes, immigrants, and through-trade from the countryside. Bishops might extend the city's rural influence, but rural monasteries could challenge their dominance; in the north and west, the rich resided increasingly on their estates; and, in *Syria and elsewhere, villages grew in size and independence. When plague, war, or earthquake decimated a city, it might be hard to replace the population from the peasantry. (Bubonic plague and 6th-cent. urban decline are plausibly linked.) Imperial salaries and largess might enhance cities that combined an official presence with agricultural and commercial resources; thus, Anastasius restored the harbour of Palestinian Caesarea, a provincial capital. But cities existing largely for official needs might become or remain fortified 'administrative villages', dependent for survival on the state. Justiniana Prima, Illyria (founded 535), praised by Procopius for its large population and

traditional buildings, housed only officials and clergy; it was abandoned in the 7th cent. This trend appears in the generally new and fragile cities of Britain, north Gaul, and the north Balkans from the 3rd cent., but was affecting even pre-Roman eastern cities by the early 7th.

While many cities (even western; e.g. Marseille and Córdoba) survived the empire with some prosperity, and many subsequently revived, their character, c.650, would have been unrecognizable to Aristotle, Plutarch, or even Libanius.

SJBB

V



Valerius Flaccus (Gaius Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus), Roman poet, author of the *Argonautica*, an epic poem on the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts to Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece. There is no external evidence for his biography apart from *Quintilian's remark (c.AD 95) that 'we have recently suffered a great loss in Valerius Flaccus' (10. 1. 90); since Quintilian can use 'recent' of Caesius Bassus' death in AD 79 (10. 1. 96), the conventional dating of Valerius' death to the early 90s is without foundation. The evidence of the poem itself is controversial. The conventional claim that Valerius was a *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* (member of a college of fifteen men whose job it was to look after certain ritual texts) is based on lines in the proem which by no means dictate such a conclusion (1. 5–7). The one certainty is the reference in a simile to the eruption of Vesuvius, which occurred on 24 August 79 (4. 507–9; cf. 3. 208–9). The date of the composition of the proem, which alludes to *Vespasian, *Titus, and *Domitian, is keenly contested, with advocates for a date under each of the three. The most that can be securely stated is that the *Argonautica* is a Flavian epic (a fact of more than chronological importance).

Indebted to the *Argonautica* of *Apollonius of Rhodes (and perhaps of Publius Terentius Varro Atacinus), but moulded above all by *Virgil, Valerius' poem follows the Argonauts' expedition through many famous adventures to the point where Jason absconds from Colchis with *Medea. The poem breaks off at 8. 467 as Medea is persuading Jason not to hand her back to her brother Absyrtus. The conventional view is that the poet died before finishing his work, although the latest editor believes that the poem was completed in eight books, with the second half of the last book lost in transmission.

The poem owes much to Apollonius' *Argonautica* as a quest with a strong interest in the problems of epic heroism. Valerius, though, departs radically from Apollonius when he concentrates on Argo as the first ship, harbinger of human civilization (1. 1–4), placing his poem in

a long and energetic Roman tradition of appropriation of the golden age and iron age myths. A cosmic frame is provided by Jupiter's concern for the expedition, which will reproduce on earth the patterns of order and dominance guaranteed universally by his own recent victory in the Gigantomachy. The cycles set in train by Argo's voyage will carry on down to the contemporary world of the Roman empire (1. 537–60), where the Flavian house likewise rules after the chaos of civil war. Hyperbolically inflating Apollonius' interest in aetiology, Valerius recounts the origin of warfare and imperial institutions, so that the poem is studded with overt references to contemporary Roman practices (in marked contrast with *Statius' *Thebaid*). Valerius exploits Virgil's *Georgics* and *Seneca's *Medea* to stress the ambivalence of iron age achievement, for navigation is a violation of natural boundaries, and hence either magnificent or impious in its audacity. In cunning and ironic counterpoint to these grand themes is the love story which overtakes the narrative in book 5. Valerius rises to the daunting challenge of going where Apollonius, Virgil, and *Ovid had gone before, exploiting his great goddesses to present a sombre and frightening image of Medea's passion.

Valerius has unjustly suffered from being viewed as a doggedly earnest imitator of mightier models; his self-awareness and wry humour have gone largely unnoticed, although he has been commended for the poise of his verisification and the acuity of his observation. DCF

Varro (Marcus Terentius Varro) (116–27 BC), was born at Reate, in the Sabine territory north-east of Rome. After studying at Rome with Lucius Aelius, the first true scholar of Latin literature and antiquities, and at Athens with the Academic philosopher Antiochus of Ascalon, Varro began a public career that brought him to the praetorship and, ultimately, to service on the side of *Pompey in the Civil War. Having received *Caesar's clemency after Pharsalus, he was asked to plan and organize the first public library (see LIBRARIES) at Rome. But this project

went unrealized, and after Caesar's assassination he was proscribed by Mark *Antony: he escaped to live the rest of his life in scholarly retirement. He had completed 490 books by the start of his 78th year (Gell. 3. 10. 17): 55 titles are known in all, and his *œuvre* has been estimated to include nearly 75 different works totalling c.620 books (Ritschl, *Opuscula* 3. 485 ff.).

Works

Varro's combination of methodical analysis, vast range, and original learning made him Rome's greatest scholar. His writings covered nearly every branch of inquiry: history (*De vita populi Romani*, on Roman 'social history'; *De gente populi Romani*, placing Rome's remote past in a Greek context), geography, rhetoric, law (*De iure civili lib. XV*), philosophy, music, medicine, architecture, literary history (*De poetis*, *De comoediis Plautinis*), religion, agriculture, and language (at least ten works on this last alone). The achievements of the Augustans and of later authors, in both poetry and prose, are scarcely conceivable without the groundwork that he laid. See also SCHOLARSHIP, ANCIENT (Latin).

Only two of his works survive substantially:

1. *De lingua Latina*, in 25 books, of which books 5–10 are partly extant (5 and 6 entirely). Book 1 provided an introduction; 2–7 dealt with etymology, and the connection between words and the entities they represent; 8–13, with inflectional morphology and the conflict (which Varro probably exaggerated) between 'anomalists' and 'analogists'; 14–25, with syntax and the proper formation of 'propositions' (*proloquia*, a topic derived from Stoic dialectic; see STOICISM). Varro dedicated books 2–4 to his quaestor, the subsequent books to Cicero; the work was published before *Cicero's death, probably in 43.

2. *De re rustica* (3 books: 37 BC), a treatise on farming in dialogue form, intended as an agreeable entertainment for men of Varro's own class. It deals with agriculture in general (book 1), cattle- and sheep-breeding (book 2), and smaller farm-animals (birds, bees, etc.: book 3). The work, which survives entirely and shows some amusing strokes of characterization, reveals very strikingly Varro's fondness for analysing his subjects into their parts, and those parts into their sub-parts: though this analysis is sometimes carried to unhelpful lengths, it also represents a new stage in the logical organization of prose at Rome. See AGRICULTURE, ROMAN; AGRICULTURAL WRITERS.

Among Varro's lost works the following are especially noteworthy:

1. *Saturae Menippeae* (150 books: prob. 81–67 BC), humorous essays on topics of contemporary vice and folly, mingling verse with prose; Varro professed to imitate the

3rd-cent. *Cynic philosopher Menippus of Gadara. Ninety titles and 600 fragments survive.

2. *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* (41 books: 47 BC). Of the first 25 books, on human (i.e. Roman) antiquities, little is known: the introductory book was followed by four segments of (probably) six books each, on persons (*de hominibus*: the inhabitants of Italy), places (*de locis*), times (*de temporibus*), and things (*de rebus*). The remaining sixteen books, dedicated to Caesar as *pontifex maximus* (head of one of the main colleges of *priests), took up the human construction of the divine: another book of general introduction, then five triads, on priesthoods (27–9), holy places (30–2), holy times (33–5), rites (36–8), and kinds of gods (39–41). Among the lost works of republican prose, the *Antiquitates* is perhaps the one we most sorely miss.

3. *Logistorici* (76 books: 44 BC?), a series of dialogues on various subjects, each taking its name from a noted person: e.g. *Marius de fortuna*, *Tubero de origine humana*, *Curio de cultu*.

4. *Hebdomades vel de imaginibus* (15 books: 39 BC), a collection of 700 portraits of celebrated Greeks and Romans, in which each portrait was accompanied by an epigram; the number 7 played an important (if now obscure) role in the work's organization (cf. Gell. 3. 10. 1).

5. *Disciplinae* (9 books), a late work surveying the essential terms and principles of the learned 'disciplines' that a free man should command: these *artes liberales* ('liberal arts') included 'grammar', rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, medicine, and architecture.

RAK

Velleius Paterculus, Roman historical writer, provides details of himself in his work. Among his maternal ancestors were Minatus Magius of Aeclanum and Decius Magius of Capua (2. 16. 2–3); his paternal grandfather was Gaius Velleius, *praefectus fabrum* (chief of engineers) to *Pompey, *Brutus, and Tiberius Claudius Nero, father of the emperor *Tiberius (2. 76. 1); the senator Capito, who helped to prosecute the Caesaricide Cassius in 43 BC, was a paternal uncle (2. 69. 5). Velleius himself was born in (probably) 20 or 19 BC. Having begun his career as military tribune around the turn of the millennium (2. 101. 3), he joined the staff of *Augustus' grandson Gaius Caesar in the east (2. 101–102. 1); later he became *praefectus equitum* (commander of cavalry), as his father had been, and spent AD 4–12 serving under the future emperor Tiberius in Germany (twice), Pannonia, and Dalmatia (2. 104. 3, 111. 3, 114. 2, 115. 5). In AD 6, having completed his service as an equestrian officer (see EQUITES (Imperial period)), he returned briefly to Rome and was elected quaestor for AD 7 (2. 111. 4); in AD 12 he

and his brother Magius Celer Velleianus, who had also served in Dalmatia (2. 115. 1), took part in Tiberius' Illyrian *triumph (2. 121. 3); and, when Augustus died in AD 14, both brothers were already designated 'candidates of Caesar' (*candidati Caesaris*) for the praetorship of AD 15 (2. 124. 4). Nothing further is certainly known of him, apart from the fact that he dedicated his work to Marcus Vinicius, the consul of AD 30, the presumed year of its publication. There is no evidence for the suggestion that he was executed in the aftermath of *Sejanus' fall in AD 31; the suffect consuls (*see* CONSUL) of AD 60 and 61 are thought to be two sons.

Velleius' work begins with Greek mythology and ends in AD 29, a span of time which he encompassed in only two volumes. 'I hardly know any historical work of which the scale is so small, and the subject so extensive,' said Macaulay. Like Cornelius Nepos and Florus he is thus a writer of summary history, something to which he draws frequent attention (1. 16. 1, 2. 29. 2, 38. 1, 41. 1, 52. 3, 55. 1, 66. 3, 86. 1, 89. 1, 96. 3, 99. 4, 108. 2, 124. 1). Almost all of book 1 is now lost: not only do we lack the preface and very beginning of the narrative but a vast lacuna has deprived us of his history of Rome between the time of *Romulus (1. 8. 4–6) and the battle of Pydna in 168 BC (1. 9), although a stray fragment on Cimon (1. 8. 6) shows that he continued to refer to Greek history at least as late as the 5th cent. BC. Book 1 is separated from book 2 by two excursuses, which would be notable even in a full-length history (1. 14–15 on Roman colonization; *see* COLONIZATION, ROMAN; 1. 16–18 on Greek and Latin literature); and book 2 begins, as the narrative part of book 1 had ended (12–13), with the destruction of *Carthage in 146 BC, which Velleius, like *Sallust, saw as a turning-point in Roman history. Although the following years to 59 BC are dispatched in a mere 40 chapters, which notably include three further excursuses of varying length (2. 9 and 36. 2–3 on Roman authors, 2. 38–9 on Roman provincialization), Velleius devotes increasing amounts of space to *Caesar (2. 41–59), Augustus (2. 59–93), and especially Tiberius (2. 94–131), whose career forms the climax of his work. Whether he intended seriously to write his own full-length history, as he often promises (2. 48. 5, 89. 1, 96. 3, 99. 3, 103. 4, 114. 4, 119. 1), is uncertain.

Though Velleius constantly imitates the phraseology of both Sallust and *Cicero, it is the fullness and balance (*concinntitas*) of the latter's style that he aimed generally to reproduce. His sentences, replete with antithesis and point, are often long and involved; and he has a gift for pithy characterization. Yet readers have been dismayed by the successive rhetorical questions (e.g. 2. 122) and exclamations (e.g. 2. 129–30) in his account of Tiberius, which in general, like his treatment of Seianus (2. 127–8),

has been regarded as mere panegyric. On such grounds Sir Ronald Syme and most other 20th-cent. scholars have dismissed with contempt his work as a whole.

Yet in imperial times the traditional patriotism of Roman historians was inevitably focused on the emperor of the day, who in Velleius' case was also his former commander; and his account of Tiberius is valuable in presenting the establishment view of events for which Tacitus, from the safer perspective of the 2nd cent. AD, supplies an opposition view. Even so the prayer, which forms the unconventional conclusion to his work (2. 131), is arguably a recognition of the political crisis of AD 29, while the treatment of Seianus, which is not a panegyric of the man but a defence of his elevation by Tiberius, betrays some of the very unease which it seems designed to dispel.

Velleius, like *Polybius, travelled widely (cf. 2. 101. 3); he was a senator, like Sallust and *Tacitus), and held magisterial office; like *Thucydides he witnessed and took part in a significant number of the events he describes (cf. 2. 104. 3, 106. 1, 113. 3, 118. 1). He thus enjoyed many of the advantages conventionally associated with the ideal historian. He regularly provides information on topics about which we would otherwise be ignorant; and he is the only Latin historian of Roman affairs to have survived from the period between *Livy and Tacitus. These seem reasons enough to justify his more favourable assessment in recent years.

Velleius' text depends upon a single codex, designated M, discovered by Beatus Rhenanus at Murbach in 1515 but now lost. From a lost copy of the codex derive both Amerbach's apograph (1516) and Rhenanus' first edition (dated 1520, Basel), the latter containing Burer's collation of the edition with M. The relative merits of apograph and first edition are disputed. AJW

Venus The debate over the original nature of this goddess, who does not belong to Rome's oldest pantheon but is attested fairly early at Lavinium, has been partly resolved (Schilling, *La Religion romaine de Vénus* (1954; repr. 1982)). It is now accepted that the neuter *+venus*, 'charm', cannot be separated from the terms *venia*, *venerari*, *venenum* ('gracefulness', 'to exercise a persuasive charm', 'poison', against Radke, *Götter* 311 ff.). How this neuter was transformed into a feminine, a process attested for the Osco-Umbrian goddess Herentas, is ill-understood in the absence of evidence. Schilling thinks that it took place at the federal sanctuary of Lavinium, a city with old and well-attested links with the Greek world and the legend of *Troy. Whatever the case, from the 3rd cent. BC, Venus was the patron of all persuasive seductions, between gods and mortals, and between men and

women (Venus Verticordia). Because of her links with the extraordinary power of *wine, Venus is presented in the rites and myth of the Vinalia as a powerful mediatrix between *Jupiter and the Romans. The first known temple is that of Venus Obsequens ('Propitious'), vowed in 295 BC and built some years later. During the Punic Wars (see ROME (HISTORY) §1.4), the tutelary and diplomatic role of Venus grew continually, in proportion to the process of her assimilation to Greek *Aphrodite. In the 1st cent. BC she even acquired a political value. She was claimed by *Sulla as his protectress (his *agnomen* Epaphroditus means 'favoured by Venus'), as by *Pompey (Venus Victrix) and *Caesar (Venus Genetrix), while *Aphrodisias in Caria benefited progressively from important privileges. Under the empire Venus became one of the major divinities of the official pantheon. JSch

Vergina in N. Greece. See AEGAE.

Vespasian (Titus Flavius Vespasianus), emperor AD 69–79, was born on 9 November, AD 9, at Sabine Reate. His father, Flavius Sabinus, was a tax-gatherer; his mother also was of equestrian family, but her brother entered the senate, reaching the praetorship. Vespasian was military tribune (*tribunus militum*) in 27, serving in Thrace, quaestor in Crete in the mid-30s, aedile (at the second attempt) in 38, and praetor in 40. Claudius' *freedman Narcissus now advanced his undistinguished career, and he became legate of legio II Augusta at Argentorate, commanding it in the invasion of *Britain in 43 and subduing the south-west as far as Exeter (43–7); for this he won triumphal ornaments and two priesthoods (see PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)). He was suffect consul (see CONSUL) in November–December 51 and is next heard of as an unpopular proconsul of Africa (c.62 (see AFRICA, ROMAN)); any unemployment may be due to the deaths of Narcissus and Lucius Vitellius and the eclipse of other supporters during the ascendancy of *Agrippina. In 66 he accompanied Nero to Greece and allegedly offended him by falling asleep at one of his recitals, but at the end of the year he was entrusted with suppressing the rebellion in Judaea. By mid-68 he had largely subdued Judaea apart from Jerusalem itself but conducted no further large-scale campaigns.

Vespasian now settled his differences with the governor of Syria, Gaius Licinius Mucianus. They successively recognized Galba, Otho, and Aulus Vitellius, but the idea of using the eastern legions to attain power became a plan in the spring of 69. On 1 July the two Egyptian legions under Tiberius Iulius Alexander proclaimed Vespasian; those in Judaea did so on 3 July, and the Syrian legions a little later. Mucianus set out with a task-force against Italy while Vespasian was to hold up the grain ships at *Alexandria and

probably *Carthage. However, the Danubian legions declared for Vespasian, and the legionary legate Marcus Antonius Primus invaded Italy. After his crushing victory at Cremona the city was brutally sacked. Primus fell from favour in 70 and took the blame. It was alleged that Primus' invasion was against orders (certainly Mucianus would have opposed his action), but victory could never have been bloodless. Primus pressed on, entering Rome on 21 December, the day after Vitellius' death. The senate immediately conferred all the usual powers on Vespasian, though he dated his tribunician years from 1 July, negating the acts of senate and people and treating his legions as an electoral college.

A fragment of an enabling law has survived (*ILS* 244 = *EJ* 364, trans. D. Braund, *Augustus to Nero* no. 293) conferring powers, privileges, and exemptions, most with Julio-Claudian precedents. It is disputed whether this was part of the original tralatian grant of powers, surviving only in Vespasian's case, or of a supplementary grant, due to difficulties with the senate, conferring by law the right to perform acts never questioned in a Julio-Claudian but which from Vespasian might be challenged. It sanctioned all he had done up to the passing of the law and empowered him to act in whatever way he deemed advantageous to the Roman people. Vespasian's standing was lower than that of any of his predecessors and the law took the place of the *auctoritas* (prestige, influence) he lacked. Vespasian was careful to publicize a number of divine omens which portended his accession; he frequently took the consulship, however briefly, and accumulated imperatorial salutations. Vespasian insisted that the succession would devolve on his son (Suet. *Div. Vesp.* 25; sons, Dio Cass. 65. 12). Controversy over the dynastic principle, part of a wider controversy over the role of the senate in government, may have caused his quarrel with doctrinaire senators like Helvidius Priscus, who was exiled and later executed.

Vespasian returned to Italy in the late summer of 70. While at Alexandria he had been concerned with raising money, and his sales of imperial estates and new taxes caused discontent there. He claimed that forty thousand million sesterces (so Suet. *Div. Vesp.* 16. 3) were needed to support the state. He increased, sometimes doubled, provincial taxation and revoked imperial immunities. Such measures were essential after the costs incurred by Nero and the devastation of the civil wars; contemporaries inevitably charged Vespasian with 'avarice'. He was able to restore the Capitol, burnt in December 69, to build his forum and temple of Peace, and to begin the *Colosseum. An attempt by senators in 70 to diminish expenditure by the state treasury (*aerarium*), so promoting senatorial independence, was promptly vetoed.

It may have been in part for financial reasons that in 73–4 he held the censorship with his son *Titus. But both as censor and previously, he recruited many new members, Italian and provincial, to the senate, and conferred rights on communities abroad, notably a grant of Latin rights (*ius Latii*) to all native communities in Spain.

Vespasian restored discipline to the armies after the events of 68–9. Before his return Mucianus had reduced the praetorian guard, enlarged by Vitellius, to approximately its old size, and they were entrusted to Titus on his return. The legions were regrouped so that Vitellian troops would not occupy dangerous positions. In the east Vespasian by the end of his reign had substituted three armies (six legions) in Syria, Cappadocia, and Judaea for the single army (until Nero's time only four legions) in Syria. After the Jewish and Rhineland rebellions had been suppressed, Vespasian continued imperial expansion with the annexation of northern England, the pacification of Wales, and an advance into Scotland (*see* BRITAIN, ROMAN), as well as in south-west Germany between Rhine and Danube.

On his death on 23 June 79 he was accorded deification, though Titus did not act at once (he had been Vespasian's colleague since 71 and the ceremony, last held on Claudius' death in 54, may have seemed discredited). Unassuming behaviour had partially conciliated the aristocracy, although some of his friends were informers or otherwise disreputable; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1. 50, claims that he was the first man to improve after becoming emperor, and the reign seems to have been tranquil after conflicts with the senate had been won. The years after 75 were marred (as far as is known) only by Titus' execution of Aulus Caecina Alienus and his forcing Marcellus to suicide.

Vespasian was industrious, and his simple life a model for contemporaries. Matching his rugged features he cultivated a bluff manner, parading humble origins and ridiculing a man who corrected his accent. His initial appointments (Lucius Caesennius Paetus; Quintus Petilius Cerialis Caesius Rufus) show astuteness in building a powerful party of which the core was his own family. To have ended the wars was an achievement, and *Pax* (Peace) was a principal motif on his coinage. His proclaimed purposes were the restoration and enhancement of the state, and he made no great break with tradition. In style of government, however, and in the composition of the governing class, the reign paved the way for the 2nd cent.

Nothing is known of Vespasian's education (he was no orator, but could quote *Homer), but his sons were cultivated, and he attended to the needs of Rome and the empire by founding chairs of rhetoric and philosophy and by granting fiscal privileges to teachers and doctors.

Vespasian's wife Flavia Domitilla was alleged to be only of Latin status until her father Liberalis proved her Roman citizenship. Besides his two sons she bore a daughter also named Flavia Domitilla; wife and daughter died before Vespasian's accession. He then lived with an earlier mistress, Caenis, a freedwoman of Antonia. GEFC/BML

Vesta, Vestals Vesta was the Roman goddess of (the hearth-)fire, *custos flammae* (*Ov. Fast.* 6. 258, comm. F. Bömer), one of the twelve *Di Consentes*. The cult is also known from *Pompeii and Latium: it was believed to have been introduced into Rome by Pompilius Numa—or *Romulus—from Alba Longa (*Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 2. 64. 5 ff.; *Serv. on Aen.* 1. 273). An ancient etymology linked Vesta to Greek Hestia (*Cic. Nat. D.* 2. 67): her cult expressed and guaranteed Rome's permanence. Vesta's main public shrine, never inaugurated *certis verbis* and so never a true *templum* (temple), was a circular building just south-east of Augustus' arch in the *forum Romanum (the original 7th-cent. BC shape is unknown). In the late republic its form was taken to be that of a primitive house, intimating a connection between public and private cults of the hearth. In the historical period, the state cult (Vestalia, 9 June) effectively displaced private cults. There was no statue of Vesta within the shrine (*Ov. Fast.* 295–8): it contained only the fire and, in the *penus* (inner sanctum), the 'sacred things that may not be divulged'—esp. the Palladium (*Livy*, 26. 27. 14), and the *fascinum*, the erect phallus that averted evil. On being elected pontifex maximus (head of one of the major colleges of *priests) in 12 BC, Augustus created another shrine for Vesta on the Palatine.

Though she bore the title *mater*, Vesta was thought of as virgin, by contrast with her sisters *Juno and Ceres. She was 'the same as the earth', which also contains fire, and was sacrificed to on low altars; she protected all altar-fires. Her character gains contour from a contrast with *Vulcan. The sacral status of the six *sacerdotes Vestales*, the Vestal Virgins (the sole female priesthood in Rome), was manifested in many ways. Though they were required to maintain strict sexual purity during their minimum of 30 years' service, their dress (*stola, vittae*) alluded to matrons' wear, their hair-style probably to a bride's. They were excised from their own family (freed from their father's *potestas*, ineligible to inherit under the rules of intestacy) without acceding to another. It was a capital offence to pass beneath their litter in the street.

There were several restrictions upon eligibility (*Gell.* 1. 12. 1–7); most known Vestals are of senatorial family. Though they had many ceremonial roles, their main ritual tasks were the preparation of the grain mixed with salt

(*mola salsa*) for public sacrifices (Serv. *Ecl.* 8. 82) and the tending of Vesta's 'undying fire' (*ignis inextinctus*). The extinction of the fire provided the prima-facie evidence that a Vestal was impure: impurity spelled danger to Rome. The last known case of living entombment in the Campus Sceleratus (near the Colline gate) occurred under *Domitian in AD ?89 (Plin. *Ep.* 4. 11; cf. Plut. *Numa* 10. 4–7). The last known chief vestal (*vestalis maxima*) is Coelia Concordia (AD 380); the cult was finally abandoned in 394. RLG

villa was the Latin word for a rural dwelling associated with an estate, and ranging in character from functional farms to the luxurious country seats of the élite (Varro, *Rust.* 1. 11. 1–12. 4; 3. 2. 1–2. 18). Most of the literary evidence relates to Italy and primarily described farms run for the benefit of urban-based proprietors (Vitr. *De arch.* 6. 6. 1), though the most opulent seaside villas of the Roman aristocracy were sometimes built solely for pleasure. Aristocratic enjoyment of rural retreats and pride in creating architectural splendours there are well attested (Pliny, *Ep.* 2. 17). However, the classic Italian villa, comprising a luxurious dwelling for the use of the owner on visits to the estate (*pars urbana*), the working farm buildings (*pars rustica*), and the storage buildings and barns (*pars fructuaria*), is perfectly illustrated by the excavations at Settefinestre, with its aristocratic *domus* (mansion), baths, slave quarters, wine and olive presses, piggery, substantial granary, and formal gardens (A. Carandini and others, *Settefinestre: Una villa schiavistica*

nell'Etruria romana (1985); cf. Columella, *Rust.* 1. 4. 6–6. 24). The development of villas in different regions of Italy from the 2nd cent. BC is generally equated with the rise of large slave-run estates (*latifundia*), though these regions commonly exhibit divergent patterns of rural settlement and varied types of villa (from simple farmhouses to 'palaces'). Similarly the relative success and longevity of villas differed from one part of Italy to another: certain coastal areas famous for viticulture in the late republic had declined markedly by the 2nd cent. AD, whereas villas in some inland areas survived into late antiquity.

Provincial villa studies suffer from a geographical imbalance, with far more excavated and published sites in north-western Europe than from the Mediterranean countries. In peripheral territories such as *Britain, where it can be exceedingly difficult to decide whether a particular structure would have been considered a villa by the Romans themselves, different criteria have commonly been used to define villas, encompassing aspects of Romanized construction or lifestyle (characterized by mosaics, painted plaster, hypocausts, baths, use of dressed stone and tile, etc.). Mediterranean-style peristyle houses are uncommon in Britain and Belgica (*see GAUL (TRANSALPINE)*), where winged corridor and aisled buildings tend to predominate, and other regions reveal their own characteristic styles. Important new approaches to villas in Britain look beyond their main Romanized buildings, to explore subsidiary farm buildings, field systems, pre-Roman and sub-Roman



villa Reconstructed drawing of the Roman villa (later 1st cent. BC) excavated at mod. Settefinestre near Cosa (Tuscany). Fronted by a miniature 'town wall' with turrets, it is a classic Italian villa, combining elegant accommodation with a working farm. Estate of Shelia Gibson

phases, and palaeoeconomic evidence for crops and livestock. See AGRICULTURE, ROMAN. DJMA

Vindolanda tablets During the 1970s and 1980s several hundred wooden writing-tablets were discovered at the Roman fort of Vindolanda near Hadrian's Wall (see WALL OF HADRIAN); a further 400 turned up in 1993, and a few more were found post 2000. Of the earlier finds, some were of the well-known stylus type, but the vast majority were made of thin wooden leaves, written in ink with a pen. Only a handful of tablets of this type was previously known, and the concentration of such numbers at one site is unique. They date between c.AD 90 and 120, when the fort was occupied first by Cohors (cohort) I Tungrorum and later by Cohors IX Batavorum.

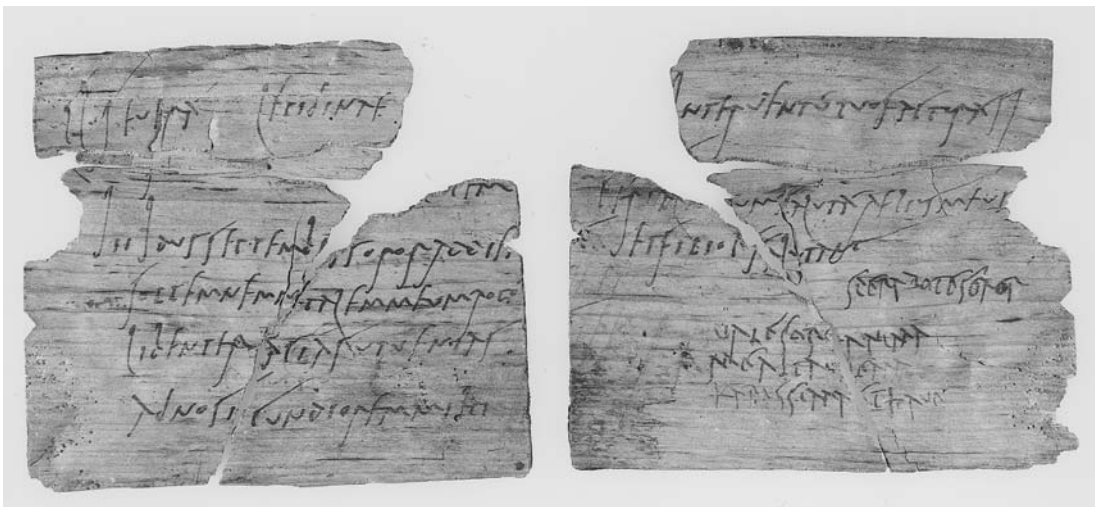
The Vindolanda material includes the largest group of Latin letters ever discovered. There are also literary fragments, shorthand texts, military reports, applications for leave, and accounts. The letters often bear on the official and private concerns of the officers, their families, and slaves, while the military documents tell us much about the way the Romans organized a newly acquired frontier area. In addition the tablets provide valuable information on palaeography and the *Latin language. JDT

Virgil (see following page)

Vitruvius (Pol(l)io), a Roman architect and military engineer, in which capacity he served *Caesar. He built a basilica at Fanum Fortunae; but his fame rests chiefly on

a treatise, *De architectura*, on architecture and engineering, compiled partly from his own experience, partly from work by Hermogenes (to whom he is heavily indebted) and other Greek authors to which his own experiences have been added, sometimes in a disjointed fashion. It is hardly a handbook for architects: rather a book for people who need to understand architecture. Perhaps its main function was place-seeking from Octavian (see AUGUSTUS), to whom it is addressed. His outlook is essentially Hellenistic, and there is a marked absence of reference to important buildings of Augustus' reign, though he knows of Roman technical developments, such as concrete construction (which he mistrusts). *De architectura*, the only work of its kind which has survived, is divided into ten books. Book 1 treats of town-planning, architecture in general, and of the qualifications proper in an architect; 2 of building-materials; 3 and 4 of temples and of the 'orders'; 5 of other civic buildings; 6 of domestic buildings; 7 of pavements and decorative plaster-work; 8 of water-supplies; 9 of geometry, mensuration, *astronomy, etc.; 10 of machines, civil and military. The information on materials and methods of construction in 2 and 7, and on rules of proportion in 3 and 4, is of great value.

Vitruvius' importance as an architect is very nearly matched by his significance as a historian of many different departments of ancient science and philosophy, ranging from mathematics to astronomy, to meteorology and medicine. Just as the Hippocratic doctors appreciated the importance of environment to good health,



Vindolanda tablets A wooden tablet from Vindolanda containing an invitation to a party from Claudia Severa to Sulpicia Lepidina. Women clearly played their part in efforts to maintain a Roman home-from-home on the northern frontier. © The Trustees of the British Museum

[continued on p. 841]

VIRGIL

Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) (70–19 BC), Roman poet. The contemporary spelling of Virgil's name was with an *e*: the first occurrence with an *i* is on an honorific inscription to Claudian in Greek (*CIL* 6. 1710 = *ILS* 1. 2949). Virgil is traditional in English, but the slightly historicizing Vergil is preferred by some modern critics. Virgil and his friends in any case punned on *virgo*, a virgin (*G.* 4. 564, perhaps 1. 430, Donatus's 'Life' of Virgil 11). Varius Rufus is said to have written on Virgil (*Quint.* 10. 3. 8) and there were other accounts by friends and acquaintances (cf. Gell. *Gellius NA* 17. 10. 2): the extant lives go back in part to *Suetonius, *De poetis*. Much (but not all) of the information in them derives from interpretation of the poems (including the spurious ones in the *Appendix Vergiliana*), and few details, however circumstantial, can be regarded as certain.

Nevertheless, Virgil is said to have been born on 15 October 70 BC in Andes, a village near Mantua. Macrobius (*Sat.* 5. 2. 1) says that he was 'born in the Veneto of country parents and brought up amongst the woods and shrubs', and his father is variously described as a potter and a courier who married the boss's daughter (*Vit. Don.* 1), but the real status of the family is uncertain. His mother was a *Magia*: both the *gentes* (families) covered a spectrum of social levels. Virgil is said to have been educated in Cremona and Milan (Mediolanum) before coming to Rome (*Vit. Don.* 7) and the family would clearly have had to be sufficiently well-off for such an education to be feasible. At some stage Virgil was associated with the Epicurean (see *EPICURUS*) community in Naples (Neapolis; see M. Gigante, *Stud. Ital.* 1989, 3–6: his name appears in a papyrus from *Herculaneum with Plotius Tucce, Varius Rufus, and Publius Quinctilius Varus); *Catalepton* 5 and 8, if either genuine or based on a sound biographical tradition, have him fleeing from the normal rhetorical education of a Roman to Epicurean retirement (cf. *G.* 4. 563–4, where he is again (?) enjoying *otium*, leisure, in Naples).

After the defeat of the tyrannicides (the murders of *Caesar) in 42 BC, Octavian (see *AUGUSTUS*) attempted to settle members of his army on confiscated land (see *PROSCRIPTION*), a controversial move which led to the Perusine War (named after Perusia, mod. Perugia): full-scale war between Mark *Antony and Octavian was only narrowly (and temporarily) avoided by the treaty of Brundisium in 40 BC. Virgil's first collection of poems, the *Eclogues*, probably appeared around 39–38 BC (controversial: see R. J. Tarrant and G. W. Bowersock in *Harv. Stud.* 1978, 197–202) in the midst of the turmoil: the confiscations are a central topic in *Eclogues* 1 and 9. In the first poem, a slave Tityrus says that he has to thank a young man for freedom and security (1. 42): in the context of the times, this can only be Octavian. Other poems mention a Varus (6. 7, 9. 27), presumably the jurist Publius Alfenus Varus, suffect consul 39 BC, Gaius Asinius Pollio (4. 12, and probably the addressee of 8—for the controversy, see Tarrant and Bowersock), consul 40 BC, one of Antony's most important supporters and an architect of the Peace of Brundisium, and the important *equus* and poet Gaius Cornelius Gallus (6. 64–73, 10 *passim*). These three men are said to have been involved in the distribution of land, though the arrangements are uncertain and the Virgilian commentators our only source (cf. *MRR* 2. 377–8). The biographical tradition says that Virgil's father's land was amongst the land confiscated, and some personal experience of loss is suggested by *Ecl.* 9. 27–9 'Mantua, all too near to unhappy Cremona' and *G.* 2. 198 'the land unfortunate Mantua lost', but it is impossible to know how many of the details derive from allegorical reading of the poems.

At some time after the publication of the *Eclogues*, Virgil entered the circle of *Maecenas, and thus of the future Augustus. He is mentioned several times in the first book of *Horace's *Satires*, published at the end of the decade; in 1. 6. 55 he is said to have introduced Horace to Maecenas, and in 1. 5 (40, 48) he is described as joining the 'journey to Brundisium'. The dramatic date of the latter poem is 38 or 37, depending on which of the two possible diplomatic missions it is associated with (cf. I. M. Le M. DuQuesnay, in T. Woodman and D. West, *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* (1984), 39–43). In the concluding satire of the book (1. 10. 45, cf. 81) Virgil is one of the poets whose achievements Horace contrasts with his own: 'to Virgil the Muses who delight in the countryside have granted tenderness and charm' (*molle atque facetum*, trans. P. M. Brown). The sixteenth of Horace's *Epodes* (*Iambi*), also published at the end of the 30s, parodies *Ecl.* 4 in a context which highlights the violent alternation of hope and despair which characterized the decade.

The publication of Virgil's second major work, the *Georgics*, is usually dated to 29 BC; the battle of *Actium (31 BC) is referred to in *Georgics* 3. 28–9 and according to the Donatus life, Virgil read the poem to Octavian 'after his return from the victory at Actium' (*Vit. Don.* 27): Octavian reached Italy in the summer of 29 BC, and celebrated a great 'triple triumph' in August of that year, though the description of his achievements as depicted on the metaphorical temple at

the opening of *Georgic* 3 (26–39) can plausibly be dated before or after this triumph. There was a story that the work had originally ended with praise of Cornelius Gallus, which was removed after his fall and suicide in 26 BC (Servius on *Ecl.* 10. 1; *G.* 4. 1) but this is unlikely to be true (J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (1985), 180–2).

Like the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics* are a constant presence in the poetry of the 20s BC, but by the time that the final poem of *Propertius' second (?) book of elegies is published some time after Gallus' death (2. 34. 91–2), 'something greater than the *Iliad* is being brought to birth' (2. 34. 66), that is, the *Aeneid*. Macrobius quotes a letter from Virgil to Augustus declining to send any samples as more work is needed; this may be a reply to the letter of Augustus quoted at *Vit. Don.* 31 asking for a sketch or fragment, and to be dated to 27–25 BC since Augustus is described as away from Rome in Spain. It is possible, however, that more scepticism as to the genuineness of these letters is in order. Horace, *Odes* 1. 3 addresses a ship carrying a Vergilius to Greece; if this is taken to be Virgil, the bold enterprise of the ship's journey may also be read metapoetically of the vast undertaking of the *Aeneid*. The tradition claims that books 2 (or 3), 4, and 6 were recited to Augustus, the reference to the young Marcus Claudius Marcellus in 6 causing Marcellus' mother Octavia to faint (*Vit. Don.* 32; Servius on *Aen.* 4. 323, 6. 861); this episode, whether true or not, must be set after the death of Marcellus in 23 BC. Virgil himself, however, died in 19 BC, with the poem apparently felt to be unfinished: 'in the 42nd year of his life, intending to finish the *Aeneid*, he decided to go off to Greece and Asia Minor, and to spend three straight years simply in correcting the poem, to leave the rest of his life free for philosophy. But when he had set out on his trip, he met Augustus in Athens returning to Rome from the east, and decided not to go off, and even to return with Augustus. He visited a small town near Megara in very hot sun and caught a fever; this was made worse by his continued journey, to the extent that he was somewhat sicker when he put into Brundisium, where he died on 20 September' (*Vit. Don.* 35). He was buried at Naples 'within the second milestone on the road to Puteoli' (*Vit. Don.* 36: this does not fit the tomb known to tradition), and is said to have composed his own epitaph on his death-bed:

Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope; cecini pascua rura duces.
Mantua bore me, Calabria snatched me away, now
Naples holds me; I sang of pastures, fields, and kings.

Varius Rufus and Plotius Tucca were said to have 'emended' the *Aeneid* after Virgil's death, but without making any additions. The tradition also preserves the famous story that Virgil wished to burn the *Aeneid* on his death-bed: like everything else in the tradition, this may or may not be true.

Propertius' prophecy came to pass on the publication of the *Aeneid*: Virgil became the Roman *Homer, the *Aeneid* in particular serving as the great Roman classic against which later epic poets and in a sense all Latin poets had to situate themselves (cf. P. Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil* (1993), cf. e.g. Pliny, *Ep.* 3. 7. 8 on Silius' veneration). Schoolboys studied it, even in Roman Egypt (R. Cavenaile, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinorum* (1958), 7–70), and its opening words became a common graffito on the walls of *Pompeii (R. P. Hoogma, *Der Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (1952)). Already in his lifetime Virgil is said to have been famous (*Tac. Dial.* 13. 3) and his friendship with the great brought him considerable wealth: according to Valerius Probus' life (15–16) he was given ten million sesterces by Augustus (cf. *Hor. Epist.* 2. 1. 245–7 with Helenius Acro's comm.). As with Homer, all human learning came to be seen as condensed in the *Aeneid*, a view which finds full expression in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*: the ancient biographical tradition already shows a tendency to see Virgil as a *theios anēr*, a divine genius, and this became pronounced in the Middle Ages, with the legends of Virgil the Magician (D. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages* (1997; It. orig. 1885), with new introduction by J. M. Ziolkowski) The text of the *Aeneid* was consulted as an *oracle in the *sortes Vergilianae* (cf. *SHA Hadr.* 2. 8).

A number of portraits of Virgil are known (*Enc. Virg.* V** 103–4; there is no reason to believe that any are based on a genuine likeness, but the tradition describes him as a valetudinarian who never married and preferred sex with boys (variously identified amongst the characters of the poems). All of this, naturally, tells us more about Roman constructions of gender and culture than about 'the man Virgil'.

The Literary works

The *Eclogues*

If any of the poems in the *Appendix Vergiliana* are genuine (which is unlikely), they may have been juvenilia, but essentially Virgil enters world literature with his first collection, the *Eclogues*, published probably around 39–38 BC (see

above): ten short hexameter poems (the longest is 111 lines long) in the pastoral genre. The original title was *Bucolica*, 'cowherd songs' (*Eclogae*, N. Horsfall, *BICS* 1981, 108); *eclogae* means 'selections (from a larger corpus)' and it is unfortunate that a version of this later title has become usual in English. *Bucolica* as a title signals a clear allusion to pastoral (in Greek *ta bukolika*) and to *Theocritus in particular (cf. the refrain 'begin the bucolic song' in *Idyll* 1; in Moschus 3. 11 the pastoral poet Bion is called a cowherd, *boukolos*), and the collection makes constant reference to Theocritus' *Idylls*: commentators note four separate echoes in the first line. But the intertextuality with earlier Roman poetry is as dense: the opening lines are also significantly Lucretian (cf. G. Castelli, *RSC* 1966, 313–42; 1967, 14–39; see LUCRETIUS) and the 'Song of Silenus' in the sixth poem seems to interact with a broad selection of contemporary poetry, hints of only some of which are we able to pick up (cf. P. E. Knox, *Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Tradition of Augustan Poetry* (1986), 11–26).

This combination of the Greek and the Roman, the ancient and the contemporary, and the rustic and the sophisticated is typical of the collection as a whole. Although we do not know exactly in what form the poems of Theocritus and the other bucolic poets circulated in Rome, it is likely that any edition included both the strictly pastoral poems like the first idyll, urban mimes like 15, and the encomiastic poems 16 and 17. In one sense, Virgil carries this mixture further: just as Theocritus addresses his friend Nicias in the frame of *Idyll* 11, Virgil addresses Varus in 6 (though there Virgil is called 'Tityrus' himself by Apollo) and Pollio (?) in 8, but his contemporaries also make an appearance *within* the bucolic setting (3. 84–91, 6. 64–73, 9. 47, 10 *passim*). *Idyll* 7, the nearest equivalent in Theocritus, is much less explicit. In another sense, however, Virgil is more consistently pastoral: the encomiastic birth poem 4, explicitly *paulo maiora*, 'a little greater (in theme)', is still more consistently pastoral than Theocritus 16 or 17 (cf. *Ecl.* 4. 3, 21–2, 42–5, 55–9).

The ten poems are intricately arranged around the central poem 5; the first and ninth poems deal with the subject of the land confiscations, 2 and 8 contain long laments by star-crossed lovers, 3 and 7 are both 'amoeban' with exchanges of song, and 4 and 6 are the most obviously 'elevated' of the collection. Poem 5, another amoeban exchange, describes the apotheosis of Daphnis; 10 concludes the collection with Cornelius Gallus taking on the role of dying lover played by Daphnis in Theocritus, *Idyll* 1. Some supplement this patterning with numerical correspondences, of varying suggestiveness (cf. J. Van Sickle, *The Design of Virgil's Bucolics* (1978)); certainly *Eclogue* 4, which is 63 (9×7) lines long, is structured around the magical number 7, but this has special point in relation to its oracular tone and subject-matter. The collection equally responds, however, to a serial reading. There is a clear movement from the first poem, where Tityrus describes how his land was saved, to the ninth, where Moeris says that he was not so fortunate: 'our poems, Lycidas, have as much power amongst the weapons of *Mars as they say the Chaonian doves have when the eagle comes' (9. 11–13, with a pun on the 'eagle' of the legionary standard). Poem 6 opens with a 'proem in the middle' (cf. G. B. Conte, *YCLS* 1992, 147–59) which echoes the opening of *Callimachus *Aetia* and establishes the pastoral *deductum carmen*, 'fine-spun song', as the equivalent to Callimachus' 'slender muse' (*Ecl.* 6. 5, cf. 6. 8). At the end of the collection, Gallus gives in to love (10. 69), the poet rises from his pastoral ease in the shade (75–6), and the goats are told to go home, now fed to satiety (77).

As this suggests, the *Eclogues* are highly 'artificial' and metaliterary, and the relation of the world of song to the world outside is a central concern. Virgil toys with a variety of partial identifications in the poems: in 5. 86–7 Menalcas claims to have written *Eclogues* 2 and 3 and in 9. 10 Lycidas says that the same character 'saved all with his poems' but *Apollo calls the narrator Tityrus in 6. 4 and it is not hard to see him in the idle singer of an empty day in the first poem (cf. G. 565–6); in a broader sense he is also the helpless Corydon of 2 and the magical Silenus (see SATYRS AND SILENS) of 6. Interwoven with and inseparable from the literary texture are the celebrated descriptive passages that so appealed to Romantic enthusiasts like Samuel Palmer, the buzzing bees and cool springs of the pastoral world (cf. e.g. 1. 51–8). The union of the two was an inheritance from Theocritus which Virgil passed on to the west, particularly through Renaissance imitators like Mantuan and especially Sannazaro; although 'Arcadia' is mentioned only rarely in the poems (7. 4, 26, 10. 31, 33, cf. 4. 58–9, 10. 26) and its significance is disputed (B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, trans. T. G. Rosenmeyer, ch. 13; D. Kennedy, *Hermathena* 1984, 47–59; R. Jenkyns, *JRS* 1989, 26–39), the *Eclogues* came to signify Arcady as a place where poetry and love meet with or avoid the worlds of politics, cities, and empires.

One of the *Eclogues* came to have particular significance for later readers: *Eclogue* 4, with its description of the birth of a child whose lifetime will see a return of the world to the golden age. There were several possible candidates for the identification of the child even for contemporary readers (cf. E. Coleiro, *An Introduction to Vergil's Bucolics with*

an *Edition of the Text* (1979), 222–32: the modern favourite is an anticipated son of Mark *Antony and Octavia, a hope already dashed by the time of the *Eclogues*' publication), but the poem can equally be read as a broader allegory of renewal; Christian readers naturally saw reference to the birth of Jesus (cf. Coleiro, 232–3; Constantine, *Oratio ad sanctum coetum* 19–21, *PL*, 8. 454–66). The influence of Jewish messianic writing on the poem is nowhere a required hypothesis, but is not in itself unlikely (cf. R. G. M. Nisbet, *BICS* 1978, 59–78). See PASTORAL POETRY, GREEK; PASTORAL POETRY, LATIN.

The Georgics

Virgil's call to himself to 'rise' at the end of the *Eclogues* (10. 75 *surgamus*) was answered by a rise in generic level with his next work, the *Georgics*, a didactic poem in four books on farming (book 1: crops, book 2: trees and shrubs, book 3: livestock, book 4: bees). Again there are Hellenistic Greek models: little can be said of the lost *Georgica* of Nicander (fragments in A. F. S. Gow and A. F. Scholfield, *Nicander* (1953), 145–61), but it is clear even from the fragments that we have of Callimachus' *Aetia* that that was an important model (four-book structure, and especially the links between the poem to the third and conclusion to the fourth book of each work: R. F. Thomas, *CQ* 1983, 92–113) and Aratus' *Phaenomena* was both a central Hellenistic text (translated by *Cicero and Publius Terentius Varro Atacinus) and of particular relevance to the discussion of weather in book 1 (cf. also the translation of a passage from *Eratosthenes at *G* 1. 233–51). But there was also now an important archaic model in *Hesiod's *Works and Days* (cf. 2. 176 *Ascræum... carmen*, 'Hesiodic song'), and the relationship to Lucretius' *De rerum natura* is so central that the *Georgics* may be seen as an *anti-Lucretius* (cf. P. R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (1986), 157–67, and in general J. Farrell, *Virgil's Georgics and the Traditions of Ancient Epic* (1991)). Lucretius' confident exposition of the power of reason is 'remythologized' into a more sceptical and yet more accepting attitude towards the natural world and its traditional divinities (2. 490–4).

Just as Aratus' *Phaenomena* had been based on a prose treatise of Eudoxus and the *De rerum natura* on Epicurean texts, especially the *Letter to Herodotus*, so the *Georgics* also have important prose models, though none is as central as in those texts. Virgil's sources for the agricultural lore were various (L. A. Jermyn, *G&R* 1949, 50) but the most significant was *Varro's *Res rusticae*, published in 37 BC and influential especially in books 3 and 4 (but note also *Rust.* 1. 1. 4–7 with the opening invocation of the gods in *G*. 1. 8–23, and *Rust.* 1. 69. 2–3 with the end of the first book). The didactic, narrator is portrayed as a saviour-sage, taking pity on 'the farmers... ignorant of the path' (1. 41, with Lucretian overtones: cf. Hardie, 158) but the practical advice avoids technical precision (in contrast to the fragments of Nicander) and the addressee is the extremely unrustic Maecenas (1. 2, 2. 41, 3. 41, 5. 2; cf. also L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (1969), 52–5; S. Spurr, *G&R* 1986, 171–5). As with the *De rerum natura*, the central concern is rather the place in the world of human beings and their possibilities of happiness.

In the established manner of didactic poetry, passages of direct instruction are interspersed with 'digressions', descriptive or reflective passages with a more figured relationship to the main theme, such as *Jupiter's paternal disruption of the golden age (1. 121–59) or the 'praises of Italy' (2. 136–77). In particular, on the Lucretian model, the concluding section of each book stands out: the troubles of Italy in 1 (464–514), the virtues of the country life in 2 (475–540), the Noric plague in 3 (478–566, imitating the end of the *De rerum natura*: for book 3 as a microcosm of that work, cf. M. Gale, *CQ* 1991, 414–26), and especially the 'epyllion' of Aristaetus and *Orpheus that ends book 4 (315–58). This last section dramatizes (but also in part deconstructs) the opposition between the successful conquest of nature through hard work (Aristaetus) and the pathos of loss and failure (Orpheus) which can be traced throughout the *Georgics* and which has led to a debate over the 'optimism' or 'pessimism' of the work which parallels similar disputes over the *Aeneid* (cf. D. O. Ross, *Virgil's Elements* (1987); C. Perkell, *The Poet's Truth* (1989); T. Habinek, in M. Griffith and D. J. Mastrorarde (eds.), *Cabinet of the Muses* (1990), 209–23; and R. F. Thomas, *CPhil.* 1991, 211–18). The contemporary relevance of this is reinforced by a constant comparison between the bee society of book 4 and Rome (cf. J. Griffin, *Latin Poets* (1985), 163–82).

The poem concludes with an epilogue (modelled in part on the conclusion to Callimachus' *Aetia*) in which Virgil contrasts Augustus' 'thundering' on the Euphrates (cf. R. F. Thomas and R. Scodel, *AJPhil.* 1984, 339; J. Clauss, *AJPhil.* 1988, 309–20) with his own easeful retirement in Naples (4. 559–64) and looks back to the *Eclogues*, depicted as the playful work of his youth (565–6). At the opening of *Georgics* 3 he had promised to write a political epic (3. 46–8), a familiar enough turn in the *recusatio* (refusal to handle a topic), but just as Callimachus at the end of the *Aetia* prophesies a move 'down' to the *Iambi* (fr. 112), so at the end of the *Georgics* we are left feeling that for Virgil the next move would be 'up' in the hierarchy of genres (cf. Farrell, *Virgil's Georgics*).

Aeneid

Virgil's final work was the *Aeneid* (in Latin *Aeneis*), an account in twelve books of hexameter verse of the flight of *Aeneas from *Troy and his battles in Italy against Turnus to found a new home, the origin of Rome. As an *epic, the *Aeneid* occupies the summit of ancient generic classification. Epic was the sustained narration of great events ('kings and heroes' according to Callimachus fr. 1) by an inspired, omniscient, but distanced narrator; it was also the genre in which the anxiety of influence was greatest, since any epic was inevitably read against Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, by common consent the greatest poems of antiquity. Intertextuality with both poems is intense: the standard study takes 60 pages just to list the most obvious parallels (G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (1964), 371–431). The basic armature is that of the *Odyssey* (note also the focus on the hero in the title, though that has other implications: cf. *Aristotle, *Poetics* 1451^a 20): the first half of each epic describes the wanderings of the hero, the second his fight for victory in his home (cf. also the 'overlap' in the book-structure in the middle of each: *Od.* 13. 1–91 with *Aen.* 7. 1–36, and contrast *Apollonius of Rhodes, 3. 1), and Aeneas is harried by *Juno as *Odysseus is by *Poseidon, but the anger of Juno (cf. 1. 4, 11) also corresponds to the anger of *Achilles (and Apollo) in the *Iliad*, and the end of the poem is more like the battle between Achilles and *Hector in *Iliad* 22 than the killing of the suitors in *Odyssey* 22 (contra F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (1989), 177–214). One may also contrast the first six books as 'Odyssean' with the second half as 'Iliadic' (cf. K. W. Gransden, *Virgil's Second Iliad* (1984): for a different version of this opposition, cf. D. Quint, *Epic and Empire* (1993)). But the correspondences with both epics go much further and much deeper (cf. Knauer, *Aeneis*; ANRW 2. 31. 2 (1981), 870–918; A. Barchiesi, *La traccia del modello* (1985); R. R. Schlunk, *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid* (1974)). The relationship is signalled in the famous opening words of the poem, *arma virumque cano*, 'arms and the man I sing', where 'arms' points to the *Iliad*, 'man' to the *Odyssey* (and 'I sing' perhaps to 'Cyclic' epic, cf. *Ilias parva* fr. 1).

Two other epics are also of importance: the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes (cf. D. P. Nelis, *The Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (2001)) and *Ennius' *Annales* (E. Norden (ed.), *Aen.* 6 (1926), 365–75; M. Wigodsky, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry* (1972), 40–79). The relationship with Ennius is of great ideological significance (cf. G. B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation* (1986), 141–84). But the range of material whose traces may be interpreted in the *Aeneid* is vast: other earlier epics like Greek 'cyclic' epic (E. Christian Kopff, ANRW 2. 31. 2 (1981), 919–47) and *Naevius' *Punica* (M. Barchiesi, *Nevio Epico* (1962), 50–1 and *passim*), Greek and Roman tragedy (Wigodsky, 80–97; A. König, *Die Aeneis und die griechische Tragödie* (1970); P. Hardie, *PVS* 1991, 29–45), Hellenistic poetry (W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* (1987)), lyric and elegy (F. Cairns, 129–76), and many other *genres (cf. N. Horsfall, *G&R* 1991, 203–11). The *Aeneid* thus both preserves the narrower generic norms of epic and expands the genre towards the variety that critics like M. Bakhtin have reserved for the modern novel, a process taken further by *Ovid (J. B. Solodow, *The World of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (1988), 25). The included genres maintain, however, their separate ideological implications.

Although the particular version of the Aeneas legend presented in the *Aeneid* has become canonical, the versions of the myth in the preceding tradition were many and varied (N. M. Horsfall, in J. N. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography*, *BICS* Suppl. 52 (1987), 12–24), and the reconstruction of the matrix of possibilities against which the *Aeneid* situates itself has always been a standard critical procedure (cf. esp. R. Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, trans. H. and D. Harvey and F. Robertson (1993); N. Horsfall, *Virgilio: l'epopea in alambicco* (1991)). It is clear that many of the details offered by Virgil were by no means the standard ones in his day, that his 'sources' were multiple, and that there was no compunction against free invention. The *Aeneid* is not therefore a 'safe' text to use for the investigation of early Latin history and cult. The story as told by Virgil takes the reader, as in the *Odyssey*, *in medias res*. Aeneas on his way to Italy is blown off course to North Africa by a storm instigated by Juno (book 1). There he meets Dido, and tells her the story of the fall of Troy (book 2) and his subsequent wanderings (book 3). He and Dido become lovers, and he forgets his mission; Mercury is sent to remind him, and his departure leads to Dido's tragic suicide (book 4). In book 5, the threat of another storm forces Aeneas to put into Sicily, where funeral games are celebrated for his dead father Anchises; after Juno instigates the Trojan women to burn the ships, part of the group are left behind in Sicily and Anchises appears in a dream to urge Aeneas to visit the Sibyl of Cumae (near Naples). The first half of the epic concludes with the consultation of the Sibyl and their visit to the Underworld, where Aeneas meets his father and receives a vision of the future of Rome (book 6).

The events of the second half are described by Virgil as a 'greater work' (7. 44, *maius opus*). Landing in Latium, Aeneas sends a successful embassy of peace to the Latin king Latinus; but Juno uses the Fury Allecto to stir up the

young Rutulian king Turnus and Latinus' wife Amata to encourage war. Aeneas' son Iulus kills a pet stag while hunting, and from that small spark a full-blown war develops. Before battle commences we are given a catalogue of Italian forces (book 7). In book 8 Aeneas, advised by the god of the river Tiber in a dream, visits the Arcadian king Evander, who is living on the future site of Rome; Evander's young son Pallas joins the Trojan forces, and Aeneas receives a gift of armour from his mother Venus, including a shield which again depicts future events in the history of Rome, most notably the battle of Actium (book 8). In the succeeding books of fighting, emphasis falls on the terrible cost of the war, as the young lovers Nisus and Euryalus die in a night expedition (book 9), Turnus kills Pallas, and Aeneas kills both the equally tragic youth Lausus and his father the evil Mezentius (book 10), and Turnus' ally the female warrior Camilla is killed by an arrow to her breast (book 11). Finally in book 12 Aeneas and Turnus meet in single combat, despite Juno's attempts to delay the duel; Aeneas is victorious, and hesitates over sparing Turnus until he sees the sword-belt that Turnus had taken from the dead Pallas. In a paroxysm of love and anger, he slaughters Turnus.

Throughout the *Aeneid*, as this summary suggests, there is a strong narrative teleology, reaching beyond the events of the story to the future Rome. 'Fate' is a central concept; it coincides with the will of Jupiter, though the exact relationship is kept vague (C. Bailey, *Religion in Vergil* (1935), 204–40). Juno, pained and angry at past events (1. 25–8), attempts always to retard the progress of the story, as a sort of 'counter-fate' (7. 294, 313–16). She is always doomed to failure; at the end of the epic she is reconciled to the fate of Aeneas (12. 808–28) but we know that this is only temporary (10. 11–15; D. Feeney, in *Oxford Readings in Virgil's Aeneid* (1990), 339–62). Onto the opposition between the king and queen (1. 9) of heaven may be projected many other oppositions in the poem: heaven and hell, order and disorder, reason and emotion, success and failure, future and past, epic and tragedy. The treatment of these oppositions has been the central issue in the criticism of the *Aeneid*. It is clear that although many of them coincide, the contrast is never absolute: if Juno naturally turns to Allecto and the Underworld (7. 312), Jupiter god of the bright sky (1. 253) also uses the infernal Dirae as the instruments of his wrath (12. 849–52); if Aeneas like Hercules (*see* HERACLES) (cf. 8. 299, contrast 2. 314) represents reason and self-control, he also concludes the epic with an act of passion (12. 946–7). It is possible to see these inconsistencies as 'energising contradictions' (C. Martindale, *Redeeming the Text* (1993), 51) which forge a successful viewpoint on the world; or to see them as undermining or subverting the claims to dominance of Roman order, as in the 'two-voices' school of criticism that came to prominence in Harvard in the 1960s (cf. A. Parry, *Arion* 1963, 66–80; W. Clausen, *Harv. Stud.* 1964, 139–47; M. C. J. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid* (1965); R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (1987)); or more generally to see the oppositions (like all oppositions) as inherently unstable and liable to deconstruction. Naturally, simple appeal to the text or its historical setting cannot settle which of these approaches is adopted.

Three particular aspects of the debate may, however, be mentioned. First, the opposition between Jupiter and Juno is a gendered one, and many of the other contrasts drawn relate to ancient (and modern) conceptions of typically male or female characteristics, such as reason and emotion. Women in the *Aeneid* feature predominantly as suffering victims opposed to the progress of history (Juno, Dido, Amata, Camilla, Juturna), and this may be read either as an affront to the values of martial epic or as reinforcing them. At any rate, Virgil's treatment of gender is distinctive and central to the interpretation of the poem, though it is idle to use it to speculate about his own sexuality.

Second, the political aspects of the oppositions are more than implicit. The hero of the epic is *pious Aeneas* (1. 378), a man marked out by attachment to communal values who at the fall of Troy turns away from individual heroism to save his father and in *Carthage rejects personal happiness for the sake of his son's future and the destiny of Rome (4. 267–76). This subordination of the individual to the collective is often seen as a prime component of Roman ideology, and its embodiment in Aeneas a central feature of the epic. At the same time, as in Virgil's earlier work (J. Griffin, *Latin Poets* (1985), 163–82), the pain and loss suffered by individuals are at least equally as prominent in the poem. The question of the relationship between individual and community is raised in a different form by the question of the poem's relationship to the new autocratic rule of Augustus. The purpose of the *Aeneid* was commonly seen in antiquity as to praise Augustus (Servius, *Aen.* pref.), who receives explicit eulogy from Jupiter (1. 286–96, though *Caesar* in 286 is ambiguous), Anchises (6. 791–805), and the primary narrator in the description of Aeneas' divine shield (8. 671–728). Much of the imagery of the *Aeneid* can be related to Augustan symbolic discourse (P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*; P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988)) and there are many typological links between Augustus and Aeneas and other figures such as Hercules (cf. G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus* (1971); K. W. Gransden, *PVS* 1973–4, 14–27; J. Griffin, *Latin Poets* (1985), 183–97). On the other hand,

many have again seen the poem's tragic elements as incompatible with a celebration of power. It is impossible to separate the question of the *Aeneid's* political tendency—in its crudest form, whether we make it pro- or anti-Augustan—from the wider ideological issues mentioned above, and again the debate cannot be resolved by an appeal to text or history (cf. D. Kennedy, in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (1992), 26–58). See PROPAGANDA.

Finally, these same issues have also surfaced in relation to the philosophical aspects of the *Aeneid*. Just as the *Georgics* may be read as a reply to the *De rerum natura*, so the *Aeneid* may be seen as again 're-mythologizing' Lucretian rationalism (P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium, passim*); as Aeneas rejects retirement in Carthage or Sicily for his fate in Italy, so the *Aeneid* turns from 'ignoble ease' to harsh commitment (cf. 6. 851 with *De rerum natura* 5. 1130, though there is more than one way of reading the intertextuality). Several passages of the *Aeneid* are explicitly philosophical in their language, most notably Anchises' account of the *soul in 6. 724–51; this contains both Stoic and Platonic elements (see STOICISM; PLATO), and such eclecticism is typical and unsurprising in a period where the two schools pulled closer with figures such as Antiochus of Ascalon and Posidonius. But the debates over the philosophy of the *Aeneid* have concentrated on ethics and the theory of the passions, especially anger. Is the *Aeneid* essentially a Stoic text, which deprecates emotion? Or is it rather Peripatetic (i.e. Aristotelian: see ARISTOTLE), and thereby endorsing a right measure of anger (A. Thornton, *The Living Universe* (1976), esp. 159–63)? Others have looked to Cynicism (see CYNICS) (F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (1989), 33–8) or the Epicurean theory of anger as presented in Philodemus' *De ira* (cf. G. K. Galinsky *AJPhil.* 1988, 321–48; M. Erler, *GB* (1991)). Any decision on these matters involves a consideration of the poem's imagery, as well as explicit statement by characters and the narrator; and once again the evaluation of these images is not a simple one. A similar ambivalence attends the depiction of the gods: although they may at times function as metaphors for psychological activity on the human plane (G. W. Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid* (1983)), they cannot simply be reduced to allegory (D. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* (1991), 129–87).

The classic status of the *Aeneid* is at once apparent from the parody of its opening line (and 7. 41) as the epitome of epic openings in the first of Ovid's *Amores* (date uncertain, but perhaps before 7 BC: cf. Mckeown on *Am.* 1. 1. 1–2). Intertextuality with the *Aeneid* is the central way in which Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Lucan's *De bello civili*, and especially the works of the Flavian epicists generate meaning: the *Aeneid* is figured as the official voice of the empire, to be subverted or recuperated (cf. P. Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil*). But just as all Greek literature everywhere of necessity situates itself against Homer, so traces of the *Aeneid* can be seen in every genre of verse and prose, Christian as well as pagan (cf. W. Suerbaum, *ANRW* 2. 31. 1 (1986), 308–37; W. F. Jackson Knight, *Roman Virgil* (1966), 362–98). Inevitably, this role as a machine for generating meaning in others, a stable backdrop for new dramas, may lead to a simplification of the possibilities of the original text, but equally the links between parts of the *Aeneid* established by imitations often offer the possibility of new critical insights into the *Aeneid* itself (cf. P. Hardie, *Virgil and his Epic Successors* (1993)).

Reception

Virgil's works, but especially the *Aeneid*, retained their classic status throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance as prime examples of pastoral (cf. A. M. Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology* (1988); S. Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and its English Developments* (1989)), didactic (cf. J. Calker, *The English Georgic* (1969)), and most obviously epic, from Dante to Milton (cf. T. M. Green, *The Light in Troy* (1982); D. Quint, *Epic and Empire* (1993)). Many aspects of this *reception in the various vernaculars were studied in the publications connected with the bimillenary celebrations of 1981–2 (lists in A. Wlosok, *Gnomon* 1985, 127–34 and *Enc. Virg. V*** (1991), 114–18: cf. C. Martindale, *Virgil and his Influence* (1984) and *Redeeming the Text* (1993)). Although in English literature the Augustan period is most obviously an *aetas Vergiliana*, he has played a surprisingly important role in the modern period, from Eliot to Hermann Broch (T. Ziolkowski, *Virgil and the Moderns* (1991)); if no major work stands in relation to the *Aeneid* as Joyce's *Ulysses* does to the *Odyssey*, the tactics that novel adopts towards its model are entirely Virgilian. For Eliot as for Milton and Dryden Virgil was *the* classic; if this centrality has given way first before vernacular heroes (Shakespeare, Dante) and then before a more general scepticism towards the canon, Vergil continues to possess the alternative canonic virtue of continual reinterpretation and cultural reuse (cf. W. Suerbaum, *Vergils Aeneis, Beiträge zu ihrer Rezeption in Gegenwart und Geschichte* (1981)).

Vitruvius appreciated that in its general and most humane form, architecture included everything which touches on the physical and intellectual life of man and his surroundings.

Often, his encyclopaedic concern with covering a subject thoroughly seems odd to us. In book 2. 1–2 of the *On Architecture* he suggests that the architect who uses bricks needs to be familiar with pre-Socratic theories of matter if he is to understand how his materials can be expected to behave. The doxographies are combed for suitable information. In book 9, the highly abstract geometry of Plato is put to the use of the surveyor—something of which Plato himself might hardly have approved. Similar practical use is made of the mathematics of Archytas, *Eratosthenes, Democritus, and Archimedes, and Vitruvius remains an important source for our knowledge of a great many early Greek scientists. (It was Vitruvius who preserved the famous story of Archimedes' discovery in his bathtub of a way of detecting the adulteration of king Hieron II of *Syracuse's golden crown (9, Pref. 9–12).) And so Vitruvius goes on, often employing the theories of the most anti-banauistic Greek thinkers to elucidate his very practical subject. Astronomy is necessary for an understanding of the use of sundials, and surveying instruments; astrology for the insights it offers into the organization of human life; machines and their principles (book 10) because of their utility in the manipulation of materials. As he notes at 10. 1. 4, all machines are created by nature, and the revolutions of the universe ultimately set them in motion. For a man with interests practical and theoretical in equal measure, understanding the nature of nature was central to all.

RAT/JTV

vivisection Squeamishness about the dissection (let alone vivisection) of animals is a mark of much ancient medicine and zoology, and there is no firm evidence for vivisection in those Hippocratic works (see *MEDICINE* §4) which are generally dated to the 5th or 4th cent. BC. (The passage in the Hippocratic treatise *On the Heart* describing the vivisection of a pig (9. 80 Littré) is generally dated to the 3rd cent. BC.) Physicians and zoologists from *Aristotle onwards do, however, seem to have vivisected animals and in some cases even humans. Practitioners themselves rarely show signs of concern with the morality of causing animals suffering in the name of knowledge, although such concern was voiced in other quarters (see *ANIMALS, ATTITUDES TO; ANIMALS, KNOWLEDGE ABOUT*).

Two ancient physicians are notoriously connected with the practice of human vivisection. Aulus Cornelius Celsus reports that the Alexandrian anatomists Herophilus and Erasistratus vivisected criminals provided for

them by the king (see *ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY* § IV). Erasistratus at least seems to have been motivated by the belief that the bodies of the living and the dead differ in important physical respects, and that conclusions drawn from the study of a cadaver will not necessarily hold for a living man. Celsus remarks (*De medicina* 1, Proem 26) that the practice had its supporters, who argued that agony for a few is justified by the widespread benefits that accrue from increased understanding of the body's vital functions, but Celsus himself regards it with distaste. The other major ancient witness, Tertullian (*De anima* 10), manifests his Christian horror at the practice. The truth of these reports has been fiercely disputed in modern times. Some feel that it is difficult to *prove* that human subjects were ever used—and they add that there is very little evidence that the practice was subsequently used in antiquity. Moreover, Galen himself based much of his own human anatomy on his dissections and vivisections of the Barbary ape and the Rhesus monkey, creatures which he thought most closely resembled humans. The implication is that, for Galen at least, humans were not possible subjects. The balance of modern opinion, however, seems to be in favour of accepting the veracity of Celsus' and Tertullian's reports.

JTV

Vulcan (Volcanus, Volkanus, Vulcanus), an ancient Roman god of destructive, devouring fire, in both the human environment and in nature: e.g. in volcanoes (see Strabo 5. 246 for his worship at the *Solfatara* of Puteoli, and Plin. *HN* 2. 240 for fire coming out of the ground near Mutina), which explains why his temple should always stand outside a city (Vitr. 1. 7. 1), on the authority of the *Etruscan haruspices (diviners). He was associated with Maia (Gell. *NA* 13. 23. 2 'Maia Volcani'), the goddess of the irrepressible development of the fire, and was worshipped at Rome from the earliest-known times, having a flamen (see *PRIESTS (GREEK AND ROMAN)*) and a festival, the Volcanalia, on 23 August (calendars). His shrine, the Volcanal, stood in the Area Volcani in the *forum Romanum at the foot of the Capitol; it may therefore go back to a time when the Forum was still outside the city (see F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano*, 1: *Periodo arcaico* (1983), 164 ff.). A newer temple (before 214 BC) stood in the Campus Martius. His name is certainly not Latin, the nearest to it in sound being the Cretan *Φελαχάριος* (for whom see Cook, *Zeus* 2. 946 ff.), who, however, seems to have no resemblance to him in functions. For Etruscan names suggesting Volcanus see F. Altheim, *Griechische Götter* (1930), 172. It is thus possible, but unproved, that he came in from the eastern Mediterranean, through Etruria. He seems to have been worshipped principally to avert fires, hence his by-name Mulciber

(‘qui ignem mulcet’, ‘he who mitigates fire’), his title Quietus, and his association with Stata Mater (Dessau, *ILS* 3295, 3306), apparently the goddess who makes fires stand still. On the Volcanalia, when sacrifice (see SACRIFICE, ROMAN) was also made to Juturna, the nymphs, Ops Opifera, and Quirinus, he was given a curious and (at least for Rome) unexampled sacrifice, live fish from the Tiber being flung into a fire (see calendars and Varro,

Ling. 6. 20, Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 345). This also can be readily explained as an offering of creatures usually safe from him to induce him to spare those things which at so hot a time of year are particularly liable to be burned. He had a considerable cult at *Ostia, where he seems to have been the chief god (R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (1960), 337 ff.). In classical times he is fully identified with *Hephaestus. HJR/JSch

W



wall of Hadrian (see ◀ Map 5, Ba ▶), a frontier wall (see LIMES) of Roman *Britain, running for 80 Roman miles (118 km.; 73 mi.) from Wallsend-on-Tyne to Bowness-on-Solway. The frontier then followed the Cumbrian coast south to St Bees Head. Erected under the governor Aulus Platorius Nepos in c.AD 122–6, it was first designed to start at Pons Aelius, Newcastle upon Tyne, the eastern 67 km. (42 mi.) being in stone (3 m. (10 ft.) thick and perhaps 4.2 m. (13½ ft.) high) and the western 46 km. (31 mi.) in turf (6 m. (19½ ft.) broad at the base and some 4.2 m. (13½ ft.) high). Six metres (19½ ft.) in front of the wall ran a V-shaped ditch (generally 8.2 m. (26½ ft.) wide and 3 m. (10 ft.) deep). Recent work at various locations suggests that the berm between wall and ditch was fortified with a forest of sharpened stakes set in the ground. Fortified gateways (milecastles), with towered gates to the north, occurred every Roman mile (1,481 m.; 1,620 yds.) and there were intermediate turrets (observation towers) every third of a mile (494 m.; 540 yds.). North of the barrier were three outpost forts at Bewcastle, Netherby, and Birrens. As construction progressed, changes came. The stone wall was reduced to 2.5 m. (7½ ft.) in width, and extended 6 km. (4 mi.) eastwards to Wallsend, and 6 km. westward (replacing the Turf Wall).

As planned, garrison forts remained behind the barrier on the Stanegate, the Trajanic road from Corbridge to Carlisle. At an early stage in construction the decision was taken to build a series of twelve forts astride the wall. These were at Wallsend (1.6 ha.), Benwell (2.2 ha.), Rudchester (1.8 ha.), Halton Chesters (1.7 ha.), Chesters (2.3 ha.), Housesteads (2.0 ha.), Great Chesters (1.35 ha.), Birdoswald (2.15 ha.), Castlesteads (1.5 ha.), Stanwix (3.7 ha.), Burgh-by-Sands (2 ha.), and Bowness-on-Solway (2.8 ha.). On the Cumbrian coast Beckford (1.0 ha.) and Moresby (1.4 ha.) were also added on either side of the existing fort at Maryport. After the decision to move forts onto the line of the frontier the so-called vallum was added to the south of the wall. The vallum was a flat-bottomed ditch 6 m.

(19½ ft.) wide and 3 m. (10 ft.) deep with the upcast disposed in two turf-curbed mounds, one on either side, set back 9 m. (29½ ft.) from the lip of the ditch. This provided a continuous cleared area behind the forts along the full length of the frontier, presumably designed to ensure security. Crossings were limited to causeways at the forts. Lateral communication was first supplied by branches from the Stanegate; only later did the Military Way, between vallum and wall, connect forts and milecastles. Before the end of the reign of *Hadrian further forts were added to the system at Carrawburgh (1.6 ha.), Carvoran (1.4 ha.), and Drumburgh (0.8 ha.), bringing the garrison to c.9,090 men (excluding the Cumbrian coast) in auxiliary units.

After the accession of *Antoninus Pius the frontier was advanced to the wall of Antoninus on the Forth–Clyde line. Hadrian's wall was rendered open to traffic by removing the gates from milecastles and slighting the vallum. In the 160s the wall was brought back into full use with the abandonment of the Antonine wall. There was extensive rebuilding and repair, but forts were reoccupied by units of similar size and type to those previously present. Decreasing emphasis was placed on turrets and milecastles, with those on the Cumbrian coast apparently abandoned. The pattern so established endured for almost 200 years with only gradual modification, piecemeal rebuilding, and a slow decline in the effective size of the garrisons. The lack of evidence for the late Roman field army suggests that the wall remained effective. There is no sound evidence for any violent destruction or wholesale removal of the garrison in the late 4th or early 5th cent.

IAR/SSF/MJM

warfare, attitudes to (Greek and Hellenistic)

*Homer's *Iliad*, a poem about war, does not glorify war: it celebrates martial prowess but also portrays the sufferings caused by war, and *Ares, god of war, is rebuked by Zeus as the most hateful of all the gods, to whom strife, wars, and slaughter are forever dear (*Il.* 5. 890 f.). The

same ambivalence pervades Greek attitudes to warfare. War in Greece was a recurring phenomenon, and conflicts multiplied in numbers and scale as larger power blocks emerged. Greek history (see GREECE (HISTORY)) divides according to major conflicts: the Persian Wars, the Peloponnesian War and its sequels, the rise of *Macedonia, *Alexander the Great's conquest of Asia, and the wars of the successor kingdoms (see PTOLEMY I; SELEUCIDS). These provide the subject-matter of much of Greek historical writing. There were also innumerable local wars, less prominent in the record. 'War is the father of all things' (Heraclitus, DK 22 B 53). It shaped the institutions, society, and economy of the Greek world. Military function and social and political *status were closely related (Arist. *Pol.* 4. 1297^b10–24; cf. already *Il.* 12. 309–28), hence the predominance in the Classical period of the male citizen-warrior, the exclusion of *women from the political sphere, and the constant celebration in literature of military valour. Success in war was ascribed to divine favour and ostentatiously commemorated in *sanctuaries through dedications and offerings from enemy spoils, including captured weapons. In Classical Athens the war-dead received burial every year in a public ceremony, and the funeral oration (*epitaphios*) linked the fallen warriors with the collective achievements of the *polis. On the other hand, the destructive aspects of war receive constant emphasis in literature. 'No one is so foolish as to prefer war to peace: in peace children bury their fathers, while in war fathers bury their children' (Hdt. 1. 87. 4). Tragedy and comedy exploited the theme in many ways (Aesch. *Ag.*; Eur. *Tro.* and *Hec.*; Ar. *Ach.*, *Pax.* and *Lys.*). For *Thucydides, war was 'a violent teacher' (3. 82. 2). Later historians often used the sacking of cities and the fate of the defeated for pathos and sensational effect (cf. the critique of *Polybius 2. 56–63). But attempts to limit war were few and ineffective, and it is doubtful whether there was any successful move towards humanizing warfare, even between Greeks. With the Persian Wars and the emergence of the antithesis between Greek and *barbarian, the view gained ground that Greeks should not fight wars against other Greeks or enslave Greek war captives (cf. Pl. *Resp.* 5. 469b–470c). After the failure of Athens in 355 in the Social War (357–355 BC; see ATHENS (HISTORY)) voices were raised in condemnation of Athenian imperialism and in favour of peace (Xen. *Vect.*; Isoc. *De Pace* and *Areopagiticus*). But the legitimacy of war itself was not challenged: the same writers preached a profitable war of aggression against the Persian empire as an alternative to wars among Greeks (Xen. *An.* 3. 2. 4–6; Isoc. *Paneg.* and *Philip*; cf. already Hdt. 5. 49). In short, throughout Greek history 'war was a part of the fabric of society, on a par with

earthquakes, droughts, destructive storms, and slavery' (W. K. Pritchett). See also BOOTY; IMPERIALISM (Greek and Hellenistic); TROPHIES. MMA

water (Gk. *hudōr*, Lat. *aqua*) in the mostly arid Mediterranean climate by its local availability shaped patterns of settlement and, as erratic rainfall, determined harvest-fluctuations and food-shortages (see FAMINE; FOOD SUPPLY). In *agriculture, although dry-farming was the norm in ancient Greece and Italy, irrigation was by no means unknown (e.g. at Hellenistic Sparta: SEG 40. 348. For the Persian empire, see AI KHANOUM). The use of hydraulic technology to increase the water supply was an early concern of the *polis; some of the most spectacular installations (e.g. on *Samos) were the work of the Archaic tyrants (see also TYRANNY); Rome pioneered raised *aqueducts. Communal fountains were a social focus (e.g. Eur. *Med.* 68–9, about Corinth's Pirene); in Roman times they were civic status-symbols liable to lavish architectural embellishment. Apart from drinking and *sanitation, ancient cities needed water for reasons of personal health (directions about baths figure in the Hippocratic *On Regimen and Health* 6. 72 ff. Littré; see MEDICINE §4) as well as hygiene. In Greece domestic baths were increasingly common by the 4th cent. BC (terracotta bathtubs or special bathrooms were found in one-third of the houses at Olynthus). Public (including hot) *baths were common by the mid-5th cent. BC; baths were among the standard amenities of the Greek *gymnasium; in Roman cities they were a central social and cultural institution and, when based on therapeutic springs, the *raison d'être* of spa-towns. The play of water was an integral part of ancient, especially Roman, gardens and of the Roman idea of the *locus amoenus* (pleasant place). In mythology spring-water had sacred power; in real life springs often prompted cult. Together with fire, water was widely used in cult for purification (see POLLUTION), including bathing, in libations, and in *sacrifice; extra-urban *sanctuaries were as concerned as cities to secure a good supply. Purificatory water was also used in rites of birth, marriage, and death, the dead being considered 'thirsty'. In the so-called 'Orphic' texts on gold plates (see ORPHEUS), the soul is 'parched with thirst' and wants to drink the water of Memory; in the eschatological myths of *Plato and *Virgil (*Aen.* 6. 714, 749), the *souls drink the water of Oblivion. Finally, water was a primal element in cosmogonic thought; this applies equally to philosophy and to the early mythical cosmogonies (on which see Kirk–Raven–Schofield, *Presocratic Philosophers* ch. 1; and for Oceanus as the source of all, 11 ff.). See also NEPTUNE. JHC/AJSS

wealth, attitudes to Classical societies developed a range of responses to the universal ambition of individuals to amass property and possessions. One extreme response, characteristic of societies where the wealthy had retained or regained preponderant influence in public affairs, was to impose little or no restriction on accumulation: early Hellenistic Sparta and late republican Rome were examples. Conversely, Greek colonies were often founded on an 'equal and like' basis, and Roman colonial foundations regularly assigned the same land-area to each colonist. However, few colonies remained egalitarian for long (Diod. Sic. 5. 9. 4–5 for an exception, Lipara, one of the Aeolian islands). See COLONIZATION, GREEK; COLONIZATION, ROMAN.

More normally, attitudes oscillated unsystematically within such extremes. Amassing wealth, possessing it, and spending it aroused differing responses, and varied also with the nature and the status of the gainful activity (Cato, *Agr. pref.*; Cic. *Off.* 1. 150 ff. and 2. 52 ff.). Greeks saw the rich as potentially hubristic, extravagant, profiteering, and soft, probably dishonest if newly wealthy and lucky rather than worthy if of longer standing, but also as prudent and as potentially generous and magnanimous benefactors (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1. 8–9). Romans likewise might profess contempt for usury while legally requiring guardians to use their wards' spare capital profitably (*Dig.* 26. 7 *passim*); might be represented as vaunting their wealth, as *Petronius Arbiter's Trimalchio did or as the shippers of Trier (Augusta Treverorum) did on their grave-monuments, or as hoarding it Scrooge-fashion (Hor. *Sat.* 1); or might combine positive and negative attitudes in the same treatise, as *Seneca did repeatedly. Behind some such inconsistencies lay the influence of Greek philosophies. *Cynics preferred poverty and refused possessions, a pattern later followed by some wealthy Christians (see CHRISTIANITY), while some exponents of *Stoicism associated joy with the use of wealth. Mainstream Stoicism counted wealth among the 'useful indifferents', and Aristotelian tradition (see ARISTOTLE) saw at least a comfortable independence as essential to the virtuous life. Other attitudes were less coherent. The idea that poverty had made Rome great, while wealth and luxury would ruin her, was a cliché of late republican ideology, explicit in *Sallust, *Horace, and *Livy, just when the wealthy of Rome and Italy were energetically exploiting every opportunity for investment and accumulation.

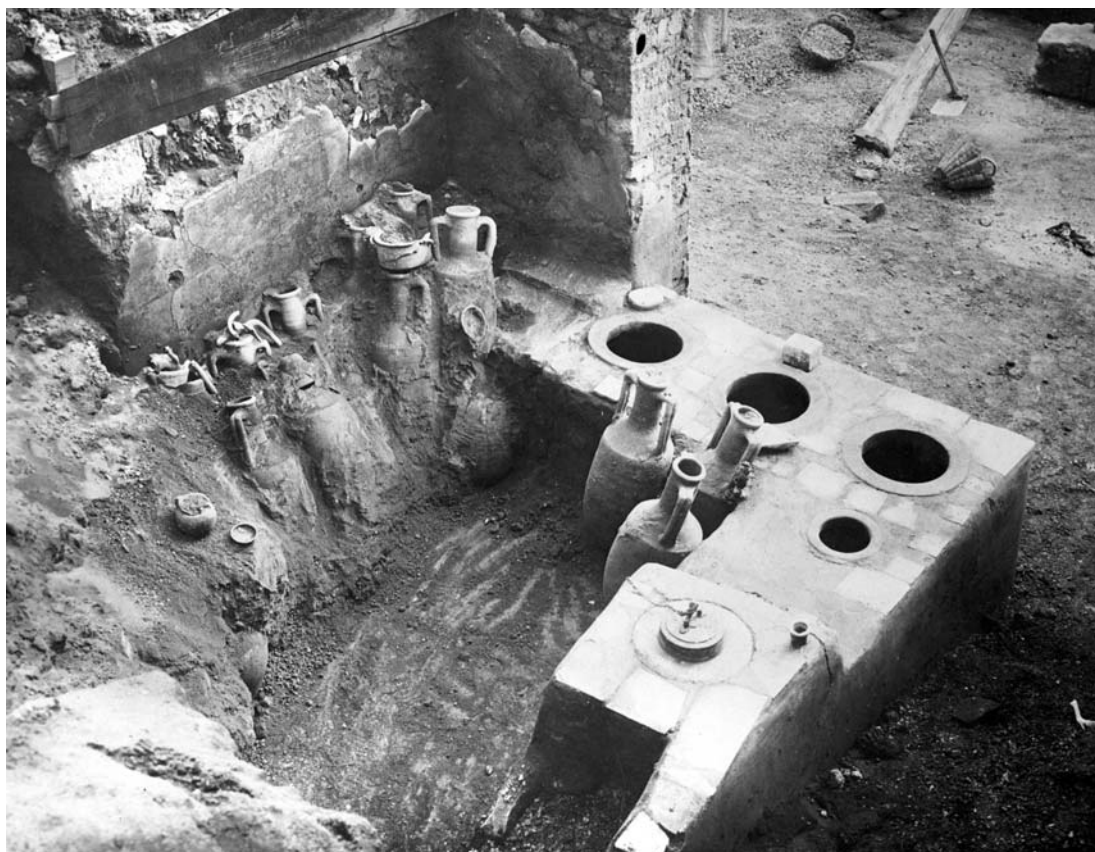
Some public policies, expressed in law or custom, attempted to restrain such behaviour. Partible inheritance ensured that an eldest son had no economic advantage, and the revocability of dowries checked some accumulation strategies, though the later freedoms of bequest and adoption largely eroded such restraints. The military

need for citizen soldiers long kept the number of free smallholders high, but was overtaken by army professionalization for centuries until the barbarian settlements reinstated the practice. Sumptuary laws, or officials such as the *gynaikonomoi* ('women's wardens'), attempted to restrict extravagant display, especially at funerals or festivals. Most effective of all was the expectation that the wealthy would use at least some of their wealth for public benefit. The idea came closest to enforceable obligation in the institution of liturgies at Athens (see TRIERARCHY) and elsewhere, but normally emphasized the voluntariness of such benefaction and the goodwill thereby accruing to the benefactor (see EUERGETISM). In Greek contexts the objectives might be contributions to corn-buying or building funds, educational or cult foundations, help in manumission costs, or the ransoming of captives. In Roman contexts expenditure on games, public spectacles, and food hand-outs tended to predominate, along with expenditure on alimenta-schemes, temple building, the patronage of *collegia* (clubs), and later the endowment of churches and monasteries. JKD

wheel, wheeled transport See TRANSPORT, WHEELED.

wine (Greek and Roman) The grape vine, which grows naturally in the highlands between the 10° C and 20° C annual isotherms (approximately between 30° and 50° north), had appeared in a cultivated form (*Vitis vinifera sativa*) in the Caucasus at least by the neolithic period. Viticulture had become fully established in the Greek world by Mycenaean times, as it had even earlier in its near eastern neighbours. By the earliest historical period wine had already become a fundamental component of Classical culture. This is not simply the result of ecological determinism; viticulture represented an important cultural and social choice. Contemporaries were aware that the considerable geographical expansion of vine-growing which happened throughout Classical history (in the Black (Euxine) Sea region in the Hellenistic period and, most notably, in southern Spain and France after the Roman conquest) was closely associated with the dissemination of Classical culture. So the Phocaeen settlers of Massalia (Marseilles; see COLONIZATION, GREEK) are represented by Justin (43. 4) as teaching the Gauls not just the pleasures of urban life and constitutional government, but also viticulture.

The evidence, particularly the literary sources, for viticulture in Classical Greece is inadequate; not even Theophrastus offers much detail. On the other hand, the techniques of wine-production figure prominently in the Roman *agricultural writers and *Pliny the Elder (*HN* 14 and 17), whose information is derived not just from personal experience, but also the numerous handbooks



wine A wine shop in *Pompeii. The transport jars (*amphorae*) in which the wine was stored are clearly visible. A modest establishment like this is a reminder that wine was the everyday drink of all classes in Greece and Rome, not just the élite. Roger-Viollet / TopFoto

produced in the Hellenistic period. Yet, even in Classical Greece it was already acknowledged that the particular character of a wine depended primarily on a combination of the type of vine, the soil, and the climate. Most of the modern methods of training and pruning vines were already known, from the free-standing bush, propped vines, to trellising, and most notably the growing of vines up trees. This last was such a distinctive feature of some of the most prized vineyards of Roman Italy (e.g. Caecuban and Falernian) that Pliny (*HN* 17. 199) could claim that 'classic wines can only be produced from vines grown on trees'. Cited yields varied enormously; but these depended on grape type and the density of planting. The choices here depended on which market the producer was aiming at: young wines for mass consumption or fine wines for the élite.

The descriptive lists of wines which can be found in authors, such as Pliny and Athenaeus, must be used with

caution, because many of them are not the judgements of connoisseurs, but are derived from the accounts of medical writers, who assessed wines for their effects as remedies. Athenaeus (1. 27d) has the most useful account of Greek wines with a wide selection of citations from ancient authors. Among the most noted Greek wines were those of *Cos, *Chios, Thasos, *Lesbos, and *Rhodes. A distinctive feature of several of these wines, particularly Coan, was the practice of cutting the must with quantities of sea water 'to enliven a wine's smoothness' (Plin. *HN* 14. 120) (presumably to increase its acidity). So many of Greece's most prominent wines and the ones which were exported on a large scale down to the Roman imperial period came from the islands. Viticulture probably played a greater role in their economy than that of mainland areas such as Attica (the territory of *Athens). Two fragmentary inscriptions from 5th-cent. Thasos, an important producer and exporter, contain elaborate regulations

about the sale of wine. Sometimes interpreted as trade protection, they are more likely a cumbersome attempt to assure the consumer of the genuineness and quality of their purchase.

In Roman Italy there was a close link between prestige vineyards and the favoured locations of the Roman élite's country estates, most particularly the Alban hills or Albanus mons (Alban, Velletri, Setian wine), further south in Latium (Caecuban), the northern borders of Campania (Massic, Falernian), and round the bay of Naples (Gauranum, Surrentinum). In the reign of *Augustus there was a great interest in the wines of NE Italy. Most of the prized wines were sweet whites. Characteristically they were aged for a considerable number of years, with a resultant darkening of colour as a result of madderization. This process of ageing was often accelerated by exposing the wine to heat by storing it in lofts above hearths. While it was accepted that wine ideally should be unadulterated, the long lists of additives in Pliny and Columella suggest that producers were frequently forced to disguise a deteriorating product.

The widespread finds of Italian amphorae are testimony to the success of Italian wines in the growing markets of the city of Rome itself, in Spain and Gaul, and even in the Greek east. But Italian dominance of this trade lasted for only a fairly short time, from the late 2nd cent. BC to the mid-1st cent. AD. By then the wines of south Spain and southern Gaul were competing successfully in these markets, so much so that Columella (*Rust.* 3. 3) was forced to produce a detailed argument for the continued profitability of viticulture to counter growing scepticism in Italy.

Wine was the everyday drink of all classes in Greece and Rome. It was also a key component of one of the central social institutions of the élite, the dinner and drinking party (see SYMPOSIUM). On such occasions large quantities of wine were drunk, but it was invariably heavily diluted with water. It was considered a mark of uncivilized peoples, untouched by Classical culture, that they drank wine neat with supposed disastrous effects on their mental and physical health (Ammianus Marcellinus, 15. 12). See AGRICULTURE; ALCOHOLISM; DIONYSUS. JJP

WOMEN

women Almost all information about women in antiquity comes to us from male sources. Some women could read and write (see LITERACY), at least to the level needed for their role as guardians of the *household stores (e.g. Xen. *Oec.* 7. 5 and 9. 10; see HOUSEWORK) but, although there are many references to literary works by women, very few texts survive. The 'exceptions' to male authorship include women poets (e.g. *Sappho, Corinna, Erinna, Nossis, two women poets called Sulpicia), early philosophers (e.g. Hypatia; some Hellenistic pamphlets are attributed to Pythagorean women), personal letters from women, and the 5th-cent. AD travel diary of Egeria (*Itinerarium Egeriae*). Many attributions to women are problematic. Were women's letters written by scribes? Is a text ascribed to a woman simply in order to attack a man (e.g. Aspasia's alleged authorship of *Pericles' speeches)?

The central source problems, and the strategies developed to overcome them, underpin the large amount of work on ancient women produced in the last 30 years. First, every type of evidence has had to be re-examined in order to discover what it can contribute. This has led many scholars to concentrate on very small areas of specialism, leaving the work of synthesis to the reader of the collections of essays in which much recent work has been published. Secondly, the indirect nature of much of the evidence has made necessary a theoretically sophisticated approach, open to methods developed in cognate disciplines.

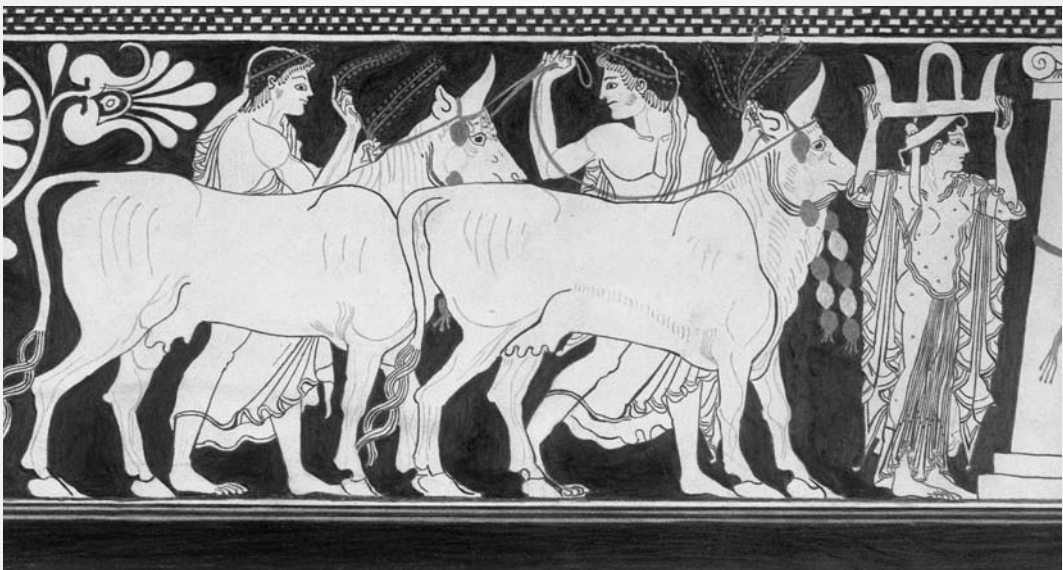
The source problems used to be solved by dividing material up according to its 'level'; for example, seeing drama as fantasy, legal materials as nearer to the reality of daily life. In considering ancient women under the heading 'women, position of', the 2nd, 1970, edn. of the *OCD* reflected the dominant questions of the age; first, whether 5th-cent. Athenian women were kept in 'oriental seclusion' or allowed 'freedom', and secondly, whether this meant that they were 'despised' or 'honoured'. Whereas literature and the visual arts were thought to assign women a prominent role, legal and historical material suggested that, in practice, women were seen as perpetual minors. A comparable approach divides the statements of the ideal situation from the incidental, apparently naïve, remarks about women's lives which are thought to reveal the reality.

The problem in both cases is how to weight different types of source material. For example, Creon orders Antigone and Ismene to 'be women' and stay 'inside' (Soph. *Ant.* 578 ff.). Is this evidence that women's domain was normally the home? The 'norm' is only stated because of the perception that it is being breached, so how would we know about a norm which remained unbreached and was therefore unstated? Other sources (drama, philosophy, lawcourt speeches) suggest that Athenian women left the *oikos* to visit relatives, work in the fields, fetch water, visit cemeteries, and attend weddings and religious festivals. So is this not a norm, but an ideal practised by a very few wealthy households? Or should we argue that what was said did not match what was done?

There is currently an increased awareness that all types of source material were produced by the same society, and that none gives direct access to reality. For example, funerary inscriptions may seem less value-laden than plays, but they operate by their own rules; a woman is praised for her appearance and her personal qualities, a man for what he has done. Fourth-cent. Greek lawcourt speeches are not transparent, but are public discourses designed to win a case by appealing to a shared social ideal of female nature and behaviour. From the late republic onwards, Roman sources praise maternal *breast-feeding, yet discuss the use of a wet-nurse.

Much recent work on women in antiquity has looked not at 'the position of women' but at the creation of the concept 'woman'. Woman is deeply ambiguous, a 'beautiful evil' who is both wild and tamed, essential to the continuation of the human race while herself being a member of the separate 'race of women' (Hes. *Theog.* 585–90). Her dual role is reflected in medical and philosophical texts which focus on the reproductive function while seeing women as physically and mentally falling short of the ideal which is the adult male citizen. It is also increasingly recognized that 'women' are not a unified group. For example, rituals may divide women by social status or sexual availability; at the Matuta Mater festival, restricted to women married only once, Roman matrons bring a slave woman into the enclosure and then drive her out with blows and slaps (Plut. *Mor.* 267d, *Cam.* 5).

In certain areas of life the similarities between the position and the experience of Greek and Roman women in all historical periods outweigh the differences, so that a number of generalizations may be made. For all women, their main role was as bearers of legitimate children; even when Spartan women, seen as radically 'different' by the Athenian and Roman men who wrote about them, engaged in physical training it was to strengthen their bodies for *childbirth (e.g. Xen. *Spartan Constitution* 1. 49). Concern with ensuring legitimacy of heirs led both to tight control of women's



women This rolled-out drawing of an Athenian vase-painting (about 520–510 BC) shows a young girl carrying a ritual basket in a sacrificial procession. Participation in public religion marked a significant breach in the ideal 'invisibility' of women in the Classical *polis. The Gales Painter. Potter: Gales. Oil flask (lekythos), ceramic, Red Figure. Height: 31 cm (12 3/16 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912, 13.195. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

sexuality—including early marriage, at or before puberty—and fear of the power of that sexuality. Women must be tamed, instructed, and watched.

Ancient women lacked political rights; they could not attend, speak at, or vote in political assemblies, nor could they hold office. However, they could exert influence through men. In the Roman empire it has been argued that their political exclusion meant less after the decline in the roles of senate and assemblies, while the importance of the imperial family gave increased influence to its women. By the 2nd cent. AD the status of imperial women declined in a reaction against the roles of *Livia and *Agrippina. When women are represented in Roman sources as taking a public role, this tends to be accompanied by allusions to female spite, treachery, or lack of self-control. References to women's political action are intended to discredit the men associated with them (e.g. *Clodia, in Cic. *Cael.*).

Because they were thought to be easily deceived and thus unable to make sensible judgements (Gai. *Inst.* 144, 190–1), women were supposed to have a guardian; in the absence of a father or husband, a *kyrios* or *tutor* acted for them in economic transactions. In the Roman world the exceptions were the Vestals (see VESTA) and, after Augustus, free-born women who had given birth to three children (*ius liberorum*), and freedwomen with four, who were not under the tutelage of a father or husband. However, the system could be used purely as a matter of form, to give the appearance of male control over property; on the death of their husbands, widows would take over their businesses, while in the eastern provinces women made contracts and used their wealth as benefactors of their communities from the Hellenistic period onwards (see EUERGETISM). By imperial times, male guardianship of Roman women had become a formality.

Although lower-class women in the ancient world often worked outside the home, in agriculture, as market-traders, and as craftswomen (see ARTISANS AND CRAFTSMEN), as well as in more obviously 'female' roles such as midwives and wet-nurses, women were traditionally praised for silence and invisibility. Their appearances in lawcourts were restricted to displays of grief in support of male relatives; in Athens, their evidence was only used when a free woman swore an oath on the heads of her children. In Classical Greece a woman's name was not given in public unless she was dead, or of ill repute, and glory for a woman was defined in *Thucydides' Funeral Speech of Pericles as 'not to be spoken of, whether in praise or blame' (2. 45). In Roman society, naming reflected this invisibility; women took the name of their father, but in time they acquired a *cognomen*, so that sisters were differentiated as (e.g.) Iulia Agrippina and Iulia Drusilla.

In both the Greek and Roman worlds, discrepancies seem to have existed between norms and practice, with 'real' women—if it is possible to separate these out from the multiple images of the sources—apparently acting in ways which were contrary to the stated ideals.

While there used to be much less work on Roman than on Greek women, this imbalance is now being corrected, while recent studies examine women in areas of the ancient world other than Classical Greece and Rome, extending for example to Macedonia as well as late antiquity. In addition, work covers non-élite women, working women, prostitutes and courtesans, slave-women and the wider relationship between status and gender. Increasingly, attempts are also being made to discover how ancient women saw their world, rather than stopping at how men saw women. The ancient sources suggest that women simply reproduced the values of their culture. *Plutarch's *Sayings of Spartan Women* consist of statements on the traditional role of women as mothers and affirmations of Spartan values ('Come home with your shield or on it'). Roman women were represented as the guardians of Roman culture and traditional morality; for example, Lucretia, the model of chastity, and *Coriolanus' mother Veturia.

Now, however, there is interest in seeing women as agents with their own culture. Ritual, where women had not only a public presence but also a voice, has long been a focus for those trying to recover women's agency. An early example of this was J. Winkler's analysis (*The Constraints of Desire* (1992)) of the Greek festivals of *Aphrodite and *Demeter (the Adonia, Stenia, Haloa, and Thesmophoria) which included rituals restricted to women and which involved sexual humour (cf. the Roman Consualia). Where M. Detienne (*The Gardens of Adonis* (1977; Fr. orig. 1972)) saw these as emphasizing women's approved social role in reproducing the city, Winkler proposed that women's own understanding of them could have been far more subversive. Doubting whether women would celebrate their alleged inferiority, he instead argued that women were laughing at the limitations of male sexuality. The joking traditions of Athenian women, a feature of several religious festivals, have recently been restudied by L. O'Higgins (*Women and Humor in Classical Greece* (2003)).

Several scholars look to archaeology or to art to suggest possible reconstructions of women's beliefs and behaviours. Reflecting a greater interest in taking seriously the domestic sphere, there is an increased focus on household items such as loom weights, mirrors, or *epinētra*, the knee-guards used in wool-working. R. Osborne (in I. Morris (ed.), *Clas-*

sical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies (1994), 81–96) asked how women would have responded to sculpted images of mortal women and goddesses, and argued that late Archaic images of *korai* (see SCULPTURE, GREEK) made female viewers see themselves as tokens of exchange in male systems. This role could give women power, as agents, because the system could not continue without them as tokens linking male households in marriage. Other work has looked at specific spatial areas in which women could be subjects, for example in cemeteries where they could honour the dead but also be active viewers of the grave reliefs of other women. There are now several studies which, building on a wider interest in friendship in antiquity, try to recreate the social relationships between women; for example, should we understand a ball of wool, seen on grave reliefs, as a love-gift equivalent to a man's gift of a hunting dog or a flask of oil to a boy? While in many contexts gender has become more significant than 'women', the field of 'women in antiquity' remains an active one. See GYNAECOLOGY; HETEROSEXUALITY; HOMOSEXUALITY; MARRIAGE LAW; PROSTITUTION. HK

X

Xanthus (see ◀ Map 1, Fd ▶) was called the largest city in Lycia (southern *Asia Minor) by *Strabo (14. 3. 6, 666), a claim borne out by its extensive remains; prosperity was based on the fertile plain of the river Xanthus, with access to the sea at Patara. The city was known to Homer, and *Herodotus describes its capitulation to Persia in the famous siege of 545 BC (1. 176); in the 5th cent. it was ruled by a line of Persian client-dynasts (the self-styled 'genos of Karika'). There are impressive and highly distinctive tombs of the 5th and early 4th cents., notably that of the dynast Gergis, with a trilingual (Greek and two types of Lycian) inscription detailing Xanthian involvement in the Peloponnesian War (ML 93; c.410 BC; see GREECE (HISTORY)), and the famous Nereid Monument (see ART, FUNERARY, GREEK (Classical period)), thought to be the heroon of the dynast Arbinas (c.390: cp. SEG 39. 1414). In the territory was a major sanctuary of Leto, later the cult-centre of the Lycian League, where the finds include a trilingual inscription (Greek, Lycian, Aramaic) relating to the foundation of a cult of 'King Caunius' during a period of Hecatomnid control (SEG 27. 942, of 337 BC). Falling to *Alexander the Great in 333 BC, the city became a Ptolemaic dependency (see EGYPT (Ptolemaic)); a 108-line inscription from the Letoon (208 BC) records the diplomatic niceties of a (failed) request for financial assistance, based on kinship, from Cytinium (SEG 38. 1476). The siege by *Brutus (42 BC) prompted mass self-immolation by the citizens according to App. BCiv. 4. 76. But the city prospered under the Roman empire. Cf. PERICLES. SM/AJSS

Xenophon (see following page)

Xerxes I (OP Khšāyaršā), son of *Darius I and Atossa, king of *Persia 486–465 BC, chosen by his father as successor (XPf ll. 31 ff.; Hdt. 7. 2–3). At the beginning of his reign he crushed a revolt in Egypt (Hdt. 7. 3) and later two rebellions in Babylon (see BABYLONIA). Plans for an expedition against Greece were inherited from Darius: for the course of the 'Persian Wars', see GREECE (HISTORY). No Persian document mentions the expedition.

The more important palaces on the terrace of *Persepolis were built in Xerxes' reign, including the Apadana with its impressive reliefs, illustrating the structure and the extent of the empire: king, court, and subject populations with their ethnographic characteristics. In the Daiva-inscription (XPh ll. 28–41) rebellion is equated with the neglect of Ahuramazda and the worship of *dai-va's* ('bad gods'). Xerxes' destruction of the *dai-va*-sanctuary marks no breach with his ancestors' presumed religious tolerance, as is often thought, since DB 5 already contains similar phraseology. Xerxes' reputation as a weakling and a womanizer depends on certain recognizably novelistic passages in Herodotus (7. 2–3, 9. 108–13) and on the reading of royal inscriptions as personal messages by the kings, rather than as formulaic royal statements. Seen from the heartland, his reign forms a period of consolidation, not of incipient decay. Xerxes was murdered in 465. HS-W/ATLK



XENOPHON

Life

Xenophon, son of Gryllus, from the Athenian deme (local district; *see* DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN) of Erchia, was born into a wealthy but politically inactive family around 430 BC. He presumably served in the cavalry and certainly (like other affluent young men) associated with *Socrates. This background did not encourage enthusiasm for democracy (*see* DEMOCRACY, ATHENIAN). He apparently stayed in Athens under the Thirty Tyrants (*see* ATHENS (HISTORY)) and fought the democratic insurgents in the civil war (404–403). The political amnesty of 403/2 theoretically protected him, and material in *Hellenica* and *Memorabilia* shows that (like *Plato) he was critical of the Thirty, but insecurity was surely one reason why he accepted the suggestion of a Boeotian friend, Proxenus, to enrol as a *mercenary with Cyrus the Younger (second son of Darius II of Persia), who made an attempt on the Persian throne after his father's death. He was thus among the 10,000 Greeks involved in Cyrus' rebellion and defeat at Cunaxa (401). When the Persian satrap Tissaphernes liquidated the Greek generals, Xenophon emerged as a replacement and led the survivors through Mesopotamia, Armenia, and northern Anatolia to *Byzantium and then into service with the Thracian Seuthes. He alleges a wish to go home at this stage but for various reasons neither did so nor availed himself of Seuthes' offers of land and marriage-alliance. Consequently, when the Spartans under Thibron arrived in Anatolia for a war of 'liberation' (399) and took over the Cyreans (i.e. Cyrus' veterans), he became a Spartan mercenary. Nothing is known of his role in ensuing campaigns except that he self-defensively endorsed criticisms which led to Thibron's dismissal. Subsequent Spartan commanders, Dercylidas and Agesilaus, were more to his taste and he forged close associations with them. In 394 Agesilaus returned home to confront rebellion amongst Sparta's allies and Xenophon fought for the Spartan cause at the battle of Coronea (394) against, among others, his fellow-Athenians. Exiled as a result of this (if not, as some think, earlier, as part of an Athenian attempt to win Persian goodwill) he was settled by the Spartans at Scillus (near *Olympia) in the Triphylian state created after Sparta's defeat of Elis in 400. (His estate and the sanctuary funded by Asian booty are described in *Anab.* 5.3.5 ff.). As a Spartan protégé (he was their *proxenos* (diplomatic representative) at Olympia and his children were allegedly educated in Sparta) he became vulnerable during the disturbances which followed Leuctra (371), was expelled, and spent the rest of his life in Corinth. There was, however, a reconciliation with Athens. Works such as *Cavalry Commander* and *Ways and Means* disclose a sympathetic interest in the city; and in 362 his son Gryllus was killed fighting in the Athenian cavalry at the battle of Mantinea. The posthumous eulogies this earned were in part a tribute to his father.

Works

Most famous in antiquity as a 'philosopher' or mercenary-leader (ostensibly regarded as a perfect model for the young by *Dio of Prusa, and systematically 'imitated' by *Arrian), Xenophon produced a large output, all known parts of which survive. The chronology is only vaguely established. Most works fall into three categories: long (quasi-)historical narratives, Socratic texts (surely Athenocentric works, not mere by-products of contact with supposed Socratic 'cells' in Elis or Phlius), and technical treatises. There are also monographs (encomium; non-Socratic political dialogue; politico-economic pamphlet; institutional analysis), though their secondary relation to the major categories is obvious. Many are the earliest (or earliest surviving) examples of particular *genres. The clearest common features are (1) intimate relationship with Xenophon's personal experiences and (2) taste for didactic discourse. Xenophon's moral system is conventional, underpinned by belief in the gods and the importance of omen and ritual: divine power (often anonymous and not infrequently singular) is everywhere in Xenophon's writings, though not absolutely stultifyingly—when consulting the oracle at Delphi (*see* DELPHIC ORACLE) about going to Asia he famously framed the question so as to get the 'right' answer; and at the climactic moment in *Anabasis* where the Greeks reach the sea they are too excited to think of sacrificing to the gods. But it is not these things in their own right so much as issues of leadership (by states as well as individuals) or military skill which engage his didactic muse.

That even purely practical pursuits have a moral component because they have social implications is a characteristic Xenophontic perception; and the would-be leader must, whatever else, earn his right to lead by superior wisdom and a capacity to match or outdo his subordinates in all the tasks which he demands of them.

In antiquity his style was judged to be simple, sweet, persuasive, graceful, poetic, and a model of Attic purity (*see* GREEK LANGUAGE). This is understandable, though there are deviations from standard Attic and some would call the

style jejune; both rhetoric (e.g. *Hell.* 7. 5. 1–27) and narrative can sometimes be awkward. The range of stylistic figures employed is modest (simile is quite common, with a penchant for animal comparisons). The overall effect (style *and* content) can seem naïve. A (perhaps *the*) central question, which divides modern readers into two camps, is how far style and content are really *faux-naïf* and informed by humour and irony. One should perhaps reflect that (a) Xenophon's emergence as a leader in N. Mesopotamia in late summer 401 must disclose special qualities and (b) 4th-cent. Greece was full of men of 'upper-class' origin and of (ex-)mercenaries, and possibly not short of men who were both, but only one of them produced five (modern) volumes of varied, sometimes innovative, writing.

We should give Xenophon the benefit of the doubt, and conclude that there was more, not less, to him than there appears.

Hellenica

A seven-book history of Greek affairs, in two linguistically distinguishable parts, perhaps created at widely differing times, the first possibly as early as the 380s, the second in the mid-350s. Part (a) 1. 1. 1–2. 3. 10 covers the Peloponnesian War (*see* GREECE (HISTORY)) from 411 to the destruction of Athens' walls, the overthrow of democracy and the surrender of *Samos (404). The opening narrative links imperfectly with Thucy. 8. 109, but the intention can only be to 'complete' the Thucydidean account (*see* THUCYDIDES), though this is achieved with little reproduction of Thucydides' historiographical characteristics. Part (b) 2. 3. 11–7. 5. 27 continues the story, covering the Thirty Tyrants (404–403), Sparta's Asiatic campaigns (399–394), the Corinthian War (395–385) and King's Peace (387/6), Spartan imperialism in Greece (386–379), the rise of Thebes (379–371), and the Peloponnesian consequences of Leuctra (371–362).

The text ends at Mantinea (362), with Greece in an unabated state of uncertainty and confusion. The account is centred on Sparta and characterized by surprising omissions (e.g. the name of *Epaminondas the architect of Leuctra is not given at all in book 6 where the battle is described; the liberation of Messenia (*see* SPARTA); Athens' Aegean policies in 378–362), a tendency to expose the shortcomings of all states, including Sparta, and recurrent hostility to imperial aspirations. A curious amalgam of straight history and political pamphlet, it was relatively little read in antiquity, and its modern status has declined in recent years. But it remains an indispensable source, and the tendency to regard the presumed qualities of *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* as a reason for simply preferring alternative historical traditions should be questioned.

Anabasis

An account (date uncertain)—perhaps initially circulated under the name Themistogenes (cf. *Hell.* 3. 1. 2)—of Cyrus' rebellion and the fate of his Greek mercenaries, dominated in 3–7 by Xenophon's personal role in rescuing the army. The work's motive is not overtly stated. Apologia and self-advertisement are evident (there were other, and different, accounts in circulation); there is implicit endorsement of the Panhellenist thesis that Persia was vulnerable to concerted attack and of a more general view about Greek superiority over *barbarians (the army is an emblematic *polis on the move); and a didactic interest in leadership and military stratagem is obvious (though the account of Cunaxa is strangely flawed). Equally striking is the care taken to construct a varied and genuinely arresting narrative. The work's modern reputation has suffered from traditional use in language learning (cf. *Caesar's *Gallic War*).

Cyropaedia

An investigation of leadership-technique through the presentation of the life-story of *Cyrus the Great. The institutional framework preserves useful Achaemenid (*see* PERSIA) information, though the oriental decor is muted (partly through a need to head off Greek suspicion of the east: *see* ORIENTALISM). The story-line however differs flagrantly from other sources (e.g. Cyrus acquires Media through inheritance and dies in bed) and the narrative's pace and texture are unlike those of ordinary Greek historiography, and many therefore call it fiction. Story-line is subordinate to didactic agenda, but Xenophon perhaps drew opportunistically on current versions of the story rather than pure imagination, and the result is fictive history, more analogous to Socratic literature than the Greek *novel (of which it is sometimes called a precursor because of the romantic Panthea and Abradatas episode). Excellence of leadership is exposed by example and through passages of direct instruction (often involving dialogue), but Cyrus' achievement (autocracy) is not an unambiguous or transferable good, and the final chapter insists that Persia eventually went to the bad. (For Greeks respectable barbarian achievements had to lie in the past.) Very popular in antiquity (and sometimes thought to have prompted a response in Plato *Laws* 3) but dismissed as uninspiringly dull in modern times, *Cyropaedia* is a notable beneficiary of the recent revival of sympathetic interest in Xenophon's work.

Apology

A brief (perhaps very early) work with a purported extract from the courtroom defence of Socrates against charges of religious deviance and corruption of the young sandwiched between a preliminary dialogue with Hermogenes and various carefree observations made after the trial was over. The stated purpose is to explain the *megalēgoria* ('big-talking') which previous writers agreed was a feature of Socrates' reaction to prosecution and show why he did not fear death. (Opportunity is also found to note the prosecutor Anytus' son's history of alcohol abuse).

Symposium

'In writing of great men it is proper to record not only their serious activities but their diversions' (1. 1), and entertainment at Callias' party is a mixture of cabaret (music, song, and dance, a sexually titillating tableau of *Dionysus and Ariadne) and more-or-less serious conversation about the guests' account of their most prized assets (e.g. beauty, wealth, poverty, making people better, recitation, joke-telling, skill at procuring). There is much explicit or implicit reference to personal relationships (doubtless a feature of real sympotic conversation), so Socrates' eventual discourse on common and celestial love is an unsurprising development, though the Platonic model is probably relevant. See *SYMPOSIUM.

Socratic Memoirs

A collection of conversations, probably not planned as a coherent whole. 1. 1–2 explicitly address charges advanced at Socrates' trial, but the whole work presents him as respecting the gods and helping (not corrupting) his fellow-men. Broad thematic patterns are visible—1 dwells on religion and moderate life-style, 2 on friendship and family, and 3 on Socrates' help to 'those ambitious of good things', while 4 is more disparate (education; the existence of god; temperance; justice) and pretentious—but the pleasure of the work is in its individual vignettes and convincing (not necessarily authentic) picture of a down-to-earth Socrates equally happy debating with sophists, courtesans, and victims of the collapse of Athenian imperialism, and concerned with practicalities as well as philosophy. (As with Plato, drawing the line between genuine Socratic conversational subjects and Xenophontic ones is not easy.)

Oeconomicus

A conversation with Critobulus (1–6) establishes the importance of *agriculture. Socrates then reports a conversation with Ischomachus—itself containing a conversation between Ischomachus and his wife (7–10)—covering household organization, the daily pursuits of a rich Athenian, the role of bailiffs, and technical details of cereal and fruit cultivation. Much of it is effectively about leadership—a harder skill than agriculture, as Ischomachus remarks. The work is an important (though, given Socratic—and Xenophontic—unconventionality, slippery) source for social history. Particularly notable is Ischomachus' wife, married young so she will be a *tabula rasa* on which her husband can write what he will, but accorded a significant—if sex-stereotyped—role in the running of the household (see HOUSEWORK; WOMEN).

Cavalry Commander

A treatise on the management and improvement of the Athenian cavalry force (which ought—9. 3—to include foreign mercenaries). After comments on recruitment (1. 2, 9–13), securing good horses (1. 3–4, 14–16), general horsemanship (1. 5–6, 17–21), armament (1. 7, 22–3), discipline (1. 7, 24), the need for good phylarchs (brigade-commanders) and political allies (1. 8, 25–6), and tactical formations (2. 1–9) Xenophon formally turns to the cavalry-commander's duties (3. 1 ff.). There follow sections on festival performances (3), conduct of marches and intelligence-gathering (4), deception (5), inducing respect of subordinates by knowledge and example (6), the defence of Attica (the territory of *Athens), and more general tactical/strategic points (7, 8. 17–25), horsemanship (8. 1–8), questions of numerical advantage (8. 9–16). Treatment of topics is inexhaustive, unsystematic, and inclined to repetition (e.g. numerical issues appear in 5. 1f., 7. 5f., 8. 9f.). Characteristically Xenophon begins and ends with the gods, asserts that no art should be practised more than warfare (8. 7)—gymnastics are frivolous—and stresses the importance of leadership qualities.

On Horsemanship

'Instruction and exercises' for the private and apparently rather ignorant individual (the specific addressees are 'younger friends': 1. 1). It is the earliest surviving such work (one by *Simon is an acknowledged predecessor) and covers purchase, housing and grooming (1–6), mounting, riding, galloping and jumping (7–8), correction of vivacity

and sluggishness (9), dressage and manipulation of appearance (10–11), and equestrian armour and weaponry (12). Its precepts are well regarded by modern experts.

On Hunting

A technical treatise dealing with nets (2), dogs and their training (3, 4, 11, 7), and the timing and conduct of the hunt (5–6, 8). The hunter is on foot, the normal prey a hare (an animal of notably good organic design: 5, 29), though Xenophon also mentions deer, boar, and the wild cats of *Macedonia, Mysia, and *Syria (9–11). He disapproves of the hunting of foxes (6, 3). The activity is non-utilitarian (quick capture shows perseverance, but is not real hunting: 6, 8), intensely pleasurable—the sight of a hare running is so charming that to see one tracked, found, pursued, and caught is enough to make a man forget all other passions (5, 33)—and a divine invention which promotes military, intellectual, and moral excellence (1, 12). A contrast is drawn with the corrupt verbal wisdom of ‘*sophists’ (a group not treated elsewhere in Xenophon as a coherent evil), and the hunter beats the politician in point of ethical standing and social value (13). Suspicions about the work’s authenticity are unfounded.

Agesilaus

Posthumous encomium of ‘a perfectly good man’ (1, 1). An uneven chronological account (long stretches in close verbal parallel to passages of *Hellenica*) is followed by a survey (with some anecdotal examples) of principal virtues (piety, justice, continence, courage, wisdom, patriotism, charm, dignity, austerity). Little solid information is offered which is not in *Hellenica*, but a new gloss (sometimes Panhellenic, occasionally critical) is put on already familiar facts. The work (like *Isocrates’ *Evagoras*) is normally regarded as an important contribution to the development of biography. See BIOGRAPHY, GREEK.

Hiero

A dialogue version of the ‘wise man meets autocrat’ scenario (cf. *Herodotus on *Solon and Croesus, see Hdt. 1, 29 ff.) in which, contrary to expectation, Hiero refutes Simonides’ claim that it is pleasant to be a tyrant, while Simonides supplies suggestions for improving the situation, not least by manipulation of public opinion. The original readers will inevitably have thought of 4th-cent. Syracusan tyranny (*Dionysius I and Dionysius II), but this may not be a specifically intended subtext.

Ways and Means

Politicians claim that poverty compels Athens to treat other cities unjustly. So Xenophon advises alleviation of that poverty through innocent means, particularly (a) attracting revenue-creating foreign residents and (b) using state-owned slaves in the Laurium silver *mines to increase income and generate a dole (*trophē*) for citizens.

The economic plan (a curious mixture of the apparently familiar and completely alien) has been much criticized; but the primary imperative is political—to devise a new imperialism based on peace and consensual hegemony.

Constitution of the Spartans.

An account of the Spartan system (attributed to a single lawgiver, *Lycurgus) which demonstrates the rationality of its consistent contradiction of normal Greek practices. The tone is laudatory except in a final chapter (misplaced in the manuscripts) which notes the decline from Lycurgus values associated with 4th-cent. imperialism.

(The non-Xenophonic *Constitution of the Athenians*, conceding that democracy, though repellent, was rational in Athenian circumstances, was allowed into the corpus by a later editor as a companion piece. The treatise is often called the ‘Old Oligarch.’)



Z

Zeus, the main divinity of the Greek pantheon (see RELIGION, GREEK) and the only major Greek god whose Indo-European origin is undisputed. His name is connected with Latin *Iu-p-piter*, Rigveda *Dyaus pitar*, derived from the root †*diéu-*, 'day (as opposed to night)' (Lat. *dies*), '(clear) sky'; as the Rigveda and Latin parallels suggest, his role as father, not in a theogonical or anthropogonical sense, but as having the power of a father in a patriarchal system, is Indo-European too. Thus in *Homer, Zeus is both *πατήρ*, *patēr*, 'father', and *ἄναξ*, *anax*, 'king' or 'lord'. His cult is attested in bronze age Greece; the Linear B texts attest several sanctuaries (Pylos, Chania) and, at Minoan Cnossus, a month name or a festival, if in fact the Mycenaean names of months derive from festivals (KN Fp 5, 1). Another Cnossian text attests the epiclesis (additional name) Dictaeus, Zeus of Mt. Dicte (KN Fp 1, 2), which remained an important place of cult in the first millennium. A text from Chania gives a common cult of Zeus and *Dionysus, a Pylos text (PY Tn 316, 8–10) one of Zeus, *Hera, and (a figure later unknown) Drimios son of Zeus, which suggests Hera as the consort of Zeus, as in later mythology.

Zeus, the Indo-European god of the bright sky, is transformed in Greece into Zeus the weather god, whose paramount and specific place of worship is a mountain top (Hdt. 1. 131. 1). Among his mountains (list: Cook 2. 868–987), the most important is Mt. Olympus, a real mountain which was already a mythical place before Homer. Many mountain cults are reflected only in an epiclesis, which does not necessarily imply the existence of a peak sanctuary. Few such sanctuaries are excavated (e.g. on Mt. Hymettus in Attica (the territory of *Athens); those attested in literature are mostly connected with rain rituals (Zeus Hyetios or Ombrios); the sanctuary on the Arcadian Mt. Lycaeum had an initiatory function as well. As *νεφελῆγερέτα*, *nephelēgereta*, 'the gatherer of clouds' (a common Homeric epithet), he was generally believed to cause rain (comic parody: Ar. *Nub.* 373). With the god

of clouds comes the god of thunder (*ὑψιβρεμέτης*, *hypsibremetēs*) and of lightning (*τερπικέραυνος*, *terpikeraunos*); a spot struck by lightning is inviolable (*ἄβατον*, *abaton*) and often sacred to Zeus *Καταιβάτης*, *Kataibatēs*, 'He who comes down'. As the master of tempest, he is supposed to give signs through thunder and lightning and to strike evildoers, as at the beginning of his reign he struck the *Giants and the monstrous Typhon.

But already for the early archaic Greeks (as, presumably, for the Mycenaean), Zeus had much more fundamental functions. According to the succession myth in Hes. *Theog.* (whose main elements are also known to Homer), Zeus deposed his father Cronus, who had deposed and castrated his father Uranus; after his accession to power, Zeus fought the Giants and the monster Typhon who challenged his reign, and drew up the present world-order by attributing to each divinity his or her respective sphere: to his brothers *Poseidon and *Hades-Pluton, he allotted two thirds of the cosmos, to the one the sea, to the other the nether-world, to his sisters Hera (also his wife) and *Demeter, and to his many divine children their respective domains in the human world; mankind had existed before Zeus' reign. Thus, Zeus became the ruler over both the other gods and the human world; the order of things as it is now is Zeus' work.

Closely related succession myths are attested from Hittite Anatolia and from Mesopotamia. In Hittite mythology, the succession passes through Anu, 'Sky', who is deposed and castrated by Kumarbi, finally to Teshub, the Storm God, who would correspond to Zeus; other myths narrate the attacks of Kumarbi and his followers on Teshub's reign. Myths from Mesopotamia present a similar, though more varied structure; the Babylonian *Enūma Elish* moves from a primeval pair, Apsu and Tiamat, to the reign of Marduk, the city god of Babylon and in many respects comparable to Ba'al and Zeus; a later version of the Typhon myth (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 6. 3) locates part of it on Syrian Mt. Kasion, seat of a peak cult of Ba'al Zaphon (Zeus Kasios). The conception of Zeus



Zeus Clay water jar from Italy (c.540 BC) depicting Zeus in battle with the monster Typhon. He is shown with his usual attribute in art, the thunderbolt. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich. Photo: Renate Kühling

as the kingly ruler of the present world is unthinkable without oriental influence. In a similar way, the shift from Indo-European god of the bright sky to the Greek master of sky and storms is inconceivable without the influence of the weather gods of Anatolia and Syria-Palestine with whom he was later identified (Zeus *Βεελσάμημ*, *Beelsamēm*, Philo in Eus. *PE*. 1. 10. 7).

Zeus is a king, not a tyrant. One of his main domains is right and justice: any transgression of his cosmic order is injustice; if necessary, Zeus punishes transgressors. Human kings are under his special protection, but they have to endorse his justice (Hes. *Theog.* 80 ff.). Zeus himself protects those outside ordinary social bonds—strangers, suppliants (Hom. *Od.* 9. 296 ff.) and beggars (*Od.* 6. 207 f.; 14. 57 ff.); cult attests Zeus *Ξένιος*, *Xénios*, and Zeus *Ἰκέσιος*, *Hikesios*. To preserve his order, he is himself subject to it: he is committed to Fate.

In many instances (e.g. the Trojan War), human affairs follow the plan of Zeus despite apparent setbacks. He might hasten perfection, if asked in prayer to do so (Zeus *Τέλειος*, *Teleios*, Aesch. *Ag.* 973), and he might signal his will, either asked for or unasked, in dreams, augural signs, thunder and lightning (Hom. *Il.* 2. 353, 3. 242), but also by provoking ominous human utterances (thunder and utterance, *φήμη*, *phēmē*, in Hom. *Od.* 20. 95 ff.). In cult, this function is expressed in rare epicleses (additional names) like *Φαντήρ*, *Phantēr*, ‘he who signals’, *Τεράστιος*, *Teras-tios*, ‘he of the omens’, *Φήμιος*, *Phēmios*, or *Κληδόνιος*, *Klēdonios*, ‘who gives oracular sayings’.

In these cases, the prophetic power of Zeus is occasional and accessory. It becomes central in the only Greek *oracle of Zeus, Dodona in Epirus, reputed to be the oldest Greek oracle, known already to Homer (*Il.* 16. 233 ff.; *Od.* 14. 327 f.). It was active until late-hellenistic times; though consulted by cities too, its main clients were private individuals from north-western Greece. Zeus is here paired with Dione, mother of *Aphrodite in ordinary Greek myth. Homer mentions the Selloi as prophets, ‘barefoot, sleeping on the earth’ (*Il.* 16. 234 f.). They disappear without a trace; Hdt. 2. 53 knows only of priestesses; later authors add that they prophesy in *ecstasy (Aristid. *Or.* 45. 11). Zeus manifested himself in the sounds of the holy oak-tree (*Od.* 14. 27 f., 19. 296 f.) and in doves, whose call from the holy oak-tree or whose flight are used as divine signs (Hdt. 2. 55–8); other sources know also divination by lots (cleromancy), water vessels (hydromancy), and by the sounds of a gong.

Zeus has only a few major *polis festivals; and though he often is called *Πολιεὺς*, *Polieus*, he has no major temple on an acropolis, unlike the Roman *Jupiter Capitolinus. A few month names attest early festivals: the bronze age month *Diwos* (Cnossus) to which corresponds the Macedonian,

Aetolian, and Thessalian *Δίος*, *Dios*, the Attic Maimakterion which pertains to the festival of a shadowy Zeus *Μαιμάκτης*, *Maimaktēs*, and the Cretan (V)elchanios which derives from the Cretan (Zeus) Velchanos. Of some importance for the *poleis* in question were the sacrifice of a bull of Zeus Polieus on Cos and the festival of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia on the Maeander, both attested in Hellenistic sacred laws. Athenian festivals of Zeus are less self-asserting. The *Diisoteria* featured a sacrifice and a procession for Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira—it was a festival to honour Zeus ‘Saviour of the City’. As to date and place, however, it was more marginal than the Coan festival: it was celebrated outside the city in Piraeus, although with the participation of the city. Closer to the centre were the *Dipolieia* and *Diasia*. The *Dipolieia* featured the strange and guilt-ridden sacrifice of an ox on the altar of Zeus Polieus on the acropolis, the *Bouphonia*; they belong among the rituals around New Year. *Aristophanes thought it rather old-fashioned (*Nub.* 984): the ritual killing of the ox, the myth which makes all participants guilty, with the ensuing prosecution of the killer with the formal condemnation of axe and knife, enacts a crisis, not a bright festival.

The *Diasia*, ‘the greatest Athenian festival of Zeus’ (Thuc. 1. 126. 6), had an even less auspicious character. The festival took place in honour of Zeus Meilichios who appears in reliefs in the shape of a huge snake. His cult took place outside the town, with animal sacrifice or bloodless cakes; the sacrificial animals were burnt whole. This meant no common meal to release the tension of the sacrifice; instead, there were banquets in small family circles and gifts to the children: the polis community passes through a phase of disintegration, characteristic of the entire month, *Anthesterion*, whose festival, the *Anthesteria*, had an even more marked character of uncanny disintegration.

This apparent paucity of *polis* festivals is not out of tune with the general image of Zeus. The *polis* has to be under the protection of a specific patron deity, *Athena or *Apollo, while Zeus is the overall protector and cannot confine himself to one *polis* only; his protection adds itself to that of the specific *polis* deities. From early on, he is prominent as a panhellenic deity. The founding hero of Dodona, Deucalion, father of Hellen, discloses the oracle’s panhellenic aspirations. But Zeus’ main Greek festival is the penteteric Olympian Games with the splendid sacrifice to Zeus Olympios and the ensuing Panhellenic *agōn* (see *GAMES*). Their introduction in 776 BC, according to tradition, marked the end of the isolation of the Dark-Age communities; the common festival took place at a spot outside an individual *polis* and under the protection of a superior god. Analysis of the sacrifices points to an origin in *initiation rituals of young warriors

which had been widened and generalized in an epoch not too distant from the Homeric poems, with their own universalist conception of Zeus.

In the *polis* at large, Zeus' own province is the *agora, where he presides, as Zeus *Ἀγοραῖος* (*Agoraios*), over both the political and the commercial life of the community; thus, he can be counted among the main divinities of a city, like Hestia Prytaneia and Athena Poliouchos or Polias. Among the smaller social units, he is one of the patrons of phratries and clans (Zeus *Φράτριος* (*Phratrios*) or *Πατρῶος* (*Patrōios*)/*Πάτριος* (*Patrios*), sometimes together with Athena Phratria or Patr(o)ia, Plat. *Euthyd.* 302d). He also protects individual households: as Zeus *Ἐρκεῖος* (*Herkeios*), he receives sacrifices on an altar in the courtyard (Hom. *Il.* 11. 772 ff.; *Od.* 22. 334 ff.; every Athenian family had to have one, Arist. *Ath. pol.* 55), as Zeus *Ἐφέστιος* (*Ephestios*), on the hearth of a house.

There are functions of Zeus at the level of the family which are easily extended both to individuals and to the *polis*. Since property is indispensable for the constitution of a household, Zeus is also protector of property (*Κτήσιος*, *Ktēsios*); as such, he receives cults from families (Thasos: Zeus Ktesios Patroios), from cities (Athens: a sacrifice by the *prytaneis* (the presidents of the Council of 500) in 174/3 BC) and from individuals (Stratonicea in Caria: to Zeus Ktesios and Tyche (Fortune)). In many places Zeus Ktesios has the appearance of a snake (Athens, Thespiae): property is bound to the ground, at least in the still agrarian mentality of ancient Greece, and its protectors belong to the earth. The same holds true for Zeus *Μειλίχιος* (*Meilichios*). For the individual, Xenophon attests his efficiency in providing funds (*An.* 7. 8. 1 ff.), while in many communities Zeus Meilichios protects families or clans; in Athens, he receives the *polis* festival of the Diasia; here also and elsewhere, he has the form of a snake. And finally, one might add Zeus *φίλιος* (*Phlios*), protector of friendship between individuals and also between entire communities.

As the most powerful god, Zeus has a very general function which cuts across all groups and gains in importance in the course of time: he is *Σωτήρ* (*Sōtēr*), the 'Saviour' par excellence. As such, he receives prayers and dedications from individuals, groups, and entire towns. These dedications reflect different possible situations of crisis, from very private ones (where Zeus competes with *Asclepius Soter, see e.g. Zeus Soter Asclepius in *Pergamum, *Altertümer von Pergamon* 8. 3 no. 63) to political troubles (Athens: *SEG* 26 no. 106, 7), natural catastrophes (earthquake: *BCH* 102, 1978, 399) or military attacks (*Delphi, Soteria after the attack by the Gauls).

The Zeus cults of *Crete fit only partially into this picture (see H. Verbruggen, *Le Zeus crétois* (1981)). Myth places both his birth and his grave in Crete: according to *Hesiod, in order to save him from Cronus, Rhea gave birth to Zeus and entrusted the baby to Gaia, who hid it in a cave near Lyctus, on Mt. Aegaeum (Hes. *Theog.* 468 ff.). Later authors replace Gaia by the Curetes, armed demons, whose noisy dance kept Cronus away, and name other mountains, usually Mt. Ida or Mt. Dicte. This complex of myths reflects cult in caves, which partly go back to Minoan times, and armed dances by young Cretan warriors like those attested in the famous hymn to Zeus from Palaikastro (sanctuary of Zeus *Δικταῖος*, *Diktaios*), which belong to the context of initiatory rituals of young warriors; in the actual oaths of Cretan *ephēboi* (see GYMNASIUM), Zeus plays an important role. In this function, Zeus (exceptionally) can be young—the Palaikastro hymn calls him *κοῦρος* (*kouros*), 'youngster'; the statue in the sanctuary of Zeus Dictaeus was beardless, and coins from Cnossus show a beardless (Zeus) Welchanos. There certainly are Minoan (and presumably Mycenaean) elements present in the complex, but it would be wrong to separate Cretan Zeus too radically from the rest of the Greek evidence; both the cults of Mt. Lycaeus and of Olympia contain initiatory features.

Already in Homer (much more than in actual cult), Zeus had reached a very dominant position. During the Classical and Hellenistic age, religious thinkers developed this into a sort of 'Zeus monotheism'. To *Aeschylus, Zeus had begun to move away from the object of simple human knowledge ('Zeus, whoever you are...', *Ag.* 160 ff.) to a nearly universal function ('Zeus is ether, Zeus is earth, Zeus is sky, Zeus is everything and more than that', fr. 105); *Sophocles sees Zeus' hand in all human affairs ('Nothing of this is not Zeus', *Trach.* 1278). The main document of this monotheism, however, is the hymn to Zeus by the Stoic philosopher Cleanthes (SVF I 121 no. 537); Zeus, mythical image of the Stoic logos (see STOICISM), becomes the commander of the entire cosmos and its 'universal law', and at the same time the guarantor of goodness and benign protector of man. This marks the high point of a development—other gods, though briefly mentioned, become insignificant besides this Zeus.

Neoplatonist speculation marks something of a regression: in the elaborate chains of divine beings, Zeus is never set at the very top; the Neoplatonists allegorize the succession from Uranus through Cronus to Zeus and consequently assign him to a lower level. FG

CHRONOLOGY

Greece and the East

BC

- c. 1575–1200 *Mycenaean civilization in Greece
- c. 1575–1100 New Kingdom in *Egypt
- c. 1450 Mycenaeans take over palace settlements of Minoan Crete
- c. 1270 *Troy VI, perhaps the Troy of legend, destroyed
- c. 1100–776 'Dark Age' of Greece
- c. 1050–950 Migration of Ionian Greeks to the eastern Aegean

- c. 825–730 *Colonization of the West begins
- 776 First Olympian *Games
- c. 750–700 *Homer and *Hesiod active
- c. 744–612 Assyrian empire at its height
- c. 740 Greek alphabet created from a *Phoenician (Semitic) source
- c. 700 Greeks begin to colonize Black Sea area

- c. 700–600 Society remodelled at *Sparta (*Lycurgus)
- c. 680–625 The first *tyrannies: Pheidon at Argos and Cypselus at Corinth
- 621/20 Draco's laws at *Athens
- c. 610–575 *Alcaeus and *Sappho active on *Lesbos
- 594/3 *Solon's reforms at Athens
- 587 Capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; beginning of Jewish Diaspora
- 585 Thales of Miletus predicts eclipse of the sun
- c. 560–510 *Tyranny of *Pisistratus and his sons at Athens
- c. 557–530 *Cyrus the Great founds Persian empire
- c. 546/5 Persians conquer Ionian Greeks
- c. 544 First *tragedy performed at City Dionysia in Athens
- c. 530 *Pythagoras emigrates to South Italy
- 508 Reforms of *Cleisthenes at Athens

- 499 *Ionian Revolt against Persian rule
- c. 499–458 *Aeschylus active (d. 456/5)

Rome and the West

BC

- c. 1500–1200 Bronze age Apennine' culture in western central Italy

- c. 1300 Earliest Celtic culture, emerges on Upper Danube

- c. 1000 Hill-top settlements are established on the hills of *Rome, including the Palatine
- c. 900–600 Iron age 'Villanovan' culture in western central Italy
- c. 800–700 Celtic culture spreads to *Spain and *Britain

- 753 Traditional date for founding of Rome

- c. 700 Palatine settlement expands; the Forum is laid out as a public meeting place
- 700–500 *Etruscan civilization in Italy; their alphabet stimulates the spread of writing in Italy

- c. 600 Latin city-states begin to emerge in central Italy; organization of Roman calendar and major priesthoods

- 509 Expulsion of last king and founding of the Republic
- 494 First secession of the plebeians

Greece and the East

BC

- 498–446 *Pindar active
- 490 First Persian invasion of Greece; Battle of Marathon
- c. 487 State provision of comedies at City Dionysia in Athens begins
- 480–479 Second Persian invasion of Greece; battles of Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale
- 478/7 Athens founds *Delian League against *Persia
- c. 468–406 *Sophocles active (d. 406)
- 467 Cimon defeats Persians at Eurymedon
- c. 465–425 Phidias active
- 462/1 Ephialtes and *Pericles initiate political reform at Athens
- c. 461–446 First Peloponnesian War
- c. 460–430 *Herodotus writes his *History*
- c. 460–410 Polyclitus active
- c. 455–408 *Euripides active (d.406)
- 454 Treasury of the Delian League moved to Athens; growth of Athenian empire
- 447 Building of the Parthenon begins
- 431 Second Peloponnesian War begins
- c. 431–400 *Thucydides writes his *History*
- c. 430 Democritus, Hippocrates, *Socrates, and Protagoras active
- 430–426 *Plague at Athens; death of Pericles (429)
- c. 427–388 *Aristophanes active
- 415–413 Athenian expedition to *Sicily
- 405 Battle of Aegospotami
- 405–367 *Dionysius is tyrant of *Syracuse
- 404 Athens surrenders to Sparta; the Thirty Tyrants
- c.404–355 *Xenophon active
- 403 *Democracy restored at Athens
- 399 Trial and execution of Socrates
- 395–386 Corinthian War
- 387 *Plato (c.429–347) founds the Academy
- 386 King's Peace allows Persia to rule in Asia Minor
- 378 Foundation of Second Athenian Confederacy
- 377–353 Mausolus rules Caria
- c. 375–330 Praxiteles active
- 371 Sparta defeated by Thebes at Battle of Leuctra
- c. 370–315 Lysippus active
- c. 360–324 Diogenes the *Cynic active
- 359–36 *Philip II is king of Macedon
- 338 Philip defeats Athens and Thebes at Chaeronea

Rome and the West

BC

- 493 Treaty between Rome and Latins establishes peace and military alliance
- c. 450 Codification of the *Twelve Tables; Rome on the offensive against neighbouring tribes
- c. 400 Earliest genuine archival records in Rome
- 396 Romans destroy Veii, inaugurating conquest of Etruria
- 390/386 Sack of Rome by Celts brings only temporary setback to Roman expansion
- 341–338 Latin War; Latin League is dissolved

Greece and the East

BC

336 *Alexander the Great becomes king of Macedon (d.323)

335 *Aristotle (384–322) founds the Lyceum

334 Alexander crosses into Asia

331 Foundation of *Alexandria

326 Alexander crosses the Indus

c. 324–292 Menander active

c. 323–281 Alexander's 'Successors' divide his empire

323–31 Egypt ruled by the Ptolemies

322 Death of *Demosthenes (b. 384)

321 *Seleucus gains satrapy of Babylon; beginning of *Seleucid empire

c. 310 Zeno (335–263) founds *Stoicism

c. 307 *Epicurus (341–270) founds his school at Athens

301 *Antigonos the One-eyed killed at Battle of Ipsus

c. 300 Euclid active

c. 287 Theophrastus dies (b. c.371)

281 Battle of Corupedium: Seleucus finally wins Asia Minor

281/80 Achaean Confederacy revived

c. 277/6–239 *Antigonos Gonatas is king of Macedon

274–217 Four Syrian Wars fought between Ptolemies and Seleucids

c. 270–245 *Apollonius of Rhodes writes Argonautica

c. 247– AD 224 Arsacids rule *Parthia

241–197 Attalus I rules *Pergamum

229 Illyrian *piracy attracts Roman intervention in the East

227/6 Cleomenes III reforms Spartan state

c. 204–169 Career of *Ennius

200 Palestine comes under Seleucid rule

194 *Eratosthenes, natural philosopher, dies (b. c.285)

after 184 Great Altar of Pergamum

Rome and the West

BC

326–304 Second Samnite War

300 All Latium under Roman control

298–290 Third Samnite War

295 Battle of Sentinum, decisive for supremacy in Italy

275 *Pyrrhus driven back to Epirus by the Romans

272 Capture of Tarentum, the final act in the Roman conquest of Italy

264–241 First Punic War; first gladiatorial games (264) in Rome

260 Rome builds large navy

241 Sicily becomes first Roman *province

218–201 Second Punic War; *Hannibal invades Italy

216 Crushing victory over Romans at Cannae

206 Carthaginians defeated in Spain

c. 205–184 Career of *Plautus

204 *Scipio Africanus invades Africa

202 Scipio Africanus defeats Hannibal at Zama

200–197 Second Macedonian War between Rome and Philip V

192–188 Syrian War between Rome and *Antiochus III

191 Rome completes conquest of *Cisalpine Gaul

Greece and the East

BC

- 171–167 Third Macedonian War
 168/7 Judaeen Revolt against Antiochus IV
 Epiphanes, led by the *Maccabees
 166–188 *Delos flourishes as free port
- 146 *Macedonia a Roman province; Achaean War;
 destruction of Corinth
 142 *Jews expel Seleucids; ruled by Hasmonean high
 priests (to 63)
- 120–63 Mithradates VI King of Pontus
- 89–85 First Mithradatic War
 88 Sack of Delos
 86 Sack of Athens
- 64 *Syria a Roman province
- 47 *Library of Alexandria burnt
- 40 Parthians capture Jerusalem; Rome intervenes
 backing Herod the Great as King of Judaea
 30 Egypt a Roman province

Rome and the West

BC

- 167 Kingdom of Macedon destroyed at Battle of Pydna
 166–160 Plays of *Terence
- 155–133 Celtiberian War leaves most of Iberia in
 Roman hands
 149–146 Third Punic War; *Carthage destroyed
- 133 The tribune Tiberius *Gracchus proposes land
 reform; annexation of *Asia
 121 Murder of Gaius *Gracchus
 c. 118 Death of *Polybius (b. c.200)
 112–106 War against Jugurtha of Numidia
 107–100 *Marius *consul six times
 91–89 Social War
- 88–82 Civil war between *Sulla and Marius (d. 86)
- 81 Sulla *dictator; *proscriptions
 73–71 Revolt of Spartacus
 70 *Crassus and *Pompey consuls
 70 *Cicero's *Verrine Orations* delivered
 63 Consulate of Cicero; conspiracy of *Catiline;
 Pompey's settlement of the East
 60 First Triumvirate (Pompey, *Caesar and Crassus)
 58–51 Caesar campaigns in Gaul; writes his
Commentarii
 55–54 Caesar's invasions of Britain
 55 (or 51) Death of *Lucretius
 54 *Catullus dies (b. c.84)
 49 Caesar crosses the Rubicon; Civil War
 48 Caesar defeats Pompey at Pharsalus
 44 Caesar made perpetual dictator; murdered
 (15 March); Cicero attacks Mark *Antony in his
Philippics
 43 Octavian seizes the consulship; Second Triumvirate
 (Octavian, Antony, and *Lepidus); murder of Cicero
 (b. 106)
 42 Republicans defeated at Philippi
- 31 Octavian defeats Antony and *Cleopatra VII at
 *Actium
 28–23 *Vitruvius writes *de Architectura*
 27 Octavian's first constitutional settlement; he is given
 the name *Augustus
 23 Augustus' second constitutional settlement
 20 Diplomatic triumph in Parthia

Greece and the East**BC****AD**

6 Judaea a Roman province

c. 30 Philon ('Philo'), Jewish writer, active;
traditional date for crucifixion of Jesus of
Nazareth

37/8 *Josephus, Jewish Greek historian, born
c. 48 Birth of *Plutarch

66 First Jewish Revolt begins against Roman rule

66–8 Nero's tour of Greece

70 Destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem

73/4 Fall of *Masada ends first Jewish Revolt

106 Arabia a Roman province

135 Revolt of Bar Kokhba in Palestine suppressed

146–c. 170 Ptolemy's writings on astronomy and
geography

150 *Pausanias the travel writer flourishes

c. 200 Mishnah, the first great Rabbinic compilation,
is written

224/5 Origen (b. c 184/5) dies; Sasanid dynasty
seizes power in Persia (224)

267 Athens sacked by Herulian Goths

Rome and the West**BC**

19 Death of *Virgil (b. 70)

13–9 Roman control established up to the Danube

8 Death of *Horace (b. 65)

2 Forum of Augustus dedicated

AD

9 Loss of three legions in Germany; Rhine–Danube
becomes empire's northern frontier

14–37 Tiberius emperor

17 Death of Livy (b. 59 BC); death of Ovid (b. 43 BC)

37–41 Gaius ('Caligula') emperor

41–54 *Claudius emperor

54–68 *Nero emperor

64 Fire in Rome

65 Suicides of *Seneca (b.4 BC/AD 1) and *Lucan
(b.39)

c. 65 Death of St *Paul in Rome

69 Civil war

69–79 *Vespasian emperor

79 *Pompeii and *Herculaneum destroyed by the
eruption of Vesuvius; death of *Pliny the Elder
(b. 23/4)

81–96 *Domitian emperor

98–117 *Trajan emperor

c. 110–120 *Tacitus writes *Histories* and *Annals*

c. 112 Death of *Pliny the Younger (b. c.61)

113 Trajan's Column dedicated

117–138 *Hadrian emperor; *Suetonius and *Juvenal
active; the Pantheon built; Hadrian's Wall built
(Britain); Soranus (physician) active

138–161 *Antoninus Pius emperor

161–180 Marcus *Aurelius emperor; Galen is court
physician

180–192 *Commodus emperor

193–211 *Septimius Severus emperor

198–217 *Caracalla emperor

c. 202 *Cassius Dio begins his Roman History

222–235 *Severus Alexander emperor

235–284 Period of anarchy

284–305 *Diocletian emperor

293 Tetrarchy established

Greece and the East**BC**

c. 300 *Eusebius of Caesarea, Christian apologist, active; *Christianity takes hold in Asia Minor

324 Constantinople founded

393 Olympic games abolished

420 Jerome, biblical translator (b. 347), dies in Palestine

Rome and the West**BC**

306–337 *Constantine I emperor

313 Edict of Milan; Christianity tolerated

354 St *Augustine of Hippo born (d. 430)

395 Division of the empire between East and West

410 Sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth

476 Last Roman emperor in the West deposed

527–565 Justinian eastern emperor; codification of Roman law

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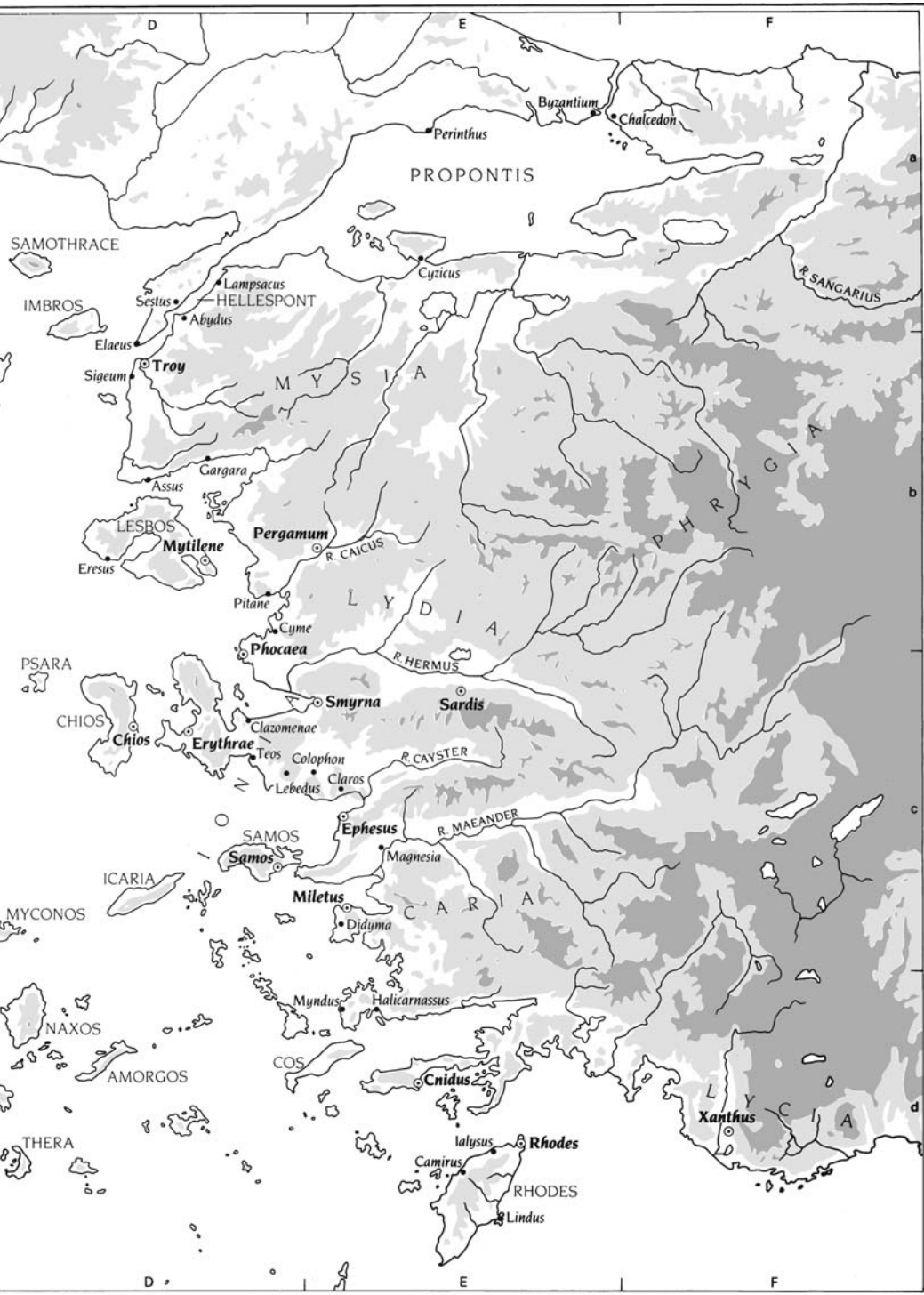
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MAPS



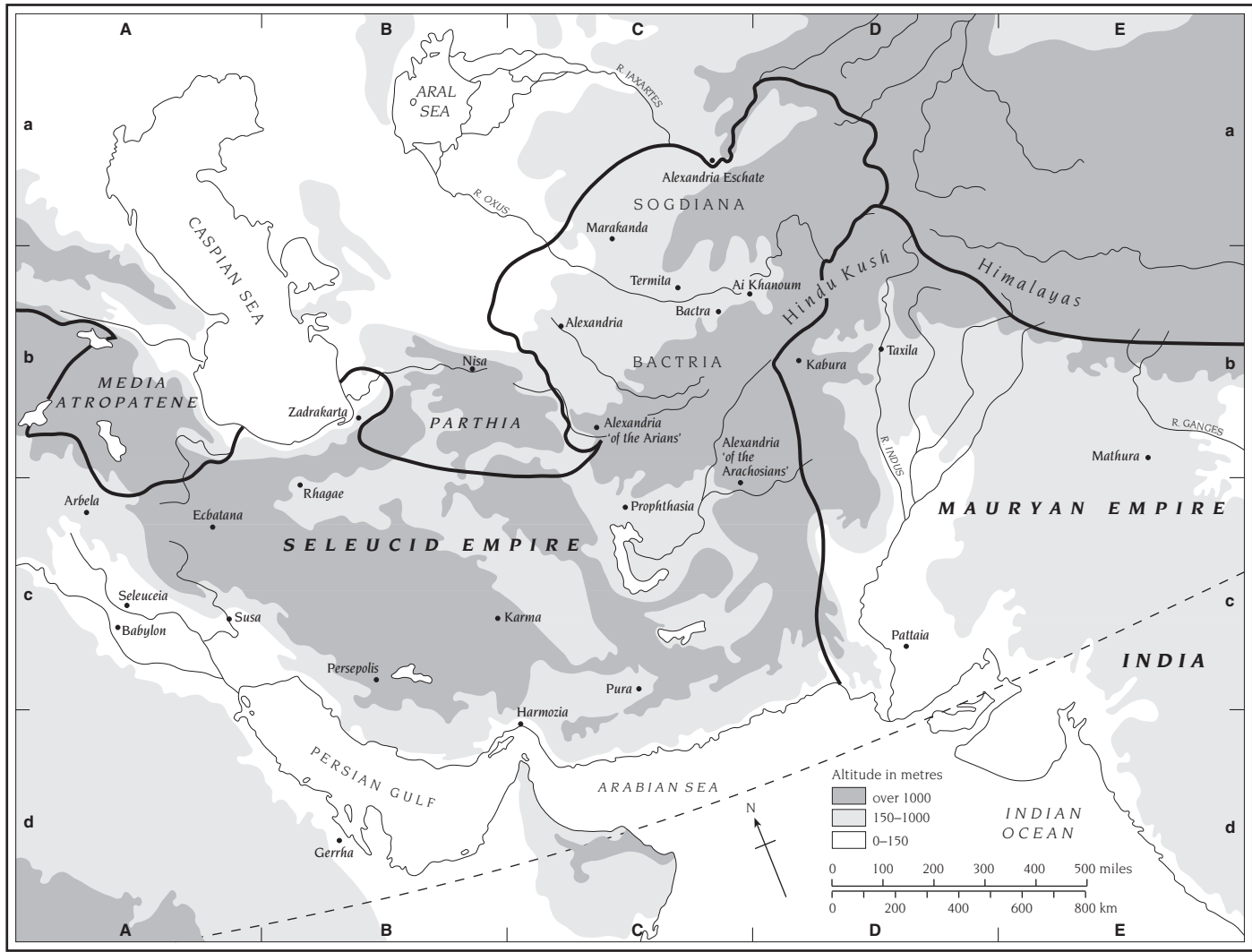
MAP 1 GREECE AND THE AEGEAN WORLD





MAP 2 THE HELLENISTIC WORLD





MAP 2A THE HELLENISTIC WORLD (CONTD.)

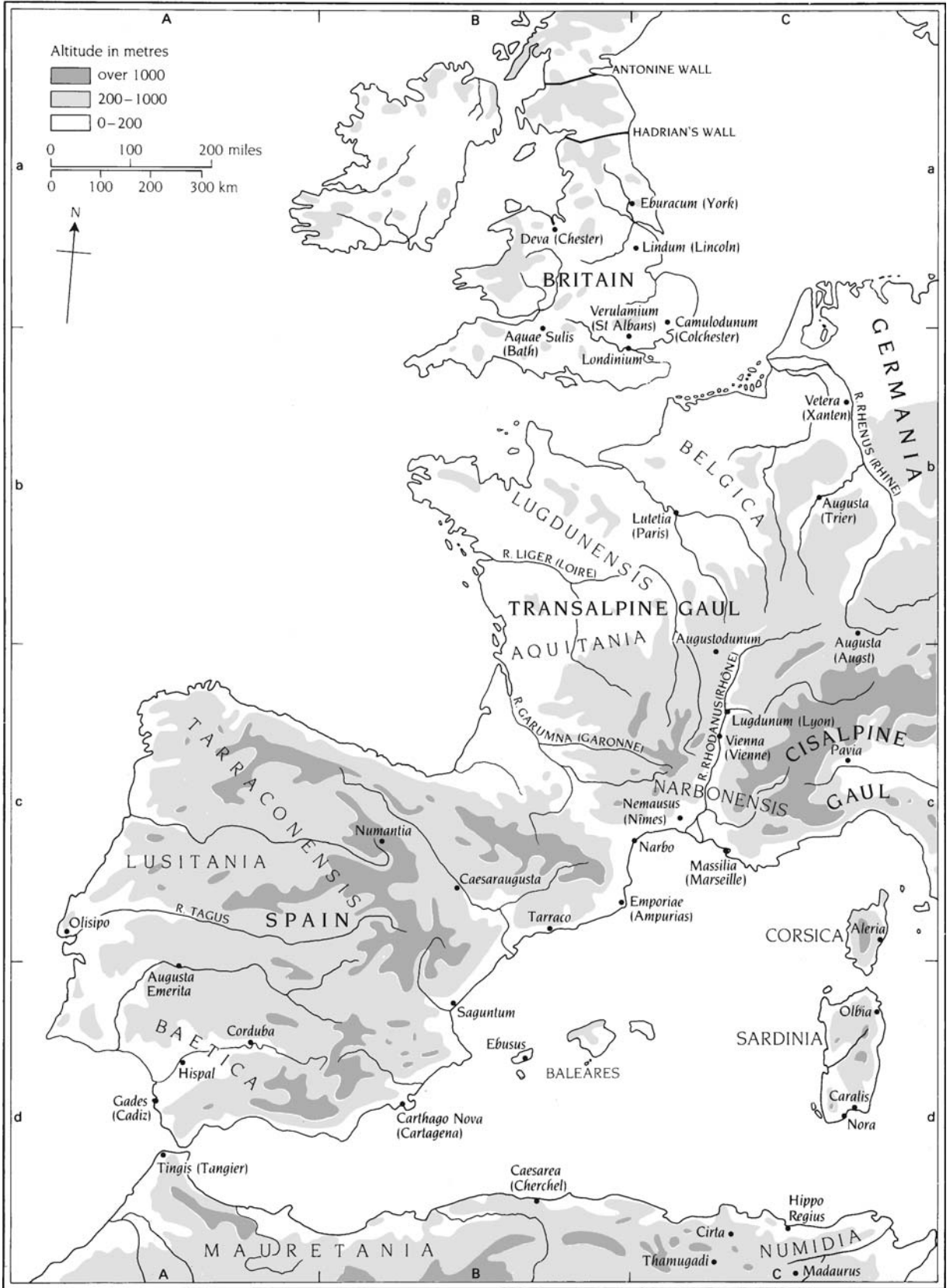


MAP 3 ITALY



MAP 4 THE ROMAN EMPIRE (CENTRAL AND EASTERN PROVINCES)





MAP 5 THE ROMAN EMPIRE (WESTERN PROVINCES)