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Dear Readers,

We greet you as the new editors of Harvard's undergraduate classics journal *Persephone*! We would like to thank you for bearing with us as we have made the transition from old board to new. It has been both challenging and delightful to go through for the first time the process of selection, editing, and finally, publishing. Also, we express gratitude to the former editors Talia Boylan and Nicholas Ackert for doing a wonderful job reviving the journal during their time at Harvard, and leaving us some valuable advice to continue on with their legacy.

We are proud of the work that we have put together, and have many goals we hope to accomplish before our time as editors ends. It is only recently that *Persephone* became an online journal, and we would love to preserve all of the previous issues by updating them to this new digital format. In addition, we hope to create an official and convenient application process, and perhaps expand to include other genres such as creative writing and artwork. Please reach out to us if there are any suggestions you would like to make on how we can improve this journal; we would appreciate any feedback!

One change we have made as the new editors is increasing the number of pieces selected for our issue. We had a considerable number of applicants this year and felt that there were too many exceptional pieces to maintain the size of past issues. Thus, there is even more to contemplate and enjoy, and we hope that you are pleased by the talent and creativity that is awaiting you.

Sincerely,

Frances Choi and Priya Gill

Co-Editors in Chief

HARVARD
Department of the Classics

Women in Herodotus's *Histories*: an analysis of the role of Candaules's wife and Spako in book 1

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Abstract

This study focuses on two famous female characters of Herodotus's *Histories*: Spako and Candaules's wife. By analysing Herodotus's presentation of the latter, I will show that Herodotus has no intention to produce a source of amusement or comedy when rewriting the myth of Gyges. On the contrary, he uses his own reconstruction of early history to provide his readers with an interpretation of women's role in society and its importance. My aim is to build upon Carolyn Dewald's scholarship in arguing against the negative interpretation of Candaules's wife. In addition, I will outline how Spako is presented as a vital element in the process of Cyrus's transition to power. Just like Candaules's wife, Mithridates's wife allows history to make its course. The comparison of these two female figures enables one to understand the value Herodotus places on women as representatives of the household, which in the case of a royal family is strongly entwined with politics and the state. In book 1 Herodotus outlines the importance of listening to the perspective of women who, acting in the intimacy of their domestic environments, are able to affect political affairs and balances of power in the state.

Key words: Herodotus, *Histories*, women, household, Gyges, Candaules, Spako, Cyrus

Women in Herodotus's *Histories*: an analysis of the role of Candaules's wife and Spako in book 1

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The role of women in the Herodotus's *Histories* has amused and puzzled scholars for many years. In fact, every reader has always been astonished, to quote Gould, by

> the visibility of women in the world as Herodotus presents it, and their often- paramount role in determining what happens; this is in stark contrast to the way in which the public world of political action appears elsewhere in Greek literature.[1]

It is in this very feeling that the present study finds its roots. This essay explores the Herodotean depiction of two women, the wife of Candaules (Hdt.1.8ff.) and Spako (Hdt.1.109). My aim is to show how the story of Gyges represents a fundamental tile in the mosaic of the representation of the protagonist woman and her behaviour in Herodotus's *Histories*. This episode is not, as has been claimed, a comic and twisted depiction of a typical adulterer story,[2] but a carefully shaped narrative which allows the audience to have an insight into the Herodotean perception of women and their role in society and history. The wife of Gyges protects the custom of her household and preserves her dignity, when everyone else has failed to do so, showing to the eyes of the audience her power in the *oikos* and, consequently, her ability to affect the balances of power in the state. Moreover, if the wife of Gyges and her vicissitudes are compared to the events which led to the salvation of Cyrus and to the actions of the wife of Mithridates, it seems possible to make a statement about the *Histories* in general and Herodotus's historical analysis. First, a comparison of the two episodes will outline how the Herodotean view of history includes even the humbler individual, as the course of events can be changed by any individual and situation. Then, in these episodes, Herodotus seems to create a powerful connection between the small world of the household and the political changes in the state, a connection which may be interpreted as functional for the didactic purposes of Herodotus's *Histories*.

After the proem of the *Histories* and a brief enquiry about the first causes of the enmity between East and West, the episode which brings the audience into the actual narrative of book 1, that is the Lydian history and the events leading to Croesus's rise to power, is the story of Gyges. Now, this mythical, and probably not genuinely historical,[3] account might create some

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[1] Gould (1989:130-131). For an overview of scholarly views on women in the *Histories* see Hazewindus (2004) and Gray (1995:188).

[2] This paper offers an alternative reading of the story of Gyges compared to Porter (2002:23), who argues that Herodotus is offering "such a perplexing blend of the ridiculous and the tragic, presenting matters of [...] the highest historical import in a form that confounds them with a comic farce."

[3] The historicity of the Herodotean narrative is outside the scope of this study, see Blok (2002) for further discussion. In this essay, Dewald's (2006:172) important remarks are taken for granted: all the material of the *Histories* is part of "real *logoi,* gathered from real informants." Also, Dewald and Marincola (1987:9-10): "the *Histories* stands at the beginning of written Greek history and Greek artistic prose and look both forward to history as we know it and back to an oral and archaic Greek past largely inaccessible to our ways of thinking and feeling."

trouble for the interpretation of the Herodotean *Kunstwollen*. Indeed, in the opening sections of the *Histories* (Hdt.1.1-5), Herodotus presents his audience with his alleged sources about the reasons which laid the foundation of the contrast between East and West by "rationalising"[4] and carefully analysing the historical facts. These considerations have to lead to the line of reasoning that, once Herodotus has rejected all the irrational explanations in the proem,[5] he

> narrates this story [the episode of Gyges], the first event in real history, in a vivid style that shuns the scientific remoteness of the Persian *aitia*. Herodotus rejects the device of telling the story as a report of what someone says happened or as a tale that may or may not be true. He never thereafter questions the version he gives or suggests the existence of alternatives.[6]

However, these remarks fail to understand both the opening lines of the *Histories* and the meaning of history and historical enquiry for Herodotus. On the one hand, while the interest of the historian in causality (δι' ἣν αἰτίην,[7] "the reason why" Hdt.1.1.0)[8] is clear,[9] the proem of the Histories never focuses on rationality as a crucial characteristic for the author, but what Herodotus seems to be interested in are "the happenings [...], [...] great and marvellous deeds" (τὰ γενόμενα [...], [...] ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, Hdt.1.1.0). Although the mythical episode opening the Lydian history has different characteristics from the first *logoi*, these two narratives should not be understood in opposition to each other, but as complementary. In both situations, Herodotus tries to present his reader with his understanding of historical events and the different narratives allow him to convey different messages to his audience. On the other hand, Herodotus is not choosing the episode of Gyges for its amusing plot. Rather, it has a pivotal role in the entire narrative of book 1, as becomes evident if it is analysed in connection with the events that lead to the rise of power to Cyrus.

Herodotus has carefully tailored the narration of the events, as the myth of Gyges was well known in antiquity, and it was certainly not his invention.[10] Herodotus chose a version which fits his own agenda. For example, in Plato's *Republic*, Gyges is the driving force of the action and portrayed as adulterer (μοιχός) and killer of the king:

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[4] Although our historian does not always provide us with "scientific" historical analysis of facts, the rationalisation of mythical and past events is a typical feature in Herodotus's approach to history. This is even clearer from the rational perspective on the Trojan war presented at Hdt.2.120.

[5] Flory (1987:41).

[6] Flory (1987:32).

[7] For the Greek text of the *Histories*, see Wilson (2015).

[8] All translations provided in this essay are my own.

[9] Causality and rationality cannot be taken as synonymous in this context. In fact, even if the former term might convey a concern with rationality, it merely represents the connections between one event and another.

[10] See Pontier (2013) for a discussion on the character of Gyges in Plato and Herodotus.

αἰσθόμενον δὲ εὐθὺς διαπράξασθαι τῶν ἀγγέλων γενέσθαι τῶν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα, ἐλθόντα δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ μοιχεύσαντα, μετ' ἐκείνης ἐπιθέμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτω κατασχεῖν [11]

Straightway, when he realised this, he contrived to become one of the messengers who reported to the king, and having come and seduced his wife, he set upon the king with her help, killed him, and in this way acquired his throne (*Rep.* 2. 360b2).

Another similar version of the event can be found in Nicolaus of Damascus. Once again, Gyges is portrayed as a political opponent of the king and as seducer of the queen. Nevertheless, he also appears as a man of many resources and qualities:

ἦν δὲ ὁ Γύγης κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει διαφέρων, τά τε πολέμια γενναῖος καὶ τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἄριστος, ἵππων τε καὶ ὅπλων χρῆσιν ἤσκει

Gyges was outstanding in both appearance and stature, valorous in war, and by far the best of his peers in all respects, practiced in the use both of horse and of hoplite arms (Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 47.3).

These sources, though later than the Herodotean depiction of the myth, may well preserve elements of earlier traditions, and so suggest that this story was known to the audience of the time, and that an attentive reader might have noticed the differences in Herodotus's version. Although it remains unclear from what sources Herodotus is taking this version of the story,[12] his narrative shows a different focus from any text we know.

In Herodotus, the story of Gyges has a similar narrative skeleton to the other versions, but the author redistributes the roles among the characters. The wife of Candaules is arguably the protagonist of the events. She is not any longer a passive observer in the fight between two men. Although at the beginning she is merely represented as Candaules's object of lust (ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός, "Candaules fell in love with his wife" Hdt.1.8.1), as soon as she sees Gyges in her bedroom (Hdt.1.10.2), she takes control of the events:

μαθοῦσὰ δὲ τὸ ποιηθέν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νοῷ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα

Although she realised what her husband had done, she did not scream, despite being ashamed, nor did she give any sign of having noticed, having in her mind the future punishment of Candaules (Hdt.1.10.2).

Moreover, Gyges remains a secondary character in the entire story. It is true that he will be the one killing Candaules, but the wife is the actual mastermind of the plan in the story (Hdt.1.11-12), whereas Gyges is almost entirely passive: so passive, indeed, that the wife of Candaules

[11] For the Greek text, see Emlyn-Jones and Preddy (2013).
[12] For a suggestive theory about the possible connection between the fragments of a tragedy, which had these vicissitudes of the Lydian family as the main plot, and Herodotus, see Garzya (1993:547-49).

even provides him with the dagger for the killing (Hdt.1.12.1). Judging from how this woman acquires a central role in the development of events, it seems that the historian has a particular interest in this episode and its meaning, and even more so if one notices that the narrative has an emphatic position introducing the narrative of book 1.

The wife of Candaules is reacting to the misbehaviour of her husband (Hdt.1.8.2), whose perversion the Lydian spearman makes clear to the audience:

> δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ: ἐν τοῖσι ἓν τόδε ἐστί, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων
>
> Master, what are you saying?! not healthy things! Ordering me to observe my mistress naked? For at the same time as a woman casts away her tunic, she casts away also her shame. Long ago noble principles were discovered by men, from which it is necessary to learn: among these things there is this one thing, that a man should look to his own. I believe that this woman is the most beautiful of all the women, and I beg you not to ask lawless actions of me (Hdt.1.8.3-9.1).

It is highly unlikely that Herodotus had access to documents that reported the actual conversation between Candaules and Gyges, provided that it ever happened. Thus, one can infer that, through this speech, Herodotus wants to direct the attention of the reader to some aspects of the narration.[13] As a matter of fact, Gyges's answer to Candaules focuses on how this request clashes with the customs of society (νόμος), as he should not be allowed to see the wife of someone else once she has cast off her modesty (αἰδώς). Indeed,

> Candaules's suggestion, that Gyges should invade the privacy of the marital bedchamber, where abandonment of αἰδώς is permitted, confounds the categories of public and private and nullifies the relationship of honour and deference which exists between husband and wife on the one hand, and master, mistress, and subordinate on the other.[14]

In light of these considerations, the wife of Candaules becomes a champion of customs. She is the one who seeks to establish again the order in her household and society through either the

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[13] If Herodotus did not have much factual basis for the story of Gyges, perhaps this allowed him extra room to shape his narrative as he saw fit. As Baragwanath (2018:8-9) has noticed, "the story of Candaules' murder is narrated in quintessentially mythodic mode. [...] Presumably, then, the vivid, embedded mythodic narrative does not claim to supply truth of the same sort as the surrounding 'historical' narratives recounting Croesus' campaigns, nor aim to elicit the same sort of belief."

[14] Cairns (1996:83).

killing of her husband, who allowed these events to take place, or the suicide of Gyges, who puts into practice the evil plan of the king; and she says as much, in how she presents these alternatives to Gyges. Furthermore, if one takes into consideration the fact that everyone in this story but Candaules's wife will be punished at some point in book 1, something more can be said about the episode. In fact, Herodotus, even if he never gives explicit approval of the deed of Candaules's wife, implicitly justifies it using the narrative of book 1. First, Candaules is killed. Then, Gyges only postpones by five generations the punishment by choosing his life over that of his master. Also, the oracle, which explains the cause of Croesus's faith (Hdt.1.91.1), mentions the womanly stratagem (δόλῳ γυναικηίῳ),[15] but indicates Gyges as the only culprit. Moreover, she scarcely commits any wrong in presenting Gyges with a choice; he is the one who decides to save his life. The fact that neither the narrative nor the author in explicit commentary depicts her as wrongdoer or blames her actions, even if she forces the servant to make an impossible choice between murder and suicide, indicates that her actions are to be understood as necessary rather than evil.[16] Thus, Herodotus stresses the importance of this character for her role in defending the customs of society in the household and enabling the passage of power from one dynasty to another.

The wife of Candaules becomes an even more significant individual when the audience hears the story of Cyrus's childhood. Despite the different historical and social background of the narrative, there are many points of comparison between Spako, the wife of the herdsman Mithridates who was commanded by the servant of King Harpagus to expose the son of the royal daughter (Hdt.1.109-113), and the woman of the episode analysed above. Spako, similarly to the

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[15] I understand the noun δόλος to have the meaning of "stratagem," or "trick," without any negative connotation, just as it can be used in the *Odyssey* to refer to any cunning contrivances, such as in the case of the robe of Penelope *Od*.19.137.

[16] This paper seeks to change radically the understanding of these matters offered by many scholars. For example, Dewald (1981:106) argues that the "neither account [of Amestris and Candaules's wife], to be sure, is structured so that we entirely approve of the wife's vengeful action." However, she does underscore that these women play a crucial role as guardians of the household. In particular, the present study must be set against Gray's (1995:203) idea that "the queen [wife of Candaules] may be the victim of the king's transgression but is equally an extension of his barbaric denial of the freedom of the subjects, violating the norms in putting pressure on Gyges to kill himself or his master, and being entirely unmoved by his protests. The choice she offers Gyges is a mockery of freedom. Her *dolos* in hiding him in the bedroom and arming him with a dagger to kill the king is a mirror of the secret treachery of the king in hiding him there in the first place to see her shame. Her murder matches his exposure and makes her an extension of her royal mate in this respect as well, though she works against him. Gyges resolves his otherness as subject by becoming king, yet the Pythia punishes his descendants for it. Herodotus reveals power of the woman because it was part of the construction of barbaric royalty, but also because he can show barbaric royalty doubly dangerous, with no escape from the tyranny of either sex." I believe that Herodotus wants us to see the actions of the wife as necessary for the safeguards of the customs of society, the *oikos* and her integrity. Therefore, the reaction of Candaules's wife should not be understood in terms of right or wrong behaviour, but in connection with social and historical necessity.

Lydian woman, assumes a prominent role in her household and can confront Mithridates in a discussion, without bowing to the necessity of events and the will of her husband:

> ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δευτέρα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. 'ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον. τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός
>
> Then, as she did not convince her husband, she tried a second approach: "Therefore, since I am not able to convince you not to expose the child, act in the following way, if it is absolutely necessary that a baby is seen exposed. For I also have given birth, but I have given birth to a dead baby" (Hdt.1.112.2).

As it can be noticed in the passage quoted above, Spako does not accept the first refusal of her husband but insists and uses the death of their baby in order to move her husband and convince him not to expose the living child. Also, she is the one who provides the plan; Mithridates simply puts his wife's words into practice: "the herdsman thought that his wife was speaking extremely well about the present matter and he immediately did these things" (κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἡ γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίεε ταῦτα, Hdt. 1.113.1). Once again, the audience is presented with a woman who causes a transition of power and allows history to make its course. As a matter of fact, Spako's plan will allow Cyrus to survive and the dreams, which were interpreted by the Magi as premonitions of the fact that the child of Mandane would rule in place of Astyages, to become true. On the one hand, this narrative connection between these two women allows the reader to draw a direct comparison between Gyges and Cyrus, so that the latter is foreshadowed by the former. On the other hand, Spako and the wife of Candaules work as historical agents, allowing facts to take place. Although they come from opposite social strata, as the wife of Candaules is a queen and Spako is the wife of a herdsman, they are both able to affect the course of events to the same degree. Thus, Herodotus arguably shapes his narrative so as to underscore how every individual and his or her actions are able to modify the course of history. His historical analysis should not then be narrowly focused on famous and prominent men but should take into consideration the entire social spectrum of society.

Furthermore, these women are always represented by Herodotus in indoor space, the palace of the king and the house of the herdsman, and only have a connection with the outside world by means of male characters. For instance, Mithridates puts into practice his wife's idea, whereas Spako only provides the plan; and similar considerations have been made for the episode analysed in the first part of this discussion. Therefore, Herodotus is not trying to emancipate these, or any, women in society,[17] but —with some striking exceptions, for instance Artemisia— he is describing them in accordance with the social norm of Ancient Greece:

[17] Many scholars have demonstrated that the roles of women in the *Histories* are manifold and different from each other, so that it is difficult to find a single formula which could apply to every case in Herodotus's work. The reader has to analyse each case individually and make comparison when possible. For example, see Gould (1989:130). In fact, the *Histories* boasts women in very different roles, including some who do act outside of the *oikos* and bring about changes more directly.

> Women were bound to the *oikos*, the household, and were responsible for its daily maintenance, while men protected the *oikos* from external aggressions and represented it in the greater political community of which it was a part.[18]

However, it should not be inferred that women have no role in the work of Herodotus. On the contrary, the author wants to stress their role in history and, in particular, the importance of their role in connection with the household, their stage for action. Indeed, in these episodes where women who act in the intimacy of their domestic environments are able to affect the state and its balances of power, Herodotus appears to be highlighting the household and the family unit as foundational and fundamental entities for the state, society and history.[19] Especially in the Lydian and Persian political system where the monarchic power is placed in the hands of a single man, the royal family and the household surrounding it have the power of influencing the king and the state. To such an extent "Herodotus' portrait of women emphasises their full partnership with men in establishing and maintaining social order."[20]

If these considerations are valid, the Herodotean emphasis on the *oikos* can be taken one step further. In fact, in the proem of the *Histories* Herodotus states his desire to save the deeds of men from forgetfulness (ἐξίτηλος) and absence of recognition and fame (ἀκλεής), but the author never explicitly clarifies the reason that leads him to think of such tasks as vital. However, as many scholars have noticed in the *Histories*,[21] it might be the case that our historian composed his work also with a didactic intent in mind. If this is the case, Herodotus, by showing the ways in which the small world of the household may affect power balances in the monarchy, desires to draw attention to the flaws of this political system and invites, once more, his audience to compare the East and the Greek world, autocracy [or monarchy] and democracy. Nevertheless, even if one is tempted to disagree with the most recent conclusions, as they are a matter of speculation, Herodotus is undoubtedly placing these two women under the spotlight for a reason which transcends simple historical causality, as we have seen. Therefore, it cannot be denied that the author of the *Histories* is suggesting to his audience that it is better to take women into consideration in matters of politics, especially in a political environment inevitably entwined with the royal household. Notably, the historian emphasises the importance of listening to the perspective of women, a perspective more accessible indeed under monarchy.[22]

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[18] Dewald (1980:11).

[19] See Blok (2002: 242): "the novelty of his approach may be found in his application to history of a model that was being scrutinised, debated, parodied, and applied in many other contexts and genres." Therefore, with his depictions of women in the *Histories*, Herodotus, who was most likely aware of the cultural developments in Greece, was probably trying to participate in a discussion already existing at that time.

[20] Dewald (1981:92).

[21] Especially in their analysis of later books when the narrative focuses on Athens and the Athenians, such as in book 8. For instance, see Moles (1996).

[22] This feature becomes even more evident if the episodes on which this paper bases its discussion are compared with the *exemplum* of Cleomenes who was able to follow the counsel of his daughter Gorgo (Hdt.5.51). In this episode, the positive qualities of the king of Sparta lie in his ability to recognise the importance of the suggestion of Gorgo, even if she was "only" a female and a child.

In conclusion, this study has compared two episodes of the first book of the *Histories* where women characters are described as the protagonists of the events. In this way, it was possible to understand that Herodotus has no intention to produce comedy in his rewriting the myth of Gyges, but is providing his readers with an interpretation of women's role in society and its importance. Nevertheless, the historian is not trying to change the standard Greek beliefs regarding gender roles. Both the episodes discussed in this study show how Herodotus is interested in the way in which women have the power to affect the affairs of the state and the course of historical events because of their role in the household. In this way, the historian proves that the private sphere has an intrinsic relationship with the state and its politics, especially in the eastern world where the political power lies in the hand of a single man.

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δεσμός and *τύπος* in Plato's *Republic*: Contradiction in Practices of Restraint

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δεσμός and τύπος in Plato's Republic: Contradiction in Practices of Restraint

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In many discussions of Plato's *Republic*, readers unhesitatingly accord Socrates, as the founder of his own imaginary city, the right to establish a civic education system in whatever way he sees fit. Yet closer examination of Socrates' reasoning brings to light a problematic contradiction between the philosopher's ostensible values and his actual behaviors. Although a large part of Socrates' inquiry into education demonstrates his hostility toward physical or intellectual restraint, his proposed methods of education and his limitations on poetic activity involve forcing citizens into a mold of prescribed behavior, thereby creating an instance of the very compulsion which he claims to abhor. Consequently, by incorporating this contradiction into some of the most crucial elements in his argument, Socrates encourages his interlocutors to recognize the limitations of their discussion and to pursue further the notion of true intellectual freedom.

From the inception of his inquiry into education, it is clear that Socrates is mounting an assault on what he views as corruptive poetry: he casually asserts that some of the most beloved stories of gods and heroes must be strictly forbidden from his imaginary city so as to avoid disruptive behavior among the citizens. Rather interestingly, many of Socrates' forbidden myths involve a theme of violence or compulsion, and more than one makes use of the word *δεσμός* ("bond" or "fetter") to describe abhorrent deeds. The recurrence of these themes in the outlawed myths ostensibly portrays Socrates as truly intolerant of physical compulsion: he makes mention at various intervals of the heinously violent deeds of Uranus and Kronos (*Οὐρανός τε ἠργάσατο ἅ φησι δρᾶσαι αὐτὸν Ἡσίοδος, ὅ τε αὖ Κρόνος ὡς ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτόν*, 377e-378a)[1] and Zeus' fit of rage against Hephaestus (*Ἡφαίστου ῥίψεις ὑπὸ πατρός*, 378d). Yet perhaps the most unusual pattern among these myths, beyond the themes of anger and violence, appears in Socrates' focus on the practice of binding or fettering: on two occasions in short succession, the philosopher makes mention of the word *δεσμός* – namely, regarding Hephaestus' vengeful entrapment of his mother (*Ἥρας δὲ δεσμοὺς ὑπὸ ὑέος*, 378d)[2] and the same god's cunning snare for his adulterous wife (*Ἄρεώς τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεσμὸν δι ' ἕτερα τοιαῦτα*, 390c). Neither of these myths is as fundamental to the Greek mythological canon as the Uranus/Kronos storyline, and Hephaestus is by no means a notoriously violent deity. Consequently, although other myths which Socrates chooses to outlaw—regarding such figures as fearsome Hades and volatile Achilles—quite clearly seek to avoid unnecessary fear and turmoil among the citizenry, these stories of bondage are unusual in their shared trope and central figure. It is therefore likely that the philosopher has some compelling motivation to ban these lesser-known myths, elevating the trope of fettering to an equal plane with such practices as patricide and parental violence against children.

The sudden return of the word *δεσμός* at the start of Book VII better illuminates Socrates' fascination with this topic by painting a caustic picture of personal, intellectual restraint in the Allegory of the Cave. This oft-studied metaphor, perhaps the most central in Socrates' philosophical inquiry, is founded upon the premise that the allegorical subjects are

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[1] Plato and John Burnet, *Platonis* opera (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), accessed March 10, 2017, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0167. All Greek text is taken from Burnet. Translations, where theyappear, are my own.

[2] In return for Hera's fabled hurling of Hephaestus from Olympus to hide the lame newborn.

physically restrained within the cave (*ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ τὰ σκέλη καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας*, 514a) and are compelled to experience only a shadowy state of reality—thereby communicating their *intellectual* compulsion to view a world which is only imitative of the true forms. As this allegorical passage progresses, furthermore, Socrates begins to refer to these restrained people exclusively as "prisoners" or, more literally, "fettered ones" (*τῶν δεσμωτῶν*, 514b), thereby indicating that this metaphorical bondage is inseparable from the identity of those experiencing the shadowy "reality." In due course, Socrates makes clear that the only resolution to this undesirable restraint, as it is portrayed, is the release of the individual from his fetters (*ὁπότε τις λυθείη*, 515c), which in turn allows movement toward the light of the forms. In this way, by again utilizing the word *δεσμός* as an object of repudiation, Socrates presents an ostensible aversion to restraint, couching intellectual confinement in terms of physical fetters. Additionally, by portraying a *single* individual's release from bondage and his subsequent ascent to illumination, the philosopher rejects the *collective* fettering of unenlightened people in the hope of an *individualistic* freedom of philosophic inquiry. Thus, the concept of *δεσμός* is not confined to a narrow, trivial portion of Socrates' argument, but extends even to one of the most crucial segments of the text. In short, by his condemnation of both mythological fetterings and collective intellectual bondage, Socrates seems to reject wholeheartedly the physicality of restraint which pervades these narratives, instead putting forth a model of individual, intellectual liberation.

In spite of this apparent aversion to all sorts of restraint, however, Socrates' proposed plan of education for the residents of his theoretical city stands in stark contradiction to this viewpoint: by supposing that he and his fellow "founders" must extensively shape their citizens into a certain pattern (*τύπος*) of behavior, Socrates violates his own rejection of restrictive forces, instead *becoming* a constraining force upon his own citizenry. In the Liddell-Scott lexicon, the word *τύπος* is defined in its most literal sense as "the effect of a blow,"[3] implying the shape imparted by a metalworker or blacksmith. Naturally, this connection to the world of violent hammer blows imbues the word *τύπος* with an inescapable sense of physicality and force. Yet, for all his seeming aversion to forcible restraint, Socrates himself *appeals* to this physical connotation when he first employs the word, describing the malleability of youth as a convenient factor for educators (*ἐνδύεται τύπος ὃν ἄν τις βούληται ἐνσημήνασθαι ἑκάστῳ*, 377b), but also warning against individuals' proclivity to irrevocably absorb the teachings of their childhood (*ἀλλ ' ἃ ἂν τηλικοῦτος ὢν λάβῃ ἐν ταῖς δόξαις δυσέκνιπτά τε καὶ ἀμετάστατα φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι*, 378d-e). Thus, it is clear that Socrates intends to treat his citizenry as an impressionable object of which he and his comrades are the craftsmen. Subsequently, Socrates returns again and again in his discussion of proper education to this metaphor of an imposed character: the limited frame within which the city's poets must compose is a *τύπος* (*οἰκισταῖς δὲ τοὺς μὲν τύπους προσήκει εἰδέναι ἐν οἷς δεῖ μυθολογεῖν τοὺς ποιητάς*, 379a), and the constraints on theological speech constitute a *τύπος* (*εἷς ἂν εἴη τῶν περὶ θεοὺς νόμων τε καὶ τύπων, ἐν ᾧ δεήσει τούς τε λέγοντας λέγειν*, 380c). Indeed, as he closes his initial inquiry into education, Socrates sums up the ideal poet for his city as one who conforms closely to these fundamental (if rather boring) patterns of storytelling (*αὐτοὶ δ ' ἂν τῷ αὐστηροτέρῳ καὶ ἀηδεστέρῳ ποιητῇ χρῴμεθα καὶ μυθολόγῳ ὠφελίας ἕνεκα, ὃς ἡμῖν...τὰ λεγόμενα λέγοι ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τύποις οἷς κατ ' ἀρχὰς ἐνομοθετησάμεθα*, 398a-b). Thus, even if in these instances *τύπος* generally signifies a broad pattern of compelled behavior rather than a violently imposed form, its overtones of *physically* forced compliance (and Socrates'

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[3] Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English lexicon* (New York: Harper, 1879), accessed March 10, 2017, http://logeion.uchicago.edu/index.html#τύπος.

embrace of this connotation) clash repeatedly with the philosopher's perceived status as one utterly opposed to personal "fettering."

In close conjunction with this particular term *τύπος* is a broader vocabulary of compulsion which Socrates uses to describe the implementation of his systematic education, again revealing the contradiction of values and actions in his argument. Such compulsion first appears as Socrates defines the limits of appropriate poetic behavior, claiming that he and his co-founders will "compel" the city's poets to deny certain claims about gods and heroes (*ἀλλὰ* *<u>προσαναγκάζωμεν</u> τοὺς ποιητὰς ἢ μὴ τούτων αὐτὰ ἔργα φάναι ἢ τούτους μὴ εἶναι θεῶν παῖδας, ἀμφότερα δὲ μὴ λέγειν*, 391d). The Allegory of the Cave, however, provides the *most* striking example of this contradiction. Here, Socrates' interlocutor employs the word *ἀναγκάζω* to signify the compulsion of the cave-dwellers to remain in their shadowy underworld (*πῶς γάρ, ἔφη, εἰ ἀκινήτους γε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχειν ἠναγκασμένοι εἶεν διὰ βίου*, 515a-b). Just a few moments later, conversely, Socrates utilizes the *same* vocabulary to describe the "liberation" of a man from his bondage, claiming that this former prisoner will be "compelled" to stand and to look toward the light beyond the cave (*ὁπότε τις λυθείη καὶ ἀναγκάζοιτο ἐξαίφνης ἀνίστασθαί τε καὶ περιάγειν τὸν αὐχένα καὶ βαδίζειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀναβλέπειν*, 515c). The juxtaposition here of *λυθείη* and *ἀναγκάζοιτο* is a particularly conspicuous sign of the inherent contradiction in Socrates' use of compulsion, partnering physical freedom with subtle intellectual coercion. This act of force, furthermore, destroys any sort of individualism with which Socrates would like to imbue the scenario, instead returning to a subservient mode of intellectual discovery before the prisoner has even truly been freed. As described above, Socrates portrays this liberation from the shadowy realm as an individualistic escape from collective fettering; nevertheless, by utilizing a system of education to *impose* this journey toward the forms upon his city's population, Socrates simply creates *another* instance of common restraint (albeit in the frame of philosophical enlightenment). In this way, although the philosopher has made much of the deplorable, restrictive fetters which he finds in this metaphorical cave, the way in which he seeks to liberate individuals and guide them toward the forms is itself a problematic, forced education. Thus, for both the poets and the youth of Socrates' imagined city, the philosopher's methods entail a top-down imposition of behavior which stands in stark contrast to his ostensible rejection of restraint.

If, then, such a fundamental contradiction exists between Socrates' values and actions, the question remains as to precisely *why* he allows the argument to be thus corrupted. Naturally, it is beyond the scope of this paper to investigate this dilemma comprehensively, but a cursory consideration suggests that the contradiction is itself a tool of education: by incorporating this flaw into his argument, Socrates encourages his interlocutors to recognize the limitations of their discussion, thereby urging further inquiry into the nature of intellectual freedom. Even though Platonic dialogues may fairly be called *pseudo*-dialectic (with Socrates putting forward almost all of the questions and answers), the fact remains that these are conversational, collaborative strivings toward the truth; far from the rigid and compulsory system of philosophic education which is to be found in Socrates' city, this mode of instruction encourages gradual, personal movement toward enlightenment. Socrates himself promotes his interlocutors' dialectical engagement, and often tailors the conversation to incorporate their concerns or address their confusion. Simply consider the philosopher's self-effacing response to confusion over a particular point, when he states, "I seem to be a ridiculous and unclear teacher" (*γελοῖος, ἦν δ ' ἐγώ, ἔοικα διδάσκαλος εἶναι καὶ ἀσαφής*, 392d). This acknowledgement of personal fallibility and accommodation of individuals' puzzlement, while perfectly suited to the nature of

philosophic inquiry, is entirely absent from Socrates' proposed scheme of education, wherein there will be no room for objection or dissent – only for universal compliance. As such, the flaws, contradictions, and individually-tailored methods which Socrates incorporates into his argument offer a chance for his interlocutors to open up new windows onto inquiry and discovery. Thus, this paradox between freedom and restraint will allow Socrates' interlocutors (and Plato's readers) to pursue their own lines of reasoning – if only they investigate the myriad ambiguities within Socrates' argument.

This contradiction, furthermore, founds its essential appeal in a nearly comic irony: what with the countless restrictions which Socrates lays upon his imaginary citizens, it is almost impossible to take the philosopher's theoretical city seriously. By submitting his philosophically "free" citizens to an amusingly convoluted system of *τύπος*-forming restrictions, Socrates makes his reasoning especially ripe for further deconstruction. Over the course of this ten-book text, Socrates slowly but steadily layers edict upon edict, forbidding this and that to the guardian class in his ideal city. These prohibitions range from forming private families (*τὰς γυναῖκας ταύτας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων πάντων πάσας εἶναι κοινάς, ἰδίᾳ δὲ μηδενὶ μηδεμίαν συνοικεῖν: καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὖ κοινούς*, 457c-d) to owning private property (*πρῶτον μὲν οὐσίαν κεκτημένον μηδεμίαν μηδένα ἰδίαν, ἂν μὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη*, 416d) to even *touching* silver or gold (*ἀλλὰ μόνοις αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει μεταχειρίζεσθαι καὶ ἅπτεσθαι χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου οὐ θέμις*, 417a). These restrictions, even if justified by Socrates with the goal of maintaining virtuous and austere guardians, are ludicrous when considered from a standpoint of practicality. Thus, Socrates' contradiction between restraint and freedom finds comedic irony in its absurd attempt to create a total *τύπος* of behavior, and it is this comedy which makes the contradiction accessible and open to further investigation by Socrates' interlocutors and Plato's readers alike.

Altogether, the physicality of restraint which pervades Socrates' plans of education stands in sharp contrast to his presumed opposition to such restriction: although he bans myths of physical fettering and rejects the bondage of his cave's "prisoners," the philosopher's own methods, as reflected in the notion of *τύπος*, inescapably reflect similar iterations of restraint. While it is quite difficult, furthermore, to assign a definite motivation to the inclusion of this contradiction, it seems that Socrates utilizes the irony of this paradox to encourage his interlocutors toward a deeper inquiry of intellectual freedom. Accordingly, even if this is only one among a multitude of logical fallacies in the *Republic*, the tension between *δεσμός* and *τύπος* is inseparable from the foundations of Socrates' arguments, making it remiss to ignore this subtle focus on restraint and freedom.

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Ovid's Artsy Tribute to Feminism

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Ovid's Artsy Tribute to Feminism

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Ovid's *Metamorphoses* – celebrated as his *perpetuum…carmen* – inspires a reader to meditate on this poet's treatment of women.[1] The two hundred and fifteen myths nestled in these fifteen books of verse often pit man against woman. The prevalence of these interactions draws attention to the complexities of relationships that bridge gender lines. These tensions move Classicists to engage in lively debate regarding Ovid's position in relation to what the twenty-first century terms "feminism." Ellen Greene articulates the two schools of thought that dominate this conversation when she writes, "some feminist scholars have taken Ovid to task for his apparent endorsement of violence and brutality toward women. Alternatively, some feminists have found in Ovid's amatory texts a complex literary strategy that serves to unmask and condemn the cruel and inhumane aspects of *amor.*"[2] The uncertainty of the poet's stance can be attributed in part to the text's historical backdrop, since, as Elaine Fantham stipulates, "in Ovid's time, as usually now, men enjoyed a superior status to women and believed it was their entitlement."[3] Thus, as Katharina Volk explains, Ovid "simply cannot be expected to share all the sensibilities and concerns of his reader today."[4] Furthermore, women's experiences presented by Ovid implicate additional factors including romantic, professional, and mortal versus divine ambitions that impede a clear analysis of the poet's position on women's significance. However, a reader can arrive at a sharper understanding of his viewpoint when she interprets the myths through the lens of art, specifically the timing of art's introduction to the stories and the content of the artistic projects. Volk confirms the consequence of this motif when she explains that art "has a large number of highly significant cultural connotations" that can be applied to Latin literature.[5] Ovid's references to art in the myths of Pygmalion, Arachne and Minerva, and Philomela in the *Metamorphoses* advocate for his position as a feminist.

The tenth book's tribute to Pygmalion epitomizes what Charles Segal describes as the *Metamorphoses*' "main subject" of "using the body as its focus for its view of the human condition, of art, and of male and female identity."[6] In this myth, Ovid calls upon Orpheus to narrate the tale of Pygmalion, a sculptor sickened by women who, in his misery, carves a statue of his ideal woman out of ivory. Richard LaFleur expressed a common misogynistic reading of this story, writing, "from the beginning of time it would seem, at least from the male perspective, man has quested for, and even sought to create, the perfect woman," a comment that objectifies women.[7] An initial glance at the Latin text that composes the Pygmalion story could corroborate this interpretation. The fact that Pygmalion possesses the power to engineer the form of his fantasy female could elicit the evaluation that Ovid here seeks to metaphorically reduce the

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[1] Nasonis, P. Ovidi. *Metamorphoses.* Ed. R. J. Tarrant. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 1.4.

[2] Greene, Ellen. "Travesties of Love: Violence and Voyeurism in Ovid 'Amores' 1.7." *The Classical World* 92.5 (1999): 409-18. 409.

[3] Fantham, Elaine. *Ovid's Metamorphoses.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 61.

[4] Volk, Katharina. *Ovid.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. 84.

[5] Volk 65.

[6] Segal, Charles. "Ovid's Metamorphic Bodies: Art, Gender, and Violence in the 'Metamorphoses.'" *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 5.3 (1998): 9-41. Singer, Irving. "Love in Ovid and Lucretius." *The Hudson Review* 18.4 (1965-1966). 537-59. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20163686.

[7] LaFleur. Richard A. *Love and Transformation: An Ovid Reader.* Second ed. Illinois: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999. 76.

female sex to a material begging to be manipulated by man. An advocate for this misogynistic reading of the myth could point to the weight that Ovid metrically assigns to the spondaic section of text, *sculpsit ebur formamque dedit,* "he carved the ivory and granted the form.[8] Similarly, a skeptic of Ovid's feminist leanings could cite the poet's packing this section with alliterations such as *coniuge caelebs…consorte carebat*[9] and *formam…femina*[10] as proof of his intention to draw attention to man's capacity to engineer a woman. The catalogue of anatomy terminology including *artus,*[11] "limbs," *digitis,*[12] "fingers," *collo,*[13] "neck," and *pectore,*[14] "breast" could also buttress a reading of the passage as one that objectifies women. However, Jaś Elsner proposes that the subsequent line *ars adeo latet arte sua*,[15] "art even lies hidden in its own art," reveals "Pygmalion's derangement."[16] This suggestion of the artist's lunacy specifies that Ovid did not intend for Pygmalion to serve as a paragon of the behaviors and mindset that he values in sane mortal men.

Ovid's description of Pygmalion's decorating and engaging with his statue reveals the artist's admirable appreciation of womanhood and the poet's feminist sentiments. Indeed, Irving Singer advocates that Ovid intended for Pygmalion to represent "Courtly Love"[17] since the artist "adores [the statue] in the manner of the troubadors."[18] This intensity of esteem reveals itself in the catalogue of trinkets with which Pygmalion bedazzles his sculpted sweetheart as Orpheus narrates, *ornat quoque vestibuts artus, dat digits gemmas, dat longa monilia collo*, "he also decorates her limbs with garments, he gives precious stones to her fingers, he gives long necklaces to her neck."[19] Although a skeptic of Ovid's feminist disposition could find fault in the fact that each clause begins with a verb that indicates Pygmalion's verve while the female statue remains inactive, the identical structure of each clause – verb, dative indirect object, accusative direct object – reflects the seriousness with which Pygmalion treats the task of ornamenting the statue, implying his sense of its and perhaps all women's worth. Additionally, the polysyndeton present in the abundance of conjunctions demonstrated by *reddique…loquiturque…tenetque*[20] and continued when the subsequent two lines both begin with *et* draw attention to Pygmalion's desire not to dominate this ivory maiden but rather to share a reciprocal relationship with her.[21] In fact, polysyndeton reemerges as three lines feature *tertesque…et..et…pictasque…et*, underscoring Pygmalion's deferential motive in offering gifts to the statue.[22] This artist's genuine care for the statue finds support in the line *et metuit pressos*

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[8] *Met.* 10.248.
[9] *Met.* 10.245-246.
[10] *Met*. 10.248.
[11] *Met.* 10.263.
[12] *Met.* 10.264.
[13] *Met.* 10.264.
[14] *Met.* 10.265.
[15] *Met.* 10.252.
[16] Elsner, Jaś. *Roman Eyes: Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007. 125.
[17] Singer, Irving. "Love in Ovid and Lucretius." *The Hudson Review* 18.4 (1965-1966): 537-59. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3849704.
[18] Singer 540.
[19] *Met.* 10.263-264.
[20] *Met.* 10.256.
[21] *Met.* 10.257 and *Met.* 10.258.
[22] *Met.* 10.262.

veniat ne livor in artus, "and he fears lest a bruise arrive onto the limbs having been pressed."[23] More specifically, the alternating dactylic and spondaic feet of this line draw attention to its content – the realization that Pygmalion handles his statue gently – and thus confirm Singer's conviction that Ovid does not strive to be "tickling our inclinations to pornography or giving us hints about indiscriminate seduction" in this myth.[24]

The belief that Pygmalion treats his statue with reverence invites a reader to reconsider the role of women in this myth, an exercise that reveals that the bulk of the story's syntax privileges the female characters. For example, the naming techniques and positions of proper nouns cue a reader into the possibility that Ovid forefront his female characters visually to wink at his belief in their equal, if not superior, status in relation to men. The opening line of the Pygmalion story, features the names *Venerem,* "Venus," and *Propoetides*, the daughters of Cyprus's Propoetus.[25] Ovid's decision to charge these female proper names with the task of inaugurating the myth – while delaying the invocation of Pygmalion's proper name – forwards the reader's notion that these characters serve as dynamos in the narrative. Similarly, the position of *Venerem* at the the center of the line with three words on each of its sides reminds the reader that a female – albeit an Olympian – stands at the core of the metamorphosis embedded in the narrative.[26] A graphic word order features Pygmalion surrounded by *quas* and *agentis* – "the Propoetides whom spending…" – which flank the line.[27] This visual sidelining of the supposed chief agent of action in the narrative finds additional support in Ovid's manipulation of verbs in the story's opening lines. The enjambment of the main verb *viderat*, "he had seen" sidelines Pygmalion's action.[28] Furthermore, the present tense of the women's present active participle *agentis*[29] contrasts with the pluperfect tense of Pygmalion's *viderat*,[30] suggesting that female force dominates the myth.

Fantham's claim that "Ovid really believed an artist gave life" unlocks yet another dimension to the often overlooked feminist foundations of the Pygmalion myth.[31] Although this quotation suggests that Pygmalion usurps the traditional source of female power – the ability to give birth as he in effect conceives his statue – it is imperative to specify that it is Venus who demonstrates that a work of art can evolve into a productive force. Venus's insight as a female – perhaps even exaggeratedly female since her duty as an Olympian involves her presiding over sexuality – enables her to breathe life into Pygmalion's ivory project. Her enlivening force is demonstrated by the cheerfully dactylic feet that span two lines, *sensit, ut ipsa suis, aderat Venus aurea festis vota quid illa velint*, "as golden Venus was present for her own festivals, she sensed what those prayers wanted."[32] Additionally, the fact that the myth closes with the reference to the enlivened statue's birthing a baby – emphasized by the visual demonstration of this action as *Paphon,* the name of the baby, visually emerges from *illa* and *genuit*, "that woman" and "bore" – celebrates a woman's ability to share the act of production with the field of art.[33] *Illa*'s leading

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[23] *Met.* 10.258.
[24] Singer 541.
[25] *Met.* 10.238.
[26] *Met.* 10.238.
[27] *Met.* 10.243.
[28] *Met.* 10.244.
[29] *Met.* 10.243.
[30] *Met.* 10.244.
[31] Fantham 59-60.
[32] *Met.* 10.277-278.
[33] *Met.* 10.297.

the myth's last line bears significance due to its prioritizing a feminine word and its status as a demonstrative pronoun that does not explicitly state the subject and thus potentially represents all women.[34]

Although Venus spearheaded action in Pygmalion's narrative, Ovid's decision to stage an interaction between two women – without the interference of men – in the myth of Arachne and Minerva further elevates this gender. This chronicle provides a robust testament to the poet's feminist spirit as he casts females as his leads who also instigate the production of art. The narrative introduces readers to a mortal of modest birth named Arachne, a weaving prodigy whose talent and pride vex Minerva, goddess of virginity and weaving. A disguised Minerva fails to convince Arachne to atone for her smugness in claiming that her artistry rivals that of the goddess; this stubbornness launches a weaving contest between the mortal and the goddess. The ekphrasis that ensues reinforces a reading of this scene as representative of the urgency with which Ovid seeks to disseminate his feminist inclinations since such a rhetorical gesture necessitates readers' close attention; as Philip Hardie explains, "an ecphrasis of the usual kind demands of the reader a twofold suspension of disbelief with regard to the work of art described requiring of us firstly that through words we really can 'see' a visual object, and secondly that through this verbally evoked visual object itself we have access to the reality of which it is an artistic representation."[35]

A dissection of this memorable *Metamorphoses* ekphrasis endorses Fantham's conviction that weaving stands as "the female counterpart to men's poetry," and Ovid's inclusion of this textile indicates his patronage of women's self-expression and agency.[36] The content of the decoration that each woman applies to her respective tapestry cues the reader into the stakes that art presents in asserting female potential. Minerva ironically undercuts her own mission for self-aggrandizement by framing her power through primarily her triumph over Neptune, the god of the sea, whom she cites with the words *deum pelagi* as early as the sixth line of the description of her tapestry.[37] This desperation to assert her power to prevail over even the Olympian who whips the waves is mimicked by the quick dactyls of the phrase *at sibi dat clipeum*, "she gives a shield to herself."[38] However, Minerva limits the scope of her skill in this scene by associating herself with exclusively iconography traditionally linked to virility and achievement on the battlefield as she catalogues her armor of *clipeum*,[39] "a shield," *hastam*,[40] "a spear," and *galeam*,[41] "a helmet." The repetition of the verb *dat*, "she gives," reminds the reader of her self-sufficiency.[42] Additionally, Minerva's ommitment to order – reminiscent of a regiment formation in which a man would participate – emerges in the uniformity of the hard consonant alliteration of "c" in *quattuor…certamina…quattuor…clara…colore*.[43] The dactyls that define the final line of the description of the goddess's weaving, *(is modus est) operisque sua facit arbore finem*, "(this is the limit) and she makes the end of her work with her own (olive) tree,"

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[34] *Met.* 10.297.
[35] Hardie, Philip. *Ovid's Poetics of Illusion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 174.
[36] Fantham 55.
[37] *Met.* 6.75.
[38] *Met.* 6.78.
[39] *Met. 6.78.*
[40] *Met.* 6.78.
[41] *Met.* 6.79
[42] *Met.* 6.78 and *Met.* 6.79.
[43] *Met.* 6.85-86.

announces her impressive stamina, the ability to maintain lively energy in the manner of a robust man.[44]

On the other hand, Arachne engages with her artwork with a surprising spirit as she taps into the trope of female subjugation to immerse herself in "challenging authority" and thus assert women's creativity and agility of mind.[45] More specifically, Arachne opens her weaving by depicting the rape of Europa in the sentence *maeonis elusam designat imagine tauri* Europen, "the Maeonian girl denotes Europa having been eluded by the image of a bull."[46] The enjambment of *Europen* visually demonstrates her relegation and status as an afterthought due to her rape; in fact Arachne proceeds to weave the tales of multiple rapes, many of which occurred due to a male divinity's brutality towards a mortal woman.[47] The alliterations of "f" and "m" in *et te flaua comas frugum mitissima mater sensit equum,* "and the most gentle mother blonde with respect other hair knew you as a horse," lend a soothing, whispering sound effect to the line that mercilessly clashes with the reality that it describes victims of rape;[48] in fact, this juxtaposition of beauty and brutality directly parallels the paradox of Arachne's participating in weaving – an ostensibly docile pastime – and simultaneously disclosing the savagery of female fate. The joint synchysis and graphic word order in the final line of the description of her tapestry, *nexilibus flores hederis habet intertextos,* "has flowers interwoven with intertwined ivies," artfully demonstrates the knot that is women's lives.[49]

The applicability of the adjective *intertextos*, "interwoven," to written texts introduces the understanding among Classicists that Arachne's tapestry "functions as a kind of miniature version of the poem as a whole."[50] Barolsky contributes, "Ovid's identity with Arachne is often observed, for the poet, speaking of his text as something woven, thus identifies with the consummate weaver among mortals," a detail also supported by the fact that Ovid himself had previously imparted the tale of Europa.[51] It is ironic that it is Arachne rather than Minerva – the character who fixated on presenting herself as an individual akin to men – whom Classicists perceive as the champion of the weaving contest and whom receives a reputation for resembling a man. Although a skeptic could cite the fact that Minerva prompts Arachne's metamorphosis into a spider, Arachne's ongoing ability to weave indicated by the inclusion of the noun *telas*, "webs," as the final word in the section provides a measure of hope for Arachne's enduring agency.[52] Thus, the weight implied by the two spondees that compose the adjective *intertextos* is paralleled by this scene's status as marking a pinnacle of feminism as Arachne's art confirms Ovid's belief that a woman's achievement and assertion of power does not necessitate her stripping herself of femininity.[53] Arachne thus proves Ovid's thesis that conviction and femininity can coexist.

The validity of locating the authorial aim in an artistic commentary slipped into poetry finds support when a reader considers ekphrases in texts that likely inspired Ovid. Volk's reminder that "of particular interest is Ovid's relationship to Vergil" stirs a reader to turn to the

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[44] *Met.* 6.102.
[45] Fantham 55.
[46] *Met.* 6.103-104.
[47] *Met.* 6.104.
[48] *Met.* 6.118-119.
[49] *Met.* 6.128.
[50] Volk 83.
[51] Barolsky 110.
[52] *Met.* 6.145.
[53] *Met.* 6.128.

Aeneid's empowerment of women in its Book One ekphrasis.[54] These Book One murals empower women as they serve as Dido's gift to the queen of the Olympians, Juno and also assume the duty of shaping Aeneas's recollections of the Trojan War. The weighty effect that this art – which finds its origin and purpose in the female sphere – bears on Aeneas is mimicked by the heavy spondaic meter of Aeneas's response, communicated in the verb *miratur*, "he marvels."[55] Galinsky's opinion, "the *Metamorphoses* cannot be properly understood without the realization that they were meant to be Ovid's answer to Vergil's *Aeneid*" sanctions a reader's extrapolation that Ovid picked up on Vergil's persuasive techniques and too turned to ekphrases to convey his feminism.[56] Thus, the Arachne and Minerva story serves as Ovid's contribution to the trope that, in Michael Putnam's words, "as art describes art, we linger, not to escape the story's flow but to deepen our understanding of its meaning."[57]

While Ovid's story of the showdown between Arachne and Minerva offers compelling evidence of his respect for women's capabilities, it is his account of the trials of Philomela that arguably provides the most vigorous proof of his feminism. In this Book Six myth, Ovid designs a narrative that allows not just a woman but a silenced woman to outsmart a man. The myth's controversy centers around Procne's homesickness, which motivates her request that her husband Tereus retrieve her sister Philomela from Athens to keep her company. This mission on behalf of sisterly rapport experiences its own brutal metamorphosis as Tereus's lust for Philomela drives him to rape her and subsequently slice out her tongue to thwart her ability to tattle about the assault. In a case of tragic irony, it is this catastrophe that sets the stage for Philomela's assertion of female intelligence that, in turn, reveals Ovid's feminist flair. Elissa Marder corroborates the momentous spirit of this story when she writes, "this text invites a feminist reader" because "it establishes a relationship between the experience of violation and access to language."[58]

Ovid's lingering on Philomela's dedication to overcoming her handicap and abandonment by means of art strengthens Volk's proposal that the poet "is particularly sympathetic to women, showing remarkable understanding for their situations and psychology" and demonstrates behavior "that might even be described as proto-feminist."[59] Philomela stands as the stereotypical oppressed female as expressed by Marder when she writes, "if feminism comes into being discursively as a political response to 'women's oppression,' the rhetorical figure most commonly invoked to express that oppression is that of being silenced."[60] Philomela's ingenuity materializes as she – tongue-less and mute – literally designs a means of communication without speech by turning to weaving with purple thread (*purpureas…notas*).[61] The consonance of the "s" as the final letter of the words *purpureas*, "purple," *notas*, "marks," *filis* "threads," *albis*, "white" (in reference to the background) and *sceleris,* "crime," evokes the

[54] Volk 12.
[55] Pharr, Clyde. *Vergil's Aeneid Books I-VI.* Mundelein, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc. 1998. *Aen.* 1.456.
[56] Galinsky G. Karl. *Ovid's Metamorphoses: An Introduction to the Basic Elements.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975. 16.
[57] Putnam, Michael C. J. *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. ix.
[58] Marder, Elissa. "Disarticulated Voices: Feminism and Philomela." *Hypatia* 7.2 (1992): 146-66. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3810003. 157.
[59] Volk 81.
[60] Marder 148.
[61] *Met.* 6.577.

sound effects of secrecy, which Philomela strives to expose through her weaving.[62] The profundity of Philomena's penchant for fashioning a new variation on speech emerges as her sister shares her void of traditional speech and is described with the verb, *silet*, "she is silent," upon receiving her sister's tell-all tapestry.[63] Hardie anticipates the counterargument of a reader who hesitates to acknowledge Ovid's feminist proclivities when he contends that the the absence of an ekphrasis that transcends basic information about thread color in Philomela's myth finds its roots in the fact that "this textile is not merely the visual equivalent of a text, it is a text."[64] Marder's use of word play when reflecting that Philomena's rape is "unspeakable" resonates with a reader who simultaneously receives a hopeful message that art can serve as an emergency outlet for the female voice.[65]

Thus, since W.S. Anderson summarizes, "a principle focus of discussion has been" related to Ovid's "art and toward art in general," it is imperative to acknowledge Ovid's explicit celebration of art's application to an assemblage of arenas as epitomized by his *Ars Amatoria*, the "Art of Love."[66] Ovid implies that art is a necessity for courtship, a chief nexus for interaction between genders, by packing variations of the noun *ars* – including *artem* and *arte* – four times into Book One's first four lines.[67] *Ars* remains at the core of this handbook for navigating what Ovid delineated as the steps to locating, wooing, and maintaining a lover. The content of the *Ars Amatoria* suggests that the *Metamorphoses*'s tributes to female competence could be symptomatic of what Volk describes as Ovid's "unusually pronounced 'heterosexuality' (in the sense of a privileging of opposite-sex relationships and intercourse)."[68] Volk suggests that Ovid's stance on simultaneous organism could potentially wink at a "progressive" spirit in Ovid as she provides the comparison to Lucretius in *On the Nature of Things* in which "there is no mention whatsoever of the woman's pleasure."[69] Singer concurs that Ovid displays "an obvious fondness for the female sex."[70]

Ovid – "an obsessive visualizer" – signals the value that he attributes to women when he allows art, the motif that empowers the *Metamorphoses*' female characters, to evolve into a full-blooded character.[71] Paul Barolsky salutes the poet's knack for encouraging inclusion such as stimulating his readers to participate in his celebration of jointly art and its creators, writing, "when we read Ovid, we become part of a wide community, a community that embraces artists of various types."[72] Furthermore, Barolsky's reflection that "Ovid transforms the epic hero from soldier into artist" vividly announces the command that Ovid assigns to artistry.[73] This celebration of artists as individuals worthy of being swapped for mighty "soldiers" coupled with Volk's comment that "gender is thus a further aspect of the art that dominates Ovid's cosmos"

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[62] *Met.* 6.576-577.
[63] *Met.* 6.583.
[64] Hardie 175.
[65] Marder 60.
[66] Anderson, William S. "The Artist's Limits in Ovid: Orpheus, Pygmalion, and Daedalus." *Syllecta Classica* 1 (1989): 1-11. http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/456154
[67] Murgatroyd, P., ed. *Ovid wiht Love: Selections from Ars Amatoria I and II.* Mundelein, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc., 1992. *Ars am.* 1.1, 1.3, 1.4.
[68] Volk 5.
[69] Volk 82.
[70] Singer 542.
[71] Hardie 6.
[72] Barolsky 107.
[73] Barolsky 108.

confirms the poet's ambition for his juxtaposition of art and women.[74] Indeed, it seems that Ovid seeks to charge his readers with the task of reflecting on the possibility that untraditional characters – artist and women alike – deserve empowerment. Joseph Solodow's reminder that "in Ovid's view art provides the means by which the world is comprehended" invigorates the interpretation that the *Metamorphoses*'s creator deems women essential to the attainment of absolute knowledge.[75] Thus, the *Metamorphoses* transforms into Ovid's manifesto on behalf of the intricacies and leverage rooted in art and femininity.

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[74] Volk 93.

[75] Solodow, Joseph B. *The World of Ovid's Metamorphoses.* North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. 4.

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Lord Elgin, the Parthenon Marbles, and the Repatriation Debate

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Lord Elgin, the Parthenon Marbles, and the Repatriation Debate

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Abstract

This paper is an analysis of the repatriation debate of the Elgin marbles. It includes historical, logical, legal, and ethical perspectives and addresses the main arguments that have been presented by professionals and scholars in the history and museum fields. The conclusions drawn by this paper are based on an in-depth analysis of facts and arguments from each of these perspectives. This paper argues that the marbles from the Parthenon are an intricate part of the heritage and cultural history of Greece and Greek citizens. Presently the marbles are not displayed together, but are instead broken up into displays at the British Museum and the Acropolis Museum. While the marbles may have been preserved better in London at the time that they were taken, this is no longer true today. Additionally, it is not clear as to whether the Elgin marbles were legally taken to London in the 1800s. Finally, according to modern ethical standards and practices in the museum field, the British Museum should repatriate the marbles to Greece to join the rest of the collection.

Introduction

"The marbles are part of a monument to Greek identity, part of the deepest consciousness of the Greek people: our roots, our continuity, our soul. The Parthenon is like our flag."

-Melina Mercouri[1]

The debate about the Parthenon marbles is more than just a debate about repatriation, it is also a question of national identity. Almost half of the sculpted marbles on the Parthenon were taken by Lord Elgin, ambassador to Constantinople, in the early 1800s, and soon after sold to the British Museum.[2] Greek citizens argue that the Parthenon marbles are part of their national identity and heritage and therefore want them to be repatriated, but there is no international organization with the power to force repatriation.[3] By analyzing the history and significance of the Parthenon and its marbles, the marbles' removal by Lord Elgin, past and present controversies, and legal and ethical considerations, one can make a strong argument for repatriation. This paper offers an unbiased analysis of these facts and debates and attempts to argue that the marbles should be repatriated back to Greece.

History of the Parthenon and its Marbles

The Parthenon was constructed in the 5th century BC, under the leadership of Pericles, at the height of Athenian power in a period known as the Golden Age of Athens. Designed by Phidias, one of the most well-known ancient architects and sculptors, the Parthenon is known to many as "far surpassing both in the quality and quantity of its decoration any other building of

[1] James Cuno, *Whose Culture? The Promise of Museums and the Debate over Antiquities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 168.
[2] Christopher Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles: The Case for Reunification* (New York: Verso, 2008), 11-12.
[3] Per terms of the sale, the marbles were to be called 'The Elgin Marbles.' The figures are still commonly referred to as the Parthenon Marbles though, and will be referred to as the Parthenon marbles to ensure readers understand which marbles are being discussed.

the classical age."[4] It is the largest Doric style temple of the Greek world to be completed.[5] The builders did not stucco white over darker stone, as was a cost-saving measure typical of the period, but instead the Parthenon was the first building to be made of all white marble.[6] The marble used was from quarries at Mount Pentelikon which is ten miles from Athens, and produced very high quality marble, which made the Parthenon the first Athenian temple to be made of only high quality Athenian marble.[7] The inside of the Parthenon contained a forty-foot statue of Athena made of ivory and gold.[8] The statue of Athena was covered in gold that would have cost between forty and fifty talents, which is a significant amount of money since an average Athenian laborer would have to work for 230 years just to earn one gold talent.[9]

The architecture of the building makes it seem impressive to view and also uses optical illusions that make the building appear to have straight lines. In reality, the platform of the building is lifted on both ends and the columns are bigger in the middle and tilt inward. The architects of the Parthenon understood how the human eye perceives lines and building shapes, and so had the knowledge and skill to design the building to appear rectangular and straight.[10] It also was built at an angle so that if you were looking up at the Acropolis, or walking up the road to the Acropolis, you would see two sides at once, giving it a more imposing and impressive appearance.[11]

The Parthenon stood as a symbol for the political, military, artistic, and intellectual leadership that Athens possessed in ancient Greece. The sculptures on the metopes and friezes of the Parthenon represent mythological stories of gods, goddesses, centaurs, amazons, giants, and the fall of Troy, as well as a representation of a religious festival called the Panathenaic festival.[12] These depictions are much more than a representation of famous mythological stories, though. The Parthenon was built soon after the end of the Persian War, and these stories were chosen in order to compare the gods' fights against barbarians to the Athenians' fight against the Persians. The Athenians wanted to depict themselves as the bringers of civilization, and forces of order in an otherwise chaotic world. The sculptures on the Parthenon represent the idea that the Athenians mirror the actions of the gods in their military and political activities.[13] The Athenians wanted to send a message that "Greeks can triumph over the wild and uncivilized" and "remind us how mortals can sometimes rival even divinity when their struggle is just."[14] In this way the Parthenon has an important message, both political and mythological, which has strong ties to Greek heritage.

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[4] Christopher Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils: The Curious Case of the Elgin Marbles* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1987), 17. In the 'History of the Parthenon and its Marbles,' 'History of Lord Elgin and the Parthenon Marbles,' and 'Beginning of Controversy' sections many of the sources used address the same topics and agree with each other about these topics, some of which are presented in this paper. The sources that have been chosen for each individual footnote are those with the most information about the correlating topic, but other sources agree with what is being cited.
[5] Panayotis Tournikiotis, ed., *The Parthenon and its Impact in Modern Times* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 25-27.
[6] Vincent Scully, *Architecture: The Natural and Manmade* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 84.
[7] John Boardman, *The Parthenon and Its Sculptures* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 28.
[8] Mary Beard, *The Parthenon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 28-30.
[9] McGregor, *Athens,* 43-44.
[10] James H.S. McGregor, *Athens* (Cambridge, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014), 39-40.
[11] Scully, *Architecture,* 84.
[12] Tournikiotis, *The Parthenon,* 25.
[13] McGregor, *Athens*, 50.
[14] Boardman, *The Parthenon,* 39.

For the first few thousand years after it was built the Parthenon sustained surprisingly relatively little damage. A small fire in the second century BC damaged some of the interior, but it was restored in the 160s BC.[15] It was repaired again in the 360s AD, and then was converted into a Christian church in the fifth century AD, involving minor structural and decorative modifications.[16] In the mid-1400s the Turks took control of Greece, including the Acropolis. The Parthenon was converted into a mosque for the garrison, but was not altered significantly.[17]

A few centuries later, in 1687, the Parthenon was hit by a bomb in the fighting between the Venetians and the Turks. The Parthenon was being used for gunpowder storage at this time, and therefore sustained substantial damage from explosion.[18] In the late 1700s, many tourists would take scattered pieces of marble from the Parthenon home, or sell them. Some people also used parts of the scattered pieces for construction materials.[19] Although the Parthenon was one of many buildings on the Acropolis of Athens, it was one of the best designed and most influential buildings in Athens, and for that matter in ancient Greece.

The Parthenon influenced later Roman sculptures and temples, which would take inspiration from the Parthenon to create things such as the Pantheon.[20] The Parthenon also inspired many later sculptures, buildings, and national monuments. Examples include a monument to Frederick the Great, the German Valhalla, monument for victory at Waterloo, Parthenon replica in Scotland, Mausoleum of Antonio Canova, Second Bank of the United States, Indiana Capitol building, and the New York and Boston Customs houses.[21]

The Parthenon has also been influential in academia. "By the late eighteenth century…the Parthenon was a fundamental feature on the cognitive horizon of all students of architecture. When the teaching of history and theory was introduced into the schools of architecture, the Parthenon established itself in the collective consciousness of architects as the ultimate moment in Classical Greek architecture and as one of the greatest achievements of the Classical tradition in architecture…"[22] The Parthenon has influenced the world both in the arts and in academia, and was considered very popular to study even before Elgin became ambassador.

It is easy to understand why people from around the world would have been interested in the Parthenon, considering the legacy and influence that it has had throughout history. The Parthenon represents the height of Greek power and civilization in Athens, and artistic and architectural talent that has not been matched since. The Parthenon represents the contributions that ancient Greeks made to the world in the form of democracy, art, civilization, and military power.[23] The Parthenon was one of the best examples of classical art that survived in the 1800s, so there was an immense fascination especially with the Parthenon and its marbles during a time when artists and noblemen were influenced by Romanticism.

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[15] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 17.
[16] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 20.
[17] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 21.
[18] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 22.
[19] Beard, *The Parthenon*, 85-86.
[20] Tournikiotis, *The Parthenon,* 25-27.
[21] Tournikiotis, *The Parthenon,* 207-215.
[22] Tournikiotis, *The Parthenon,* 222-223.
[23] This will be discussed in more depth in the 'Ethical Considerations' section of this paper.

History of Lord Elgin and the Parthenon Marbles

In 1799 Thomas Bruce, seventh earl of Elgin, was appointed ambassador to the sublime porte at Constantinople. He decided that he wanted to be known for his dedication to the arts during his time as ambassador, and made a plan to obtain sketches and casts of great ruins at Athens.[24] Elgin gathered a group of men who had some artistic experience, and in 1801 they finally bribed their way into getting access to the Acropolis from the Turks. The artists made sketches and casts of the Parthenon and its sculptures. Later in 1801 the Turks stopped allowing Elgin's men on the Acropolis, possibly due to a fear of rumors of attack from the French, even though Elgin's men had a legal document from the Turkish government called a firman saying they could access the Acropolis.[25] Elgin's men wrote to him and asked him to apply for another firman, which would once again give them permission to work on the Acropolis. He was only finally granted the firman after British forces defeated French forces in Cairo, ensuring Turkish rule. The Turkish government presented Lord Elgin with many lavish gifts, and immediately granted his firman which had been continuously denied up until then.[26]

The action taken by Elgin's men on the Acropolis drastically changed after this second firman was granted. The combination of letters and testimonies given about the firman provides the information about the contents of the firman that we have today, since the original copy does not survive. The firman allowed Elgin and his men to "take away some pieces of stone with inscriptions or figures thereon, that no opposition be made thereto."[27] When writing letters Lady Elgin said that the firman "allows our artists to go into the citadel, to copy and model everything in it, to erect scaffolds all round the Temple, to dig and discover all the ancient foundations and to bring away any marbles that may be deemed curious by their having inscriptions on them, and that they are not to be disturbed by the soldiers, etc. under any pretense whatsoever."[28] Lord Elgin also interpreted the firman this way, and instructed his men to remove all interesting detached pieces they found, since many pieces had come off of the Parthenon in the explosion of 1687.[29] Since the wording was somewhat vague Lord Elgin's artists started taking liberties with the firman and removing pieces still attached to the Parthenon.[30]

There were several problems initially with these actions. One major problem with the actions of Elgin and his men has to do with the fact that Lord Elgin had not even visited Athens when his men started taking marbles from the Parthenon.[31] He therefore had no firsthand knowledge of the environment or procedures being used, except what his men told him in letters.[32] Lord Elgin's men used saws to remove the marbles from the Parthenon, which damaged the building itself. Some of the marbles they removed broke during removal or during transport, and one ship transporting marbles even sank.[33] Over the course of many years, Lord Elgin had 15

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[24] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 39.
[25] William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 60-87.
[26] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 62-88.
[27] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 42.
[28] Jacob Rothenberg, *"Descensus ad terram": The Acquisition and Reception of the Elgin Marbles* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 154.
[29] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 91-92.
[30] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 95.
[31] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 12. This will be discussed in more depth in the 'Beginning of Controversy' section of this paper.
[32] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 96.
[33] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 33-35. See also: Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 24. And Tournikiotis, *The Parthenon,* 302.

metopes out of 92 removed, and 56 friezes out of 115 removed.[34] He sent the marbles in shiploads back to his home in Britain.

The marbles were not available for general public viewing until about 14 years after their removal from the Parthenon. On his way home from his travels as ambassador in 1803, Lord Elgin was arrested and kept prisoner in France for 3 years. This is because war between France and England had recently been declared, and the first consul of France had published a decree that all men who are currently or could potentially be enrolled in militia ages 18-60 were to be prisoners of war.[35] Even after Elgin was eventually allowed to go home, he found that the cases with the marbles had not been opened since they were addressed to him and could only be opened by him.[36] After opening the cases, Lord Elgin kept the marbles as a private collection with limited viewing opportunities for 10 years after his return. [37] He did allow select guests to view the marbles in 1807-1809, usually consisting of close friends, famous artists, and academics.[38] Initially the marbles were displayed in a garden shed in a house he rented at Park Lane in 1807.[39] Elgin slowly began to acquire more debts, and in 1812 he moved the marbles to be stored in the home of the Duke of Devonshire, where they stayed until being bought by the British government.[40]

Negotiations between Lord Elgin and the British government happened on multiple different occasions and over many years. The first time that Elgin approached the government to sell the marbles was in 1811. He asked for about £64,000 and a title of peerage in exchange for the marbles, but was denied.[41] In 1815 Lord Elgin again approached the British government to sell the marbles, but this time he proposed that they create a select committee from the House of Commons to investigate the value of the collection. Unfortunately the session of Parliament ended before this could be done, so Elgin resubmitted this petition in 1816.[42] In 1815 and 1816, due to having to pay for storage of the marbles, Elgin asked for about £74,000 for the marbles.[43] On recommendation from the select committee created who had reviewed Lord Elgin's case, the British government paid £35,000 to buy the marbles.[44] Of the £35,000 paid to Elgin, the government immediately claimed £18,000 for his debts and the remainder was quickly distributed to other various creditors to whom Elgin was indebted.[45]

Beginning of Controversy

By selling the marbles to the British government, Elgin took the controversy about his actions to a national level. In addition to debates over Elgin's financial situation, the general public took interest in the pros and cons of the marbles being transported and kept in Britain instead of Greece. Parliament discussed many of these topics, which made the debate take on

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[34] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 24. This is an important factor in the 'Modern Debates and Criticisms' section of this paper.
[35] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 122.
[36] Vincent J. Bruno, ed., *The Parthenon* (New York: Norton, 1974), 154. This is also addressed in the 'Modern Debates and Criticisms' section of this paper.
[37] Bruno, *The Parthenon,* 163.
[38] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 50.
[39] Jenifer Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 230.
[40] Rothenberg, *"Descensus ad terram*," 320.
[41] Rothenberg, *"Descensus ad terram*," 313-316.
[42] Rothenberg, *"Descensus ad terram*," 359-378.
[43] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 55.
[44] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 259-261.
[45] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 261.

issues of national identity and imperialism. One of the most prominent advocates for not buying the marbles was Lord Byron. He and a few other Members of Parliament argued that the wishes of Greeks should be taken into account, and that Elgin acted improperly.[46] Byron also argued that Greek feeling and wishes were ignored while Lord Elgin's team was excavating, and even published poems about how distraught he and Greeks were that the marbles were removed.[47]

H. Hammersley, a member of Parliament, proposed that Parliament pay £25,000 to Elgin to hold the marbles until Greece asked for them back when they were independent and had the ability to protect them.[48] This proposal attempted to balance the concerns of MPs like Lord Byron, and the opinions of other members who thought that Elgin acted properly. The proposal was criticized for being impractical and was not passed.[49] It would later be discovered that Lord Elgin and his men lied to the House of Commons when saying that there was no opposition shown by the Turks or Greeks to their taking the marbles. In personal letters Elgin states that the Turks and Greeks were extremely attached to the ancient buildings and marbles on them, which is why he had to get an additional firman to continue the work.[50]

Parliament was also concerned about whether Lord Elgin abused his authority as ambassador in order to retrieve the marbles.[51] In addition to heavily bribing Turkish officials in order to access and work on the Acropolis,[52] Elgin also was only given special firman documents because of his connection with the British government and their recent military success.[53] He denied this, instead claiming to the House of Commons that any Englishman could get a firman, and denying that he used his position as ambassador to obtain the marbles.[54]

Elgin's actions led the British government to question his motives. Lord Elgin claimed that although his original plan was to take sketches and casts of the ancient artifacts, when he saw the destruction being done to them by the Greeks and the Turks he decided to 'rescue' them by taking them home.[55] This claim proved to be false, since Elgin's men started moving marbles from the Parthenon before he even visited Athens.[56] Although he may have heard about possible destruction from letters sent to him, he never saw anything himself when the decision was made to start removing marbles from the Parthenon. In addition, Elgin claims that his actions helped to preserve the marbles; however, many of the marbles that his team removed were damaged in the process or during transport.[57] One piece even fell while being removed and was smashed into pieces.[58]

Finally, Lord Elgin and the men on his team presented their case as one of clear legality. However, no document was produced as evidence for the legality of their actions. The only surviving copy of the firman in question was an Italian copy stored in a private house in England, which was not presented to the committee because the owner claimed to not have enough notice

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[46] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 54-55.
[47] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 63.
[48] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 261.
[49] Rothenberg, *"Descensus ad terram*," 431.
[50] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 74.
[51] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 55.
[52] Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze,* 241.
[53] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin*, Pg. 88
[54] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 43.
[55] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 251-252.
[56] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 12.
[57] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 24.
[58] Tournikiotis, *The Parthenon,* 302.

to retrieve it.[59] The wording in the firman as was presented to the committee and as analyzed by the existing copy does not provide clear direction. The wording was vague and up to interpretation of the officials of the time, therefore the legality of Lord Elgin's actions are not completely clear.[60]

Ultimately, the select committee compiled a report that "upheld all of Elgin's claims and vindicated him of charges of spoliation and misuse of powers."[61] They did this because the majority of the Members of Parliament felt that there was a strong case for buying the marbles. Many members argued that the Greeks had no claim to the marbles since they were ruled by the Turks at the time.[62] Many also argued that having the marbles in England increased national prestige, and could help spur an artistic revolution based on classics. This opinion was supported by testimonies from artists who saw the marbles, which confirmed the marbles' superiority.[63] These arguments, in addition to many arguments that were also a point of public discussion, led to a vote with 82 in favor and 30 against buying the marbles.[64]

One of the main concerns that the British public had was that if the British government did not buy the marbles, who would? They were specifically worried that the French would, who were constantly competing with Britain for superiority. In fact, many Brits justified Elgin's taking the marbles by arguing that it was better than the French taking them.[65] British citizens were also legitimately concerned about the danger that the marbles were in had they stayed in Greece, and therefore supported the government's justifications that the marbles should be kept since they were safer in England. In addition to the supposed damage occurring on the Acropolis by the Turks and Greeks,[66] constant warfare and political instability was not an environment that was ideal for the preservation of important classical artifacts. Therefore, many people saw removal of the marbles as an action of protection; however, it is regrettable that the methods used by Lord Elgin's men caused so much damage in the process.

Another popular view on this controversy was that the marbles were better off in the British Museum than they were in Greece. The museum was able to make copies of the marbles, and sent them to schools in almost every major city in the world.[67] This, in combination with the large tourist industry in London, ensured that after the British Museum obtained the marbles more people could see them than could when they were in Greece.[68] The British Museum also had better preservation capabilities at this time, so the marbles could be preserved better in London than if they had stayed in Greece.[69] Although the debate about the firman could never be resolved, these perspectives allowed most of the general British public to accept Parliament's decision and accept the marbles from the Parthenon as a British acquisition.

[59] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 256.
[60] Beard, *The Parthenon*, 91. This is also important in the 'Legal Considerations' section of this paper.
[61] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 258.
[62] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 56.
[63] Tournikiotis, *The Parthenon,* 232-233.
[64] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 56.
[65] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 98.
[66] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 251-252.
[67] Beard, *The Parthenon*, 18.
[68] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 64.
[69] Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze,* 241.

Modern Debates and Criticisms

Modern debate has shifted from a mostly British perspective to a mostly Greek one, since Greece is now independent and able to voice the opinions of its citizens, and also because many of the original points of justification for the British government have changed over time. One obvious change is political. In 1830 Greece won independence from the Ottoman Empire and became a self-ruling kingdom.[70] Since then Greece has maintained its independence, which indicates that the argument that they have no claim over Greek artifacts is now invalid. Many other arguments that the British used when buying the marbles had validity at the time, but have now become invalid due to changes in Greece.

The Marbles Were Safer In London

The argument that the marbles should have been taken from Greece because they were safer in London than they would have been in Athens was partially true. The marbles lasted for thousands of years on the Parthenon, but war and misuse were starting to have an effect on them.[71] The political uncertainty would have also been troubling, since no one could predict when Greece would gain independence. At the time that Elgin took the marbles it may have seemed like they were safer in London, but many things happened over time that proved this statement could be false. The removal, transportation, storage, and display of the marbles before they were given to the British Museum caused significant damage to them.[72]

Despite this, Britain was not as safe of a place for the marbles as English citizens had anticipated. Although Britain was politically stable, it was involved in many wars and was also subject to bombing occasionally. During World War II the marbles were moved into storage for protection, and the gallery they were in suffered extreme damage due to bombing.[73] Luckily the marbles were moved, but this proves that the British Museum was not the sanctuary that some painted it to be. Arguably though, the marbles were still safer in London due to their preservation abilities and resources in dangerous times. Another cause for concern was air pollution in Athens, which became a serious problem in the 1900s.[74] While this is concerning for how they would affect marbles on the Parthenon, Britain also had severe air pollution problems at this time which noticeably affected the marbles they had.[75]

The most compelling reason why the marbles may not have been safer in London is because of the cleaning scandal of the 1930s. Sir Duveen financed a new gallery for the marbles to be displayed in, but clung "to the old-fashioned notion that classical marbles were pure white" and had his workers secretly clean the marbles with harsh metals and abrasives.[76] This stripped most of the marbles of the small amount of original coatings they had.[77] The British Museum was so embarrassed that this had happened under their watch that they never investigated or

[70] Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze,* 233.
[71] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 251-252.
[72] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 33-35. See also: Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 24. And Tournikiotis, *The Parthenon,* 302.
[73] John B. Nici, *Famous Works of Art-And How They Got That Way* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 45. See also: A. W. Gomme, *Essays in Greek History and Literature* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., 1967), 297.
[74] Beard, *The Parthenon*, 113-114.
[75] Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze,* 246.
[76] Beard, *The Parthenon*, 246.
[77] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* xiv.

reported the incident, in hopes of avoiding public outcry.[78] Although this was a major factor in the preservation of the marbles from the Parthenon, it is still admittedly arguable that they were safer in London than they would have been in Athens.

The Marbles Are Safer In London

Not all of these arguments hold true today, and a lot of modern evidence points to the conclusion that the marbles are just as safe in Athens as they are in London today. Neither country has problems with air pollution in recent decades, and bombing has not been a major concern in either country. Greece has made huge efforts to catch up with England in museum, preservation, and archaeological practices. By the end of the 1800s, Greece had significantly improved their archaeology.[79] In addition, there is now an Acropolis Museum in Athens located right next to the Acropolis in which the marbles could be housed, which has just as much capabilities preservation-wise as the British Museum has today.[80]

Building the Acropolis Museum is only one of many initiatives that Greece has taken to excavate and preserve the Acropolis, which were started as soon as Greece gained their independence. Just over a decade after Greece won their independence, the Greek Archaeological Service was formed with duties for conservation, excavation, and restoration of the Acropolis and other ancient Greek artifacts and monuments.[81] A few years later in 1837 the Greek Archaeological Society was founded, which repaired a lot of the buildings on the Acropolis. When air pollution began to affect the buildings on the Acropolis, a special committee was formed to fix the air pollution problem in order to preserve ancient structures.[82] In addition to these steps, professionals and organizations in Greece have constantly been studying ways to preserve artifacts better and update their practices, which led to the eventual creation of the Acropolis Museum and movement of the remaining marbles to the museum for preservation.[83]

Although Greece may not have been the best place for the marbles from the Parthenon to be at the time that they were removed, today Greece is at least equally capable of protecting the marbles as England is. Both have modern preservation practices and no longer have air pollution problems. Both countries also have museums that could adequately store and display the marbles for the public. Greece has also shown dedication to protecting the marbles since they gained independence, providing evidence for their passion for the Acropolis that was finally able to be put into action following Greek independence.

Greeks Did Not Try To Stop Elgin

The argument that Greeks did not care about enough and oppose the taking of the marbles has proved to be untrue for several reasons. The Turks occupied Greece when the marbles were taken by Lord Elgin and his men; therefore, Greeks had no way to stop them from doing this.[84] They were under Turkish rule, so whatever the Turkish government decided to do could not be changed by Greek sentiment. There is also evidence that Greeks living near the Acropolis did oppose the removal of the marbles from letters written by Lord Elgin's men,

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[78] Beard, *The Parthenon*, 246.
[79] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 62.
[80] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 25.
[81] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 24-25.
[82] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 25.
[83] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 116-117. For more information about footnotes 80, 81, 82, and 83 see also: Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze.* And Beard, *The Parthenon.*
[84] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 21.

urging him to acquire a firman so they would stop being hassled by these concerned people.[85] Finally, it is clear that Greeks do care about ancient artifacts, especially on the Acropolis, due to their vigorous work on protecting and preserving the Acropolis following Greek independence. Greece started restoring the Acropolis soon after they gained independence, and the Acropolis and the Parthenon became political symbols of the new independent Greece whose capitol was Athens, proving that the Acropolis and the Parthenon are of significant value to the Greeks.[86]

Lord Elgin Had Good Intentions

Another previous argument that has been proved to be dubious is the view that Lord Elgin took the marbles from the Parthenon with good intentions. As has been previously stated, Elgin did not visit Athens before the marbles started to be removed; therefore he could not have supported this action due to destruction he witnessed on the Acropolis.[87] He and many of his men repeatedly lied to the British government about this and other subjects like bribery, obtaining the firman using his position, and more.[88] Though claiming to want to preserve the marbles, Elgin and his men caused significant damage to the Parthenon and many sculptures in the process of removing the marbles.[89] Some even sunk when a transport ship sunk on the journey, and some of the marbles were never recovered.[90] Elgin was criticized by collections and noblemen when he returned to England because the marbles were in such poor condition.[91] Finally, if Elgin wanted to preserve the marbles it is logical that he would have just given them or tried to sell them to the British government upon his arrival in England in 1803, instead of waiting until 1811 to do so.[92]

Lord Elgin and some of his supporters also claim that bringing the marbles from the Parthenon to England would contribute to artistic learning across the world. He allowed many artists to view the marbles when they were being stored at his home, and a lot of artists praised the marbles for their beauty and superiority to modern sculpture. This admiration caused some artists to be influenced very heavily by the Parthenon and its marbles in their work.[93] Of the artists interviewed by the select committee of the House of Commons, only two said that they were not comparable to other great classical works of art.[94] While there was some definitive impact that the marbles had on British art, generally British art did not significantly change due to the presence of the marbles. Certainly artists may have learned about and appreciated classical art more, but the arrival of the marbles did not significantly change art.[95]

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[85] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 67.
[86] James Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity? Museums and the Battle over Our Ancient Heritage* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), x-xi.
[87] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 12.
[88] See 'Beginning of Controversy' section.
[89] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 12.
[90] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 33-35. See also: Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 24. And Tournikiotis, *The Parthenon,* 302.
[91] Rothenberg, *"Descensus ad terram*," 164-165.
[92] Rothenberg, *"Descensus ad terram*," 256-257.
See also: Tournikiotis, *The Parthenon,* 233.
[93] Rothenberg, *"Descensus ad terram*," 228-283.
[94] Rothenberg, *"Descensus ad terram*," Pg.408.
[95] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 264-266.

The British Museum Is More Accessible

Some modern critics of the repatriation movement of the marbles argue that more people can see the marbles if they stay at the British Museum.[96] This would definitely hold true of the 1800s and part of the 1900s, but is not necessarily true today. Greece and Europe in general has become much more accessible with the invention of modern modes of transportation. Although more people visit the British Museum annually than do the Acropolis Museum,[97] the British Museum is much bigger in scale and the number of visitors does not necessarily reflect the number that see the marbles in the museum. Finally, it is important to note the difference in presentation of the two museums. Perhaps more people are able to see the marbles if they stay in the British Museum, but this is not more important than viewing them in their original context on the Acropolis for a better understanding of them.

The marbles can be better understood and appreciated when placed next to the rest of the marbles and the building from which they came.[98] Right now the collection of marbles are separated, which contradicts their purpose. The sculptors who carved the marbles intended them to be shown unified in order to tell a story.[99] The sculptures were conceived and made together, and should be shown together as originally intended.[100] Furthermore, the buildings on the Acropolis were made to be cohesive and portray a sense of order.[101] The buildings in the city of Athens had been improved, and therefore the Acropolis was rebuilt in order to match these improvements.[102] It is logical then[103] to display the marbles together and in their original context in Greece in order for visitors to better understand the marbles as a whole, what they signify, and their place of importance in relation to the Acropolis and Athens as a whole.

Repatriation Would Set A Precedent

Another major criticism of repatriation of the marbles is that this action would set a precedent for all other objects in museums to be returned to their original place of origin. First it should be acknowledged that this case is a unique one and does not relate well to any other cases for repatriation. The marbles may have been taken illegally,[104] but there is not enough evidence to support either a legal or illegal conclusion, which limits significantly the number of cases of repatriation for which this decision would set a precedent. Greece has the capacity and ability to display the marbles, which not all other countries have if they were to be given repatriated artifacts. Although countries may develop more modern techniques and technologies for displaying and preserving artifacts in the future, in which case this precedent would apply, currently many countries do not have these capabilities and will not in the near future. Another

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[96] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 64.
[97] "Annual Report," *The Acropolis Museum,* n.d., accessed Oct. 10, 2017. http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/press_releases/2015/annual_review_2015.aspx. And: "The British Museum celebrates successes in London, the UK, and around the world: Annual Review Launch 2015," *The British Museum,* n.d., accessed Oct. 10, 2017. http://www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en/content/annual-report.
[98] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 15.
[99] Hitchens, *The Parthenon Marbles,* 24.
[100] Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils*, 26.
[101] McGregor, *Athens*, 38.
[102] Boardman, *The Parthenon*, 22.
[103] Sharon Waxman, *Loot: The Battle over the Stolen Treasures of the Ancient World* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2008), 238.
[104] For more information, see 'Legal Considerations' section.

unique aspect is that about half of the artifacts are in one place and about half are in another, the British Museum and the Acropolis Museum.

A final factor that distinguishes this debate from others is the number, frequency, and length of time that Greece has been asking for repatriation of the marbles. As soon as Greece gained independence they began unofficially asking and pressuring Britain to repatriate the marbles from the Parthenon. This practice continued until the late 1900s, mostly due to the political systems in Greece during this time. The first official request for repatriation was submitted to Britain in 1983, not even a decade after Greece transitioned into a democracy.[105] The request was rejected formally in 1984 on the grounds that Elgin's actions were legal at the time, and on the multiple occasions such requests have been made since.[106] Greece also requested repatriation of the marbles through the UNESCO procedure for return of cultural treasures, but in 1985 the British government again claimed that Elgin legally acquired the marbles.[107] In 1988 a member of the House of Commons proposed that the marbles be repatriated to Greece, but this was rejected by Parliament on the grounds that this action would set a dangerous precedent.[108] Greece asking for the marbles back for hundreds of years, although unofficially at first due to political constraints, also signifies a unique aspect of this case which would not imply that precedent would be set if a decision was made to repatriate the marbles.

Legal Considerations

The legality of Lord Elgin's actions would help to shed some light on the obligation of the British Museum to repatriate the marbles to Greece. Whether or not Elgin used his influence or money to obtain the firman, he did supposedly have one. The only evidence that we have to go off about the contents of the firman is an Italian copy of the firman, testimonies from Elgin's men who worked in Greece, and letters from Lord and Lady Elgin about the firman.[109] The wording that allowed Elgin's men to take away "some pieces of stone with inscriptions or figures thereon…" were originally interpreted by allowing excavation and removal of pieces that were already detached from the Parthenon. Both Lord and Lady Elgin took the firman to mean this, although interpretation was up to the person reading it, which allowed Elgin's men to convince Turkish officials on the Acropolis that they had permission to remove marbles.[110] In addition to the vague meaning of the firman, only a copy of it has been produced, which is arguably not enough evidence to prove that Elgin had the legal right to remove marbles.

There are a few main bodies and conventions that have passed legislation and guidelines about the trade, selling, and repatriation of artifacts and antiquities. The two main conventions that produced protocol relating to artifacts and objects of significance are the Hague Convention of 1954 and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Convention of 1970. The protocols released under these conventions have a few sections relevant to the Parthenon marbles debate. Article 1 of the Hague Convention protocol states that "a State party must prevent the export of cultural objects from territory it occupies during armed conflict" and "following cessation of hostilities, a State party must return all cultural objects removed in contravention of the protocol to the competent authorities of the territories occupied….there is no

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[105] Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze,* 241.
[106] Jeanette Greenfield, *The Return of Cultural Treasures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 83-84.
[107] Greenfield, *The Return,* 87.
[108] Greenfield, *The Return,* 87.
[109] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 256-257.
[110] St. Clair, *Lord Elgin,* 91-92.

time limit for lodging a claim for the return of such cultural objects."[111] The 1970 UNESCO protocol provided support and further detail, saying that "the export and transfer of ownership of cultural property under compulsion arising directly or indirectly from the occupation of a country by a foreign power shall be regarded as illicit" and all State parties should "take all appropriate measures to prohibit and prevent the illicit transfer of cultural property within the territories for the international relations for which they are responsible."[112]

Although neither of these conventions have bodies for enforcing these protocols, Greece and the UK ratified the Hague protocol, Greece ratified the UNESCO protocol, and the UK accepted the UNESCO protocol.[113] This implies that these bodies agree with these protocols, although they seem to contradict Britain's stance on the repatriation and legality of the Parthenon marbles being in the British Museum. Since there is so much uncertainty about the conditions of how the marbles were taken, it can be argued that this case does not fit neatly under any of these protocols, but it is at least similar and relevant to the ones presented. International bodies like the UN do not have authority to force countries to repatriate artifacts, but they can try to foster agreements.

In 1978 UNESCO created the Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or its Restitution in case of Illicit Appropriation Committee (ICOM), whose job was to facilitate agreements between countries about restitution claims for objects removed prior to the 1970 convention.[114] Although this committee has not always been successful in brokering agreements, it has released several statements about what illicit trade is and guidelines for what objects should be repatriated. To summarize the relevant parts, ICOM states that museums should see evidence of a valid and legal title before accepting objects; museums should not accept objects that created damage to their monuments to be removed; museums should avoid purchasing objects removed from occupied territories as usually these are illegally exported; museums should repatriate objects that violate the UNESCO 1970 protocol if the country of origin asks; and members of the museum profession should fully comply with the ICOM code and other codes on museum ethics.[115]

UNESCO directly addressed the famous case of the Parthenon marbles and provided recommendations, and Greece also brought their concerns to ICOM. In 1982 at the UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies, the convention recommended that the marbles be returned, since they are "a symbol of eternal significance for the Greek people."[116] In 1983 Yannis Tzedakis, then the Director of the Department of Antiquities at the Ministry of Culture in Athens, said that removing the marbles "destroyed the unity of a unique monument," and "all countries have the right to recover the most significant part of their respective cultural heritage

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[111] Ana Filipa Vrdoliak, *International Law, Museums and the Return of Cultural Objects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 149.
[112] Vrdoliak, *International Law,* 209.
[113] "Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention 1954," *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,* n.d., accessed Oct. 14, 2017. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13637&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.
And: "Convention on the means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. Paris, 14 November 1970," *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,* n.d., accessed Oct. 14, 2017. http://www.unesco.org/eri/la/convention.asp?KO=13039&language=E&order=alpha.
[114] Vrdoliak, *International Law,* pg. 211. See also: Greenfield, *The Return,* 221.
[115] Marie C. Malaro, *Museum Governance: Mission, Ethics, Policy* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 151-155.
[116] Greenfield, *The Return,* 76-77.

lost during periods of colonial or foreign occupation."[117] In addition, the director-general of UNESCO in a speech in 1970 said that "the return of a work of art of record to the country which created it enables a people to recover part of its memory and identity, and proves that the long dialogue between civilizations which shapes the history of the world is still continuing in an atmosphere of mutual respect between nations."[118] ICOM attempted to facilitate an agreement between the British Museum and the Acropolis Museum, but Britain refused to acknowledge their attempts.[119]

In an ideal world, most repatriation cases could be solved through international committees like ICOM, however since they have no official power many countries simply ignore the parts of code and protocol that they do not wish to follow since there are no real repercussions. Even if a committee like ICOM makes a ruling on a case, they have no way to enforce that ruling. The only body that could force the British Museum to repatriate the marbles to Greece would be the British Parliament. Since they have denied all political requests to repatriate the marbles to Greece, it is doubtful that they will ever force the museum to do so. Since these legal considerations of the legality of the firman and how this case applies to international protocol are inconclusive in providing a clear answer, it is necessary to turn to ethics for further consideration.

Ethical Considerations

In order to debate ethical concerns, the term cultural property must first be defined and applied as it is used throughout scholarly literature about repatriation and this specific case. As one prominent scholar writes, "antiquities are the cultural property of the nation, products of the collective genius of its nationals, important to their identity and self-esteem. They are of the nation and cannot be alienated from it."[120] In simpler terms, cultural property should be thought of as property of its culture since it is part of their heritage. Some scholars argue that cultural heritage should belong to the world instead of individual countries, but this is dangerous because this allows the most powerful countries to justify their taking of antiquities by using this logic.[121] Especially in the case of the Parthenon marbles, the country of origin should have access to the most famous and revered antiquities of their culture in order to preserve their heritage and proud moments of their forebears. The ICOM committee of UNESCO argues that "an object likely to provoke a call for restitution is defined as that object which is highly charged with cultural significance. It therefore follows that the removal of this object from its original cultural context irrevocably divests that culture of one of its dimensions."[122]

Some museums like the British Museum argue that the universality of major museums is more important than individual countries keeping all of their cultural property to themselves.[123] Many major museums around the world have published their stance that repatriation presents a threat to the universality of their museums.[124] Many scholars have criticized 'nationalist

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[117] Greenfield, *The Return,* 67-68.
[118] Vrdoliak, *International Law,* 197.
[119] Greenfield, *The Return,* 87.
[120] Cuno, *Whose Culture?,* 1.
[121] Greenfield, *The Return,* 81.
[122] Greenfield, *The Return,* 253.
[123] "The Parthenon Sculptures," *The British Museum,* n.d., accessed Oct. 20, 2017. http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/statements/parthenon_sculptures.aspx.
[124] Gail Anderson, ed., *Reinventing the Museum: The Evolving Conversation on the Paradigm Shift* (New York: Altamira Press, 2012), 414.

retentionist cultural property laws' as "segregating the world's cultural property within the borders of modern nation-states" and that they "serve the interests of one particular modern nation at the expense of the rest of the world."[125] By this line of thinking, any artifact that is extremely culturally significant could be displayed in any museum in the world. Arguments like this ignore the value of seeing objects in their original place of origin, whether that be an archaeological site or just the country it came from.

These arguments also diminish the importance of cultural property for the country who owns it, when normally pieces of cultural property relate to the heritage of a culture and are important for cultures to keep objects related to and learn about and from their heritage.[126] The Acropolis and Parthenon are inalienable parts of Greek history and belong to the people of Greece.[127] Monuments and artifacts such as the Parthenon and its marbles are a "crucial link between group members and their ancestors and heirs; a relationship that satisfies a basic need for identity and also symbolize[s] shared values."[128] By ignoring the importance of heritage and context, the meaning behind the marbles and their value to Greek society are lost.

Ethical conduct standards have developed over time, but current standards for the museum profession are relatively consistent and should be seriously considered by museums around the world. Legal requirements are the very minimum requirements that museums should abide by, but ethics requirements are higher and reflect the integrity and character of museums. Some museums do not abide by ethical codes since usually they are non-enforceable, whereas legal codes are.[129] Ethical codes can be indirectly enforced however, by "self-education, self-motivation, and peer pressure for their promulgation" and "a consistent and voluntary commitment from a sizable portion of the profession."[130] Museums that do not follow codes such as ones set forth by UNESCO and ICOM may be subject to such indirect enforcement. In addition, these codes may be indirectly enforced by the fear of public outcry if museums fail to follow ethical guidelines.

Another aspect of ethical behavior is to update standards and beliefs based on modern realities and practices. Whereas once the marbles may have been better off in Britain, today Greece has the ability to house the marbles just as well.[131] The marbles from the Parthenon are scattered around the world today, which creates associability problems. As many scholars argue, "there is little basis for objects from one site to be housed in several museums. If such a scattered collection could be consolidated at the museum closest to the site of origin, archaeological interpretation would be enhanced" and "the field has matured to a point where avarice is a professional disservice that impedes research, forcing investigators to criss-cross the country examining portions of the same collection in multiple museums."[132] It can easily be argued that the British Museum is being selfish, and perhaps even nostalgic of its imperial past,[133] in not

[125] Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity?,* 124-126.
[126] See earlier argument in 'Ethical Considerations' section.
[127] Cuno, *Whose Culture?,* 172.
[128] Cuno, *Whose Culture?,* 173.
[129] Heather Hope Kuruvilla, *A Legal Dictionary for Museum Professionals* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 172-173.
[130] Malaro, *Museum Governance,* 17.
[131] See previous arguments in the 'Ethical Considerations' section of this paper.
[132] Ernestene L. Greene, *Ethics and Values in Archaeology.* (New York: Free Press, 1984), 137.
[133] David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 5-6.

wanting to give up some of their most prized collections, instead of realizing the modern realities of the situation and adjusting their behavior according to modern ethical standards.

The actions of the British Museum do not fit with modern ethical standards, even if it was somehow able to prove the legality of Lord Elgin's actions in the early 1800s. Museums must be held accountable to modern ethical standards and reevaluate their actions based on modern considerations instead of focusing solely on the past. If actions of the past were legal but are not considered ethical today, a museum with integrity would correct their actions and views to reflect modern standards of ethics. As it is, the current legal debate about the Parthenon marbles is inconclusive; therefore ethics must be significantly considered in this case.

Possible Solutions

There are multiple possible solutions that could be agreed upon in order to solve the repatriation debate of the Parthenon marbles, but Greece and Britain would have to work together in order for any of these to occur. One possible solution would be that the British government rules that the British Museum has to repatriate the marbles to Greece. This is possible since they have the power to do this, however unlikely because they have repeatedly denied political propositions of repatriation submitted by Greece.[134] Greek officials have threatened to sue the British Museum in British court, however it is also unlikely that British courts would decide in favor of Greece.[135] This solution is possible, but unlikely and would not resolve the tension between the British Museum and Greece. A legal ruling would be more straightforward and easy to enforce, but there would likely be resentment from the British Museum and possibly British citizens.

Another possible solution is that the British Museum loans the marbles to Greece for a period of time, or indefinitely. Even a short-term loan seems unlikely, since the British Museum would not loan the marbles to Greece even when they hosted the 2004 Summer Olympics.[136] If the museum decided on a loan, even short-term, this could be an important first step to a permanent agreement of some sort between the two countries. However a loan, even long-term, would not completely dissipate tensions but would prolong them. It could even create anger from British citizens, which would make the British Museum less willing to make a permanent agreement with Greece.

It seems like the best, and most ethically and logically sound solution, would be for the British Museum to repatriate the Parthenon marbles to Greece. This solution seems highly unlikely due to prevailing attitudes in British government and the British Museum. If this was decided however, the British Museum could keep casts of the sculptures to display in their museum, much like the Acropolis Museum uses today.[137] This way they could still keep the display open and would not completely lose one of their most valuable collections. If the British Museum did decide on repatriation they would likely gain more respect from international communities and museum professionals, and could even be a leader which influences more museums to reconsider how modern ethics relates to their policies. This could cause some museums to fear repatriation precedents being set; however, it is important for all museums to

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[134] Refer to 'Legal Considerations' section of this paper.

[135] Greenfield, *The Return,* 87.

[136] Jason Felch and Ralph Frammolino, *Chasing Aphrodite: The Hunt for Looted Antiquities at the World's Richest Museum* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011), 229.

[137] "Troubled history capped with success," *The New Acropolis Museum,* n.d., accessed Nov. 2, 2017. http://www.parthenon.newmentor.net/museum.htm.

consider modern ethics and evaluate their policies. Considering the inconclusive legal debate, modern ethical principles, and the length and depth of the concerns over repatriation, the best course of action appears to be repatriation.

Conclusion

Since the debate over repatriation of the Parthenon marbles is very unique, it seems illogical and unfair to compare other debates and cases with this one. One must focus on the modern arguments, which have changed from past arguments due to development and changing political and professional practices in Greece and Britain. Modern arguments about where the Parthenon marbles would be most safe are inconclusive, since both countries are equally capable of protection and preservation today. Legal arguments about whether Lord Elgin's actions were legal are also inconclusive due to lack of evidence. One must rely on the only arguments left, which are logical and ethical. It seems logical for the marbles to rejoin the rest of the collection and to be displayed as close to their original context as possible. It seems ethical for the British Museum to repatriate the marbles based on current ethical standards on illicitly exported artifacts and on artifacts taken during foreign occupation. Although no one can force the British Museum to repatriate the marbles from the Parthenon, hopefully they will seriously consider these points being made and decide to change their stance.

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The Orphic *Hymns*: Texts and Formal Aspects

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The Orphic *Hymns*: Texts and Formal Aspects*

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The Orphic *Hymns*,[1] a collection of 87 texts ascribed to Orpheus,[2] offer an interesting and little-studied alternative to hymns from more traditional corpora, such as the Homeric *Hymns* or Pindar's hymns. Despite their connection with Orpheus, the *Hymns* scarcely appear in studies of Orphism. However, this connection posits the *Hymns* within the Orphic tradition and demands they be examined as such. This, though, is a difficult feat as the *Hymns* remain surrounded by mystery; their author (or authors) and provenance are unknown. The *Hymns* were transmitted in six manuscripts from the 15th century, all of which have since been lost.[3] Generally, scholars agree that the *Hymns*' composition must fall between the second and fourth century CE, and that they originated somewhere in Asia Minor. Apostolos Athanassakis and Benjamin Wolkow argue that "relative purity of the language and the nearly flawless hexameter would argue for the earlier part of this period" and that "appearance in the hymns of divinities hardly known or totally unknown to mainland Greece should turn our attention to Asia Minor." [4]

The later date and unorthodox origin allow the *Hymns* to deviate from a long standing hymnic tradition and instead play around with hymnic features and pioneer a new style. As Robert Frost might say, the Orphic *Hymns* took the path less traveled and that has certainly made them different. Inventive stylistic features, a unique cosmology, an innovative syncretism of divinities, and a mysterious aura surrounding the ritual performance of these *Hymns* demarcate them from more familiar, well-studied hymnic collections. The *Hymns* align with the wider hymnic tradition in that they are composed in dactylic hexameter, which suggests their use in oral performances.[5] It is the nature of the *Hymns* that innately differentiates them from other collections. The most glaring difference is that in the Orphic *Hymns,* epithets practically constitute the entire hymn. Even at first glance, the seemingly endless strands of epithets and minimal use of verbs or varying grammatical structures[6] alerts the modern reader that these hymns praise the divinities in an unfamiliar, though no less effective, manner. These epithet strands replace more conventional aspects, namely mythic narratives and genealogies of other hymns, and challenge the hymnist to praise the divinities with an innovative approach, which at its most basic level is invocation.

According to Richard Janko's characterization of the Homeric *Hymns*, "a Hymn whose middle portion consists of Attribute will be called an 'Attributive' Hymn."[7] I will continue under the premise that the Orphic corpus is a collection of attributive hymns, which steers the direction in which they should be studied. We must not examine the hymns for what they lack,

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[1] I quote the text after Quandt (1973).

[2] Athanassakis/Wolkow (2013), IX.

[3] For more detail on the textual tradition of the *Hymns*, see Athanassakis/ Wolkow (2013), IX.

[4] Athanassakis/ Wolkow (2013), IX. Athanassakis/ Wolkow specifically adduce the goddesses Mise, Hipta, and Melione who were "all three previously known only from the *Hymns* until the soil of western Anatolia revealed their existence in inscription" as support for the provenance in Asia Minor.

[5] Graf/ Johnson (2007), 138.

[6] This is not to say that all the *Hymns* are composed only of epithets and none have any variation in their style, rather that this is the norm for the corpus, but of course there are exceptions to every rule.

[7] Janko (1981), 11.

namely the narrative, but for how they are able to replace this narrative in a manner suitable for divine worship. On this, Herrero argues "the exalted language typical of the Orphic Hymn allows the singer(s) to proclaim the nature of the god only through the utterance of his/her names, titles, and epithets, without any need of a logical narrative (explanation of why the god(dess) deserves them."[8] Therefore, the knowledge of the divine epithets alone is sufficient in establishing the charis relationship between the hymnist and the hymn-ed.

Similarly, this reinvented praise in place of the missing narrative allows for a more fluid hymnic structure. William Furley and Jan Bremer, building off of Aristotle's definition of a whole, broadly divide hymns into three sections: *invocatio, pars epica ,*and *εὐχή*.[9] Anne-France Morand molds this division to fit the Orphic collection and suggests that the tripartite structure of each hymn be labeled: invocation, amplification, and prayer.[10] The main difference is that the amplification, or expansion upon epithets and previously established themes, replaces a narrative or other more traditional *pars epica*. This spilling over of ideas, epithets, themes, and praise loosens the structure of the hymn and brings about a certain fluidity.

This fluidity originates in the beginning of the hymns: the invocation. As Furley and Bremer acknowledge, "a Greek could hardly address a god in the same informal way as he addresses a passer-by on the street: 'You there! Stop, I want a word with you.'"[11] Rather, to address a god requires a certain gusto worthy of the intended audience. Thus, the invocation in its role as attention-grabber of the divinity must be calculated. While most hymns in the collection open with a formulaic invocation[12], there are a number of hymns which are completely devoid any verb in the invocation and open only with the vocative address.[13] Since such hymns number so greatly throughout the collection, the lack of verb must neither reduce the hymns' ability to attract the divinity nor prevent the establishment of a relationship between the worshipper and the divinity. However, what is even rarer than the complete lack of a verb in the invocation is an invocation with "ἀείσομαι" or "μέλπω."[14] Though these are very common in other collections, this type of *evocatio*[15] opening forces the divinity to be an object (in the accusative) rather than a participant in a conversation. A drawn-out series of accusatives with a lack of mythic narrative to shift the direction of the hymn would hardly have the same success in establishing a divine-human relationship in comparison with the by far more personal vocative address.[16] Of the three hymns which open with an *evocatio*, only in *OH25 to Proteus* does the god remain an object throughout the majority of the hymn until finally addressed in the prayer. Both *OH3 to Night and OH62 to Dike* quickly shift to a more apt interaction with the divinity, replacing the accusative with the vocative thus shifting to communication. In *OH3 to Night* change of address occurs more dramatically as the *evocatio* is replaced with an *invocatio* in a second invocation to the divinity:

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[8] Herrero (2015), 238.
[9] Furley/Bremer (2001), 50.
[10] Morand (2105), 215.
[11] Furley/Bremer (2001), 52.
[12] The formulaic invocation verbs in this corpus: κλῦθι μοι, κλῦτε, κλήζω, ἀείσομαι, μέλπω, καλέω, ἐλθέ.
[13] 39 of the 87 *Hymns* lack a verb in the invocation: OH 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 51, 55, 57, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68,75, 75, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85.
[14] Only three hymns begin with these openings; ἀείσομαι: OH 3 and OH 25, μέλπω: OH 62.
[15] On the difference between *evocatio and invocatio*, see Calame (2011), 340.
[16] This is not to discredit the use of accusatives in hymns as a whole, but rather to point out that in the Orphic collection, the charis relationship is must often established through an *invocatio.*

Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν ἀείσομαι ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν
{Νύξ γένεσι πάντων, ἣν καὶ Κύπριν καλέσωμεν}
κλῦθι, μάκαιρα θεά, κυαναυγής, ἀστεροφεγγής (OH3.1-3)

Invocations that call to the gods (κλῄζω[17] or καλέω[18]), command attention (κλῦθι (μοι)[19] or κλύτε[20]), or invite divine presence (ἐλθέ[21]) dominate this collection because of their ability to incite a divine epiphany. Most evident in the invocation is a heavy emphasis on personal connection and communication with the divinity and an attempt at an early establishment of a divine-human relationship.

Following the invocation is the amplification. Furley and Bremer outline two goals of the 'praise' section of a hymn; "in the first place to evoke the presence of the god and to 'realize' the meeting, the contact between the god and worshipper(s), in a satisfactory way; second, to build an 'argument' i.e. a 'ground' on which the worshipping community or individual can deliver their prayer."[22] In the Orphic collection, the contact between the god and worshipper(s) has its beginnings in the invocation and is only strengthened in the amplification and the 'ground' on which the prayer is built is a series of epithets. The Orphic amplification seamlessly flows from the invocation not only as a continuation but also as a derivation.[23] Though the line between these sections is often blurred, it is not lost in the over-flowing sea of epithets streaming between the invocation and the amplification. Rather, many hymns subtly shift the focus of praise between the invocation and amplification, from a more general praise to a specific naming of divine domains, powers, or attributes. *Orphic Hymn 34 to Apollo* offers a clear example of such shift:

᾿Ελθὲ, μάκαρ, Πιάν, Τιτυκτόνε, Φοῖβε, Λυκωρεῦ
Μεμφῖτ᾿, ἀγλαότιμε, ἰήιε, ὀλβιοδῶτα,
χρυσολύρη, σπερμεῖε, ἀρότριε, Πύθιε, Τιτάν. (OH 34. 1-3)

Line 1 expectedly contains the invocation, with a cletic invitation and general epithets of the divinity. In line 2, however, the god's dwellings (Memphis), gifts (riches), and domains (the golden lyre, the seeds, and the plow) become part of the praise and mark the transition into the amplification. The amplification is characterized by epithet strands or epithets that share a theme or sentiment and recall these themes as the strands are woven throughout the hymn. For example, in *Orphic Hymn 10. to Physis* a παν-epithet strand[24] is very prominently featured, beginning in the first line and concluding in the final word of the hymn. This permits the continual praise of the divinity in her "all-ness", but each time is not constricted to simply repeating a theme, but expanding upon it and thus strengthening the praise. The amplification should not be seen as a string of epithets haphazardly thrown together, but rather a strand of carefully selected epithets

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[17] OH 1, 20, 30, 39, 44, 46, 47, 49, 52, 58, 61, 73, 86.
[18] OH 6, 7, 11, 22, 33, 42, 54, 64, 71, 72, 77, 79, 83.
[19] OH 2, 3, 8, 9, 17,28, 36, 48, 50, 56, 78, 87.
[20] OH 59, 50, 69, 70.
[21] OH 34, 45.
[22] Furley/ Bremer (2001), 56.
[23] Morand (2015), 215.
[24] Such epithets occur 16 times throughout the hymn: παμμήτειρα (1), πανδαμάτωρ (3), παναυγής (3), παντοκράτειρα (4), πανυπέρτατε (4), κοινὴ μὲν πάντεσσιν (9), παντρόφε (12), πάνσοφε, πανδώτειρα, παμβασίλεια (16), πάντων μὲν σὺ πατήρ, μήτηρ (17), παντοτεχνές (20), πάνρυτε (24), πανδαμάτειρα (26), πάντα †σοι εἰσί τά πάντα† (28), ἁπάντων (30).

aimed to please the deity through a specialized knowledge. Herrero furthers this notion and argues that the "Orphic hymns try to cover all dimensions of the god." [25] By acknowledging and praising every aspect of the deity, the hymns likely invite a more favorable disposition from the deity. Often, the end of the amplification will serve to strengthen the final request,[26] placing a final emphasis on a particular quality of the divinity relevant to the prayer.

Finally, the hymns conclude with a formulaic prayer or request of the deity.[27] There are four types of requests found throughout this collection: those regarding the rites and initiates, or 'rites-requests', those that fall under the specific domain of the divinity[28], those that make a request on behalf of an individual, and finally those that ask the more fearsome gods to stay far off. The rites requests can be divided further into three sections: those that ask for divine attendance to the rites, one that requests divine participation in the rites, and those that pray on behalf of the initiates. All of these requests confirm that the hymns are significant to an exclusive group of initiates, who share a specialized knowledge of divine attributes. In the hymns that seek divine attendance[29], gods are asked to come favorably, with a variety of different formulae. *Orphic Hymn 44 to Semele* furthers the request of attendance and seeks divine participation in the rite.[30] The final group of these requests are those that ask for specific benefits for the initiates.[31] Importantly, *Orphic Hymn 77 to Mnemosyne* is among this group. The final request of Memory reads "μύσταις μνήμην ἐπέγειρε εὐιέρου τελετῆς, λήθην δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπόπεμπε" (9-10) and demonstrates the importance of knowledge for the initiates. If unable to recall the esoteric knowledge gained through the rites, then the initiates could not complete any further rites. The self-referentiality of this type of requests positions the *Hymns* in a set of rites, presumably known to a group of certain initiates, while the request for the epiphany, or physical closeness of the god, mirrors the close relationship established throughout the preceding hymn.

However, not all the hymns in the collection pray on behalf of the initiates, few hymns make requests for an individual. In some cases, the request lacks a specified recipient and so the default benefactor is the hymnist,[32] which could be an individual or a group of initiates. However, other hymns begin the request with a formulaic κλῦθι μοι (OH15) or κλῦθι μου (OH32). In such cases, this first-person is assumed to govern the remainder of the request and act as the benefactor. A few explanations should be considered. The first is simply that this is a poetic use of the first-person singular for a collective, and what is meant by "me" is the collective whole of initiates. The second consideration is that the hymns could benefit either an individual or a group of initiates. The lack of an explicit benefactor permits either to be true, or some combination of the two may explain the varying benefactors of the requests.

The final type of requests in the collection are those that request a fearsome god to stay far off rather than make an epiphany. These requests conclude hymns to terrifying deities or

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[25] Herrero (2015), 241.
[26] Morand (2015), 218.
[27] Generally, hymns, particularly true of those outside this collection and of some featured within, begin their prayer with an opening "ἀλλ᾽ θεά."
[28] Such as in OH 2 to Prothyraia; "δίδου δὲ γονάς" (13), OH 67 to Asklepios; "ἐλθὲ, μάκαρ, σωτήρ" (8), OH 68 to Hygia; "ῥυομένη νούσων χαλεπῶν κακόποτμον ἀνίην" (13).
[29] OH 1,6,7,19,25, 27, 35, 42, 43, 49, 52, 53, 79.
[30] In the Greek mythic tradition, the gods are often portrayed as participants in or establishers of divine rites, these representations are particularly common for celebrations of Dionysus. A few examples of these scenes; HH3to Apollo (85-90) and HH2 to Demeter (270-275).
[31] OH 4,8,9,23,24,34,41,56,57,58,59,60,74,76,78,84,85.
[32] OH 20, 30, 69, 72.

hymns that praise certain terrifying aspect of deities, which may be all-together avoided in other hymnic traditions. This type of prayer allows a more peculiar and all-encompassing set of gods to be praised in this collection and acts as a clever, innovative guard against the more fearsome sides of these divinities. For instance, Night is asked to "φόβους δ' ἀπόπεμπε νυχαυγείς" (OH3.13-14), Pan to "πανικόν ἐκπέμπων ὀιστρὸν ἐπι τέρματα γαίης" (OH11.23), and Ares to "στῆσον ἔριν λυσσῶσαν, ἄνες πόνον ἀγλεσίθυμον." (OH65.7)[33] However, the most drastic occurrence of type of request is in *OH. 87 to Death*, not an otherwise, commonly praised divinity for fear of invoking Death:

> ἀλλὰ μάκαρ, μακροῖσι χρόνοις ζωῆς σε πελάζειν
> αἰτοῦμαι, θυσίαις(ι) καὶ εὐχωλαῖς λιτανεύων,
> ὡς ἂν ἔοι γέρας ἐσθλὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι τὸ γῆρας. (OH.87.10-13)

The request for a long life implies the absence of Death and therefore asks that the god stay away. Interestingly, the preceding lines praise Death as deaf to entreaties and prayers (OH87.9). Why then include the "I pray to you" after having established Death is deaf to prayers? Though this aligns with the typical *do ut des* nature of hymns, Orphic *Hymns* are paradoxical and allow for such conflicting ideas to coexist without a surrounding aura of uneasiness and confusion.

The peculiarities of structure are not confined to individual hymns, but extend throughout the overarching structure of the corpus. The structure presents a quasi-ring composition in which the theme of life, presented in the beginning of the corpus, is revisited and concluded in the end, though not in the exactness of its original presentation. Rather than a pure-nature ring composition, the structure presents more of a cycle as the corpus begins with childbirth and concludes with death. The second hymn, *OH2, Prothyraia,* begins this cycle. The divinity is praised for her aid in childbirth and requested to "δίδου δὲ γονάς" (13). This establishes two fundamental themes for the collection: the first simply being progenation and origins, as many gods throughout the corpus are praised as progenitors or seeds of all things, and the second being the theme of life, whether that be living a pure life or the act of giving life. This cycle is then concluded in *OH87 to Death*. Though the prayer seeks a long life, the very presence of Death and its ultimate position in the corpus concludes the cycle of life presented in OH2.

All of these peculiar features demarcate the Orphic *Hymns* from the familiar style of the Homeric *Hymns* or other more traditional hymns, such as those of Pindar. This deviation is so great that in *Greek Hymns,* Furley and Bremer only dedicate two sentences to the entire 87 hymn collection because they are "hardly representative specimens of Greek hymns anyways."[34] These stark deviations should not deter the study of the *Hymns*, but rather should encourage it. Pausanias aptly observes that the *Hymns* are poetically second to Homer, but are more honored by the gods (IX.30.12) and thus, they maintain religious importance. The richness of the Orphic *Hymn* lays not in their poetic excellence but in their mysteriousness and their deviation from a long-standing tradition. On the broader note, the Orphic collection drastically outnumbers the Homeric collection in extant hymns, with 87 hymns to the Homeric 33. However, no hymn in the Orphic tradition measures close in length to the four long Homeric hymns.

[33] Further examples can be found in: OH37, 38, 39, 69, 86, 87.
[34] Furley/ Bremer (2001), 49.

In an effort to show these differences, I offer a comparison between the Homeric *Hymn* to Selene[35] and its Orphic counterpart. Both hymns similarly lack an invocation to the Muses, and while not uncommon, it is worth noting that this allows an immediate invocation of the goddess rather than a delayed invocation. In the Homeric hymn, Selene is invoked as "χαῖρε, ἄνασσα, θεὰ λευκώλενε, δῖα Σελήνη" (HH.32.1)[36] and the Orphic hymn reads: "κλῦθι θεὰ βασίλεια, φαεσφόρε, δῖα Σελήνη" (OH 9.1). Though these invocations are similar, once juxtaposed with the remainder of the hymns, which differ much more drastically, they emphasize the divergences of these collections. As is typical for Orphic *Hymns*, the hymn to Selene replaces the mythic narrative with one all-encompassing epithet. The Homeric *Hymn* relies on the following mythic narrative as a form of praise:

> στίλβει δέ τ᾽ἀλάμπετος ἀὴρ
> χρυσέου ἀπὸ στεφάνου, ἀκτῖνες δ᾽ἐν διάονται,
> εὖτ᾽ ἂν ἀπ᾽ Ὠκεανοῖο λοεσσαμένη χρόα καλόν,
> εἵματα ἑσσαμένη τηλαυγέα δῖα Σελήνη,
> ζευξαμένη πώλους ἐριαύχενας, αἰγλήεντας, 10
> ἐσσυμένως προτέρωσ᾽ ἐλάσῃ καλλίτριχας ἵππους,
> ἑσπερίη, διχόμηνος: ὃ δὲ πλήθειμέγας ὄγμος
> λαμπρόταταί τ᾽ αὐγαὶ τότ᾽ἀεξομένης τελέθουσιν
> οὐρανόθεν. (HH32.5-13)

The Orphic hymn replaces this entire mythic narrative with 'φαεσφόρε' (OH9.2). There is no need to explain why this epithet is fit for Selene, because that is expected to be known by the initiates and such exclusion allows a different form of praise to characterize the hymn. Further, the Orphic hymn to Selene contains no genealogy, where in the Homeric hymn, she is praised as the mother of Pandia (HH32.14-15). While this instance is a mild divergence, in other Homeric hymns, genealogies can dominate the hymn,[37] whereas they are usually restricted to a single epithet in the Orphic tradition.

The hymns in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (PGM) offer a closer stylistic parallel to the Orphic *Hymns*. The majority of the PGM hymns date between the third and fourth century CE, which places them within the same period as the *Orphic Hymns*. A comparison between these two types of hymns might contribute to a better understanding of similar features and how these features might reflect their unorthodox origin. In general, the hymns in both collections demonstrate a strikingly similar reliance on a specialist knowledge of both unusual and common divine epithets as a replacement of narrative features. Both rely on naming to fulfill a hymnic purpose. On the PGM hymns, Ivana Petrovic notes that "the knowledge of a god's names and the performance of these names is repeatedly mentioned as the fundamental source of joy for the gods in the PGM, and the source of power for the practitioner."[38] Based on their similar attributive nature, we can conclude that naming in the Orphic collection accomplishes the same goal.

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[35] Athanassakis/ Wolkow (2013), 89. Athanassakis/ Wolkow offer a note on the Selene's roll in both mythic and cultic traditions.
[36] I quote the text after Allen/Halliday/Sikes (1963).
[37] For example, the genealogy in *HH19 to Pan* nearly takes the form of a second hymn and constitutes half of the hymn.
[38] Petrovic (2015), 259.

Just as in the Orphic hymn, the PGM *Hymn to Hekate-Selene-Persephone-Artemis* (PGM.14)[39] is composed of a strand of epithets that flows from invocation to prayer and dominates the composition of the hymn. Thus, these hymns should also be considered attributive in nature. The epithets in these hymns both function as a demonstration of esoteric knowledge and create a pluralistic identity of the hymned divinities. This esoteric knowledge is apparent in epithets not otherwise connected with this deity. Epithets such as "δαιδοῦχε" (OH9.2) (PGM14.4), a familiar representation of the divinity, not only create an inter-corpus identity of the divinity, but also syncretize her identity with other deities.[40] This syncretism creates a more pluralistic identity of the divine than in hymns outside of those in the Orphic and PGM hymns. The plurality of the divinity and the unique formal aspects, namely the attributive nature implored to create such a plurality found in both the Orphic *Hymns* and the PGM hymns either suggests an influence on each other or possibly offers insight into the hymnic tradition that flourished in second-fourth century CE Asia Minor.

The uniqueness and outright strangeness of the Orphic *Hymns* perhaps is to blame for the long silence that has accompanied them. Future studies of this long-ignored collection of hymns possibly will offer further insight into the Orphic tradition. The *Hymns* replace traditional hymnic elements, namely narrative and genealogies, with innovative stylistic features, namely their attributive nature and amplification. These features demarcate this collection from more traditional hymnic corpora, such as the Homeric *Hymns* and connect them to the more unusual PGM hymns. Not only do the hymns offer insight into the Orphic theogony, ritual, and overall tradition through their eccentric features, but also, they might offer clues about how the hymnic tradition evolved from an earlier reliance on narratives to the tradition attested in both the Orphic and PGM hymns, in which naming replaces the narrative.

[39] I quote the text after Preisendanz (1973-1974).

[40] This epithet is also used of Artemis (OH36.3) and Demeter (OH.40.11).

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Why fight? Winning endless war in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*

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Why fight? Winning endless war in Sophocles' Philoctetes

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Why do men go to war? Is timê, the honor and recognition earned by a hero, more compelling than duty, loyalty, and justice? Sophocles' play *Philoctetes*, which was first performed in 409 B.C., explores these questions as Odysseus and Neoptolemus attempt to bring Philoctetes to Troy. A decade before the play's opening scene, kings Menelaus and Agamemnon had ordered Odysseus to abandon Philoctetes on the island of Lemnos as his chronic foot injury interfered with the Greek expedition. Now, the Trojan War has dragged on for a decade, paralleling the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta. As Achilles' son and a young man in the Greek army, Neoptolemus is an ephebe who has recently begun his lifelong career of military and public service. In the course of the play's action, Neoptolemus learns to balance a desire for glory and timê with duty and compassion. Initially, Neoptolemus appears indifferent to the Greek mission; instead, he is preoccupied with a desire to live up to Achilles' acclaim. However, as Neoptolemus gradually befriends Philoctetes, the ephebe's actions and words reflect a newfound commitment to friendship and mutual success. As Neoptolemus and Philoctetes defy Odysseus, loyalty trumps individual glory. Thus, although Neoptolemus travelled to Lemnos with a desire to increase his timê, he develops from a selfish ephebe concerned with reputation to a confident soldier dedicated to collective responsibility. Through this transformation and the *deus ex machina* at the end of the play, Sophocles reveals that the intimate bonds of trust and loyalty among soldiers are the most compelling forces in war.

In the *prologos* of *Philoctetes*, Neoptolemus introduces his *phusis* and indicates his desire to live up to his father's reputation. In his first soliloquy, Odysseus presents Neoptolemus to the audience as the "Son of our greatest hero, son of Achilles" (6), thus associating the young warrior with his heroic father. By calling Achilles the Greeks' "greatest hero," Odysseus recognizes the vulnerability this legacy has created for Neoptolemus. As he formulates a plan to capture Philoctetes, Odysseus concocts a story wherein Neoptolemus was deprived of Achilles' arms because the Greek army did not "think [him] worthy" (63). Achilles' arms are closely linked to timê in Greek myth: After Odysseus was voted most worthy of Achilles' arms, Ajax's timê was shattered and he was driven crazy—ultimately to suicide—in dishonor. Although untrue, Odysseus' insinuation that Neoptolemus is unworthy of his father's arms reveals a crucial question for Neoptolemus: Could he match his father's reputation for courage and heroism? This longing to prove himself contributes to Neoptolemus' desire for timê and manifests itself in his frequent references to Achilles.

As Odysseus requests that Neoptolemus "Ensnare the soul of Philoctetes with your words" (55), Neoptolemus demonstrates his intention to adhere to Achilles' values. Neoptolemus resists Odysseus' proposal, explaining that he has a "natural antipathy to get my ends by tricks and stratagems. / So too, they say, my father was. I am quite ready / to fight and capture this man, bring him by force, / but not by treachery" (88-91). Despite having never met Achilles, the young ephebe sees his nature, or phusis, as inherited from his father. To Neoptolemus, travelling to Lemnos in service of the Greeks provides an opportunity for him to emulate Achilles. Consequently, Neoptolemus rejects Odysseus' unstated philosophy that the "ends justify the means;" instead, he admits that he would "prefer even to fail with honor than win by cheating," (95) an explicit indication that he prioritizes acting honorably—and perhaps his own reputation—above unconditional responsibility to the army. In contrast to Odysseus, who would

capture Philoctetes by any means, Neoptolemus appears to evaluate and question the justice, or dikē, of his orders.

In the remainder of their conversation, Neoptolemus reveals his motivation for going to war as a desire to increase his timê; loyalty to the Greeks or to Odysseus plays no explicit role in his agreement to capture Philoctetes. According to the captured Trojan prophet Helenus, Neoptolemus and Philoctetes (or just his bow) would capture Troy for the Greeks. Odysseus tells Neoptolemus that "If this man's bow shall not be taken by us, / you cannot ever sack the land of Troy" (68-69). In instructing Neoptolemus that "you" cannot sack Troy without Philoctetes' bow, Odysseus attempts to persuade Neoptolemus by exploiting his aspiration for timê. However, Neoptolemus is unconvinced:

> NEOPTOLEMUS
> What gain for me that he should come to Troy?
> ODYSSEUS
> Only his weapons are destined to take Troy.
> NEOPTOLEMUS
> Then *I* shall not be, as was said, its conqueror?
> ODYSSEUS
> Not you without them, nor they without you.
> NEOPTOLEMUS
> They must be my quarry then, if this is so.
> ODYSSEUS
> You will win a double prize if you do this.
> NEOPTOLEMUS
> What? If I know, I will do what you say.
> ODYSSEUS
> You'd be called both a wise man and a good one.
> NEOPTOLEMUS
> Well, then I will do it, casting aside all shame. (112-120)

Neoptolemus' first question—"What gain for me that he should come to Troy?"—serves as an entirely selfish motivation for traveling to Lemnos. Although loyal to the Greeks, he sees duty to the army as subordinate to the glory of being Troy's conqueror. Neoptolemus' second question substantiates his self-serving objective; although both Odysseus and Neoptolemus have heard Helenus' prophecy, Neoptolemus seeks to affirm that he shall be the city's conqueror. In the final two lines of this passage, Odysseus demonstrates that he will use any strategy that may appeal to the young boy. Odysseus promises the additional reward of being called "a wise man and a good one," a clear attempt at flattery that manipulates Neoptolemus into committing to fight. Throughout this exchange, Neoptolemus does not seem amenable to helping Odysseus, a more senior and accomplished warrior. Thus, although Neoptolemus characterized his phusis as brave and honorable, his initial motivation to capture Philoctetes reflects a selfish desire for timê.

The context of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* provides insight into Neoptolemus' weak sense of duty and focus on individual glory. By the play's opening scene, the Trojan War has dragged on for a decade. However, as the Greeks were unable to take the city, the war remained a bloody stalemate. Similarly, as *Philoctetes* was performed in 409 B.C., the Peloponnesian War entered its twenty third year as Athens and Sparta wrestled for dominance; betrayal and backstabbing

were the norm in Athenian politics. The contemporary Athenian army, paralleled by the mythical Greek army, suffered with no foreseeable conclusion. In the prologos of *Philoctetes,* Sophocles proposes a question about war: Are soldiers motivated by glory and reputation or selfless commitment to the cause? What sustains their commitment in an endless conflict?

As Neoptolemus talks with Philoctetes, he evolves from focusing on individual glory to recognizing the importance of loyalty and friendship. For over fifty lines in the play, Neoptolemus responds to Philoctetes' inquires as the two discuss Greek soldiers who have died in the long ten years of war. Philoctetes asks about an "old and honest man, my friend, / Nestor," (421-422) who is still alive; soon after, he learns that Achilles' "dearest friend" Patroclus has died (433-434). Upon discovering that Achilles, Ajax, Antilochus, and others have been killed, Philoctetes laments the deaths of his friends and great warriors. Despite Philoctetes' enmity towards the Greek leaders Menelaus, Agamemnon, and Odysseus, his loyalty to individual soldiers has persisted through ten years of isolation. Given Neoptolemus' and Philoctetes' evolving relationship, this scene foreshadows the importance of loyalty to soldiers at war, as Neoptolemus and Philoctetes ultimately develop a similar bond of loyalty and trust.

Although his decision to tell the truth to Philoctetes jeopardizes the mission to Lemnos, Neoptolemus feels compassion for the deserted soldier. While Philoctetes sleeps, Neoptolemus guards Heracles' bow, Philoctetes' most important possession and his principal means of survival. Moments later, as Philoctetes awakens, Neoptolemus helps him stand before walking to the boat. Neoptolemus pauses as they prepare to leave, consumed with doubt and newfound empathy:

> NEOPTOLEMUS
> All is disgust when someone leaves his own nature
> and does things that are unlike him.
> PHILOCTETES
> But it is not unlike your father, either in word
> or in act, to help a good man. (902-905)

Faced with the prospect of revealing his deception and forcing the unarmed Philoctetes to come to Troy, Neoptolemus feels ashamed to tell the truth and complete his mission. Neoptolemus' statement that he has left "his own nature" refers to his phusis and echoes the prologos. Here, his actions reflect this stated phusis of honesty and justice. As Philoctetes' friendship toward the young boy is expressed by entrusting him to guard the bow, Neoptolemus' nature compels him to reject Odysseus' suggestion of betrayal for selfish gain. Neoptolemus tells Philoctetes, "I shall be seen to be dishonorable: / that's what has been causing me pain" (906-907). In recognizing that treachery and deceit are antithetical to his phusis, Neoptolemus defiantly chooses to support his friend before obeying Odysseus and thus cannot force Philoctetes onto the boat.

After exposing the truth, Neoptolemus renounces selfish and deceitful objectives. Now, he tries to persuade Philoctetes to go to Troy with promises of shared glory. In the prologos, Neoptolemus asked Achilles: "What gain for me that he should come to Troy?" In this scene, Neoptolemus' vision of glory has expanded to include shared success with Philoctetes, thus demonstrating Neoptolemus' development beyond his original selfish question. Neoptolemus tells Philoctetes: "You must sail to Troy / to the Achaeans" (915-916) and promises that he will "First save you from this torture, then with you / together go and lay waste the land of Troy" (919-920). While Neoptolemus' previously viewed Helenus' prophecy as a means to expand his

own timê, healing Philoctetes is now a prerequisite to their conquering Troy together. Neoptolemus thus embraces loyalty as a driving force behind their collective mission to go to war. While other soldiers, such as Ajax and Achilles, may have traveled to Troy with close companions, Neoptolemus, an ephebe new to war, learns the importance of camaraderie through his interactions with Philoctetes. Furious at the prospect of aiding the Greeks, however, Philoctetes angrily curses "Achilles' son," who "gave me his right hand" and "swore to bring me home" (941-942). Does Neoptolemus' persistence that Philoctetes go to Troy undermine their growing friendship? Neoptolemus stalls, struggling with this question, and exclaims that he wishes he had "never left / Scyrus" (969-970). At this point, Odysseus returns to the scene and establishes control. He orders Philoctetes' capture and prepares to return to Troy.

The full extent of Neoptolemus' transformation is revealed after Odysseus' entrance. Neoptolemus tells Odysseus: "I did wrong when I obeyed you and the Greeks / ... I caught a man with tricks and with treachery" (1226-1228). Neoptolemus continues: "I have no fear of anything you can do, / when I act with justice; nor shall I yield to force" (1251-1252). Odysseus and Neoptolemus almost enter into armed combat, but Odysseus decides to report Neoptolemus' treachery to the Greeks as punishment. Neoptolemus' complete reversal from insecurity and selfishness devalues reputation and glory, prioritizing a determination to "act with justice." In addition to legal right and wrong, dikē entails respect to the morals and norms of Ancient Greek society. Given this broader definition of justice, Neoptolemus' dedication explicitly reflects a commitment to pursuing dikē in its most general form. In contrast to his initial aspirations of time in conquering Troy, Neoptolemus' true act of heroism is his outright opposition to Odysseus and commitment to Philoctetes. Although he resists Odysseus' threats and manipulation, Neoptolemus remains loyal to the Greek cause as he continues to believe that he and Philoctetes will conquer Troy.

As he tries to lead Philoctetes to Troy, Neoptolemus cements his commitment to his phusis in his acceptance of the cost of disobeying the Greeks in order to fulfill his promise to Philoctetes. Speaking in language that resembles prophecy, Neoptolemus tells Philoctetes that "It is a glorious increase of your gain, / for you, judged preeminent among the Greeks, / first, to come into hands that can heal you, / and then to win the highest renown, by taking / Troy that has cost infinity of tears" (1343-1347). Neoptolemus has not lost sight of the possibility of going to Troy and promises Philoctetes that the mission will increase his timê. Yet, Philoctetes is intransigent and refuses to fight. Despite Philoctetes' stubbornness, Neoptolemus remains devoted to his friend. As they plan to return home, Neoptolemus expresses concern that he will earn the "blame of the Greeks" (1404). Philoctetes, however, demonstrates his mutual commitment to the young boy, promising to protect Achilles' son with the "bow of Heracles" (1406). Although they plan to return to Greece, Neoptolemus and Philoctetes have formed a loyal and protective team.

While the play appears to end with Philoctetes and Neoptolemus returning to Greece, Heracles' soliloquy abruptly convinces both to go to Troy. Thus, perhaps Sophocles suggests that Neoptolemus needed first to make the heroic choice to disobey the Greeks in order to join Philoctetes in fulfilling Helenus' prophecy. Heracles tells Philoctetes that he will be "adjudged best warrior among the Greeks" and rewarded with "spoils" (1425-1429). Heracles continues to tell Neoptolemus:

> HERACLES
>
> Son of Achilles, I have the same words for you.

> You shall not have the strength to capture Troy
> Without this man, nor he without you,
> But, like twin lions hunting together,
> He shall guard you, you him. (1433-1437)

In proclaiming that Philoctetes and Neoptolemus must work as "twin lions" to conquer Troy, Heracles validates Neoptolemus' choice to prioritize his phusis over deception and treachery. Conquering Troy requires the strength of the two as a team, suggesting that Odysseus' proposal of forcing Philoctetes onto the boat was futile. Using the same epithet for Neoptolemus as Odysseus did in his first soliloquy, Heracles calls Neoptolemus "Son of Achilles." Now, however, Neoptolemus has fulfilled his father's reputation.

In Sophocles' rendition of this story, the only two men who could end the decade long stalemate and conquer Troy had planned to abandon the Greek army and return home. Though focused on his own timê at the beginning of the play, Neoptolemus' experience demonstrates that the process of learning to defend his phusis and friends was integral to ensuring Troy's fall. Furthermore, the play's *deus ex machina* reveals that forcing Philoctetes to go to Troy would have likely failed to win the war. For twenty years, Athenian men had fought in spring campaigns to defend the city and its empire; all of the ephebes watching *Philoctetes* would have been slated for probable deployment. As morale for the war was waning, perhaps Sophocles asks young soldiers to consider their motivations to fight. When war's outcome appears bleak, do soldiers fight to win spoils or increase their timê? Or do they go to war with an unfailing sense of loyalty and duty to protect and heal the men fighting beside them? Sophocles exposes loyalty and friendship as the values necessary to win this interminable mythic war, perhaps attempting to shape priorities for warriors in the Peloponnesian War and foreshadowing principles taught to soldiers today.

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"A High Price for Being Intelligent": *Tragoidia* and Bobby Kennedy, on the Back of a Flatbed Truck and the Floor of the Ambassador Hotel

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"A High Price for Being Intelligent": *Tragoidia* and Bobby Kennedy, on the Back of a Flatbed Truck and the Floor of the Ambassador Hotel

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On April 4, 1968, Robert F. Kennedy found himself in one of the most difficult situations a presidential candidate could possibly imagine. Boarding a plane for a short flight to Indianapolis after delivering a speech at Ball State University, Kennedy was told by an aide that Martin Luther King had been shot. Then, as soon as the plane landed at Weir Cook Airport, Kennedy learned that the shot was fatal.[1]

As Kennedy disembarked onto the tarmac, he bore the double burden of coping with this terrible news and, in light of it, figuring out how to proceed with regards to that night's campaign rally in Indianapolis. Many of his advisors urged him to simply cancel; the event was, after all, located in the heart of a predominately black neighborhood, and local policemen adjudged the situation too dangerous to offer protection lest they provoke a full-scale riot.[2] Moreover, as Kennedy's granddaughter Kick points out in a retrospective article from 2016, "it was the era before instant information," so "most of the crowd had not heard the news" of the assassination.[3] In the face of these dismal circumstances, though, Bobby Kennedy decided that there was no way that he was going to cancel his speech.

In the backseat of the car on the way directly from the runway to the rally, Kennedy uttered just four words: "What should I say?"[4] But when the time came, he got out of the car, stepped up onto the back of a flatbed truck, broke the news to the largely African-American crowd, and delivered a brief four minutes and fifty-seven seconds of heartfelt and mostly impromptu remarks (see Appendix A). These four minutes and fifty-seven seconds still stand today as some of the most poignant and moving moments in modern political history, and they have earned this distinction in part because of Kennedy's extemporaneous quotation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. I would like to meditate on the words Kennedy quoted, to see if *tragoidia* offers us as humans a way to grapple with the senselessness and trauma of the human condition. I would like to try to understand what it is about Strophe C of the *parodos* of *Agamemnon* that could help soothe a crowd of devastated Indianapolitans. And finally, by reading this section of the "Hymn to Zeus" in conversation with a few lines of the Euripidean *Electra*, I would like to put pressure on Aeschylus' notion of the relationship between wisdom and suffering.

When Kennedy deployed Aeschylus' words on that April night in Indianapolis, he quoted from Edith Hamilton's seminal 1930 translation.[5]After referencing the personal sadness still

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[1] Kristine Marie Warrenburg, "April 4, 1968: Death, Difference, and Dialogue," *Electronic Theses and Dissertations* (2009): 6, https://digitalcommons.du.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1949&context=etd.
[2] Kick Kennedy, "How My Grandfather, RFK, Stopped a Riot," *Politico Magazine,* April 4, 2016. https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/04/rfk-speech-mlk-riot-kick-kennedy-213790.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Warrenburg. "April 4, 1968," 15.
[5] Christopher S. Morrissey, "'In Our Own Despair': Robert Kennedy, Richard Nixon, and Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*," Classical Association of Canada, Annual Meeting, May 12, 2002, http://morec.com/rfk.htm.

weighing heavily upon him after the assassination of his own brother four-and-a-half years earlier, Kennedy recited these words off the top of his head:

> Even in our sleep, pain which cannot forget
> Falls drop by drop upon the heart
> Until, in our own despair, against our will,
> Comes wisdom through the awful grace of God.[6]

In this passage, which the chorus of Argive elders sings during Strophe C of its entry song (*parodos*) in *Agamemnon*, the opposition of "our will" and the will of "the gods" is readily apparent. Aeschylus seems to posit that the force of our own human will is insufficient to counteract the will of the deities above. Wisdom *comes*; it does not ask us whether we want to attain it. There appears to be no proactive undertaking or quest for knowledge on the part of human beings to arrive at a place of wisdom—in fact, we do not arrive at wisdom at all. It, instead, arrives at us, "against our will," despite our efforts to keep it out. Indeed, the only human action that engenders this arrival of wisdom is our suffering. As per Richmond Lattimore's translation of Aeschylus' famous *pathei mathos* phrase, Zeus "has laid it down that wisdom / comes alone through suffering" (*Ag.* 177–178).

Why, then, is this an appropriate and reassuring passage to cite in a speech announcing the assassination of Martin Luther King? More generally, why would we as human beings want to buy into Aeschylus' cosmic worldview as expressed in this "Hymn to Zeus"? It seems as though this fatalistic reading of human wisdom leaves us humans in a bleak state of minimal agency. We cannot go forth and acquire wisdom; we must rather fight against wisdom in a battle with the gods that we know we mere mortals are ordained to lose; and ultimately, we suffer tremendously and incur all manners of pain and violence as this wisdom comes to us. However, the other side of this fatalistic coin is what allows us to process moments of terrible grief and senselessness. After all, Bobby Kennedy himself had come to know this passage so well because it was the passage he was drawn to (when Jacqueline Kennedy loaned him her copy of Edith Hamilton's *The Greek Way*) in the wake of his brother's assassination.[7]

Because wisdom comes through suffering—actually, "comes *alone*[8] through suffering," meaning that there is no way to become wise other than to suffer—it follows that we can use this line of reasoning to reckon with some of the senselessness of our suffering. Even if Aeschylus' *pathei mathos* is as folksy as our modern-day "no pain, no gain" platitude, it does still stand to give meaning to suffering that may otherwise seem meaningless. In the context of the *Oresteia* as a unified trilogy, this *pathei mathos* adage comes at an early moment in a play that has already

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[6] Robert F. Kennedy, "Remarks on the Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr." (speech, Indianapolis, IN, April 4, 1968), American Rhetoric, http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/rfkonmlkdeath.html. Hamilton's original translation in her book *The Greek Way* is in prose, but here I have transcribed Kennedy's spoken words in verse format to match the poetic quality with which he delivered them. Also, as Christopher S. Morrissey of Simon Fraser University points out, Kennedy actually slightly misquotes Hamilton's translation. He mixes up a few minor conjunctions and prepositions, but the most substantial misquotation is Kennedy's "despair" in place of Hamilton's "despite."

[7] Jeffrey P. Mehltretter Drury and Cole A. Crouch, "Robert F. Kennedy, 'Statement on the Death of Reverend Martin Luther King, Rally in Indianapolis, Indiana' (4 April 1968) and Robert F. Kennedy, 'Remarks at the Cleveland City Club' (5 April 1968)," *Voices of Democracy* no. 11 (2016): 4, http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Kennedy-Interpretive-Essay-Final.pdf.

[8] Italics mine.

recounted quite a few past instances of suffering, from the relatively tame but nonetheless tedious and tiring "weariness / of this watchtime measured by years" that the watchman has spent on the palace roof at Argos to the immense and devastating decision of Agamemnon to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia at Aulis (*Ag.* 1–2, 218–226). And in the space of the three plays performed on that March day in 458 BCE at the Theatre of Dionysos, countless bouts of suffering would follow the Chorus' description of *pathei mathos*—the murders of Agamemnon and Cassandra, "a small thing, lightly killed" (*Ag.* 1326); Apollo's gruesome promises of "ulcers that ride upon the flesh" and a "painful death" if Orestes does not go through with matricide (*Cho*. 280, 296); the Furies that pursue Orestes "like Gorgons" after he completes the deed (*Cho*. 1048). However, this senseless suffering, this seemingly inescapable cycle of retributive justice foisted upon the House of Atreus, does eventually come to an end at the conclusion of *Eumenides*, when the court of the Areopagus is established and public legal judgment replaces personal vendetta as the presiding form of fair punishment in Greek society. Even despite the many interpretive questions and dilemmas about the shadily acquitted Orestes or the disempowered Erinyes-turned-Eumenides at the end of the *Oresteia*, the closing of Aeschylus' mammoth trilogy of *tragoidai* sees mortals raised to a higher level of wisdom than they were at its opening. They have established a court of law and trial by jury, hallmarks of a wise and civilized society. The senselessness of the retributive familial murders of members of the House of Atreus provided, ultimately, a test case for the very first trial of a brand new legal system. And so, *pathei mathos*.

To return to Bobby Kennedy, and to all those who derive comfort from Aeschylus' "Hymn to Zeus," the portion of Strophe C that Kennedy quoted from the back of a flatbed truck in Indianapolis provided in that moment a feeling of hope and reassurance that there was a way to move forward from a senseless act of violence. If Aeschylus' *pathei mathos* holds true, then the terrible suffering stemming from the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., the "pain which cannot forget," is what offers us—albeit "against our will"—wisdom. And in this vein, Kennedy immediately follows his quotation of Aeschylus with an exhortation that we all channel our suffering into providing "love, and wisdom, and compassion toward one another, and a feeling of justice toward those who still suffer within our country, whether they be white or whether they be black."[9] It may not be coincidental that Kennedy focuses on "justice," given the context of the *Oresteia* from which he quotes. The wisdom that comes from the suffering throughout the *Oresteia* is the advent of a codified system of justice. Similarly, Martin Luther King, Jr. and his contemporaries brought questions of civil justice in America to the forefront of national debate and conversation. King's involvement in the Civil Rights Movement, the suffering that he and his fellow peaceful protesters faced at the hands of civil authorities in places like Birmingham in 1963, led directly to codified acts of national-scale justice like the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. By mentioning "justice"—and by mentioning "those who still suffer within our country"—Bobby Kennedy in his 1968 speech offers the hope that, like in the *Oresteia*, human suffering is not in vain and instead shines light on a pathway to wisdom and justice.

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[9]R. Kennedy, "Remarks."

So, Aeschylus' *pathei mathos* via Kennedy's impromptu words seems to provide a comforting way of grappling with atrocities and terrible moments of human suffering. However, when I watch the footage of Bobby Kennedy in Indianapolis on April 4, 1968, with his sideswept golden-brown hair and his starched white collared shirt, with his hands fiddling nervously down near his stomach and his voice laced simultaneously with grief and resolve, I can't help but see something else. I can't help but see, like so many others see looking back from our historical vantage point, Boris Yaro's iconic black-and-white photograph of Bobby Kennedy splayed out on the floor of the kitchen of the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, seconds after being shot at point-blank range (see Appendix B). In listening to Kennedy's beautiful, trembling, and uplifting voice as he channels Aeschylus to soothe a traumatized city after a devastating assassination, I simply cannot escape the horrible knowledge that in just sixty-two days, on June 5th, 1968, this man standing on the back of the flatbed truck will be shot. And in sixty-three days, on June 6th, 1968, this handsome and charismatic man, full of charm and compassion and a vision for this country, will be dead. How can this be Aeschylean? Where is the wisdom that comes from the suffering?

But if Aeschylus' conception of *pathei mathos* is thus unsatisfactory, where can we turn? Perhaps, we can find a rejoinder to this Aeschylean mantra in the work of Euripides. Specifically, the Euripidean *Electra* provides a counterargument to Aeschylus' point. In this particular play, we see that Euripides is unafraid to directly confront his dramaturgical forerunner; most blatantly, Euripides crafts an obvious (and, in my opinion, quite successful and amusing) parody of Aeschylus' recognition scene between Orestes and Electra in *Libation Bearers*. In Euripides' *Electra*, the eponymous character and the Old Man are discussing how to determine whether the man at Agamemnon's tomb is Orestes. The ideas that the Old Man has are lifted straight out of Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* (a lock of hair, a footprint, and a piece of weaving), but Electra—in a not-so-subtle jab at Aeschylus—rejects them as foolish and impossible symbols of identification (Eur. *El.* 520–546). From this scene, it is clear that Euripides is not only well versed in Aeschylean tropes and techniques but also eager to engage in repartee and argumentation with the greatest playwright of the prior generation.

And, in a scene a few hundred lines before this parody, Euripides gives his response to Aeschylus' idea of *pathei mathos*. When Orestes, who has not yet revealed his identity to his sister, speaks with an unknowing Electra, he explains that "we pay / a high price for being intelligent. Wisdom hurts" (Eur. *El.* 295–96). Now, these words seem to invert the Aeschylean relationship between wisdom and suffering. While Aeschylus believes that suffering leads to wisdom, Euripides here explains that, no, it is actually wisdom that leads to suffering. In the original Greek, it is not as one-to-one a reversal as *pathei mathos* to *mathei pathos* (Euripides, in fact, uses *sophos* for wisdom in this case), but Euripides' general idea nevertheless still stands in opposition to Aeschylus'. Euripides' is, to me, a much less comforting worldview, where wisdom precedes and even begets suffering. Suffering is not explained, as it is in Aeschylus, as a stop along the journey to wisdom, but rather as a byproduct of wisdom that has already been attained.

So, then, is Bobby Kennedy sprawled out on the cold floor of the Ambassador Hotel, bathing in a growing pool of his own blood, no more than a paradigmatic representation of the Euripidean "wisdom hurts"? It is a depressing thought, but I do not know what else I can offer. Did Kennedy, along with his brother and Martin Luther King, Jr., "pay a high price for being intelligent"? To say that these three assassinations were absolutely devastating to our nation would be both unoriginal and an understatement. But, then, I am far from the first to recognize

that this world, where our symbols of wisdom and of justice and of hope are slaughtered in their prime by deranged gunmen, is an unfair place. It is Sophocles' Neoptolemus, in fact, who has the now-clichéd realization that "it's always the good men" who die before their time (*Phil*. 437).

I hate to end this piece on such a downcast note, especially because it started as a celebration of the soothing and uplifting power of Aeschylus' words intoned in the mellifluous and heartbroken voice of Bobby Kennedy. This piece started as a celebration of an American city with a sizeable black population where, on April 4, 1968—a night on which there were over 25,000 reported injuries in 110 rioting cities nationwide[10]—there were no riots, only solemn sadness and a resolve to go forward and stamp out injustice. This piece started as a celebration of the healing power of Athenian *tragoidia*. But perhaps, even in the bleak pronouncement of Euripides' Orestes, there is something comforting. There is the idea that, in times of terrible suffering and violence, we can, as Bobby Kennedy did on the back of that flatbed truck on a somber April night in Indianapolis, turn to the Greeks. Maybe not for all the answers, but certainly to see that they too grappled with the same questions of the universal human experience. That they too wondered why wisdom hurts. And with that thought, when I look at that terrible photograph of Bobby Kennedy on the floor of the Ambassador Hotel, and I see the weary anguish plastered on the face of the charismatic young politician who had soothed a crowd of shocked and distressed Indianapolitans just sixty-two days earlier, and I ask myself how and why this could possibly have happened, I don't feel quite as cold or alone.

[10]Drury and Crouch, "Robert F. Kennedy," 22.

Appendix A: Robert F. Kennedy's Speech in Indianapolis, Indiana (April 4, 1968)

Ladies and Gentlemen,
I'm only going to talk to you just for a minute or so this evening, because I have some—

some very sad news for all of you—Could you lower those signs, please?—I have some very sad news for all of you, and, I think, sad news for all of our fellow citizens, and people who love peace all over the world; and that is that Martin Luther King was shot and was killed tonight in Memphis, Tennessee.

Martin Luther King dedicated his life to love and to justice between fellow human beings. He died in the cause of that effort. In this difficult day, in this difficult time for the United States, it's perhaps well to ask what kind of a nation we are and what direction we want to move in. For those of you who are black—considering the evidence evidently is that there were white people who were responsible—you can be filled with bitterness, and with hatred, and a desire for revenge.

We can move in that direction as a country, in greater polarization—black people amongst blacks, and white amongst whites, filled with hatred toward one another. Or we can make an effort, as Martin Luther King did, to understand, and to comprehend, and replace that violence, that stain of bloodshed that has spread across our land, with an effort to understand compassion and love.

For those of you who are black and are tempted to fill with—be filled with hatred and mistrust of the injustice of such an act, against all white people, I would only say that I can also feel in my own heart the same kind of feeling. I had a member of my family killed, but he was killed by a white man.

But we have to make an effort in the United States. We have to make an effort to understand, to get beyond, or go beyond these rather difficult times.
My favorite poem, my—my favorite poet was Aeschylus. And he once wrote:

Even in our sleep, pain which cannot forget Falls drop by drop upon the heart,
Until, in our own despair, against our will, Comes wisdom through the awful grace of God.

What we need in the United States is not division; what we need in the United States is not hatred; what we need in the United States is not violence and lawlessness, but is love, and wisdom, and compassion toward one another; and a feeling of justice toward those who still suffer within our country, whether they be white or whether they be black.

So I ask you tonight to return home, to say a prayer for the family of Martin Luther King—yeah, it's true—but more importantly to say a prayer for our own country, which all of us love—a prayer for understanding and that compassion of which I spoke.

We can do well in this country. We will have difficult times. We've had difficult times in the past, but we—and we will have difficult times in the future. It is not the end of violence; it is not the end of lawlessness; and it's not the end of disorder.

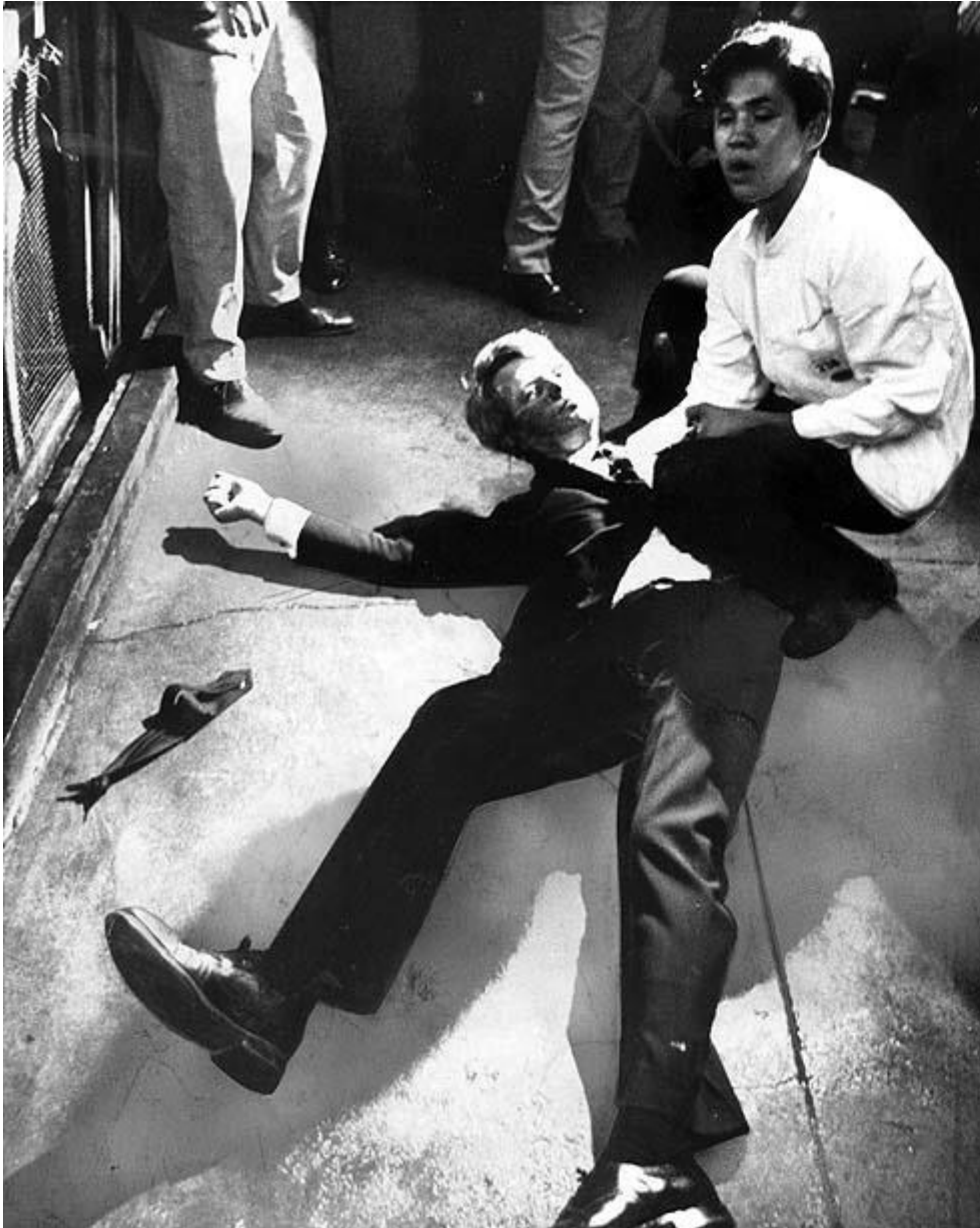
But the vast majority of white people and the vast majority of black people in this country want to live together, want to improve the quality of our life, and want justice for all human beings that abide in our land.

And let's dedicate ourselves to what the Greeks wrote so many years ago: to tame the savageness of man and make gentle the life of this world. Let us dedicate ourselves to that, and say a prayer for our country and for our people. Thank you very much.

Full transcript, *American Rhetoric*
(http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/rfkonmlkdeath.html)

Near-complete video of the speech, YouTube
(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j6mxL2cqxrA)

Appendix B: Boris Yaro's Photograph of Robert F. Kennedy (June 5, 1968)



Boris Yaro, *Shooting of Robert F. Kennedy,* 1968
(https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/d/d3/Rfk_assassination.jpg)

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Why fight? Winning endless war in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*

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Security or Chaos?
The Reality Behind the Hag

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There is a striking difference in who was practicing magic in documentary opposed to literary evidence. When studying ancient magic, one of the topics that appears again and again is how gender is presented in the evidence available. Men are found much more often as the practitioners of magic in papyri or curse tablets. Women, on the other hand, were found prevailing as the male-written literary trope witches.[1] Magical women of the physical evidence and literature differed greatly from each other. When women did practice ritual magic in the ancient world, their motivations were based around social anxieties due to status and their sex, which boiled down to wanting a stable livelihood. In the literary evidence, male writers shaped the foundations of presentation for these sorcerers, where they focused heavily on female practitioners rather than male. These female sorcerers are motivated by desire and chaos. The discrepancy between the women in the evidences of archaeological and literary is because of who is providing the evidence. The reminiscences of ancient ritual magic of women are created by women for themselves in a private setting, while the literary evidence is created by and for men publically.

Women who practiced magic in the ancient world were fewer than their male counterparts. Winkler saw the papyri as mostly presenting evidence of 'men in pursuit of unwilling women,' whereas the female was more prominent in literature.[2] Issues in analysing the true motivations of women practitioners arise from the lack of primary accounts of spells written by women.[3] Therefore the discussion of these spells and curses is unfortunately minimal. It is believed that magic was used by women wanting 'a secure relationship with a particular man.'[4] The secure relationship sought after by these women is absolutely key for their social identity. Ripat emphasises the jealousy aspect of these spell through 'curse tablets targeting slave women,' though only few exist.[5] Again, the numbers of these spells particularly are minimal, though Ripat speculates that 'the unrecoverable real number of attempts might have exceeded this handful in exponential figures,' which has no evidential support.[6] Rather than muse about what might have been, we should focus our efforts on analysing the evidence we have.

Ripat continues with one reason for magical curses, which is competition between the practitioner and victim.[7] The relations between the husband and his slave woman 'risked mimicking the exchanges between husband and wife,' which undermined the wife's title and the integrity of the household.[8] Therefore, this jealousy is not always sexual but, again, it is rooted in the social security of the wife. The curses by wives

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[1] Lambert, 81.
[2] Winkler, 226.
[3] Stratton, 4.
[4] Frankfurter, 319.
[5] Ripat, 342.
[6] Ripat, 343.
[7] IBID.
[8] Ripat, 347.

against slave women are attempts to revert the situation back to its original and natural order, unlike the witches of literature. These practitioners of magic are looking for stability and normality rather than the chaos of figures like Lucan's Erictho.

Other curses made by women are not necessarily aimed toward slave women, but many target romantic rivals nonetheless. A fourth century lead curse tablet written by a woman believed to be named Phila, was written to stop the marriage of Thetima and Dionysophon.[9] Phila wants to marry Dionysophon herself and asks those 'dear demons' to come to her aid to stop Dionysophon from being with any woman but her.[10] Frankfurter argues that women like Phila[11] were 'not selfish so much as bent on the wife's security in social status, economic stability, and of course marital harmony.'[12] The main goal in life for these women is to marry and have children, thus rivals of this sort and unfaithful husbands caused anxiety, with the outlet being the use of magic and curses.

Winkler note that ancient magic in general, not just of the female, is a 'way of representing "social forces,"' or tensions that were not openly discussed within a community.[13] In a space where women had little to no social pull, magic was a way for these women to confront what they saw as injustice. Sometimes these injustices had nothing to do with an unfaithful lover. A fourth century 'prayer for justice' papyri depicts Artemisie pleading to Oserapis for the 'father of' her daughter to be punished for not allowing the daughter a tomb.[14] Unlike the women mentioned above, Artemisie is not looking for a lifelong companion in a husband or a secure life, she is, in her own a way, speaking up against someone who wronged her. This person, a man, must have been too powerful for her to interact with directly because of her social constraints. Magic becomes an outlet for the injustice the man caused her.

Opposed to the documentary evidence, where few women are presented, the literary evidence has a staggering amount of female sorcerers available. This is due to the literary sources being 'tales written by men for a largely male audience,' so they only exist as how men see the image of a witch woman. They are not in any way a description for the lives of real women.[15] These male writers do not create stories of haggard and old male sorcerers as creatures to fear. Spaeth writes that the only negative presentation of male sorcerers is the image of the charlatan.[16] The charlatan, however, does not have any powers and therefore should not be feared, unlike the female. It is interesting to note how the Roman literature has a far more negative view on the imagery of the female sorcerer than the Greek, which I will later discuss.

The female sorcerer in literature is depicted as having 'a connection with nature and a focus on the human body.'[17] The idea of the female associated with nature fits almost inherently with male being associated with culture, according to Ortner. Spaeth presented this argument in terms of magic, but believes that Ortner is 'too reductionist in her

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[9] Ogden, T197, 227-228.
[10] Ogden, T197, 227.
[11] For instance, Ogden, T198 & 199, 228-229.
[12] Frankfurter, 329.
[13] Winkler, 218.
[14] Ogden, T190, 221.
[15] Spaeth, 55.
[16] Spaeth, 53.
[17] Spaeth, 43.

interpretations and too universalizing in their application.'[18] Having the female sorceress as the symbol of the wildness and chaos that is nature does fit with the descriptions of characters like 'Wild Erictho,' who 'hangs off muscles that are resistant to her bite' and allows wolves to grab at her sacrifices so she can tear the bodies from the beasts.[19] Horace's Canidia and Sagana are also depicted as animalistic, as they 'tear apart a dark lamb with their teeth.'[20] They are even placed in opposition to the cultural statue of the narrator, Priapus.

The natural chaos of these characters, however, is also paradoxically seen as the 'inversion of the "natural" order.'[21] For example, Erictho cuts babies out of their mothers before they are naturally born and her presence makes it so 'the earth slows its revolution' and rivers run backwards.[22] Instead of the women representing nature, they appear to wholly embody chaos opposed to the natural order as well as culture, which is seen as male. They are also seen as chaotic in terms of the body and sexuality. The sorcerer women in literature are lustful, as opposed to the cultural ideal version of female which is chaste.[23] Spaeth explains how the literary figures represent the connection with the body through examples of lust and desire. To name a few in the Greek literary canon; Circe lusts after Odysseus, Medea after Jason, and Simaetha after Delphis.[24] All of these women are 'driven by their sexual desires,' rather than for the social security of the women writing curse tablets.[25]

Additionally, some female sorcerers were used as jokes and entertainment for the male audience as the inversion of their ideal woman, like Horace's Canidia and Theocritus' Simaetha. In Theocritus' *Idyll* 2, Simaetha is a character 'designed to entertain' and laugh at rather than to cause serious fear.[26] Lambert believes her to be a parody of 'female independence' through every attempt of Simaetha's magic being wrong.[27] For this to be the case, Theocritus would have to have a background knowledge of magic. This does make sense, considering that the tropes must have already existed for the audience to understand the references of binding spells.

Lambert also argues that Theocritus would know that 'real magic is in the domain of men.'[28] Dickie writes that Theocritus' Simaetha is an example of the many tropes shown to the reader, because 'a real man does not use magic to attain his ends' and magic is feminine.[29] This moralising argument from Dickie falls short, however, in this context with regards to Simaetha not practicing magic correctly. In Theocritus' eyes, Simaetha is a woman and cannot practice magic correctly, not that magic is feminine and weak. This argument does not fit with other characters like Canidia and Erictho either, who are seen more as beast than woman.

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[18] Spaeth, 43.
[19] Ogden, T96 (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 6.507).
[20] Ogden, T91 (Horace, *Satires*, 1.8)
[21] Spaeth, 45.
[22] Ogden, T96 (Lucan, Pharsalia, 6.434 & 507)
[23] Spaeth, 53-55.
[24] Spaeth, 43. & Ogden, T72 (Homer, *Odyssey*), T68 (Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*), and T89 (Theocritus, *Idyll* 2).
[25] Spaeth, 43.
[26] Lambert, 71-72.
[27] Lambert, 71.
[28] Lambert, 85.
[29] Dickie, 564.

In the post-Constantinian Roman landscape, moralising rhetoric was created against the stereotyped female sorcerer to protect the family by alienating these characters further. Writers like John Chrysostom spoke up about the dangers of female sorcerers, using the 'literary tropes such as the drunken hag, dispensing amulets and healing potions, or the prostitute, casting love spells to captivate Christian husbands.'[30] These were not meant to 'provide a verifiable history,' but to instill the fear of the Christian god within their audience.[31] The use of these tropes was because their 'audiences were still rooted in Greco-Roman literary culture' and to further alienate magic-users.[32]

Magic is already seen as an Other to society, making the sorcerer in their rhetoric a female strengthens her Otherness. They spoke these orations against magic women in response to fears of the breakdown of 'the vulnerable Christian home' and people being led away from the church.[33] The sermon makers deviated from the original trope of the female healer women. They make her 'drunken… half-witted and silly,' who 'could cause significant harm,' rather than heal the sick.[34] What is ironic about these presentations of pagan ritual is that they later 'appropriated the categories of traditional healing to describe Christian rituals/sacraments.'[35] For instance, making the symbol of the cross would protect someone just as much as an amulet made by a magic-using healer.

These tropes have been seen to differ in terms of time, but they also differ in terms of place. The female sorcerers of the Greek world are even presented differently to those of the Roman world. The Roman image of the female practitioner is scarier and much more negative than those images of the Greeks.[36] The Greek sorcerers are 'young and beautiful,' like Circe, Medea, and Simaetha.[37] Roman characters, however, like Erictho, are given the 'popular image of the night-witch' or hag.[38] She is depicted as old and ugly, 'her horrible face is burdened by a Stygian pallor and uncombed locks.'[39] Canidia and Sagana lose their false hair and teeth as they run away in Horace's *Satires*.[40] Spaeth points out that the Greek sorcerers are set in the heroic past and the 'Roman authors generally place their witches firmly in the real world,' causing them to be more frightening to an audience.[41]

A reason Spaeth gives for these differences is the ideas these two places have about the 'relationship between women and power, and between women and the divine.'[42] In Greece, women were usually socially powerless, but had the exception in the religious setting where they could be priestesses and and performed rituals. This gives Greek women a regulated type of power allowed to them in religious activity. Therefore, the

[30] Kalleres, 219.
[31] Kalleres, 236.
[32] Kalleres, 223 & 220.
[33] Kalleres, 219.
[34] Kalleres, 228.
[35] Kalleres, 230.
[36] Spaeth, 45.
[37] Spaeth, 46.
[38] Gordon, 232.
[39] Ogden, T96, 122, (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 6.507).
[40] Ogden, T91, 115, (Horace, *Satires*, 1.8).
[41] Spaeth, 51.
[42] Spaeth, 53.

threat of women in Greece gaining power through ritual or magical means to undermine 'male control of society as a whole would seem unlikely,' according to Spaeth.[43]

The Romans did not regulate the social and economic power of women and 'their role in state religion was highly restricted.'[44] The threat of women gaining power by any means is far more terrifying to a male audience. These stories scare men and also present the opposite of the ideal Roman woman. This form of Othering the female Roman sorcerer gave a backdrop where a 'wide variety of anxieties and desires can be projected' by the Roman male writers like Lucan, Horace, Ovid, and much more. These women are powerful, animalistic, and emasculating witches as opposed to Greece's beautiful sorceress.

Scholarship has varied on discussions on female magic users. Most female magic presented in the scholarship is erotic magic. Some scholars believe that there were dichotomous types of erotic magic, *philia*, the more feminine form meant to cause affection, and *agōgai*, which was seen as the masculine, sexually aggressive, and violent form.[45] Frankfurter rightly thinks that, as scholars, we should 'not need to rely on alleged social distinctions between women using *philia* and women using *agōgai*,' considering they are not distinctions made in the ancient world.[46] Faraone described Theocritus' Simaetha playing the 'aggressive masculine role,' as if a fictional female sorcerer was evidence of women using 'male' magic.[47] Dickie states that 'respectable women' avoid magic.[48] He thus stereotypes and moralizes magic users like Christian sermon writers in late antiquity.[49] Dickie presents the 'bad' woman as the 'old prostitute,' falling into clichés of ancient literature rather than true analysis of historical women.[50] These views, held by Faraone and Dickie, feed the tropes written by men in the ancient literature of the 'bad' and 'masculine' woman performing magic, instead of creating a true depiction of female magic users.

Many scholarly writers use the ancient tropes created by men to analyse and explain the real female practitioners of magic. As stated before, these literary accounts differ from the actual evidence of women practicing magic. This is because, stated by Stratton, 'they are fictionalized products of a male author's imagination and likely reveal very little if anything about the private rituals of ancient women.'[51] Frankfurter writes that 'literary sorceresses… may also have reflected broader suspicions of women's real ritual efforts to protect home and marriage'[52] Dickie even uses Apuleius' Pamphile as an example of 'one manifestation of a phenomenon widespread in Thessaly, female magic-working.'[53] Kalleres calls out Dickie as using these literary characters 'as testimony of a

[43] IBID.
[44] IBID.
[45] Frankfurter, 322. & ''Those rituals used generally by men to instill erotic passion in women and those used generally by women to maintain or increase affection in men.' Faraone, 401. Faraone titles *agōgia* as *erōs* magic.
[46] Frankfurter, 322.
[47] Faraone, 407.
[48] Dickie, 581.
[49] More on post-Constantinian Christian writers: Kalleres, 219.
[50] Dickie, 582.
[51] Stratton, 4.
[52] Frankfurter, 323.
[53] Dickie, 582.

widespread belief in antiquity that prostitutes did practice magic freely.'[54] Literary sources present a 'social history,' but not a 'realistic account' of women of the era, therefore must questioned rather than using them as stand alone evidence.[55] Though the literary sources are not to be ignored, their place in analysis does not belong within the realm of history or actual accounts of magic-working.

Unsurprisingly, the women of male construction are not the same as those who live and breathe. Reviewing spell papyri and curse tablets of women depict lives with hardships of those who are not given the power to act, though our picture is incomplete. They are written out of anger, anxiety about their social security, and injustice. These are not the women created from stereotype, who are driven by lust and chaos, written by men like Theocritus, Lucan, or for the rhetoric of Christian sermons. This large discrepancy in the evidences of female magic practitioners stems from male representation of women rather than women representing themselves. These stereotypes may have gained their own momentum post creation, as the male public formed them into whatever message they wished to convey, whether it be the fear of the Other and the female gaining power in communities, or even to make light out the terrifying trope like Horace and Theocritus.

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[54] Kalleres, 235.
[55] Kalleres, 244.

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HARVARD
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Why fight? Winning endless war in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*

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Peace In Violence: Rene Girard and the Homeric Scapegoat

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Ancient violence has remained out of the modern man's grasp. The seemingly pointless barbarity of works like the Odyssey has invited condemnation from secularists and rationalists alike. At face value, scenes of Odysseus slaughtering innocent suitors and honest slave women inspires contempt for its ferocious machismo and bravado. But Rene Girard argues that the commonly conceptualized idea of "primordial violence" serves a very distinct purpose in organizing ancient, as well as modern society. Through his theory of the scapegoat, Girard explains that sacrificial rites are necessary for a community to deal with its violence-ridden psyche. In *Violence and the Sacred,* Girard posits that the original violence within a community must at times project itself onto a victim that will be sacrificed in order for the violence to be purged and for order to return. In this paper, I will use Girard's theory of the surrogate victim to analyze the theoretically necessitated violence-coping within the Odyssey and Odysseus' home.

The rupture of Penelope and Odysseus' bond constitutes the generative act of violence within the home. Odysseus' son, Telemachus, traces all of his family's ailments to the departure of Odysseus. When broached by Athena, he explains "once this house was rich, no doubt, beyond reproach when the man you mentioned still lived here." (Hom. Od. 1.270) The palace existed in peace as long as the familial singularity remained intact. Odysseus' exodus fragmentized the familial unit, producing the genitive act of violence, and inviting brooding ailments onto itself and the home. Telemachus' ability to trace his calamity to the familial fissure serves as a helpful starting point to understand the seemingly original conception of internal barbarity.

With Odysseus' departure, the household bears the burden of the original violence. Telemachus articulates his problems through the home. In his address to old Aegyptius, he explains that "trouble has struck my house—a double blow." (Hom. Od. 2.49) The disorder is described in terms of an illness that must be purged. Telemachus continues "now we have no man… to drive this curse from the house." (Hom. Od. 2.63) The ailment plagues the house and, like a true disease, serves to reproduce itself at the margins.

The original violence ravages through the home unchecked and remakes itself indefinitely. Odysseus' absence manifests itself through the unchecked destruction of the home's possessions. The suitors who fawn over the familial rift and court Penelope, are caught in the cyclical imitation of the original rite. They are found "skinning goats in the courtyard, singeing pigs for roasting." (Hom. Od. 2.335) The subtle manifestation of the broken house has found its home within the suitors, who are "weaving their violent work with all their wicked hearts…blind in their violence." (Hom. Od. 2.264) The ritualistic nature of their feasts—the slaughter, consumption, and repetition—is incapable of escaping.

The household is unable to be purged of its ailment unless the original victim, the home, is reborn through a surrogate violence. Telemachus' attempt to expel the suitors through discourse is ineffective in stopping the bloody cycle. Telemachus gains the strength to condemn the suitors from Athena: "stop, my friends! Leave me alone to pine away in anguish." (Hom. Od. 2.74) The address is unsuccessful, and the suitors reply "We'll not go back." (Hom. Od. 2.140) Despite the fact that Telemachus is the new lord of the home, his reproach has no effect on the suitors or the fissure within his family. Athena aptly points out that only blood can return order: "if only that Odysseus sported with these suitors, a blood wedding." (Hom. Od. 1.308) The

familial void can only be mediated with a violent coalescing of rivaling dichotomies within the home. The brutality "won't part till blood has flowed." (Hom. Od. 18.171)

Penelope's suitors' spacial dichotomy and her slave's promiscuity allows them to serve as the surrogate victim for the original violence. For sacrifice to be successful at purging household violence, the sacrificial victims must be both an insider and an outsider.[1] The ambiguity between the home and the city allows sacrificial violence to take on a cathartic function.[2] The suitors constantly enter and exit Odysseus' home. The guest classification, being at once an outsider and an insider, is born out of the familial rupture. The suitors are simultaneously in and out of favor with Penelope, they are both courted and rejected: "Not one could touch Penelope for intrigue, but in this case she intrigues beyond all limits." (Hom. Od. 2.135) Penelope's slave women are in a similar predicament. While physically belonging to the palace of Odysseus, they give themselves to the suitors at night. (Hom. Od. 22.449) If the sacrificial victim was too close to the home, it would constitute generative violence. If they are too distant, it won't be able to rid the home of its original sin. Thus the suitors and the slave women are viably able to mediate the initial rupture.

Killing the surrogate victim brings peace to the home, but constitutes generative violence within Ithaca. Peace is unattainable without bloodshed. Despite the fact that Odysseus returns and has the ability to reorder his home with an authoritative decree to the suitors, he remains disguised. His conversation with Penelope is veiled in lies. A simple return of the hero does not fix the original rupture. The violent rift can only be interceded through violence. Odysseus and Telemachus purge the suitors and the slave women to return order to the palace. (Hom. Od. 22) The slaughter ends the constitutive cycle of barbarity. Odysseus congratulates his old nurse, "Rejoice in your heart, old woman—peace."(Hom. Od. 22.435) While the sacrifice absolved the original violence within the home, it establishes an act of generative violence within Ithaca. Majority of the suitors came from the city: "the twelve best lords from Ithaca itself." (Hom. Od. 16.280) While the suitors straddled the insider-outsider line within Odysseus' home, they were insiders within the city. The only way for the community to deal with this newfound violence is to sacrifice the surrogate victim responsible for the original act, Odysseus.

The divine is able to mediate the generative violence born out of Odysseus. Once the rumors of Odysseus' murder spread, the community is roused to act. Eupithes spoke in honor of his son, pleading "My friends, what a mortal blow this man has dealt to all our island people… quick, after him… or we'll hang our heads forever… if we don't punish the murderers." (Hom. Od. 24.470-480) The community can only stop reciprocal bloodshed through the sacrifice of Odysseus, the harbinger of the communal discord. Odysseus is chastised by the mourning father: "he lost the ships and he lost the men and back he comes again to kill the best of our Cephallenian princes." (Hom. Od. 24.473) At one turn a war veteran and returned hero, he becomes a failure and a danger. The battle between the men of Ithaca and the men of Odysseus can only be stopped with the aid of the most powerful force in the world: the sacred. Athena urges the men and Odysseus to "make peace at once!" (Hom. Od. 24.586) Ithaca's foreboding cycle of violence is interrupted with the threat of divine violence: "don't court the rage of Zeus who rules the world!" (Hom. Od. 24.589) The gods successfully absorb mortal brutality, and bring peace to the land.

Through the surrogate victims (suitors and the slave women), Odysseus is able to purge the original familial rupture preceding the myth. The sacrifice of the surrogates returns peace to

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[1] Ibid., 101
[2] Ibid., 55

Odysseus' home, but similar to the initial familial rupture, it creates an act of generative violence that can only be expunged through the divine. The violence presented in the Odyssey's has a precise and necessary role for ancient and contemporary societies alike. Through the surrogate victims, the community has an ability to project its personal differences, violence, and ailments onto a few individuals, ridding the psyche of its violent impulse. While much of modernity sees itself above unchecked bloodshed, the relatively recently articulated "social contract" has been unable to deal with the reciprocal violence overshadowing all human interaction. A contemporary redefinition of violence has simply transported surrogate violence into a judicial realm. Modern mass murder takes place within the palace of the law.

Criticism of Girard

Girard contends that for the surrogate sacrifice to be possible, its participants must be unaware.[3] The community must not feel pity or guilt for the victim, which is why the victim is presented as a monster. The narrative of the victim is often told without their input, so as to limit the possibility of compassion. Girard mostly ignores the actual act of the presentation, who chooses the narrative to tell and what differences get mediated. The absentia of more thorough explanation is integral for the theory's universality, but leaves the inner workings of the sacrifice opaque.

Girard argues that it's through a constant repetition of the scapegoat ritual that society can maintain peace and security.[4] My application of the scapegoat theory to the Odyssey offers an interesting dilemma. The sacrifice of a victim in one community must constitute generative violence in another. The theory holds weight within closed off societies, but as the breadth of sacrifice expands and communal power dilutes, any form of violence must reproduce more violence; the purge exists its remedial realm and becomes the ailment. The theory emphasises a focus on the cyclical barbarity that stems from a religious conception of original violence cast onto humanity by God. Girard's assumption of generative violence's existence outside of the scope of a priori analyses relegates its quality and origin to the margins. The reader is urged to interpret *violence* as a given, regardless of its intensity or conception.

Violence and the Sacred argues that it's a lack of differentiation within a community that unites all social wants and wages a Hobbesian war against all.[5] Girard explains that scapegoating reinforces differences within a community, so as to limit competition for scarcity.[6] This deviates from a traditional Platonic conception, that argues tragedy is dangerous to the social milieu of a group because it has an ability to undermine differences: tragedy opens a window onto the dark origins of social values.[7] Girard simply points out the incompatibility of Aristotle and Plato's understanding of tragedy, but he does not analyze specifically how the scapegoat ritual deals with subversion, nor does he want to (for that would erase a vital aspect of human drama from sacrifice). While the theory posits that sacrifice reinforces differences, it's just as easy to interpret it as consolidating rivaling forces. Girard draws on Aristotle's ideation of tragic catharsis, arguing that the scapegoat is unifying only in the sense that it is divisive.[8] Girard's

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[3] Girard, 101
[4] Ibid., 24
[5] Ibid., 149
[6] Ibid., 150
[7] Ibid., 293
[8] Ibid., 293

only response to Plato is to highlight how Platonic writing is performing its own sacrifice: by chastising tragedy, Plato turns the poet into a surrogate victim. Through silence, and lack of any viable criticism, Girard cleverly breaks the cycle of violence. The scapegoat is allowed to be played out within human drama. Girard's theory of the scapegoat is like Aristotle's theory of tragedy, he incorporates "all the meanings and reasons that pertain to the misunderstanding of this crisis."[9] The scapegoat affirms, consolidates, and preserves everything that deserves to be affirmed, consolidated, and preserved.

[9] Ibid., 292

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Tracking the Trickster Examining the Pre-Eminent Figure of Myth

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Abstract

The trickster figure remains one of the most pervasive figures of global mythologies. Trickster figures can be identified in the narratives of almost every culture. The ubiquity of trickster figures and myths highlights the complexity of the human struggle. The trickster embodies dueling forces. Highly intelligent and clever, the trickster is both a creator and destroyer, he both disrupts social order and reinforces it. Though malicious deception is largely denounced in myth, tricksters are praised. Trickster's use of cunning duplicity and bravery at critical moments is exalted as crucial to the vitality of human civilization. Though trickster figures and myths can be identified in almost every culture, I will focus on Ancient Mesopotamian, Greek, and Biblical tricksters. Examining these tricksters provides for unique observations on the importance of trickster myths and all they represent in human cultural narratives.

Tracking the Trickster: Examining the Pre-Eminent Figure of Myth

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Myth plays an important role in the formation of cultural understanding as they help individuals contextualize their place in the world. Myth allows societies to promote order as a universal ideal. Despite the enduring subjugation of chaos, the trickster, a highly disordering presence, remains one of the most enduring mythic archetypes. Highly intelligent and clever, the trickster acts as both creator and destroyer. As the trickster defies authority and disrupts order, he or she plays important roles in the creation and reinvention of the world, mankind, or human civilization. The prevalence of this character in culture highlights humanity's complexity. Though malicious deceit is largely condemned, tricksters' use of intelligence and bravery to defy authority at critical moments is exalted as crucial to the vitality of human culture and society.

The trickster archetype is a pervasive character and can be identified in almost every culture's narratives including Mesopotamian, Hellenistic, Hebrew, Native American, West African, South American, Caribbean, Egyptian, Norse, Chinese, and Islamic myth. Trickster figures play complicated roles, as tricksters are "at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator."[1] Clever, mischievous, intelligent, and cunning, tricksters use their wits to play tricks on, deceive, or otherwise disrupt established order. Though disordering figures in cultural narratives, tricksters are often culture heroes, "contributing substantially to the birth and evolution of culture" and human civilization.[2] Because they are clever and willing to defy established conventions and authority at critical moments to promote humanity's success, tricksters are raised as cultural heroes. Though trickster characters are prevalent in almost every culture's myths, focusing on trickster figures in Ancient Mesopotamian, Greek, and Biblical narratives allows for interesting commentaries on the importance of tricksters and all that they represent for cultural creation and reinvention.

The trickster figure plays an important role in Mesopotamian creation myth. Typified in deities such as Marduk, Ea/Enki, and Inanna/Ishtar, the trickster archetype plays an important role in the creation and continued success of humanity. The *Enuma Elish*, the Babylonian Epic of Creation, centers on Marduk and Ea, important culture heroes. The myth opens with a disordered vision of cosmic chaos.[3] From this chaos comes Apsu, god of fresh water, and Tiamat, goddess of the sea and salt water.[4] Apsu and Tiamat then bear the next generation of gods.[5] When these younger gods start to disturb Apsu with their noisy activities, Apsu plots to kill them all. When Tiamat learns of Apsu's murderous intentions, she warns Ea and the rest of the younger gods. Using intellect and trickery, Ea is able to defeat Apsu. Though it is Tiamat that precipitates Apsu's death by warning Ea of Apsu's plot, she becomes violently angry as she mourns Apsu's defeat, and begins to plot her own revenge on the younger gods. Tiamat becomes a highly disordering figure, "epitomiz[ing] chaos."[6] As the younger gods consider their response to Tiamat's anger and her evil revenge plot, Marduk rises up as the younger generation's champion.

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[1]Paul Radin, The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology (New York: Schocken) ix.
[2]William J. Hynes and William G. Doty, Mythical Trickster Figures: Contours, Contexts, and Criticisms (Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama Press) 23.
[3]Stephanie Dalley, Mesopotamia: Creation, The Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 233.
[4]Dalley, 318, 329.
[5]Dalley, 234.
[6]Dalley, 329.

Following Ea's example, Marduk employs deception, to help him soundly defeat Tiamat. Trickery becomes central to the Babylonian creation narratives as both Marduk and Ea use deception to defeat their enemies and successfully protect cosmic order.

This theme of trickery pervades Mesopotamian myth, present in not only narratives of the creation of the universe, but also stories of mankind's creation and reinvention. Enki/Ea remains an important trickster figure in Mesopotamian myth, rising as as a god of wisdom and fresh water, using his cunning intelligence to support and reinvent human culture and civilization.[7] The Sumerian story of the Birth of Man emphasizes the importance of ingenuity as it depicts Enki's role in humanity's creation and cultural renewal. Enki plays a key role in creating man and helping individuals contextualize their purpose and place in the world.[8] At a banquet celebrating Enki's creation of man, Ninmah boasts she is more powerful and plays a larger role in man's fate than Enki.[9] Enki engages in a contest with Ninmah and wins by tricking Ninmah into putting herself in a situation where her powers are rendered useless. Using his intellect and cunning, Enki, the trickster, is able to not only reinforce his power but also support all mankind. He creates ways for all members of society, "even the physically handicapped… [to] earn their living as useful members of society."[10] In empowering all members of human culture and society, Enki supports and advances mankind.

Enki/Ea continues to personify the trickster archetype in Mesopotamian flood stories, chronicled in the Epic of Atrahasis and the story of Utnapishtim from the Epic of Gilgamesh. Though the gods created mankind to bear the labors of the world, the gods eventually become angry with mankind.[11] As the gods consider how to channel their discontent with humanity, they eventually decide to send disease, sickness, and flood to wipe out mankind. Though the gods all agree to take this action, Enki defies Ellil's divine authority and deviates from the plans. Enki warns Atrahasis of the gods' plans and advises him on how to escape destruction. Though the gods were initially angry at Enki's deception, they come to appreciate his trickery.[12] In using his intellect to cleverly defy divine order, Enki, the trickster, becomes humanity's savior as he promotes human survival and success.

The story of Adapa, who is an important figure in Mesopotamian myth, highlights another important use of trickery in Mesopotamian narratives. The myth centers on Adapa, "the first of the antediluvian seven sages who were sent by Ea the wise god of Eridu, to bring the arts of civilization to mankind."[13] His struggle shows humanity's eternal quest for immortality. Because Adapa trusts Ea, Adapa is easily tricked into squandering his chance at immortality. The gods offer Adapa immortality, bringing him "the bread of (eternal) life… [and] the water of (eternal) life."[14] Advised by his patron god, Ea, Adapa rejects each gift. The gods question Adapa's repeated refusal of their gifts, asking him "didn't you want to be immortal?"[15] It is then that Adapa finally understands the opportunity he has missed and recognizes Ea's trickery. Though Ea's trickery seems malicious at the surface, negatively affecting Adapa's life, it proved

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[7]Dalley, 320.
[8]Thorkild Jacobsen, The Harps that Once… Sumerian Poetry in Translation (New Haven: Yale University Press) 151.
[9]Jacobsen, 151.
[10]Jacobsen, 151.
[11]Dalley 9-20.
[12]Dalley 28, 33–35.
[13]Dalley, 183.
[14]Dalley, 187.
[15]Dalley, 187.

positive for humanity as it promotes cosmic order. As emphasized in the Epic of Gilgamesh, mortality is an important part of humanity. Though Utnapishtim stands as an important exception, man is meant to remain mortal. By using trickery to ensure Adapa is unable to achieve immortality, Ea supports humanity and protects cosmic order.

One of the few female tricksters, Inanna highlights an interesting aspect of the trickster archetype. Because she is conceived as weaker as a woman, Inanna "uses wit and trickery instead of traditional forms of power to accomplish certain goals."[16] We see this in the Myth of the Transfer of the Arts of Civilization from Eridu to Erech as Inanna out-tricks Enki, the quintessential trickster.[17] She steals the *me*, the foundations of civilization. The *me* includes qualities such as wisdom, heroism, power, joy, decision-making, deceit, and artisan skills. By deceiving Enki, Inanna does not reinvent mankind but successfully strengthen her power among the Mesopotamian gods. Though trickery precipitates cultural invention and rebirth, it also serves another important function. Deception becomes an important tool of weak, empowering individuals and allowing them to reach goals despite unlikely odds.

The archetypal trickster plays an important role in Ancient Greek myth. Prototypical tricksters, such as Prometheus and Hermes, play major roles in creating and reinventing mankind. A clever trickster, Prometheus is a culture hero, responsible for the creation and development of humanity, creation, and civilization. Prometheus' role as both a trickster and key Greek cultural hero is emphasized by stories of creation recorded by ancient Greek writers such as Hesiod, Homer, and Aeschylus. With the help of Athena, Prometheus creates the first men from clay.[18] Epimetheus, Prometheus' brother Titan accidentally gives all the best traits and skills to the rest of the animal kingdom. Thus, Prometheus decides to intervene on humanity's behalf and defies Zeus' divine authority in order to support mankind. He gives man skills and knowledge previously reserved to the gods: allowing men to stand and walk upright and work with fire. Zeus is enraged at Prometheus' act of defiance and decrees men use their newfound skill with fire to honor the gods by offering animal sacrifices.[19] Prometheus deceives the gods again, tricking the gods to retain the worst, most fatty parts of the meat so that men are able to keep the good meat. This trickery angers Zeus. Because he never truly cared much for mankind, Zeus hides fire from man once again.[20] Though Zeus' word is law, codified by his authority as the supreme Olympian god, Prometheus defies Zeus' authority, stealing fire for mankind once again. Zeus is unable to look past this act of defiance and tells him, "Son of Iapetos, clever above all others, you are pleased at having stolen fire and outwitted me—a great calamity both for yourself and for men to come."[21] Zeus sends down Pandora to punish man and punishes Prometheus by condemning him to an eternity chained to a rock with an eagle devouring his liver. The depiction of Prometheus as a trickster character is complicated. Though punished by Zeus for his deception, Prometheus is largely praised as an important culture hero and positive moral exempla. Prometheus plays a key role in not only creating mankind but also in helping spur humanity and human civilization development and evolution. A clever, crafty, and intelligent figure rebelling against despotic gods as he stirs up existing order, Prometheus is an important culture hero, necessary for humanity's success.

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[16]Leana Wessels, "An Analysis of the Extent to Which the Trickster Archetype Can Be Applied to the Goddess Inanna/Ishtar," Journal of Semitics 2013, 22.1:35-55, 11 Apr. 2016.

[17]"Inanna and Enki Translation," 2006, The ETCSL Project, Segment D-E.

[18]Aeschylus, "Prometheus Bound," 2009, The Internet Classics Archive, MIT, 11 Apr. 2016.

[19]Hesiod, Works and Days (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 38

[20]Hesiod, 38.

[21]Hesiod, 38.

The Greek messenger god, Hermes, stands as another important trickster figure in Ancient Greek myth and cultural narratives. In addition to being the messenger god, Hermes also stands as the god of shepherds, commerce, music, athletics, rhetoric, travelers, crossroads, boundaries, and thieves. Characterizations of Hermes highlight his use of wit and deceit to accomplish his goals. Hermes is raised as a highly disordering figure: "like every other trickster [in myth and cultural narrative], Hermes, too, operates outside the fixed bounds of custom and law."[22] Works from Homer and Hesiod as well as unattributed hymns to Hermes, emphasize the importance of Hermes' cunning, thievery, and deception to making Hermes a key benefactor and savior of human civilization. Stories and depictions of Hermes credit him with stealing important divine objects, such as the Trident of Poseidon, Artemis' arrows, and Aphrodite's golden girdle, for his own purposes.[23] Hermes is also credited with using cunning to craft key tools of human civilization, including fire, the alphabet, dice, and musical instruments, such as the lyre. Hermes uses his intellect and cunning to not only further his own interests but also enhance human civilization. In his characterizations in Ancient Greek myth, Hermes stands out as an important trickster figure of Ancient Greek culture.

Though not as pervasive in Biblical narratives as in the myths of certain other cultures, tricksters and trickery play an important role in Biblical narratives. The Torah and Bible have complicated relationships with trickery. Depictions of certain characters, such as Joseph's brothers or the serpent in the Adam and Eve, highlight show a clear disapproval of deception in biblical narrative. Though deception is largely condemned in biblical narratives, tricksters are sometimes praised when their trickery allows them to rise from positions of weakness or vulnerability to exert power. Other stories show that at times trickery and deception is necessary and even virtuous when used by the weak to disrupt despotic rule. We see this acutely in Genesis. As he proceeds through Egypt, Abram lies about his wife, Sarai, passing her off as his sister for their protection.[24] Similarly, Isaac tells those he encounters in the city of Gerar that his wife, Rebekah, is his sister in order to protect their family.[25] Deception allows Abram and Isaac to rise from positions of relative weakness. Trickery empowers themselves and their families. Jacob becomes another important biblical trickster figure as he deceives family members such as his father, Isaac, his brother, Esau, and his uncle, Laban, to benefit himself and the rest of his family.[26] YHWH, the Hebrew God, seems to endorse these acts of trickery, going as far as to act as a divine trickster, himself. Some scholars even argue YHWH operates as a trickster, himself, as he engages in deception and validates certain acts of trickery in order to support humanity and uphold the ancestral covenant he made with the Jewish people in Genesis 12:1-3.

This trickster archetype continues later in the Old Testament as figures such as David use trickery to empower themselves when disadvantaged. In 1 Samuel, David "pretended to be mad when in [King Achish of Gath's] presence" to protect himself against the Philistines.[27] Because he knows coming off as insane will protect him among the Philistines, David deceives King Achish. Later, David lies again as he tells King Achish about his tribal raids. By lying, David is

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[22]Radin, 185.
[23]Mark Cartwright, "Hermes," 2012, Ancient History Encyclopedia, 24 June 2012.
[24]"Genesis 12," The New Oxford Annotated Bible: With the Apocrypha, ed. Michael David, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[25]"Genesis 26," ed. Michael David et al.
[26]John Edward Anderson, Jacob and the Divine Trickster: A Theology of Deception and YHWH's Fidelity to the Ancestral Promise in the Jacob Cycle (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011).
[27]"1 Samuel 21" ed. Michael David et al.

able to gain King Achish's trust.[28] Trickery and deception play important roles in stories of David as they allow him to exert power and protect himself despite positions of disadvantage.

These and other tricksters play important roles in Biblical narratives, showing the importance of deception, intellect, and cunning at critical moments. Deception is emphasized as critical to empowering the weak. Biblical tricksters use trickery for a variety of reasons and to fill a myriad of needs: "Biblical tricksters dupe and delude as battle strategy (Ehud, Jael), for personal reasons (Abraham, Isaac), or for justice's sake (Joseph)."[29] Trickery and deception are not overtly praised in biblical tradition in the same ways they are in Ancient Mesopotamian and Greek narratives, but they still play an important positive role in Biblical narratives.

The trickster archetype remains pervasive in myth and cultural narratives, highlight important themes of human culture and civilization. Stories of tricksters often serve as morality tales, helping individuals understand humanity and contextualize their place in the world. Archetypal tricksters are rarely malicious, but instead use their intellect and cleverness to achieve goals. As they defy despotic authority, tricksters show the importance of bravely using intellect to question established conventions in order to bring about cultural revival and revolution. The trickster figure is complicated. Tricksters are simultaneously creators and destroyers, truth tellers and fabricators. Though they provide lessons to help individuals consider how to live their lives, tricksters are neither completely negative nor completely positive figures. Certain tricksters are punished when their behaviors cross certain lines. For the most part, however, tricksters are positive role models in myths. By exalting tricksters, cultures praise intellect, cleverness, and ingenuity, depicting these traits as critical to human survival and the regeneration of human culture. Complex characters, trickster figures highlight the complexity inherent in humanity and civilization. These figure show audiences that though deceit can be immoral, trickery is sometimes important, necessary, and righteous in order to preserve cosmic order and further support and reinvent mankind.

The trickster archetype remains a pervasive figure in popular culture today, continuing to play an important role in modern understandings of the universe and the human condition. The trickster figure prevails. Trickster figures and myths are present in almost every culture across time and space. Bugs Bunny stands as a modern American trickster. He fits cleanly into the trickster archetype. Intelligent and cunning, Bugs Bunny uses his wits to outsmart those that are conventionally more powerful than him. Bugs Bunny defies order, authority, and norms "in a way that's often lovable, and that often results in good things for the culture at large."[30] Bugs Bunny fits right into characterizations of the trickster figure. His intelligence and willingness to stand up against his strong rivals makes him a type of American culture hero, to be revered and respected.

The trickster figure endures in cultural narratives because it speaks so acutely eloquent to our own humanity. Tricksters represent great power. As tricksters deceive or trick, they defy unlikely odds to achieve their goals. Individuals are able to identify with this as they consider their own lives as to how to become more empowered. Stories of trickster archetypes show individuals how they can work to revitalize aspects of their own lives. Though often conceptualized as disordering forces, tricksters play key roles in bringing structure. Tricksters show that despite perceived weaknesses, with keen intelligence and harsh grit, individuals can rise to change and shape their world. A deep understanding of the important and enduring

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[28]"1 Samuel 27" ed. Michael David et al.

[29]Robert D. Miller, "Solomon the Trickster," Biblical Interpretation 2011, 19.4:496-504, 11 Apr. 2016.

[30]JJ Sutherland, "Bugs Bunny: The Trickster, American Style," 2008, National Public Radio, 12 Apr. 2016.

trickster archetype and all that it represents is crucial for true understanding of human culture and society.

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Sappho's Reproach of Helen: Emending a Lacuna to Understand Sappho Fragment 16

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Sappho's Reproach of Helen: Emending a Lacuna to Understanding Sappho Fragment 16

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In what survives of the poem known as "Sappho 16," Sappho's speaker argues that the most beautiful sight on earth is whatever a person happens to love. She illustrates her point with a mythic exemplum and then relates it to her own situation, but the interpretation of the poem is complicated by a lacuna that obscures a critical part of the text: four missing syllables in line 12.

καλλ[ίποι]σ᾽ ἔβα ᾽ς Τροΐαν πλέοι[σα 9
κωὐδ[ὲ πα]ῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ήων
πά[μπαν] ἐμνάσθ<η>, ἀλλὰ παράγαγ᾽αὔταν
__ ˆ ˆ__]σαν

Although Sappho 16 is among the best-preserved fragments of her work and most of its lacunae are easily glossed, this gap in the text offers several possibilities for emendations, each of which dramatically affects the meaning of the poem. In this paper, I first suggest an emendation for this lacuna that is consistent with the rest of the text and propose an interpretation of the poem in keeping with this emendation. I then discuss how the poem might be translated based on this interpretation, addressing in particular two issues that arise in translating Sappho's poetry: the importance of conveying in translation the meter of the poetry and the treatment of the lacunae in the damaged text. Because Sappho's songs were originally performed to music, both questions are essential to appreciating her poems as the musical compositions they are.

Emendation and Interpretation

After introducing her idea of beauty in the first stanza, Sappho demonstrates her argument with a mythic exemplum: the story of Helen of Troy. Despite having a husband described as *[ἄρ]ιστον* ("the best," 8), Helen abandoned her family for Paris, whom her love made her regard as *κάλλιστον […] ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν* ("the most beautiful [thing or person] on the dark earth," 2-3). Sappho's speaker then draws a parallel to her own situation: for her, the most beautiful sight on earth is Anaktoria, whose return she longs for and whose *ἔρατόν […] βᾶμα* ("beloved walk," 17) and radiant *προσώπω* ("face, countenance," 18) she holds superior to all the armies of the Lydians.

The poem's interpretation and the significance of the Helen exemplum depend on the lacuna in line 12. The missing word is usually assumed to have been the subject of the verb *παράγαγ'* ("[he/she/it] led astray") in the previous line: the person or force responsible for leading Helen astray. Common suggestions are *Κύπρις* or *Ἔρος*;[1] translators often avoid the question by referring simply to "love,"[2] which could be a translation of either. *Πάρις* is another possible emendation, if *παράγαγ᾽* is interpreted as a literal "leading away" rather than a metaphorical "leading astray." Each of these options implies Helen's passive obedience to another agent who is responsible for leading her away from Menelaus in pursuit of Paris. Some emendations go so far

[1] Cf. Bierl; Obbink, Burris & Fish.
[2] Cf. Page; Rayor.

as to refer explicitly to Helen's lack of control, portraying her actions as entirely against her will; Kamerbeek suggests for line 12 *οὐκ ἐθέλοι[σαν*, "not willingly," while Martinelli Tempesta proposes *οὐδὲ θέλοι[σαν*, a slightly different phrasing with the same sense.[3]

I suggest an opposite interpretation of the line 12 lacuna: taking Helen herself as the one responsible for leading herself astray in pursuit of the one she considers *τὸ κάλλιστον* ("the most beautiful," 3). The text obscured by the lacuna cannot be reconstructed with any certainty, but I suggest supplying *οὐκ ἀέκοι]σαν*, "not unwilling," in line 12.[4] This emendation presents two possibilities. Helen herself may be the subject of *παράγαγ'*, making *αὔταν* ("her," or, in this case, "herself," 11) a reflexive object. Although *αὔταν* is not usually reflexive – either *σε αὔταν* or *μιν* would be a more expected form – the reflexive use of *αὔταν* is attested in Aeolic.[5] The form may have been used for metrical reasons, since *σε αὔταν* has one syllable too many for this position and *μιν* one too few. This interpretation raises some grammatical issues: even if *αὔταν* is understood as reflexive, the active verb *παράγαγ'* would more usually be a middle or passive form if used with a reflexive sense. Nonetheless, taking Helen as the subject of *παράγαγ'* is a possibility, if not the most likely. A second approach, which is grammatically more plausible but has the same effect as taking Helen as the subject, is to assume that the subject of the verb was in line 14, which is beyond reconstruction. This subject may have been *Κύπρις*, *Ἔρος*, *Πάρις*, or another agent, but with the emendation *οὐκ ἀέκοισαν* in the previous line, the subject of *παράγαγ'* becomes irrelevant. The question of who led Helen astray does not affect the sense of the stanza: that Helen's choice of Paris over Menelaus was her own.

This interpretation is consistent with Sappho's emphasis in the poem on Helen's agency. Helen ignores the fact that Menelaus, *[τὸ]ν ἄνδρα τόν [περ ἄρ]ιστον* ("although [he was] the best man [of all]", 7-8), is superior to Paris; Sappho's speaker implies with the concessive particle *περ* (7) that Helen's choice is surprising, but presents it as her choice nonetheless. Helen's agency is underscored by the placement of the participle *καλλ[ίποι]σ'* ("leaving behind," 9), which accords with the subject *ἀ/Ἔλενα* (6/7), at the beginning of a line and of a stanza. The word portrays Helen as active subject rather than passive victim and is further emphasized by enjambment. The idea of Helen's independence suggested by *καλλ[ίποι]σ'* continues in the rest of the line, which is dominated by two participles applying to Helen (*καλλ[ίποι]σ', πλέοι[σα* "sailing") and a verb of which she is the subject (*ἔβα* "she went"). Each of these three verb forms denotes motion away from her husband, family, and country.

Sappho's independent Helen is the subject of each verb in this stanza – *ἔβα* (9); *ἐμνάσθ<η>* ("she remembered, gave a thought to," 11) – until the oddly sudden shift to passivity that comes with *παράγαγ'* in line 11, when the speaker appears to present Helen as submissive to the control of an external force that leads her to Troy. This conventional view of Helen as a passive figure is made possible by the lacuna in line 12, which allows readers to assume that this space must have been occupied by *Κύπρις* or *Ἔρος*. To take Helen herself, however, as the effective, if not necessarily the grammatical, subject of *παράγαγ'* is more consistent with Sappho's portrayal of Helen earlier in the stanza as in control of her own actions.

In this interpretation, Helen goes astray "not unwillingly," not subject to the force of a god or of Paris but acting of her own will. This emendation is both metrically and stylistically possible

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[3] Cf. Obbink, Burris & Fish.

[4] The surviving manuscript of the poem appears to have a grave accent at the beginning of line 12, where I have suggested *οὐκ*. The smooth breathing of *οὐκ* could, however, have been interpreted as a grave accent. *ἀέκοισαν* is the form in Aeolic, the Greek dialect in which Sappho composed, of the Attic *ἀέκουσαν*.

[5] Cf. Hamm pp. 106-7.

and consistent with the portrayal of Helen throughout the poem. Stylistically, the line *οὐκ ἀέκοισαν* is also reminiscent of the epode of the sixth stanza of Sappho 1, in which the speaker, identified as Sappho, imagines Aphrodite promising her that another woman will soon return her love *κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα* ("even if she is unwilling"). Thematically, Sappho 1 emphasizes Sappho's own agency in pursuing the object of her love, even enlisting the help of the goddess, just as Sappho 16 depicts an independent Helen who chooses of her own accord to follow Paris. The verb *παράγαγ'* could now be understood as referring not to a forced "leading astray" but rather to an active choice on Helen's part. The speaker has already suggested with the particle *περ* (7) that Helen's choice is irrational; the word *παράγαγ'*, which I translate somewhat loosely as "went off, let her steps be led" (see p. 8), might imply her disapproval of Helen's deliberate abandonment of her family.

Such an interpretation—that Helen left home willingly, to the speaker's implicit disapprova—makes clear the relevance of the Helen exemplum to the rest of the poem. Helen initially appears to have been introduced to illustrate the speaker's claim that *τὸ κάλλιστον* is *ὄττω τις ἔραται* ("whatever one loves," 3-4), since Helen's love for Paris made him appear to her *κάλλιστον […] ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν* even though she herself was the one *πόλυ περσκέθοισα κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων* ("far surpassing [all] men in beauty," 6-7). I propose that the speaker has in fact introduced Helen as a parallel to Anaktoria, of whom the story of Helen has reminded her (*ὀ]νέμναισ'* "reminding," 15-16) and to whom her subject shifts following two lines, 13-14, too damaged to be reconstructed. Just as the placement of *καλλ[ίποι]σ'* at the beginning of the third stanza emphasizes Helen's agency, so Anaktoria is established as the subject of the fifth stanza from its first word, the simple pronoun *τᾶ]ς*.

The lacuna in line 12 therefore determines how the Helen exemplum applies to the speaker's situation. When Helen is understood as a passive figure subject to the control of *Κύπρις* or *Ἔρος*, the speaker is cast as Helen and Anaktoria as Paris, the object of affection. Recognizing the agency that Helen and Anaktoria have in common allows a new interpretation of the exemplum: Anaktoria, like Helen, has chosen to follow the object of her love and has left not only the speaker, who is in Menelaus's position, but also the rest of her family and friends, represented in the exemplum by Helen's daughter and parents. Just as Menelaus is rejected by Helen despite being *[τὸ]ν ἄνδρα τόν […] ἄρ]ιστον* ("the best man [of all]," 7-8), so the speaker considers herself superior to the new object of Anaktoria's affection; she is indignant at Anaktoria's abandonment "without a thought" (*πά[μπαν] ἐμνάσθ<η>*, 11).[6] The speaker's powerlessness is reflected in the verb *βολλοίμαν* ("I would wish, want," 17): the only first-person verb to occur in the poem, it is in the optative mood. This supports an understanding of the role of the exemplum in which the speaker is analogous not to Helen, free to follow the one she loves, but to Menelaus, abandoned by a lover.

Considering Sappho 16 in the context of Sappho's other works may contribute to an understanding of the speaker's relationship to Anaktoria. The abandonment of the speaker by the object of her love is a recurring theme in Sappho's poetry; sometimes the lover is unwilling to go,

[6] The reference to Helen's parents and daughter (10) could suggest Anaktoria's abandonment not only of her immediate family but also of her community. The speaker's mention of her "lovely step" (*ἔρατόν […] βᾶμα*, 17) may be a reference not only to the way she walks but possibly also to the way that chorus-leaders indicated meter with their feet as they sang. Alcman refers in his first *Partheneion* to a girls' chorus led by one singer he calls "Hagesichora." The chorus he describes is Spartan, not Lesbian, and it cannot be assumed that Sappho's compositions were performed in a similar setting; however, if Anaktoria's role was similar to that of Hagesichora, the speaker's reference to her *βᾶμα* would have an added significance.

but more often, it is only the speaker who is left disappointed. Sappho 1, the "ode to Aphrodite," is a plea to the goddess to have Sappho's love for an unspecified girl reciprocated. Fragment 94 describes a parting scene between the speaker, again identified by name as Sappho, and a girl who laments tearfully, *ὤιμ᾽ὡς δεῖνα πεπ[όν]θαμεν, Ψάπφ᾽, ἦ μάν σ᾽ἀέκοισ᾽ἀπθλιμπάνω*[7] (4-5). Fragment 31, however, might be most relevant in comparison to Sappho 16. In this poem, the unnamed speaker exclaims that *φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν ἔμμεν᾽ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐνάντιός τοι ἰσδανει καὶ πλάσιον ἆδθ φωνείσας υπακούει καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν*[8] (1-5). The context is unclear, but the scene described may be a wedding. The speaker silently addresses the bride, describing in detail her reaction to seeing her. The woman, speaking and laughing with the man opposite her, does not seem to notice the speaker's attention. Perhaps Anaktoria's situation is similar: she has married and left the speaker and their community. Although this is hardly a betrayal, the speaker nonetheless compares Anaktoria to Helen of Troy, a traitor who chose to follow her own desires despite the disastrous results of her actions. In this context, Sappho's unusual emphasis on Helen's agency is fitting to her portrayal of Anaktoria's choice as a betrayal.

Translation

Translators of Sappho 16 cannot avoid conveying their own interpretations of line 12 and its implications for the text. This is true of any poem, but especially so of one in which a single line dramatically changes its meaning. Many translators do not attempt to reconstruct the missing Greek of line 12 but assume that the general sense of the line must have been that love led Helen astray.[9] Others, whether from uncertainty as to the line's meaning or to preserve the ambiguity of the damaged poem, simply leave the space blank, allowing the reader to imagine who might be responsible for Helen's abandonment of her husband.[10] In my own translation, I have represented my interpretation of Helen as the subject of line 12.

I translate (see the appendix on p. 17 for the Greek text):

Some would say it's cavalry, some foot-soldiers; 1*[11]
some, again, say ships of a fleet are on dark
Earth most beautiful: none of these, I say, but
that which you love best:

simple, really, for everyone to see this, 4*
since the one who's said to surpass all in her
beauty – Helen – had for her husband the best
man of them all, yet

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[7] *ὤιμ᾽ὡς δεῖνα πεπ[όν]θαμεν, Ψάπφ᾽, ἦ μάν σ᾽ἀέκοισ᾽ἀπθλιμπάνω*: "Oh, how terribly we have suffered, Sappho, and truly I am leaving you unwillingly."
[8] *φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν ἔμμεν᾽ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐνάντιός τοι ἰσδανει καὶ πλάσιον ἆδθ φωνείσας υπακούει καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν*: "He seems to me equal to the gods, that man who is sitting opposite you and hears from close by your sweet voice and your lovely laughter."
[9] Cf. Bierl; Marzi; Page; Rayor.
[10] Cf. Carson.
[11] To distinguish between the line numbers of the Greek text and of my translation, I have marked the line numbers in translation with *.

left him: she went sailing to Troy without a 9*
thought for daughter, parents or friends, dear though they
had been: she went off, let her steps be led, not
even unwilling:

__ ˆ __ __*for* ˆ ˆ __ ˆ __ __ [12] 13*
__ ˆ __ __*lightly* ˆ__ ˆ *in thought,*
makes me think – Anaktoria was here, but
not anymore. It's

her familiar steps, which I love, and that bright 17*
radiance of her face, that I'd wish to see – much
more than Lydian chariots with their soldiers
ready for battle.

My interpretation of the poem is apparent in this translation not just from the emendation in lines 11-12* but also from more subtle choices of vocabulary and style. The most significant departure from the original is in the addition of the word "friends" as a category of people abandoned by Helen. I did this both for metrical reasons (see pp. 11-13) and because it is consistent with my reading of the poem as a complaint about Anaktoria's abandonment not just of her lover but also of her community (see note 6 on pp. 5-6). Apart from this slight change, I have stayed as close as possible to the Greek text, conveying the incredulity expressed by the particle *περ* (7) with "yet" (8*) and the indignant tone of *πά[μπαν]* ("altogether, at all," 11) with "dear *though they had been*" (10-11*), applying the adjective *φίλων* ("dear," 10) not only to Helen's parents but to all those she left behind. The reference to Helen's "steps" (11*) is more explicit than the *παράγαγ' αὔταν* (11) of the original and is intended to underscore the parallel between Helen and Anaktoria (cf. 17*, *βᾶμα* "walk" or "step" in the Greek). In translating *ἔρατόν […] βᾶμα* (17) as Anaktoria's "familiar steps, which I love" (17*) rather than the more literal "beloved walk," I have attempted to convey both the familiarity implied by *ἔρατόν* and its suggestion that this was once a repeated or regular sight for the speaker. The addition of "which I love," with its parallel to "that which you love best" (4*), maintains the parallel of *ἔραται* (4) and *ἔρατόν* (17) in the original: the mention of love in the first stanza is part of a gnomic statement, whereas the return of this theme in the fifth applies specifically to the speaker's situation.

Despite the inevitability of emphasizing my own interpretation of the poem in translation, I have attempted to be faithful to Sappho's text by maintaining the relationship between its content and its form wherever possible. Where the original has enjambment, alliteration, and other stylistic devices, however, I have not tried to reproduce Sappho's formal structure but instead to reproduce the effect it has on the poem's content. For example, I have maintained not only the triple repetition of *οἰ* in the opening priamel but also the relative positions of the words, since the placement of two repetitions at the beginning of the first two lines of the poem draws attention to the contrast between these widely-held opinions and the speaker's very different view:

ο]ἰ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον **οἰ** δὲ πέσδων ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον,
οἰ δὲ νάων φαισ' ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν *__Some__ would say it's cavalry, __some__ foot-soldiers;*

[12] See pp. 13-15 for a discussion of representing in translation the lacunae in lines 13-14.

***some**, again, say ships of a fleet are on dark* | *Earth most beautiful:*

Sappho's use of alliteration is particularly striking in the second and third stanzas, where each of the six hendecasyllable lines begins with *π* or *κ*. These percussive consonants emphasize not only the beginning of each line but also important words throughout the two stanzas (***π**όλυ **π**ερσκέθοισα; **π**λέοι[σα **κ**ωὐδ[ὲ **πα**]ῖδος*). Even when these repetitions are not close enough together to constitute alliteration, they create a harsh tone throughout the two stanzas that prepare for the speaker's reproach of Anaktoria. I have represented this in translation with the hissing repeated *s* and *h* in the second stanza:

πά]γχυ δ᾽εὔμαρες σύνετον **π**όησαι
π]άντι τ[ο]ῦτ᾽· ἀ γὰρ **π**όλυ **π**ερσκέθοισα
κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων ᾽Ελενα [τὸ]ν ἄνδρα
τόν [**π**ερ ἄρ]ιστον

***s**imple, really, for everyone to **s**ee this,*
***s**ince the one who's **s**aid to **s**urpass all in her*
*beauty – **H**elen – **h**ad for **h**er **h**usband the best*
man of them all, yet

Sappho's placement of words in the line also contributes to her meaning. This is a stylistic possibility in an inflected language, in which word order is more variable, that is difficult to retain in English, even in verse. It often involves beginning a line with the word to be emphasized, but can also mean promoting or delaying a word within a line to achieve a particular effect. Where Sappho places a word at the beginning of a line, I have followed her where possible; for example, in the case of *κάλλος* / "beauty" (8) and *καλλ[ίποι]σ᾽* / "left" (9). By contrast, *Ἔλενα* (7) is delayed, appearing only after the phrase that modifies it, as if Helen's name need hardly be mentioned after the characteristic description of her as *ἀ [...] πόλυ περσκέθοισα κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων* (6-7). To reflect the sense that Helen's name is included as an afterthought, an unnecessary clarification for an audience that already knows to whom the speaker is referring, I have placed her name between explanatory dashes.

Some features of Sappho's composition, however, cannot be conveyed in English. For example, I had hoped to follow Sappho in including only one first-person verb in my translation, echoing the powerlessness conveyed by her *βολλοίμαν* (17) with the uncertain "I'd wish" (18*). Unfortunately, although the verb of line 3 can be left implicit in Greek, where the resulting brevity contributes to the gnomic character of the speaker's statement, I was forced to supply "I say" (3*) in English. Another aspect of Sappho's poetry lost in translation is the parallel between *κάλλος* (7) and *καλλ[ίποι]σ᾽* (9), two words with very different meanings that both describe Helen. The contrast between the speaker's conventional description of Helen's beauty (*κάλλος*) and her unusual portrayal of her agency (*καλλ[ίποι]σ*) is heightened by the similar sound of the words and their parallel positions at the beginnings of lines. I reproduced the enjambment of *καλλ[ίποι]σ᾽*, which reinforces the surprise of this characterization of Helen as independent, but could not represent the similarity of *κάλλος* and *καλλ[ίποι]σ᾽* and could show the contrast between the words only in their parallel positions.

Representing Meter in Translation

Formal features like alliteration, repetition, and even the placement of specific words is usually not difficult to reproduce in translation. One characteristic feature of Sappho's poetry, however, is much more challenging to represent in English: her use of meter. Most translators do not attempt to follow any metrical pattern in translation, let alone the specific meter Sappho

employed. Meter is, however, a crucial aspect of Sappho's songs, which were originally set to music.[13] Some may have been intended for performance in a specific ceremonial context, like the songs labeled by Alexandrian scribes later in antiquity as *epithalamia*, wedding-songs; others may have been part of religious rituals or public musical performances. If Sappho herself performed her compositions, she could have done so as a soloist accompanied by a lyre or *auloi* or as a member of a chorus led by a *khoragos* (cf. note 6, pp. 5-6). In short, the context of the songs' performance is uncertain, but the fact of their performance is not: Sappho's poems were musical compositions meant to be sung and heard.

It could be argued that there is little reason to cling to meter in translation when every other trace of Sappho's music has been lost. In a context far removed from ancient religious rituals or choruses singing *epithalamia*, an attempt to preserve the original character of the songs by maintaining their meter in translation seems at best irrelevant and at worst confusing to a reader unfamiliar with the historical and cultural context of composition. In fact, their nature as songs means that Sappho's poems cannot be fully appreciated without considering their musical characteristics. In the absence of any indications of pitch, tempo, dynamic, accompaniment, or even the number of voices singing, only one musical feature of the songs survives: their rhythm. To translate Sappho's texts as prose is to strip her songs of the last feature that defines them as such.

Fragment 16, like many of Sappho's poems, follows the metrical pattern referred to as a "Sapphic stanza." Each stanza consists of three hendecasyllable lines followed by what is either a pentasyllabic epode or an extension of the third line:

__ ^ __ __   __ ^ ^ __   ^ __ __
__ ^ __ __   __ ^ ^ __   ^ __ __
__ ^ __ __   __ ^ ^ __   ^ __ __
__ ^ ^ __ ^

This raises the question of how to represent Sappho's meter in translation. Translators into English encounter difficulties in producing a metrically "accurate" translation because, aside from the fact that Sappho's Aeolic meter may sound unnatural and forced in English, the Sapphic stanza relies on having an exact number of syllables per line (11-11-11-5), whereas literal English translations often have fewer syllables than the Greek original.[14]

There is no single accurate way to render Sappho's meter in translation: an entirely different metrical pattern could be used and the meter chosen could differ for each poem (although the pattern should be consistent between stanzas and lines of the same poem). For example, in my translation above, I retained the pattern of the Sapphic stanza, but an equally valid choice is to translate into iambic tetrameter, which might sound more natural in English:

Some say it's cavalry, some say

---

[13] Rayor 1; cf. Page.

[14] It may be possible to adhere more precisely to Sappho's meter in translations into languages other than English. For example, in his poem *Ultimo Canto di Saffo* (1822), Giacomo Leopardi used hendecasyllables, the basis of the Sapphic stanza. This is not, however, because Leopardi was trying to emulate Sappho but rather because the hendecasyllable is common in Italian poetry and the Italian language lends itself to this meter. When translating Sappho into Italian, it might be more natural to retain the metrical pattern of the Sapphic stanza.

foot-soldiers; some that ships among
a fleet are on dark Earth the best
of all: but I say that it's what
        you love

Sappho's own hendecasyllable pattern may not always be suitable to English and need not be retained exactly, but a consistent metrical pattern should be present in translation to convey the original character of the text as a song.

Representing Lacunae in Translation

My translation of the fourth stanza (see p. 8) does not attempt to hide the lacunae that have come to characterize Sappho's work. I have suggested an approach to the lacuna in line 12 that is consistent with the theme of the poem, but to fill in the text of lines 13-14, which are so severely damaged that even their general subject is not clear, would be not to reconstruct but to guess almost randomly at the original text. To leave the lacunae as they are, however, is to emphasize the text's visual presentation over its oral character. When Carson (27) renders the fourth stanza

            ] for
            ] lightly
] reminded me now of Anaktoria
who is gone.

she offers a translation that can be appreciated only in its written form and makes little sense when spoken aloud. Like ignoring the text's meter (see pp. 11-13), leaving the lacunae as they are results in the loss of the songs' character as oral compositions.

I suggest a different approach to representing lacunae in translation. Short gaps of one or two words, where one emendation seems highly likely, may be filled; in this case, the risk of a slight departure from the original meaning is worth the added fluency of the translation (as noted in the appendix, I have followed Voigt's emendations to the text with a few minor exceptions). When a line or an entire stanza is fragmented to the point of being incomprehensible, however, neither of the two possibilities described above—Carson's visual presentation or emending all the lacunae—is satisfactory, since both obscure either the musical character or the meaning of the text. In this case, both the meter and the ambiguity of meaning can be preserved by representing the missing passage not as text but as a wordless metrical section. This is the approach I suggest for translating stanza 4 of Sappho 16:

__ ˆ __ __ *for* ˆ ˆ __ ˆ __ __
__ ˆ __ __ *lightly* ˆ __ ˆ *in thought,*
makes me think – Anaktoria was here, but
        not anymore. It's

The wordless feet could be represented by tapping, humming, or the steps (*βᾶμα*) with which Sappho's contemporaries may have indicated meter (see note 6 on pp. 5-6). (This is not an entirely unrealistic representation of the performance of the original text; one can imagine a singer in Sappho's time forgetting a few words of the text and resorting to humming the melody until she

reached a passage she remembered.) Such a translation avoids changing the meaning of the text but can still be read aloud, as Sappho's original compositions were.

Conclusion

Very little about Sappho's poetry is certain. The context of its composition and performance, the music to which it was originally set, and the society it describes can only be conjectured. What is certain, however, is that Sappho's poems were songs meant for oral performance. Translations that convey their musical character by retaining a sense of meter and recreating Sappho's use of stylistic features are more faithful to the original poetry than those that adhere precisely to grammatical detail at the expense of meter and style. Even the lacunae found in almost all of Sappho's works do not need to be an obstacle to translating her poetry: adopting a metrical pattern in translation allows lacunae to be represented while preserving the oral character of the text. When it is possible to suggest an emendation for a lacuna, this is not only a metrical exercise but one that requires consideration of the song as a whole; as demonstrated by line 12 of Sappho 16, taking into account the context of the rest of the poem and of Sappho's other work can result in emendations that dramatically change the interpretation of the text. Furthermore, by representing rather than obscuring their many lacunae and preserving their meter in translation, the approach outlined in this paper is equally applicable to Sappho's other poems, many of which are far more fragmented than Sappho 16.

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I pledge my honor that this paper represents my own work in accordance with University regulations.
Rosamond van Wingerden
1/6/2018

Appendix: Greek Text of Sappho 16[15]

ο]ἰ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον οἰ δὲ πέσδων 1
οἰ δὲ νάων φαισ᾽ ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν
ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν ὄτ-
τω τις ἔραται·

πά]γχυ δ᾽εὔμαρες σύνετον πόησαι 5
π]άντι τ[ο]ῦτ᾽· ἀ γὰρ πόλυ περσκέθοισα
κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων ᾽Ελενα [τὸ]ν ἄνδρα
τόν [περ ἄρ]ιστον

καλλ[ίποι]σ᾽ ἔβα ᾽ς Τροΐαν πλέοι[σα 9
κωὐδ[ὲ πα]ῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ήων
πά[μπαν] ἐμνάςθ<η>, ἀλλὰ παράγαγ᾽αὔταν
`]σαν

]αμπτον γὰρ [13
]. . . κούφωστ[ ] νοησηι
]με νῦν Ἀνακτορί[ας ὀ]νέμναι
σ᾽οὐ] παρεοίσας,

τᾶ]ς <κ>ε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα 17
κἀμάρυχμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπω
ἢ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κἀν ὄπλοισι
περσδομ]άχεντας.[16]

[15] I have followed Voigt's emendations for the minor lacunae in the text with two exceptions. In line 8, Voigt has πανάριστον; I have followed Pfeijffer's suggestion here because the concessive particle περ seems to me more logical in the context of the poem. In line 14, Voigt has]οη.[.]ν, but the later discovery of a new papyrus (cf. Obbink, Fish & Burris) allowed νοησηι to be filled in.

[16] It is unclear whether the text continues beyond the fifth stanza; some fragmented lines may be part of this or of another poem. The poem appears complete after line 20: the speaker has returned to her original topic, military "beauty," in a ring composition. Because the lines that follow may not be part of Sappho 16 and are in any case beyond reconstruction, I have not considered them in this paper.

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The Ara Pacis Augustae: Past, Present, Future

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The Ara Pacis Augustae: Past, Present, Future

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The Ara Pacis, dedicated by the Senate in 13 BCE and completed in 9 CE, was a monument commemorating Augustus for his safe return from campaigns and celebrating his establishment of peace in the empire (Kleiner 90). Fragments of the altar survive from the sixteenth century, but unfortunately some of the work has been lost, particularly on the friezes (Kleiner 90). Currently, the monument resides in Rome next to Augustus' mausoleum; Mussolini ordered the rebuilding of the altar during his fascist regime in the 1930s (Kleiner 90). The Ara Pacis, literally translated as "Altar of Peace," is most related to Augustus' military achievements. However, I wish to argue that the architecture's main purpose is to bolster Augustus' own heritage and his emphasis on familial continuity. The friezes—what remains from antiquity—on the Ara Pacis are about returning to the past to endorse Augustus' own established lineage, and family succession.

If the Ara Pacis is mentioned at all in ancient literature, the author refers to the monument as a whole than to its details. Therefore, literary sources reveal little about the friezes portrayed on the altar. Augustus briefly acknowledges the Ara Pacis in his *Res Gestae*, on how it was commemorated by the senate for his "having settled affairs successfully" in Gaul and Spain militarily (Augustus 70-1). In casually mentioning the impressive monument to him, Augustus paradoxically emphasizes its importance by drawing attention away. He actually plays down the significance of the Ara Pacis in the big scheme of the *Res Gestae*, his personal documentation of other fantastical achievements he had accomplished. However, in learning that the senate dedicated the altar to him and ordered religious sacrifices, we obtain the impression that this building was devoted more towards the peacemaker Augustus as a person, than for his specific duties in the provinces. Should this be the case, it makes sense that the friezes commissioned are appropriate in relating the narrative of Augustus the peacekeeper's authoritative, divine lineage.

The frieze illustrates the abundance of life within all corners of the work. There is lush vegetation springing up from all sides, livestock at Venus' feet, fruits in her lap, and two young babies in her arms. The plenitude is overwhelming. Galinsky notes that this state was made possible, because "fruitfulness and prosperity are the result of Rome's dominance," regarding Augustan peace (Galinsky 107). However, "fruitfulness and prosperity" do not refer only to the greenery. The two children are also a result of the Roman stability, and representatives of the new generation in a peaceful Roman state. The child on Venus' right (the viewer's left) reaches for her breast—a source of life and nourishment for the growing infant and a parallel to the rest of the life sprouting around them. The babies' gestures indicate movement and activity, highlighting their energy and health in a time where children's mortality was relatively high. Meanwhile, Venus sits in a nurturing manner—an ideal position to breastfeed—and is the epitome of the Augustan model of a good woman devoted to marriage and birthing (Kleiner 98). The example of a "proper" woman, the images of the good mother Venus and the two children would also draw inferences to Augustus' moral reforms, the *leges Juliae*, on marriage and procreation (Lamp 16). Referencing Venus, the original mother of the people of Rome, with kids, supports the idea of familial succession while also laying the foundation for Augustus' divine ancestry to the goddess.

South of the west wall is the Aeneas frieze, with portions unfortunately missing from the piece; if we are right to believe that the "Tellus" frieze is actually Venus, her *and* Aeneas' presences further the legitimacy of Augustus' divine lineage and his establishment as the founder

of a "new" Rome with two direct visual references. Aeneas' existence on the Ara Pacis indirectly ties the past and Augustan present together, as Venus is Aeneas' mother and Augustus claims to be a descendant of the Trojan hero. This genealogy implies that just as Aeneas founded Italy and began the long line of Roman civilization up until the present, Augustus must do the same in his new era of peace for future Romans to continue the imperial family tree. According to Zanker, the "safety of the Roman state depended on the imperial family," and it was up to Augustus' descendants to continue maintaining the stability that he ensured through his rule, which Ovid notes in the first book of his *Fasti*: "that the house [the Julio-Claudians] which insures peace may last forever" (Zanker 122). Because Aeneas is on a frieze dedicated to Augustus, the artists and architects incorporated the mythological history to re-emphasize the emperor's divine status and rule established from the beginning, "using the past to legitimize the present" (Lamp 9). However, since such a large part of the frieze is missing, we are unsure how the removed portion of the work would have added to or detracted from the propagandistic familial tree Augustus emphasized.

The Romulus frieze, located north of the west wall, sits next to Aeneas' panel and provides following continuation in the narrative of Roman succession (Van Buren 134). An even larger portion of the frieze is missing compared to the Aeneas frieze, but outlined reconstructions make up for the lack of reliefs. Ancient viewers, with the whole picture, would understand the lineal connection presented on the friezes: just as Aeneas was the founder of Italy, Romulus was the founder of Rome and the people themselves all the way up to Augustus in the present. However, these drawings cannot be taken wholly as fact. Rather, they are simply educated conjectures. Without the whole frieze present, the remainder influences how modern viewers interpret the altar's message, modern readings possibly straying far from the original meaning of the Ara Pacis in antiquity. But, because Aeneas and Romulus are both notable for being "founding fathers," and given their frieze location next to each other on an altar celebrating Augustus and his many achievements, we make the connection that Augustus is the modern "Aeneas/Romulus" because he founded a new era of peace for Rome. Augustus has associations to Venus, the mother of Aeneas and the "truly Roman Terra Mater," to Aeneas himself as the founder of Italy, and to Romulus, the founder of Rome. Because of these connections, the Ara Pacis continues to make a strong case advertising the Roman succession up to Augustus and the authority of his lineage (Booth 873).

The imperial procession on the south wall leaves the past for the present, in which we see familial succession promoted in the form of historically real children; not like the ones in the "Tellus" relief. Given that Augustus portrays himself as the Aeneas/Romulus of his time, the future of children and therefore continuation of the imperial line is made possible because Augustus achieving peace has made Rome safe for fruitful offspring. The children in the frieze are depicted in the foreground (the future) while they hold onto their parents who recede behind (the past and present) (Zanker 122). They have the potential and room to grow and flourish in this new era of peace. Their depictions are also significant; like the children in the "Tellus" frieze, these kids tug on togas or hold hands with the adults, which is something kids do. There is specificity, and we can sense their movement and activity as restless children full of life; an emphasis on their youth and vitality. The portrayal of these kids also brings the *leges Juliae* to mind as well, the social policies enacted by Augustus to encourage procreation and succession for a new dynasty among the upper class (Lamp 16). For the new era, epitomized by the children in the procession, Augustus is their founding father. Rome, after having been made peaceful, is fruitful and prosperous for the next generation.

The Senate dedicated the altar to congratulate Augustus for establishing peace throughout

the empire. Examination of the friezes, from Venus to Aeneas to Romulus, and then the altar as a whole (a representation of Augustus), leads us from the mythological past into the historical present. Venus "founded" Aeneas, Aeneas Italy, Romulus Rome, and Augustus a "new" Rome. Visually we are led through a narrative of familial succession leading to Augustus, and are shown the abundance and prosperity that came with Augustus' achievement of peace, such as the life and vegetation in the "Tellus" relief. In the imperial procession frieze, we move directly from the past into the present and are able to look forward: specifically, on the kids who will be Rome's future, and can grow up in a land of peace made possible by the father Augustus, *pater patriae*. Horace, in the last poem of his last *Odes*, writes "tua, Caesar, aetas / fruges et agros rettulit uberes" which Galinsky translates as "Your era, Caesar, / brought back fruits and fertile fields" (Galinsky 154). This is physically shown on the Ara Pacis. But, it is also strongly implied in connection to the *leges Julia*, in pursuits for the nobility to produce more children, and in the current children shown in the procession. The Ara Pacis as a whole, with its friezes, collaborates to reinforce the emphasis on Augustan lineage and familial succession, for the arrival of a different kind of fruits and fertile fields.

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Restitutor Orbis: Aurelian's coinage and the reunification of the Roman Empire

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Restitutor Orbis: Aurelian's coinage and the reunification of the Roman Empire[1]

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1. Introduction

In 274, upon entering Rome at the head of his triumphal parade, the emperor Aurelian was hailed as Restitutor Orbis by the Senate and the Roman people. Almost 15 years after the insurrection of Postumus in the West and the rise of the Palmyrene Empire in the East, the Roman state was united again under a single ruler. However, the new regime that emerged from the emperor's successful military campaigns was in dire need of asserting its legitimacy and re-unifying the fragmented pieces of the empire. An important medium through which the governmental apparatus attempted to achieve these goals was the issuing of coins, which due to their wide and rapid circulation were readily accessible in every corner of the empire.[2] Evidence for the utilization of coinage in the construction and promulgation of imperial narratives is particularly strong under Aurelian, since his mint reform, apart from endeavoring to reverse the trend of the silver coins' debasement, led to a remarkable "degree of standardization in the choice of types" which can be justified only by a "policy of centrally imposed coin designs."[3]

Among the most prominent of these new "centrally imposed" coin types was the Restitutor Orbis, whose reverse depicted a female figure presenting a wreath to the emperor. As Alaric Watson points out, although both emperors Valerian and Galerius produced coins with the same honorific, "more than any other single title, *restitutor orbis* symbolizes Aurelian's achievements."[4] This connection is manifested by the "sheer volume of coinage bearing this title for Aurelian" and the considerable number of inscriptions on which it is attested.[5] The significance of this particular issue is further substantiated by the coin's geographically dispersed production. From 272 to the end of Aurelian's reign, six out of eight imperial mints consistently produced the Restitutor Orbis type with negligible or no iconographic variation.[6] Such pictorial uniformity across the imperial mints indicates the level of governmental centralization and hints at the participation of this coin type in the regime's official narrative of restoration.

In this context, the present paper will argue that the Restitutor Orbis type played a crucial role in Aurelian's endeavor to establish his legitimacy as the sole ruler of the Roman empire by

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[2] For a theoretical discussion on the function of Roman coins see Levick's *Propaganda and imperial Coinage* (1982) Ehrhardt's *Roman coin types and the Roman Public* (1984), and Crawford's *Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Formation of Public Opinion* (1983).

[3] Alaric Watson, *Aurelian and the Third Century* (London: Routledge, 1999), 136.

[4] Valerian: RIC 50; Gallienus: RIC 165 .

[5] Establishing the order of magnitude for the production of any coin type would require a die study, which stands outside the scope of the current paper due to both time and knowledge constraints; Watson, *Aurelian and the Third Century*, 174; For inscriptions see *CIL,VI,1112*, *CIL,XI,1214*, *CIL,XII,5561*, *CIL,XVII/2,160*, *CIL,XVII/2,31*.

[6] Antioch: RIC 386; Rome: RIC 53 Mediolanum-Ticinum: RIC 139; Serdica: RIC 287-306; Cyzicus: RIC 347-9; Tripolis: RIC 389; Unattributed mint: RIC 403-4; For the dating of the coin issue see Watson, *Aurelian and the Third Century*, 80 and Estiot, 'Le trésor de Marieville', Trésors Monétaires 5:15.

incorporating him in the iconographical nexus of Victoria Augusti as well as by alluding to two important imperial rituals, acclamation and the presentation of the aureae coronae. Moreover, apart from locating this specific coin type inside Aurelian's imperial narrative of restoration, this study will also provide some broader insights into the structural mechanisms through which the Roman emperors established their legitimacy, especially during times of crisis.

2. Military and Triumphal Imagery

At first sight, the Restitutor Orbis' obverse is highly typical for a third century Roman coin. Drawing from precedents in Late Republican coinage and the practices of Hellenistic monarchs, Augustus consistently placed his face on the obverse side of his coins in order to promulgate his image as well as signify the authority responsible for the coins' production.[7] Since this convention was followed by all of his successors, the presence of Aurelian's bust as well as the orientation of the emperor's head to the right reflect the norm. Within the bounds of conservative numismatic practice is also the legend IMP AVRELIANVS AVG. While all the Julio-Claudians utilized the title IMP[erator] on their coins and to a lesser extent that of AVG[ustus], imperial titulature on coinage was significantly standardized with the advent of the Flavians, when Vespasian started the mass production of coins with variations of the IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG legend.[8] Furthermore, the radiate crown is also a continuation of traditional practice. Its presence signifies that Aurelian's Restitutor Orbis type was an antoninianus, namely a new silver coin type introduced by Caracalla in 215 which underwent rapid debasement in its silver content until its abandonment by Diocletian in 293.[9]

There are certain elements of the obverse, however, that differentiate Aurelian from his predecessors, especially those from the first and second centuries CE. The most striking of these is the presence of a beard. While there are depictions of previous emperors with beards as an indication of mourning,[10] curly beards were famously introduced in imperial portraiture by Hadrian as a sign of Hellenistic culture and were maintained by Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius as a symbol of their philosophical engagements. However, beginning with the Severans, Roman rulers "wore short-cropped [beards] or only sideburns of a more military look".[11] This modification can be attributed to the changing realities of the third century when the emperors almost exclusively hailed from the ranks of the military and were called to personally lead their

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[7] For Augustus' coins see RIC 1A.

[8] Vespasian's coins with versions of IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG legend: RIC 1-134.

[9] The antoninianus or radiate was a new silver coin type introduced by Caracalla in 215. Since the ancient name of Caracalla's new coin type is not known, numismatists and historians refer to it either as antoninianus from Caracalla's formal Roman name Antoninus or as radiate, since its distinguishing feature was the radiate crown that tops the emperor's head on the obverse. Upon its introduction, its nominal value was 2 denarii, although its silver content was only equal to 1.5 (around 40 percent silver and 60 percent bronze). At the time of Aurelian's ascension, the silver content of the antoninianus was diminished to less than 5 percent. It is this rampant debasement of the empire's silver coinage that Aurelian tried to combat by standardizing the antoninianus' silver content at 5 percent, as -probably- indicated by the XXI mark. Some historians think that he also reset the balance of one antoninianus to 4 denarii, and subsequently refer to this post-reform coin as aurelinianus. Despite further efforts to increase public confidence in the monetary system, the reforms failed and the antoninianus (or aurelinianus) was abandoned by Diocletian in 293.

[10] Augustus: RRC 490/1; Nero: RIC 61.

[11] Anique M. Hamelink, *By my Beard! The symbolic value and meaning of a beard in antiquity. Case studies in Roman coinage* (Leiden University, 2015).

armies to battle.[12] The prevalence of military imagery is further substantiated by the fact that instead of wearing a toga, as was the norm until the Antonines, the emperor is dressed in a cuirass similar to that of a soldier.

Aurelian's "military look" is further established on the coin's reverse. The man, to whom the female figure is presenting a wreath, is depicted in full military apparel with a helmet, cuirass, spear and paludamentum, namely the army cloak that Roman commanders -and to a lesser extent soldiers- wore. The identification of the male figure as the emperor, instead of an unnamed soldier or a divinity, is supported not only by Aurelian's close association with the honorific Restitutor Orbis, that appears as the legend, but also by the fact that Roman reverse types traditionally present the emperor interacting with another figure. For instance, Aurelian's IOVI CONSERVATORI and VIRT MILITUM types depicted the emperor receiving a globe from Jupiter and conversing with a soldier respectively.[13]

However, it is not solely the emperor's uniform that points to a military setting. The wreath that the female figure holds as well as the act of presenting one to an emperor are elements of triumphal imagery. During the Republic, after the successful completion of a campaign, the senate could grant the honor of holding a triumph to the victorious commander. Accompanied by his troops, the triumphator would enter Rome on a chariot crowned with laurel, while a slave would ride behind him "holding an enormous golden crown above his head remind[ing] him from time to time 'hominem te esse memento'."[14] Depictions of this practice are extant on the Arches of Titus and Marcus Aurelius, which portray their respective triumphal processions.[15] During the Empire, triumphs and by extension laureate crowns were still utilized but were almost exclusively monopolized by the emperor, to whom sole command of the empire's legions rested and who was ultimately responsible for any military victory. This association was clearly manifested in imperial statues, which depicted the emperors dressed in military attire and crowned with a laurel wreath.[16]

While the obverse of Roman coinage traditionally depicts the emperors with a laureate crown, the connection between such wreaths and military victory was also greatly utilized on the coins' reverse. Although coinage presented a number of goddesses or personifications of virtues, such as Laetitia and Tyche, holding wreaths, no single figure was so closely associated with them as Victoria. In some series the winged Nike is pictured alone while in others she crowns either a standard or the emperor with a wreath. Examples of the latter can be seen in Augustus' QVOD VIAE MVN SVNT and in Trajan's SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI types, both of which presented the goddess crowning the triumphant emperor.[17] In Aurelian's reign, this iconography continued to circulate through two issues, a version of the VICTORIA AVG and of the VICTORIA PATRICA that both depicted the goddess crowning the emperor with a wreath.[18] This imagery is notably reproduced in an issue with the Restitutor Orbis legend from Cyzicus, where the female figure is clearly presented with wings in order to indicate her status as Victoria.

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[12] For the bearded nature of Roman soldiers during the late 2nd and 3rd century see the adlocutio panel in the southern attic of the Arch of Constantine. Notably, the panel was produced under Marcus Aurelius (see Appendix).
[13] IOVI CONSERVATORI: RIC 225 and VIRT MILITVM: RIC 56.
[14] Valerie A Maxfield, *The military decorations of the Roman army*, (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1981) 102.
[15] See appendix.
[16] Niemeyer *Studien Zur Statuarischen Darstellung Der Römischen Kaiser* (1968): Hadrian's statue in Olympia (97 n. 52) and in Instabul (97 n. 53).
[17] Augustus RIC 144 and Trajan RIC 213.
[18] Aurelian RIC 239 and 240.

The iconographic proximity of the Restitutor Orbis type to these coin issues demonstrates its participation in the iconographic corpus of military victory and triumphal processions.

3. The military valence of the title Restitutor Orbis

These military and triumphal associations are further strengthened by the honorific Restitutor Orbis that serves as the reverse's legend. By Aurelian's ascension, the concept of restoration was hardly a novel one. During the 1st century, Augustus, in his *Res Gestae*, famously claimed that he "rem publicam dominatione factionis oppressam in libertátem vindicávi".[19] Vespasian commemorated the end of the civil wars of the Year of the Four Emperors by issuing the ROMA RESVRGENS issue, which depicted the emperor in a toga raising a woman who served as the personification of Rome.[20] In order to advertise his administrative reforms and infrastructure programs in the various provinces, Hadrian minted a series coins whose legends read RESTITVTORI ACHAEA/ GALLIAE/ HISPANIAE and which duplicated the Flavian imagery: the emperor dressed in a toga ritualistically raising a kneeling woman who represented the personification of the respective province.[21] Notably, Hadrian also produced a series of coins with the same iconographic model, but now the kneeling woman represented not a province but the *oikoumene*, as indicated by the legend RESTITVTORI ORBIS TERRARVM as well as by the globe that she carried in her hand.[22] As a result, the title restitutor and subsequently the concept of restoration was predominantly associated with civic administration and internal stability, as exemplified by the fact that in all of the above-mentioned cases the emperor is dressed in a toga, the Roman civilian garment *par excellence*.

During the third century, however, the title Restitutor Orbis acquires decisively military connotations. After Hadrian, it was first utilized by Valerian and his son Gallienus, until the former's capture by the Persians. Their coins that bear the honorific Restitutor Orbis on their reverse imitate Vespasian's and Hadrian's imagery: the emperor is raising a kneeling woman.[23] However, there is a substantive alteration: the emperor is dressed not in a toga but in full military attire, with a helmet, cuirass and spear. This modification should be attributed not only to Valerian' and Gallienus' military background but also to their direct involvement in leading armies for the defence of the empire's borders against Gothic and Sassanian incursions.

Under Aurelian, the military associations of the title Restitutor Orbis were maintained. As indicated, Aurelian's Restitutor Orbis type also presents the emperor in full military attire. The military nature of Aurelian's restoration and by extension of the title Restitutor Orbis is also established by the—probably fictitious—obituary that was delivered by the future emperor Tacitus, as presented in the Historia Augusta:[24]

> Viveret enim princeps Aurelianus, quo neque fortior neque utilior fuit quisquam. Respirare certe post infelicitatem Valeriani, post Gallieni mala imperante Claudio coeperat nostra res publica, at eadem reddita fuerat Aureliano toto penitus orbe vincente. Ille nobis Gallias dedit, ille Italiam liberavit, ille Vindelicis iugum

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[19] Res Gestae, I.
[20] Vespasian RIC 1360.
[21] Hadrian RIC 321c, 324a, 327a.
[22] Hadrian RIC 584A.
[23] Valerian: RIC 50; Gallienus: RIC 165.
[24] Historia Augusta, 41.6-9.

barbaricae servitutis amovit. illo vincente Illyricum restitutum est, redditae Romanis legibus Thraciae. Ille, pro pudor! Orientem femineo pressum iugo in nostra iura restituit, ille Persas, insultantes adhuc Valeriani nece, fudit, fugavit, oppressit.

Similar conclusions are drawn from the inscriptional evidence. As Allard argues, the title Restitutor Orbis was incorporated into the emperor's other military titles, as exemplified by an inscription found in Narbonne:[25]

> Pacatori/ et risti(tu)to/ri (sic) orbis,/ Imp(eratori) Caes(a)ri/ L(ucio) Domitio/ Aureliano/ p(io) fel(ici) invi(c)to/ Aug(usto), Cer(manico) (sic)/ max(imo), Goth(ico) (sic) max(imo),/ Pers(ico) max(imo), pont(ifici)/ [max(imo) ---]

As a result, the title Restitutor Orbis, along with the other military honorifics, alludes to Aurelian's multiple successful military campaigns, while the coin's iconography presents him as a triumphator.

4. Theology of victory and imperial legitimization

This emphasis on the theme of victory, however, goes beyond the commemorative function of Roman coinage. It was crucial for the emperor's legitimacy and the continued obedience of his subjects, especially those in the newly reintegrated provinces. During the Republic, a successful campaign constituted both the source of considerable political capital as well as a sign of divine favor towards the victorious commander. Under the principate, the ideological nexus that linked military victory, political authority and divine sanction served as the core of the new regime's justification, ultimately forming what Gagé famously called the "theology of victory." Its main premise was that, although the de facto command of the legions fell on the emperor's legati, the credit for military success went to the princeps, since it was he as "the holder of imperium and auspicium who had established the proper relationship with the gods necessary to ensure victory, and to whom, as a result, the mystique of victory was attached."[26] The consequent monopolization of military victory by the emperor led to Victoria becoming an "autonomous, indivisible and divine attribute of the monarchy itself."[27] This new Victoria, aptly named *Victoria Augusti*, not only received formal worship within the context of the imperial cult but also constituted one of the most widespread legends and themes in Roman coinage from 69 to 235.[28] In such a context, the imagery of the Restitutor Orbis type did not

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[25] Valérie Allard, *Aurélien, « restitutor orbis » et triomphateur*. In: *La « crise » de l'Empire romain de Marc Aurèle à Constantin : mutations, continuités, ruptures* , edited by Quet Marie-Henriette (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2006) 169; *CIL, XII, 5561*.

[26] Carlo F. Noreña, *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 149; Also see Gagé's *La théologie de la victoire impériale* (1933) and Fears' "The theology of Victory at Rome: approaches and problems." (1981); For similar legitimating processes in the Hellenistic kingdoms see Chapter 4: "The interactive king: War and the ideology of Hellenistic monarchy" (pp. 57–77) in Chaniotis' *War In the Hellenistic World: A Social and Cultural History* (2005) and *The Letter of Aristeas*.

[27] Carlo F. Noreña, *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West*, 161.

[28] Ibid, 109; For evidence for the formal worship of Victoria Augusti see Fears' "The theology of Victory at Rome: approaches and problems": 742-3.

solely commemorate Aurelian's numerous military victories but also supported the emperor's legitimacy by incorporating him into the established ideological and iconographic matrix of *Victoria Augusti*.

This focus on the emperor's legitimacy as the sole ruler of the empire was necessary in light of the plethora of imperial challengers. In the West, Marcus Cassianius Latinius Postumus was hailed emperor by the Rhine legions in 260. After killing Gallienus' son Salonius and his guardian Silvanus, the new emperor was in dire need of legitimizing his usurpation, especially because he could not march in Rome to gain the Senate's recognition due to considerable pressures from the Germanic tribes across the Rhine. In order to ameliorate these concerns and assert his legitimacy, Postumus ordered the imperial mint in Trier to produce a considerable number of coins which bore iconographic elements associated with military imagery and the Victoria Augusti: "on the obverse, the laureled head of Postumus, the cuirassed bust dressed in paludamentum, and on the reverse, Victory going to the left, holding a crown on the right hand, on the left a palm and besides her foot a bearded prisoner, sitting on the ground, hands tied behind his back."[29] Since Aurelian did not order the institution of *damnatio memoriae* for any of the so-called Gallic emperors, it is reasonable to assume that their coins could have continued to circulate during Aurelian's reintegration of the western provinces. In such precarious political setting, the Restitutor Orbis type as well as its companion honorifics, Restitutor Galliarum and Restitutor Libertatis, which appear on both coins and inscriptions, aimed to proclaim the reintegration of the empire but also to present Aurelian as the sole heir to Victoria Augusti, ultimately underscoring his status as the legitimate emperor.

In the eastern provinces, the catastrophic defeat in Edessa and the capture of Valerian by the victorious Shapur I created a power vacuum that was filled by the rise of Palmyra. Its first leader, Odaenathus, maintained a characteristically co-operative stance towards Rome. He never claimed the title imperator and continued to pay allegiance to Gallienus, who awarded him a triumph in Rome for his victories over the Sassanians in 263. However, after Odaenathus' assassination in 267, his widow Zenobia not only unlawfully proclaimed their nine-year old son Vaballathus as the ruler of the Roman territories his father held but also adopted an increasingly hostile attitude towards the Roman state.[30] The Palmyrene seizure of Egypt, during which the Roman garrison under Tenagio Probus was massacred, was followed by the gradual displacement of Aurelian in inscriptions and coins. As Watson points out, while the Alexandrian coins presented Aurelian with the senior title Augustus (Σεβαστός in Greek), they also granted the young prince the Greek imperial honorific Αυτοκράτωρ.[31] Moreover, contemporary Egyptian papyri started to record the date by Vaballathus' regnal years.[32] Meanwhile, the Antioch mint initiated the production of a type in which, although Aurelian was granted full imperial titles, the Palmyrene prince was presented with the acronym VCRIMDR, which stood for 'V(ir) C(onsularis or [Clarissimus]) R(ex) IM(perator) D(ux) R(omanorum)'. Another notable feature in this issue is the placement of the mint mark on the side of the coin that depicts Aurelian. This change is immensely significant since it allocated Vaballathus on the obverse, the side

[29] Lavange Henri, *Une nouvelle inscription d'Augsbourg et les causes de l'usurpation de Postume*. In: *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 138e année, N. 2, 1994. p. 434.
[30] Zenobia's transfer of Odaenathus' unprecedented Roman titles and territories to Vaballathus was illegal under Roman law since these concessions were granted solely to an individual and subsequently were not meant to be passed hereditarily.
[31] Milne's Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins (1933): 103, nos. 4303-7.
[32] P. Oxy. XL 2921.6-11 and P. Oxy. XL 2908.ii.20-5.

traditionally reserved for the Roman emperor and the authority responsible for the coins' production.[33] However, the final and most important challenge to Aurelian's authority came in 272, during the initial stages of the eastern campaign, when both the Antiochene and the Alexandrian mints ceased to acknowledge Aurelian altogether.[34]

Indeed, the sheer fact that these usurpers produced coins was a challenge to Aurelian's legitimacy. In a highly fictitious episode of the Historia Augusta, a group of Roman aristocrats argues about whether or not a certain Firmus, who allegedly seized Egypt during Aurelian's campaigns in the East, should be acknowledged among the claimant emperors or dismissed as a mere brigand. The case for the former position was based on the argument that he "purpura usum et percussa moneta Augustum esse vocitatum."[35] Multiple other usurpers, such as Procopius at the time of Julian, promoted their imperial claims through the issuing of coins, on whose obverse they allocated their portrait surrounded by a legend that carried imperial titles such as IMP[erator] and AVG[ustus].[36] Apart from numismatic iconography and legends, however, the mere use of coins by segments of the empire's population constituted an implicit recognition of the usurpers' claims. As Ando points out, [37]

> residents of the Roman empire –that is users of Roman coins and viewers of Roman art- understood that these objects acquired their value not from their raw material but from their origin. That is to say, the legitimacy of the ruler of the world cloaked his portrait and its vehicles with some of his power […] By acknowledging the efficacy of these artifacts, when it was guaranteed by the recognizable features of their emperor, provincials tacitly assented to the legitimacy of the system that selected their emperor and to his right to exercise power throughout his realm.

Given that coinage was a medium of propagating a ruler's legitimacy, the actions of both the Gallic emperors and Zenobia are neither surprising nor an innovation but should be perceived as one more way through which these imperial claimants attempted to establish their legitimacy as well as a challenge that Aurelian would have to counter with the production and circulation his own coins.

The emperor's search for legitimacy can also be observed in the incorporation of the Sidus Iulium on his coinage. While reporting the omens after Julius Caesar's assassination, Plutarch narrates that "τῶν δὲ θείων ὅ τε μέγας κομήτης ἐφάνη γὰρ ἐπὶ νύκτας ἑπτὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος σφαγὴν διαπρεπής, εἶτα ἠφανίσθη."[38] Augustus interpreted the comet as a sign of Caesar's deification and ordered its placement on the pediment of the Temple to the Deified Julius as well as on the reverse of a coin type whose legend reads DIVVS IVLIVS.[39] The rest of

[33] RIC Aur. 381.
[34] For coins RIC V *Vabal*. 1-8; Watson, *Aurelian and the third century*, 67-9.
[35] Historia Augusta, Firmus Saturninus Proculus et Bonosus, 2.
[36] Clifford Ando, *Imperial ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) 226.
[37] Ibid, 215.
[38] Plutarch, Caesar, 69.3; Other prominent ancient sources include Augustus' memoirs , Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 15.745-851, Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* 2.93-4, Cassius Dio's *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία* 45.7.1
[39] Coin with Caesar's temple: RRC 540/1-2; DIVUS IVLIVS: RIC 271; For the use of the *Sidus Iulium* by Octavian see Gurval's "Caesar's Comet: The politics and Poetics of an Augustan Myth" (1997), Kenneth's "The Sidus Iulium and the Apotheosis of Caesar" (1941) Ramsey's and Licht's *The Comet of 44 B.C. and Caesar's Funeral Games*

the Julio-Claudians as well as the succeeding dynasties continued to place a star on their coinage, thus gradually integrating it in the symbolic corpus associated with imperial power. As a result, its placement on the Restitutor Orbis indicates the Aurelian's effort to secure his position by establishing iconographic continuity with his imperial predecessors.

Indeed, the presence of multiple claimants to the purple created the need for Aurelian to engage in both military and iconographic battles in order to legitimize his position as the sole ruler of the Roman world to the inhabitants of the reunified provinces. The former was achieved through his successful campaigns against Zenobia in the East and Tetricus in the West. The latter was partly attained by the Restitutor Orbis type, which supported the emperor's legitimacy by incorporating him into the established ideological and iconographic corpus of *Victoria Augusti* and thus presented him as the ultimate recipient of divinely-mandated victories.

5. Aureae Coronae, Acclamation and Provincial Loyalty

Aurelian's endeavors to establish his legitimacy and to restore the ties that united the empire are also present in the imperial practices the Restitutor Orbis type evokes. Despite the emphasis on triumphal iconography, the female figure depicted is assuredly not the goddess Victoria, as indicated by the lack of wings.[40] While the reference books for Roman coinage simply describe her as "woman", her Hellenistic dress and hairstyle as well as the stephane crown that adorns her head allow for certain educated but not determinative guesses.[41]

The first hypothesis is that the female figure is Zenobia, the captured queen of Palmyra. This conclusion is supported by the dating of the Restitutor Orbis type in the late summer of 272, namely after Aurelian's first campaign in the East and the capture of the rebellious queen. The Greek dress, possibly a πέπλος, and hairstyle, in which the hair is arranged in a bun, not only resemble Roman copies of Hellenistic statues, such as Artemis of Mytilene, but also mirror the female attire in the Greek-speaking eastern Mediterranean. More importantly, during the Hellenistic period, the stephane that crowns the head of the coin's female figure appears in the portraits of queens, as indicated by Arsinoë II's coins, and was subsequently associated with the institution of monarchy.[42] This connection appears not only to have spread in the Roman world but also have been maintained in the East, since the obverse of Zenobia's coins depict a stephane crown resting on her head.[43] If this hypothesis is to be followed, Zenobia's presenting a wreath to Aurelian signifies her submission. However, despite the emperor's magnanimity in sparring Zenobia's and Vabalathus' lives, it would be highly irregular to present the Palmyrene queen in public as anything but a captive, as he did during his triumph when Zenobia was allegedly led through Rome in golden chains.[44]

(1997). While Pandey's "Caesar's Comet, the Julian Star, and the Invention of Augustus" (2013) argues that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and not Octavian's propaganda machine popularized the *Sidus Iulium* as an imperial symbol.

[40] Cyzicus RIC 368-9 should be regarded an exception, since the Romans traditionally presented Victoria with wings. In the greek tradition, the most famous as well as highly unusual instance of a wingless Victory was Ἄπτερος Νίκη in Athens' Propylaea (cf. Pausanias' *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις* V.26.6-7).

[41] Both Harold et al. in *The Roman Imperial Coinage* and Cohen in the *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain* (Cohen 210) describe the female figure simply as "woman" (femme in French).

[42] Anique M. Hamelink, *Symbol or jewellery? The stephane and its wearer in the Roman world (1st-3rd centuries AD)* (Leiden University, 2014) 21; For Arsinoë II's coin see British Museum catalogue 1987,0649.278.

[43] Zenobia's coin: RIC 2; Interestingly, Harriet Hosmer's famous sculpture, *Queen of Palmyra*, present Zenobia in a πέπλος and a stephane crown (see Appendix).

[44] Historia Augusta, 32.2.

The second and more plausible alternative is that the female figure who presents the emperor with a wreath is a personification of a geographical area. This hypothesis is primarily based on the RESTITVT[or] ORIENTIS type of both Valerian and Gallienus, whose imagery Aurelian's Restitutor Orbis issue duplicates.[45] The previous emperors' coins depict a woman, whose turreted crown and eastern clothes as well as the legend indicate her status as the Orient, presenting a wreath to the emperor who is dressed in military attire. This iconographic affinity indicates not only that the female figure of Aurelian's coin should be sought among the personifications of territories but also that the legend may hold particular significance in the process of identification.

The representation of geographical area—or even a purposefully vague personification of a province—as a female figure finds innumerable parallels in Roman imperial art.[46] In the first century, the northern portico of Aphrodisias' Sebasteion "was decorated with reliefs depicting the ἔθνη from the edges of the Augustan Empire", while the Flavians commemorated their victory in the Jewish revolt of 70 BCE by minting the IUDAEA CAPTA issue that portrayed the province of Judea as an enslaved woman.[47] Later, in the second century, the portico of the Hadrianeum, the Temple of the Deified Hadrian built by Antoninus Pius, was decorated with depictions of women whose distinctive costumes and attributes established their identities as personifications of the empire's provinces.[48] However, the most characteristic examples of this trend are found under Hadrian, who, apart from embarking on a multi-year tour of the empire, placed no less than twenty different representations of provinces on his coins, from Achaea to Britannia and Egypt.[49] Notably, even in the case of Germania, these personifications almost exclusively depicted the provinces wearing Hellenistic dresses and having a stephane crown on their head.

Yet, the lack of distinctive attributes in the woman's depiction as well as the legend, which explicitly alludes to the Orbis Terrarum, may indicate that the mysterious woman is the personification of the whole Roman world. While the Orbis Terrarum was traditionally depicted on coins and statues with a globe, there are a few instances in which it is personified.[50] The most famous of which is located in the first-century Gemma Augustea, where the *oikoumene* is depicted as a woman clothed in a Greek dressed and invested with a headdress crowning the seated Augustus with a triumphal laurel wreath.[51] In any case, the semiotic indeterminacy produced by the lack of a characteristic costume and attributes, similar to the ones in Valerian' and Gallienus' RESTITVT[or] ORIENTIS type, indicates the desire to universalize the territory represented by making its exact identification, if not impossible, at least difficult.

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[45] Valerian: RIC 286-7; Gallienus: RIC 448

[46] Personifications of geographical areas and provinces appear also in Latin Literature: see Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*, I.2; Tacitus, *Annales*, XI.21; Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 7.27.2 (Letter to Sura). Images of conquered people were also presented in funeral processions, cf. Dio Cassius' description of Augustus' funeral in *Historiae Romanae*, 56.34.3

[47] RIC 161; For the provincia capta model see Ida Östenberg, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

[48] See appendix for examples.

[49] Achaea: RIC 321c; Egypt: RIC 296a; Africa: RIC 298h; Arabia: RIC 943f; Asia: RIC 301a; Bithynia: 947j; Britannia: RIC 845; Cappadocia: RIC 847a; Cilicia: RIC 883c; Dacia: RIC 849j; Gallia: RIC 324a; Germania: RIC 302a; Hispania: RIC 305c; Italia: RIC 307a; Judea: RIC 853a; Libya: RIC 958; Macedonia: RIC 329; Mauretania: RIC 854f; Moesia: RIC 903; Nicomedia: RIC 961a; Noricum: RIC 904; Pannonia: RIC 1059a; Phrygia: RIC 905; Sicilia: RIC 966c; Thrace: RIC 907f.

[50] Östenber, Ida, *Staging the World, 289*.

[51] Noreña, Carlo F., *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West*, 151; For the picture see appendix.

In such an iconographic corpus, the depiction of a geographical area or the *oikoumene* presenting a wreath to Aurelian is evoking a well-established imperial practice, the presentation of the aurea coronae. In the Hellenistic world, golden crowns were formally awarded to rulers and victorious generals. This practice was continued in the Roman world. Livy reports that, after the defeat of the Gallatian Gauls of Asia Minor in 189 BCE, Gnaeus Manlius Vulso received "legationes undique ex omnibus civitatibus gentibusque" who "non gratulatum modo venerant, sed coronas etiam aureas pro suis quaeque facultatibus attulerant."[52] Manlius proceeded to display these 212 golden crowns in his triumph.[53] Similarly, after his victory in Actium, Octavian stopped in Ephesus where he met ambassadors from Rhosus, a small Syrian city, who "brought him a crown, the loyalty of their fellow citizens, and a request to preserve the privileges of their city."[54] The dispatch of these golden crowns, which continued well into the Late Empire, should not be simply understood as yet another form of taxation, but as a series of ritualized acts in which the gifting communities recognized the power and suzerainty of the emperor as well as set forth a list of requests.[55]

Aurelian received similar golden crowns during his successful military campaigns. While narrating the emperor's campaign in the East, Zosimus reports that "Ἐλάσαντος τοίνυν ἅμα στρατῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, Ἀγκύρα τε προσετίθετο τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ Τύανα μετὰ ταύτην καὶ ἑξῆς ἅπασαι μέχρις Ἀντιοχείας, ἐν ᾗ Ζηνοβίαν εὑρὼν ἅμα στρατῷ πολλῷ παρεσκευασμένην εἰκότως ἐς μάχην ἀπήντα καὶ αὐτὸς εὐτρεπής."[56] As Allard points out, the crucial confrontations in Antioch and Emesa took place only after a series of voluntary surrenders by the cities of Asia Minor. Those surrenders included the dispatch of ambassadors who, as a sign of submission and loyalty, presented the emperor with a golden crown, similar to the ones Octavian received by the Rhosians as he was marching to Egypt.[57] The claim that Aurelian was indeed presented with such aureae coronae by the recaptured communities and cities is further alluded by the elaborate -but, unfortunately, highly unreliable- description of Aurelian's triumph in the Historia Augusta. The most important element of the narrative is the display of the captured leaders, Zenobia and Terticus, as well as the enumeration of the spoils of war, among which were a series of golden crowns: "praeferebantur coronae omnium civitatum aureae titulis eminentibus proditae."[58] The display of these aureae coronae in Aurelian's triumphal procession as well as their depiction on the Restitutor Orbis type symbolize the communities' recognition of Aurelian as the legitimate ruler of the reunited empire.

Apart from presenting the emperor with a golden crown, the ambassadors and the officials of the reconquered cities would have acclaimed Aurelian as imperator. Zosimus reports that Aurelian "ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ζηνοβίας ἔγνω φυγήν, εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν εἰσῄει, δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως τῶν πολιτῶν."[59] This joyful reception by the Antiochenes, which would have been preceded by similar welcoming celebrations in other major eastern cities, should have included not only the presentation of the aureae coronae but also the performance of an acclamation, namely the ritualistic repetition of the imperial titles Augustus and Imperator, among other honorifics, by the cities' inhabitants. As Ando argues, "an acclamation was by definition an

[52] Livy 38.37.
[53] Ibid 39.7.
[54] Ando, *Imperial ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire,* 178.
[55] Ibid. 175-6.
[56] Zosimus, 1.50.2.
[57] Valérie Allard, *Aurélien, «restitutor orbis» et triomphateur,* 152.
[58] Historia Augusta, 34.3.
[59] Zosimus, Ἱστορία Νέα, 1.51.2.

expression of consensus. As such, acclamations were the primary vehicle through which the population of an entire city could ritually recognize the charisma of a particular ruler and the legitimacy of his government."[60] Such displays of provincial loyalty that recognized Aurelian's legitimacy were vital for rebuilding the bonds between the fractured provinces in the empire's periphery and the emperor who occupied the political center. This need was particularly urgent not only due to almost 15 years of political fragmentation but also because the majority of the western and the eastern local elites willingly cooperated with the Gallic imperial claimants and the Palmyrene empire respectively. This collaboration is indicated by the creation of a rival Senate comprised of Gallic aristocrats in Trier as well as Palmyra's bloodless seizure of Antioch and of the greater part of the eastern provinces.[61] Aurelian's signal clemency in sparing not only the rebel cities but also his imperial rivals, instead of mounting a series of purges and instituting *damnatio memoriae*, should be understood as elements of his effort to reconcile the fragmented empire and provide stability.[62]

In this precarious political setting, the Restitutor Orbis type proclaimed the province's recognition of Aurelian's legitimacy as the sole emperor of the Roman world by alluding to two imperial ceremonies in which such a recognition could take place, namely the presentation of the aureae coronae and the performance of acclamations by the reconquered communities.

6. Conclusion

Being one of the "centrally imposed" coin designs after the mint reform of 272, the Restitutor Orbis type held a central role in the emperor's narrative of restoration and imperial legitimation. Its military symbolisms, as indicated by the emperor's military attire, as well as its triumphal associations, as exemplified by the laurel wreath, not only commemorate the emperor's successful military campaigns against Zenobia in the East and Tetricus in the West, but also provide significant insights into the structural mechanisms through which the Roman emperors established their legitimacy. Specifically, the military and triumphal imagery supported Aurelian's claims to legitimacy by incorporating him into the broader ideological and iconographic corpus that pertained to Victoria Augusti and Gagé's "theology of victory". Such pictorial associations should not be dismissed as a mere formality but be regarded as a crucial part in the process through which an imperial claimant established his legitimacy as the princeps by associating himself with the virtues and iconographic models attached to the imperial office.

Aurelian's search for legitimacy manifested itself also in the imperial rituals that the iconography of the Restitutor Orbis type evokes. Specifically, the identification of the woman on the coin's reverse as a geographical area as well as the act of awarding a wreath to the emperor alludes to the ceremonial presentation of the aureae coronae by the reconquered towns and cities to Aurelian during his victorious military campaigns. These golden crowns were often accompanied by the performance of imperial acclamations by the whole community. The fact that one of the most popular coin types alluded to such rituals signifies not only Aurelian's pressing need to establish his legitimacy amidst rival imperial claimants but also the importance of the ties between the provincials and the emperor in maintaining the political stability and territorial unity of the empire.

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[60] Ando, *Imperial ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire,* 177-8.
[61] Watson, *Aurelian and the Third Century,* 71.
[62] Ibid, 95.

Most important, however, the Restitutor Orbis issue testifies to the skill and success of the Roman emperors in gradually establishing and meticulously maintaining a shared iconographic and ideological corpus across the whole of the Mediterranean, that not only allowed its geographically dispersed and multicultural communities to acknowledge the rule of one man but also created the Orbis Romanus as a distinctive social, legal, cultural and political entity.

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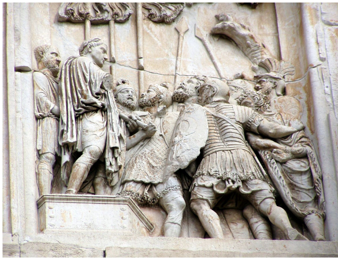
Appendix

Aurelian AE Antoninianus. AVRELIANVS AVG, radiate, cuirassed bust right / RESTITVT ORBIS, Woman standing right, presenting wreath to Aurelian. Star in lower centre, mintmark KAA. RIC V-I, 290F, Cohen 198. Source: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/aurelian/t.html

Valerian, Aureus, Rome. IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS P F AVG: Bust of Valerian, laureate, draped, right/ RESTITVTOR ORBIS: Valerian, in military attire, standing left, raising kneeling woman with right hand and holding spear in left hand

Source: http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=valerian+AND+fulltext%3Aorbis



Adlocutio panel from the southern attic of the Arch of Constantine, Rome

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Constarch_d4.jpg

Triumphal Procession from the Arch of Titus, Rome

Source: http://library.artstor.org/asset/HARTILL_12327863.

Zenobia AE Antoninianus. Struck spring - early summer 272 AD. Emesa mint(?). S ZENOBIA AVG, diademed and draped bust right on a crescent / IVNO REGINA, Juno standing left, holding patera and sceptre, peacock at her feet; star in left field.

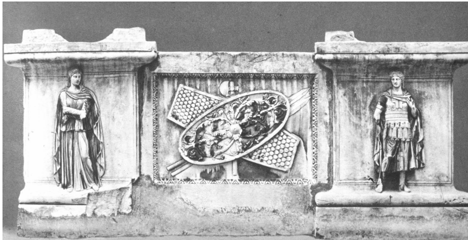
Source: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/zenobia/t.html

Queen of Palmyra by Hosmer Harriet Goodhue (1859)

Source: http://library.artstor.org/#/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822003769591

Gemma Augustea with oikoumene crowning the seated Augustus with a wreath.

Source: http://library.artstor.org/#/asset/HPRINCETON_SASKIA_108711073769



Hadrianeum: From the left, (probably) Gallia, shields and (probably) Hispania

Source: http://library.artstor.org/#/asset/HPRINCETON_109311162811

Hadrian, Rome, IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III: Hadrian, laureate, right/ RESTITVTORI ORBIS TERRARVM S C: Hadrian, togate, standing left, holding roll in left hand and extending right hand to woman, draped, kneeling right and holding globe in left hand

Source: http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=fulltext%3ARESTITVTORI%20ORBIS%20TERRARVM

Aurum coronarium in a triumphal procession, Augustan period (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Farnese Collection, inv. 6722/7516).

Source:
http://jsah.ucpress.edu/content/73/2/24.figures-only