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Table of Contents

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Editors' Comments

The theme of this edition is 'community', one chosen to reflect today's current events. Academia, and indeed the world at large, is quickly becoming obsessed with ideas of kinship, adaptation and of course, community. The pandemic has created feelings of companionship, the idea that 'we're all in this together', however true, or untrue, that might be. Though this may be a tired theme (one would be forgiven for rolling their eyes at another 'team building' Zoom based exercise) it is still important and as true today as it was in the past. Community is what makes us human, what makes us successful, and visions of gathering around a fire to re-tell a traditional tale, or a recount new one that happened that very day, is as alive and kicking as it was in the Antebellum South, Transylvania and Ancient Greece, as we shall see.

The papers you will find in this journal tackle issues as significant as the birth of a nation, to one as intimate as local viniculture. You will be persuaded on the community spirit of bees and banding together against the rising dead of Transylvania. You will discover how art can create identity and books can influence a region's direction.

And above all, the significance of community.

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Joseph Gascoigne, *Paradise Lost? Barbudans' struggle to keep their homeland.*

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Until recently, it was reasonable to think of Barbuda as the island that time forgot. With a population of 1,500, Barbuda is the 'little sister' in the Caribbean island-nation Antigua and Barbuda. Claimed by the British in 1666, Barbuda was leased to the Codrington family from 1685 and supplied their Antiguan sugar plantations with wood, food, and slaves.[1] The Codringtons left Antigua and Barbuda and relinquished their in the neglected fringes of the British Empire. In 1981 Antigua and Barbuda gained independence with a constitution guaranteeing significant autonomy to the locally elected Barbuda Council under section 123.[2] Believing that the last Codringtons gifted the island to their ancestors in 1870, Barbudans today regard Barbuda as common land, shared by its 1,500 or so residents.[3] Land may not be owned but can be used temporarily with the Council's approval. This long-established custom was finally put into law through the United Progressive Party's 2007 Barbuda Land Act.[4] However, time has caught up

[1] Sluyter and Potter, 2010: 132.

[2] Government of Antigua and Barbuda 1981: 71.

[3] Human Rights Watch: 2018.

[4] Government of Antigua and Barbuda, 2007.

with Barbuda and the little island no longer seems able to resist the infringement of so-called *development*.

Tourism is the mainstay of Antigua and Barbuda's economy, accounting for 60% of GDP.[5] Antigua's transition from sugar production to tourism began in the 1960s, and the relentless search for new investment opportunities has now turned towards Barbuda as prime luxury real estate. However, common land ownership poses an obstacle to the kind of large-scale foreign-owned development that dominates Antigua. Since returning to power in 2014, the governing Antigua Labour Party have sought to unpick Barbudans' legal protections and undermine the narrative of common land ownership.

First, the Antiguan government rejects the pretext that Barbuda was gifted to Barbudans by the Codringtons.[6] Indeed, there is no archival evidence the author has seen that supports this claim. There is a record of an agreement between the Codringtons and the Colonial Office which terminated the family's lease, but it makes no mention of a gift to the Barbudan people.[7] Moreover, opponents of collective ownership say that Barbuda was never the Codringtons' to bequeath because it was only leased from the Crown. When the Codrington lease ended, ownership of Barbuda reverted to the British Crown and then to the independent state of Antigua and Barbuda from 1981.

This legal-historical argument aside, the 2007 Barbuda Land Act (BLA) guarantees Barbudan collective ownership and remains an obstacle to the easy development of Barbuda by foreign investors. The government has

[5] CIA World Factbook, 2021.

[6] Huffington Post, 2020.

[7] Lightfoot, 2020: 136.

therefore sought to unpick this legal protection. A 2016 amendment to the BLA gave Cabinet the authority to grant 99-year leases of Barbudan land to investors, regardless of the views of the Barbuda Council.[8] A further amendment in 2018 sought to automatically transform this leasehold into freehold, effectively facilitating plot-by-plot privatisation of Barbuda.[9] In October 2018, three Barbudans, including local MP Trevor Walker, filed a court injunction arguing that this amendment impinged on the Barbuda Council's authority.[10] This case is currently before the Privy Council, Antigua's highest court of appeal.

Though court proceedings are underway, the Antiguan government continues to lay the groundwork for converting Barbuda into a millionaire's playground. Unable to guarantee its authority to sell land through legal mechanisms, the Antiguan government has attempted to keep Barbudans out of the way physically. The devastation caused by Hurricane Irma in September 2017 provided an opportunity. Many Barbudans evacuated to Antigua report being given mobile phones and other luxuries by the government as incentives to stay in Antigua.[11] At the same time, the government appeared reluctant to repair basic infrastructure on Barbuda, further deterring residents from returning. For example, when Barbudans returned, they were told that the government did not have the funds to rebuild the primary school and that all children must be educated in Antigua. But the

[8] Government of Antigua and Barbuda, 2016.

[9] Government of Antigua and Barbuda, 2018: 5.

[10] Antigua Observer, 2021a.

[11] This has been told to the author by anonymous sources on multiple occasions since September 2017.

Barbudan Council oversaw the restoration of the school by itself.[12] Unable to keep residents off their island, the Antiguan Government announced a scheme whereby Barbudans could purchase the freehold of a plot on Barbuda for EC$1. This was rejected by Barbudans, who saw it as an attempt to get them to consent to the privatisation of their homeland inadvertently.[13]

Meanwhile, though there were apparently no resources to rebuild the school, returning Barbudans found that the government had shipped construction equipment to Barbuda in the wake of Hurricane Irma. However, this equipment was not used to repair the damage but to lay the groundwork for developments to come. Most strikingly, a new runway has been built which involved felling rare trees and devastating the habitat of endangered turtles.[14] The runway is also said to be built above an ancient and unmapped cave system, in dangerous violation of planning regulations. There are two main development projects readying to benefit from this runway and the removal of Barbudan claims - Peace, Love, Happiness (PLH) and Paradise Found. Both are luxury hotel and residential projects spread over hundreds of acres and costing hundreds of millions of dollars.[15]

The wildlife has been bulldozed, the runway laid, and the laws amended. The only thing now protecting Barbudans' claims to their land is a legal challenge with the Privy Council. If this fails, it is inevitable that all Barbuda will eventually be sold to foreign investors such as Paul DeJora and Daniel Shamoun, who finance PLH and Paradise Found, respectively. Barbuda's pristine beaches will likely become segregated into luxury resorts

[12] Antigua Observer, 2021b.

[13] Lightfoot, 2020: 142.

[14] Antigua Observer, 2021c.

[15] Global Legal Action Network, 2021.

for the super-rich, even more exclusive and cut-off than their Antiguan counterparts. It is hard to imagine how Barbuda's small community fits into such a place. Barbuda's experience is a reminder of how vulnerable custom and tradition can be in the face of "big money" and how easily the rights of minority communities can be trampled, even by their own government.

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(a) Antigua Observer, "Barbuda land fight to head to Privy Council", https://antiguaobserver.com/barbuda-land-fight-to-head-to-privy-council/, accessed 9 February, 2021

(b) Antigua Observer, "DCA clears the way; Barbuda's primary school back open", https://antiguaobserver.com/dca-clears-the-way-barbudas-primary-school-back-open/, accessed 8 February 2021

(c) Antigua Observer, "PLH accused of 'greenwashing amid environmental destruction'" https://antiguaobserver.com/plh-accused-of-greenwashing-amid-environmental-destruction/, accesses 7 February 2021

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Huffington Post, "Inside The Fight For Barbuda's Communal Land And Culture", https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/barbuda-hurricane-irma-communal-land_n_5e6123b9c5b62d548c9ebe52?ri18n=true&guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAALgZEhgG-N7U8SYni5Z3imFBQLaPhHpgZqoso-RTY_281gwt7Chpry8wEamdJmLUz41WPB9e6PcwdlCBG8BqUZtw4FEql9-ER0bgGMugNer-x-xzZENyZYSsVnerPBkEvspSCFiPoQbwVF03Cv76RjTX3AYfn-2KVKvfCJDfWvRy, accessed 9 February, 2021.

Hannah Reynolds, *Fabricating the Vox Populi: The Role of Art in Forging Mexican Identities After 1920.*[1]

After the Mexican revolution, artists came to the forefront of rebuilding community spirit via murals showcasing ordinary Mexicans. Historiography takes muralists Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros for granted as primary exhibitors of Mexican identity due to their reverence for famed "Printmaker to the Mexican people," José Posada. However, most murals were painted inside buildings rural communities depicted would never visit. Contemporary need to present popular art as a reflection of Mexican communities overshadowed artists reluctant to exploit their subject matter, including culturally subversive Taller de Gráfica Popular. Artists became split between genuine mass interaction and a self-mythologising façade of representation that alienated people from their own portrayal. Resulting development in popular culture from art politics was therefore a process based in enduring symbolism, reactive interpretation, and not truthful representation.

[1] To get in touch with Hannah, please contact the editors who will pass on contact details.

Figure 1 Diego Rivera, *Sueño de Una Tarde Dominical En La Alameda Central*, Fresco, 1946, Museo Mural Diego Rivera, Mexico City, http://mundodelmuseo.com/ficha.php?id=1014.

The revolution brought changes in politics and society for Mexico borne from consolidation of circumstance rather than values fought for.[2] By 1926, the Calles government was in power and found itself economically and politically secure enough to remove any semblance of genuine 'land and liberty.'[3] Instead, the indigenous populace were to be culturally assimilated through programs prejudiced against them.[4] The muralists in particular became proponents of this romanticized indigenismo in their works.[5] Their manifesto in El Machete laid grand plans to champion indigenous identity.[6] In reality, the muralists masqueraded as a progressive voice of the people by only presenting a conflicted culture's highlights in middle-class media.[7] Rivera particularly fabricated their legacy to both contemporaries and historians.[8] His Alameda Park mural is a vibrant epic depicting Mexican national community through history, yet he centres a childhood Rivera standing with Posada in a forced metaphor for the future of Mexican cultural artistry revolving around himself **(Fig. 1)**.[9] Ultimately, they failed to democratize art by taking a self-oriented approach that excluded people, though their works did trigger responses.

In the shadow of the murals, an offshoot of estridentismo known as the Taller de Gráfica Popular formed in 1937 to create art activism as a

[2] Hamilton, 1982: 67.

[3] Ibid, 68.

[4] Ibid, 78.

[5] Knight, 2010: 228, 247-248.

[6] Picot, 2007: 19-20.

[7] Guerrero, 2018: 5.

[8] Flores, 2014: 50.

[9] Rivera, Wolfe, 1937:13, 20, 100 and 176.

profession under guidance of Leopoldo Mendez.[10] They strove to make art more public and challenged the inaccessible murals.[11] Rather than reconstructing history, TGP artwork often featured social justice struggles due to their emergence within Cardenista optimism.[12] As successor to the LEAR they also brought forth the 'neither Calles nor Cárdenas' sentiment as adaptive opposition to society's ills.[13] The printed artwork of Mendez and those who followed was less a fabrication of idealised Mexico, but rather a display the country was suffering with a monument to the resilience of its people through dark yet generally simplistic imagery **(Fig. 2)**. Due to their broader level of accessibility, both the TGP's collective workspaces and styles became a haven for local and foreign artists of the oppressed.[14] As a result, they began to embody the legacy of Posada on an international scale.

[10] The Annex Galleries, 2019,

[11] Campbell, 2003: 159.

[12] Adès, McClean, 2009: 27.

[13] Ibid*,* 29.

[14] Herzog, 2012: 105-107.

Figure 2 Alfredo Zalce, *Posada and His Skeletons*, Wodcut print, 1948, Museum of Modern Art, New York, https://www.moma.org/collection/works/64476.

Despite efforts to move away from Porfirian standards, the muralists became the new highbrow by comparison. Meanwhile, the PRI government prompted reactive social consciousness by trying to dictate national identity.[15] The murals therefore may have been an attempt at cultural recovery, but so were counterculture efforts of students that defaced them.[16] Highbrow artforms could not revive folk art supressed by notions of 'taste' following independence.[17] Rather, folk art returned with small artisans in dispute with their portrayal by larger artists, resulting in a post-revolution

[15] Picot 2007: 156.

[16] Knight 2010: 240.

[17] Charlot 1989: 173.

culture that preferred small media as a means of identity transmission (**Fig. 4**). A popular example summarising developing counterculture was Rius's *Los Supermachos,* wherein political endeavours of the 1960s were satirically represented by a relatable rural village (**Fig. 3)**. By minimising those in power, comics and dolls alike subverted that power and joined the visual narrative of anti-political activity succeeding the TGP. Genuine Mexican identity therefore came from cultural formation that resented dictation. Rivera fixed Muralism's place in history, however the ongoing art undercurrent produced by smaller communities of artists meant that larger influences remained plastic to interpretation and rebellion. Ultimately, few could claim to represent the masses when the masses came to represent themselves.

Figure 3 (Left) Eduardo Del Río, *Los Supermachos 'La Carta y Los Cuernos' (Issue 61 Cover Featuring Don Perpetuo Del Rosal)*, Comic, 1967, Revistas Mexicanas Clasicas de los 60´s, 70´s y 80´s, private online collection, http://comicsmexicanosdejediskater.blogspot.com/2018/10/los-supermachos-de-rius-no-61-jueves-2.html.

Figure 4 (Right) Cristina Potters, *Photograph of Catrina Dolls*, Digital Photograph, 2018, In 'Dancing with Death: José Guadalupe Posada and the History of the Catrina', The Mazatlán Post, accessed 25 June 2019, https://themazatlanpost.com/2018/10/29/dancing-with-death-jose-guadalupe-posada-and-the-history-of-the-catrina/.

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Adam Challoner, *Communities of Disunion: Books and Sectionalism in the Antebellum South*

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Abstract

David Schenck, a young man from North Carolina, came of age during a particularly tumultuous period in American history. As the slavery question caused the already tenuous foundations of American nationhood to fracture further, Schenck (like many of his contemporaries) became embroiled in an emotional and intellectual conflict that challenged his understanding of self and communal belonging. To negotiate these difficulties, Schenck turned to his books.

This essay considers the fraught interactions between Benedict Anderson's notion of an 'imagined community' and Stanley Fish's 'interpretative community', as experienced by Schenck. Ideally, these two communities operated symbiotically, but in the case of the Old South and David Schenck, the two became fundamentally counterposed. Through an analysis of Schenck's reading notes, this essay will explore this process in more depth, offering some reflections upon the role of books in the affirmation and refutation of collective identities.

On 28th June 1853, David Schenck decided that he had had quite enough of living. A sombre man, often given to long periods of despondency, this was not entirely out of character. On this particular occasion, it appears that a romantic interest had spurned his advances. Much to Schenck's despair, the letter he had sent to a Miss Mattie Kirby had recently been ignored. He reported that he was 'tired of vanity' and 'disgusted with the world. All efforts to please are vain, every pursuit has its goal enveloped in the shadowy mists

of uncertainty. Nothing but strife and confusion.' More than anything, Schenck longed to escape. 'I feel like shutting out the world and with my books for company to pass a quiet, easy life.'[33]

Like many of his contemporaries, David Schenck used his books to help him navigate his daily life. Sometimes, as evidenced above, his books served as a sanctuary. Rejected and alone, Schenck wrapped himself in the folds of a world hewn from paper and ink, blissfully displaced from his own suffering. On other occasions, Schenck did not seek escapism but *understanding*. As a young North Carolinian gentleman coming of age during the particularly tumultuous decade preceding the Civil War, it is little surprise that he was such a prolific reader. Indeed, unrequited love would prove the least of his worries as his country edged ever closer to collapse, engendered in no small part by the incendiary debate over the moral legitimacy of the peculiar institution. American print culture had long been characterised by such sectional enmity. In books and magazines, pamphlets and periodicals, the slavery debate seethed unabated. In this regard, Schenck sought to use his books as a barometer by which he could measure and refine his own position on some of the most pressing issues of the day. The result, as with many of his Southern compatriots, was the development of a sectional impulse that supplanted his sense of national community.

This, incidentally, presents a source of considerable historical intrigue. If we accept Benedict Anderson's claim that national print cultures operate in a homogenising capacity, helping to calcify bonds of national kinship that transcend proximity and creed, then this critical moment in

33 Schenck, 1853: 28th June.

American history also appears to be culturally anomalous. Anderson suggests that print capitalism generated one of the fundamental preconditions for the development of cohesive national communities. It was upon these common networks of print, he explains, that the 'imagined community' was predicated; an image of horizontal simultaneity among individuals who would otherwise share no meaningful association.[34] However, no such image ever fully emerged in the minds of antebellum readers. On the contrary, upon encountering this shared print culture, there developed an awareness not of their commonalities, but of their manifold and increasingly irreconcilable differences.

We can explain this using Stanley Fish's theory of 'interpretive communities.' Fish argues that these communities are 'made up of those who share interpretive strategies for writing texts, for constituting their properties and assigning their intentions.'[35] He uses the word 'writing' to refer to the act of reading a text, because for him the act of reading is itself a constitutive enterprise. Fish believes that a text is little more than a series of abstract notations, objectively meaningless until the individual reader begins to impose meaning upon them, thus 'writing' the text. The crux of his thesis lies in its intersubjectivity. The interpretive community comprises individuals who share the same interpretive techniques, and whose approach to 'writing' the text is informed by the same referential frameworks. In this way, a stable imagined community cannot exist without a nationally integrative interpretive community. With no common systems of intelligibility, readers

34 Anderson, 1983: 6.

35 Fish, 1976: 483.

will instead apply a myriad of interpretive strategies and thus produce commensurately variegated and incompatible images of national communion.

In an ideal world, the imagined and interpretive communities work in harmony together. The imagined community provides the aesthetic substance upon which the national interpretive community is predicated, and in turn the interpretive community is composed of hermeneutical frameworks that deliberately sustain the imagined community. But what happens when this perfect, delicate symbiosis is disrupted? What becomes of the communities whose interpretive strategies become counterposed to the ideals they were designed to maintain? This essay will consider these questions in more depth, offering some reflections upon the role of books in the affirmation and refutation of communal identities, as experienced by David Schenck. First, however, we must map the cultural landscape in which these books were consumed. Readers are, after all, products of their respective cultural surroundings, and we cannot hope to understand their hearts and minds without a prefatory understanding of the circumstances that governed them.

In the concluding scene of Maria Jane McIntosh's novel *Two Pictures; or, What we Think of Ourselves, and What the World Thinks of Us*, Augusta Moray and her husband sit ensconced in the library of their idyllic Georgian plantation. The scene is perfectly peaceful until Augusta throws down her newspaper, aghast, and turns to address her husband. 'Oh Hugh,' she exclaims, 'how unjust!'[36]

'You are reading that review of Uncle Tom,' Hugh Moray surmises, 'with its unflattering portraiture of Southern planters.'[37] In a futile attempt

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36 McIntosh, 1863: 474.

37 Ibid*:* 474 - 475.

to assuage his wife's indignation, he reminds her that there are 'two sides to every picture.'[38]

But Augusta was not to be placated. 'True,' she agrees, 'and I thank God there are – that we are not obliged to see ourselves or each other as the false world sees us.'[39]

McIntosh began her career as a writer of moral fiction for children, pseudonymously issued as 'Aunt Kitty's Tales' between 1841 and 1843. Anxious to communicate her moral directions clearly, her stories usually featured characters who

personified an idealised paradigm of American personhood, and a foil character to whom they were juxtaposed.[40] Critically, this duality also operated on a broader level – at least in the context of *Two Pictures*. Bristling at how Southerners had been portrayed in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the most notable example of Northern abolitionist literature to emerge during the antebellum period, Augusta makes an important distinction. She divides her world into two, creating a moral binary that distinguishes between her own world, the South; and the pharisaic 'false world' of the North. Augusta's response was symptomatic of a cultural and political landscape pervaded by sectional hostility. It requires no exposition to say that during the antebellum period the North and South were divided, primarily over the issue of slavery. But the means through which these divisions were articulated, interrogated, and ultimately exacerbated warrants further inquiry.

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38 Ibid: 475.

39 McIntosh, 1863: 475.

40 Baym, 1993: 87.

Indeed, the architect of the Civil War was neither politician nor planter, but instead a particularly animated press. For much of the early nineteenth century, the American press was not really 'American' at all; it comprised a number of regional print networks that inevitably assumed their own distinct colouring. When this kaleidoscope of print cultures was finally subsumed under a single, national public sphere, readers encountered a cacophony of regionally inflected ideas.[41] Its defining characteristic was asymmetry. Decades of prior industrial and infrastructural progress in the North had generated a print culture that far exceeded the Southern variant by almost every significant metric.[42] Northern publishers boasted higher circulations, best-selling authors were disproportionately Northern, and vast discrepancies in education standards had produced a markedly more literate citizenry than in the South. As a result, national discourses became skewed in favour of a Northern press that routinely emphasised sectional difference. They believed that they were the true scions of the 'civic religion' of the American Revolution.[43] Their neighbours in the South, considered wilfully impermeable to the advances of modernity, were fundamentally different.

The Southern response was fervent. Faced with a Northern press with which they could not compete, writers adopted the language of 'victimhood, humiliation, and oppression.'[44] National discourses were increasingly viewed through this lens, and subsequently reimagined as coercion or outright

41 Loughran, 2007: 3.

42 Fahs, 2002: 195.

43 Grant, 2000: 92.

44 Quigley, 2012: 90.

belligerence. In 1851, for example, a contributor to the Southern periodical *De Bow's Review* described the '*grievous wrongs*' and the '*gratuitous insults offered us, by the free States of the North*.'[45] Indignant, they insisted that '*the cup of forbearance or endurance is so full that a single drop shall make it overflow.*'[46] These insults supposedly represented an existential threat to the South. 'Let us not be lulled too easily into security,' the writer urged, 'where so much of honour, and liberty, and existence are at stake.'[47]

In effect, Southern readers began to interpret texts differently. Sectional hostility and a vertical public sphere that privileged Northern texts and ideas had inadvertently corroded the national interpretive community beyond repair. In its place, there developed a divergent Southern interpretive community defined by a beleaguered insularity, one that did not sustain a sense of national community but viewed it as an instrument of Northern oppression. Discursive asymmetries became a source of resentment, and Southern readers were increasingly compelled to renounce a union with those who actively repudiated some of their most treasured institutions and customs. As such, the frameworks of intelligibility now utilised by many Southern readers were designed to consolidate the supersession of regional community over national, and to reaffirm pre-existing prejudices against the North. And just as these intractable issues engendered a hermeneutical divide, so was the American imagined community scythed in two.

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45 De Bow's Review, 1851: 106.

46 Ibid: 106.

47 Ibid: 106.

The reading notes of David Schenck offer an invaluable insight into this process. As mentioned earlier, Schenck came of age during the decade preceding the Civil War, and it was during this time that he began ruminating upon his political allegiances. Although it would not be until 1860 that he formally declared his support for the secessionist cause, this was the culmination of a political evolution spanning several years and a great many books. What is most compelling about this period in Schenck's life is how frequently he related his reading experiences to the broader crises of culture and community in which his country was embroiled, a predilection that would in turn permanently disfigure Schenck's own understanding of communal belonging.

In the first instance, deepening sectional tensions caused him to refute his sense of national community. On 4th July 1853, whilst reading Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Schenck extracted new meaning designed to reaffirm his sense of otherness in relation to his Northern counterparts.

> Just have been reading 'Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire' and the thought entered my mind, that while I was scanning, in my imagination, the slow and mouldering decay of the mightiest fabric of government, ever erected, as ignorance, superstition, despotism hastened the mighty ruin as the cry of saints and the blood of martyrs cried aloud for judgment to be exercised.[48]

48 Schenck, 1853: 4th July.

In particular, Schenck seized upon the parallels between the problems underscoring the fall of Rome, and the issues currently facing his own country. 'Yet Oh!' Schenck exclaimed, 'my God do we still complain. Ungrateful as our forefathers. Shall this mighty bulwark of freedom be sapped by one small mine? Shall northern fanaticism apply the torch for its demolition? God forbid.'[49] Critically, Schenck's 'writing' of Gibbon's text was centred around a distinctively Southern hermeneutical framework, imposing his own ideological idiosyncrasies upon a text that would otherwise bear no relation to his present circumstances. In this case, Schenck's reading of classical history was repurposed in order to buttress his repudiation of Northern abolitionism, and to renounce any sense of community that would bind him to such 'fanaticism' and 'despotism'.

For a more direct engagement in this issue, we must consider Schenck's reading of the literary enmity that emerged between the sections. Despite the strident efforts of some librarians and booksellers to limit the circulation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the South, Schenck finally managed to procure a copy in 1853, two years after it was originally published.[50] By this time, the novel had become an invaluable asset for the abolitionist cause, helping to reify the unconscionable evil that was the peculiar institution in the minds of its readers.[51] Schenck was less impressed. He insisted that neither 'human nature' nor 'Southern justice' would permit the maltreatment of slaves to the extent Stowe depicted, and seethed that the novel was 'evil in its tendencies and should be loathed as a torch already applied to the combustible

49 Schenck, 1853: 4th July.

50 Hochman, 2011: 95.

51 Ibid: 2.

elements of civil discord.'[52] In Schenck's mind, the novel was not merely a constituent in a broader national discourse, but instead the latest in a succession of calculated and fallacious attempts by Northern iconoclasts to beat the South into submission.

But Schenck was nothing if not a proactive reader. Fully aware that books were increasingly utilised as instruments of sectional hostility, Schenck was anxious to do his part to support the South. This brings us to the second objective in Schenck's interpretive repertoire: to bolster his sense of regional community. To this end, he turned his attention to J.T. Randolph's *The Cabin and Parlour.* A peculiar species of literature, Randolph's text was one of a number of 'anti-Tom novels' published in a direct response to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. These books often exhibited a pointed inversion of the rhetorical strategies utilised by Stowe in an attempt to reproduce the well-documented emotional effects of her novel in a pro-slavery context.[53] For Schenck, Randolph's text presented the perfect opportunity to support the South against Northern literary aggression. 'These fictions, pro and con, have been creating much excitement,' Schenck observed, before insisting that 'it requires books of fiction to undermine fiction.'[54] The significance of this statement is twofold. Firstly, it shows that Schenck understood that these fictions were more than just stories, but also vehicles through which competing, regionally inflected ideas were advanced. Secondly, and more importantly, it is evidence of Schenck's insular hermeneutical mindset. The meaning he ascribed to Randolph's novel, imbricated within a broader cultural battlefield, was

52 Schenck, 1853: 29th June.

53 Meer, 2005: 75-76.

54 Schenck, 1852: 18th November.

primarily concerned with his fealty to the South, and by extension, to its beleaguered institutions and customs.

When their reserve of explicitly pro-Southern literature was depleted, readers turned their gaze across the Atlantic. Southern intellectual culture was defined in large part by postcoloniality; where Northern writers determinedly eschewed the cultural legacy of their European forebears, Southern intellectuals sought to emulate it.[55] Many educated Southerners greatly admired classical culture, and naturally found

premodern social hierarchies of great appeal. Walter Scott was especially popular. His novels featured a distinctive brand of medieval manhood, propagating a veneration of chivalry and valour in which existing codes of Southern honour found further credence.[56] Schenck was predictably enamoured – not only by Scott himself, but also by the social potential his novels provided. After reading *Waverly*, he described it as 'a piece of composition which every man who expects to mingle in polite company should read.'[57] Evidently, Schenck was himself such a man, and so his reading of Scott's novel was likely inspired by a desire to converse with like-minded people, and thus to cultivate a robust sense of fraternity among his Southern compatriots.

Clearly, it worked. Almost eight years after Mattie Kirby broke his heart, a rather more sanguine David Schenck announced North Carolina's secession from the Union. 'My feelings on this mighty event are inexpressible – my joy is unspeakable,' Schenck wrote, revelling in the fall of one

55 O'Brien, 2004: 211.

56 Wyatt-Brown, 2001: 181.

57 Schenck, 1852: 13th September

community and in the rise of another.[58] In both instances, his books were instrumental. They helped sustain an ideological intransigence utterly incompatible with the pluralistic nature of the antebellum United States and thrust Schenck into a cultural landscape that propagated the equivalence of dissent and denigration. The tenuous reciprocity between imagined and interpretive communities was thus destabilised, precipitating the fragmentation of American culture and society. But as far as Schenck was concerned, and due in large part to his books, this was a price worth paying. 'A Southern home is glory enough for me.'[59]

58 Schenck, 1861: 20th May.

59 Ibid: 20th May.

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Louis Parker, *Pakistan: The Accidental Birth of a Nation?*

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Abstract

On the 3 June 1947 South Asians learned that the Indian subcontinent was to be partitioned creating two new independent states: India and Pakistan. Communities, families and friends were to be torn apart as the territory was split apart by a British man who had never before been to India, while using six-year-old data to separate the land on religious grounds. As a result of this decision twelve million people emigrated and around one million died. The leader of the Muslim League, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, argued that the Muslims in India were a 'nation by any definition', by doing this he was building on earlier Muslim sentiment echoed by Sir Syed Ahmed who argued that the desire that Hindus and Muslims 'remain equal is to desire the impossible'. As a result, two communities who had lived next to each other separated in bloody fashion. This essay will look to investigate the reasons why this happened and focus on the arguments perpetrated by the different religious communities.

Introduction

On the 3 June 1947 South Asians learned that India was to be partitioned into India and Pakistan.[1] East Bengal, West Punjab, the North Western Frontier Province (N.W.F.P) and Sindh formed Pakistan, while West Bengal and East Punjab comprised India.[2] Urvashi Butalia describes the partition as one of the 'great human convulsions of history' as twelve million people emigrated between the new states and around one million died.[3] The causes of why this happened remains contentious among historians.

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1 Phillips, 1962: 397-402.

2 Raychoudhary, 1980: 301-02.

3 Butalia, 2000: 3.

Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal state that Pakistani nationalists push the 'two nation' theory propagated by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslim League leader. This argues that Indian Muslims comprised a distinct community from the Hindu majority, while Indian nationalists blame British imperialism for tearing apart India.[4] Jalal is known for her revisionist view, where she argues Jinnah pushed for partition despite not actually wanting this outcome, instead seeking a 'union of India on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan'.[5] This runs contrary to traditionalist views promulgated by Percival Spear, who takes a more literal reading of events, arguing the creation of Pakistan was Jinnah's aim.[6]

This essay argues that Jinnah's ultimate goal was to secure protection for his community, in whatever form was achievable. This appears to be the most logical way to explain how Jinnah was ready to accept less than partition in 1946 yet continued to push for an independent state after negotiations broke down. A 'high politics' approach focusing on Jinnah will be taken, Mushirul Hasan agrees with this approach stating that 'never before in South Asian history did so few divide so many, so needlessly'.[7]

'Two-Nation' Theory

Jinnah stated in March 1940 that the Muslims were not a minority but a 'nation by any definition' as they were a majority in 'Bengal, the Punjab, N.W.F.P, Sindh and Baluchistan'.[8] The notion that Indian Muslims comprised

4 Bose and Jalal, 1997: 165.

5 Jalal, 1985: 293.

6 Spear, 1965: 382.

7 Hasan, 2001: 43.

8 Gwyer and Appadorai, 1957: 440.

a separate nation was not a new idea, in 1888 Muslim leader Sir Syed Ahmed argued that India was 'inhabited by two different nations' and 'to hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and inconceivable'.[9] The same sentiment can be observed in a speech by Dr Muhammad Iqbal at a presidential address of the all-India Muslim League in December 1930. Here he states, 'The Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word'.[10]

The traditionalist view takes the two-nation theory at face value with Richard Symonds claiming that Muslims and Hindus lived alongside each other but lived differently and the fear of Islam being in danger under Hindu domination existed within the Muslim community.[11] L.F. Rushbrook Williams agrees with Symonds, stating that partition arose due to the differences between the Muslim and Hindu ways of life, again citing the fear Muslims had at life under Hindu domination.[12] However, it appears that before the 1940s Muslims did not, at least through electoral methods, translate any fear of Hindu domination into support for the All- India Muslim League. In the 1937 provincial elections the Indian National Congress, a primarily Hindu organisation, won majorities in five of the eleven provinces and were the largest party in two others.[13] This fact lends itself to the argument that the separation of communities was due to successful campaigning of Jinnah in asserting himself as the leader of the Islamic community, polarising society.

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9 Moon, *Divide and Quit*, 1999: 11.

10 Gwyer and Appadorai, 1957: 439.

11 Symonds, 1950: 60.

12 Rushbrook Williams, 1966: 32.

13 Symonds, 1950: 53-55.

R.J. Moore claims that after the 1937 elections the Muslim League were able to represent the Muslim population as a whole.[14] Jinnah was able to do this without an electoral mandate by claiming that as they were an exclusively Muslim party, they were the authentic representatives of the Ummah.[15] Farzana Shaikh provides the reasoning for this claim, stating that political legitimacy in Islam is derived from a shared communal identity, so the League could claim to be the sole representatives without an electoral mandate.[16] Asim Roy argues that after the 1935 Government of India Act, which offered Muslims just a third of central representation, Jinnah needed to turn the League into the third power in India, after the Congress and British, to ensure the status of the Muslim minority.[17] Jalal writes that to gain this power Jinnah needed to ensure the support of the Muslim majority provinces.[18] Gyanendra Pandey proposes that this may be an easier task than first thought because of how Indian Muslims act and think. She states that while the Hindus were nationalists first and Hindus second, Muslims were always Muslim first and foremost.[19] Gilmartin writes that Muslim unity was important in Jinnah's campaign for support and that he invoked the danger of a fitna (civil war) between the Muslims if the prospect of Hindu domination came true.[20]

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14 Moore, 2001: 160.

15 Shaikh, 2001: 85.

16 Ibid: 84.

17 Roy, 2001: 108.

18 Jalal, 1985: 35.

19 Pandey, 1999: 610.

20 Gilmartin, 1998: 1080.

This viewpoint is reflected by Akbar S. Ahmed who emphasises the cultural importance of Jinnah through the way he responded to perceived cultural threats to Islamic society.[21] This is illustrated by the inquiry committee set up by the League to investigate Muslim grievances in Congress provinces in 1938. The report reveals Muslim fears stating 'in India we have a permanent Hindu majority and other communities are condemned to the position of perpetual minority' so they must fight to 'secure their political rights'.[22] This argument for securing rights was at the core of Jinnah's mission, he believed unity within the Muslim community would give them the best chance to achieve security, either through a united India or an independent state. The League extended their organisation into the countryside and used propaganda to rouse Muslim support in the face of potential Hindu domination.[23]

On the 2 March 1940 the Lahore Resolution was passed by the League, rejecting the idea of a united India and stating that an independent sovereign state was their ultimate goal.[24] The resolution specifically stated that areas where 'Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-West and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign'.[25] This was the first time the League demanded an independent state.

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21 Ahmed, 1997: 89.

22 Gwyer and Appadorai, 1957: 411.

23 Moon, 1999*:* 18.

24 Dar, 2015: 150.

25 Gwyer and Appadorai, 1957: 443.

Cabinet Mission Plan

In the 1945 elections Congress won 91% of the non-Muslim vote and 57% of seats in the central assembly, with majorities in every province but Bengal, Sindh, and Punjab. However, the league won 87% of the Muslim vote, suggesting that they now had considerable support from the community they claimed to be the sole representatives of.[26] It would appear that the League had split India down religious-partisan lines. Soon after the election the British Prime Minister Clement Attlee announced that 'his colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her attain her freedom as speedily as possible'.[27]

Peter Hardy claims that Jinnah did not think the British would deny him Pakistan by force and he had two options; a loosely federated India with strong provincial powers or some form of Pakistan.[28] Hardy believes that Jinnah wanted Pakistan and it is easy to see why he reaches this conclusion. Jinnah had called for 'Independent States' in 1940 and the League claimed Muslims comprised a separate nation. However, Bose and Jalal contest this claim and argue that the Pakistan demand was just the means to win an equitable share of power for Muslims within an all-India centre.[29] In 1946 he would get a chance to be part of negotiations as the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lawrence announced a British cabinet delegation would be sent to try and 'secure the widest measure of agreement' with the 'support of the main Indian parties' for a resolution to the India problem.[30]

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26 Knight, 2012:148.

27 Phillips, 1962: 378.

28 Hardy, 1972: 247.

29 Bose and Jalal, 1997: 193.

30 Gwyer and Appadorai, 1957: 571.

The Cabinet Mission Plan proposed a three tier Indian Union with the three sections comprised of different provinces. Section A would consist of Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces, United Provinces and Bihar, Section B would contain N.W.F.P, Punjab and Sindh while Section C would be made up from Bengal and Assam. Each section would choose their own constitution and the B and C sections would essentially provide the League with two semi-autonomous 'big' Pakistan's within a minimal federation.[31] Jalal believes this plan essentially contained Jinnah's demands as the principle of equality was now the 'essence of the proposal'[32]

This proposal is similar to a publication made by the League on the 12th of May 1946. Their proposal called for the six Muslim provinces of Punjab, N.W.F.P, Baluchistan, Sindh, Bengal and Assam to be grouped together alongside the Hindu provinces, essentially leaving a Pakistan and Hindustan. The

groups would have autonomy in all but foreign affairs, defence and communications which would be dealt with by 'constitution

making bodies of the two groups of provinces.' [33] Jinnah was ready to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan and the similarities between what was demanded by the League and proposed by the Plan have been used by revisionists to show how Jinnah did not want a sovereign Pakistan. Jalal believes that this would have gained the approval of provincial Muslims who wanted to 'hang

31 Hardy, 1972*:* 248.

32 Jalal, 1985*:* 186.

33 Gwyer and Appadorai, 1957: 573-74.

on to, or perhaps even to improve their autonomy and standing against the centre', and the Cabinet Mission Plan would protect their autonomy.[34]

This plan was similar to the demands made by the League, and they were very different to the demand of sovereignty in 1940, so it can be suggested Jinnah's main aim was just to secure protections whatever form they may appear in. For Jalal the acceptance of the Plan was the first time that Jinnah actually showed his hand in negotiations.[35] It seems feasible that as time progressed and Jinnah was able to gain Muslim majority support, he believed the Plan offered the best opportunity for protecting his community.

The Congress rejected the plan, stating that 'India must necessarily have a strong central authority capable of representing the nation with power'.[36] So the Cabinet Mission declared that 'after prolonged discussion' the Indian leaders failed to 'arrive at an agreement'.[37] Pandey believes Congress leaders were agitated by the compulsory provincial groupings and the weak centre was the reason the plan broke down.[38] Jinnah pins the blame for the breakdown of the plan on the Congress, stating that they he had to 'emphatically repudiate their Bogus claim that they represent India' as 'the Congress are a Hindu organization and they do not represent any other community' and they have 'no right to represent or speak on behalf of the Muslims and their refusal to accept the proposal for an Interim Government

34 Jalal, 1985: 179.

35 Jalal, 1985: 179.

36 Gwyer and Appadorai, 1957: 591.

37 Ibid: 593.

38 Pandey, 2001: 22.

is based on sinister motives… they wanted to break the parity between Muslims and the caste Hindus'.[39]

He claims to be their sole spokesman and cannot accept the 'Hindu organization' to have a say over Muslim affairs. We can refer back to Sir Syed Ahmed who claimed a strong central government in India was impossible because 'the large community would totally override the interests of the smaller'.[40] This is Jinnah's fear and is why he was willing to accept the plan as it diminished centralised power. Hasan writes Jinnah's intentions do not matter, what matters was his successful articulation of the two-nation theory and the mobilization of the community.[41] This is in part true, as he needed this to be able to gain any outcome that was beneficial to his community, however it is clear that by pushing for partition and then accepting something less his aims were flexible.

After the plan broke down partition was deemed inevitable and the British announced the Indian Independence Act in July 1947, stipulating that from the 15 August 1947 'two independent Dominions shall be set up in India, to be known respectively as India and Pakistan'.[42]

Conclusion

In conclusion it appears that the only consistent aim of Jinnah was the protection of his community and that he was prepared to be flexible in achieving it. The demands of Congress and refusal to accept the Cabinet

39 Gwyer and Appadorai, 1957: 615.

40 Moon, 1999: 12.

41 Hasan, 2001: 42.

42 Phillips, 1962: 407.

Mission Plan left no alternative to Jinnah but to accept partition if he wanted to protect the Islamic community from domination, so the birth of Pakistan was not accidental but what was believed to be the best option for protecting his community.

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Timea Solyomvari, *Returning dead in the late eighteenth-century Transylvanian communities*

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Note: As this article contains a wealth of primary sources in Hungarian, the editors have opted to retain the author's full footnotes in order that these sources may be more easily located for those unfamiliar with the language or material.

Abstract

In Transylvania, vampirism was understood within a disease-based explanatory system in the context of epidemics for hundreds of years. In the time of plague, cholera, or swine fever, with the agreement of the village, corpses were destroyed by means of specific rituals. The landscape, language and collective memory of the region cultivated the belief in the existence of the vampire for generations. The fear of the supernatural, that plagued the small Transylvanian communities derived from a syncretism that had developed over time: old belief systems and religious ideas that shaped the community's own response to the undead. This paper will demonstrate how religious emotions shaped community belief about the presence and power of the supernatural. The central question will be what role religion played in shaping emotions, including the interpretation of belief in a physical rather than spiritual afterlife, especially from the point of view of the challenge of the Catholic doctrine of purgatory. Also, this paper will assess the specific physiological dimension of the belief of the dead returning to life and will situate the debate on the physiology of superstitious fear in the wider context of the German Enlightenment.

The Weberian concept of 'Disenchantment of the World' has been under criticism for some time. Rather than apply it to a long-term process, perhaps this theory can be tested on a smaller scale, for instance to study the decline

in certain aspects of supernatural belief.[1] Disenchantment, therefore, can help us find the causes behind the decline in beliefs in communities at different times. In East-Central Europe, while some published cases provide us with some useful insights about the opinions of the elite, we still do not know enough about how, in local communities, belief in the returning dead (revenants) and witches could make the difference between life or death. This article will investigate the social, religious, personal, and emotional dynamics that characterized eighteenth-century accounts of undead phenomena in Transylvania. By using local priest`s records, I aim to uncover what debates about the undead can reveal of the social and intellectual *milieu* in which they arose, but also what they tell us about personal emotions and spiritual consequences for the local communities that still believed in the returning dead. I will first concentrate on what the late eighteenth-century pastors considered to be superstitious, even pagan beliefs among their flock, before turning to the community of believers at a later stage of my research.

European culture provides us with a variety of supernatural phenomena: possessed corpses, ghosts, and witches that can do harm even beyond the grave. One of the difficulties in assessing executions of the returning dead and persecutions of dead witches is that they often overlap. It has been suggested that until the sixteenth and seventeenth century, revenant executions had a separate history from witchcraft. At the height of witch-hunting, however, the two traditions merged with each other before

[1] Richard Jenkins, 'Disenchantment, Enchantment, and re-Enchantment: Max Weber at the millennium', *Max Weber Studies 1.* (2000) 11-32.

separating again in the eighteenth century.[2] Ideas and practices relating to the harmful dead already had a long history in Europe that was grounded on the understanding that the living and the dead, together, formed a single community. Assessing sources about how people in the past understood death is challenging, however, as many factors influence their experience of death, especially the surrounding community they belonged to. During the Enlightenment, reforms were implemented by rulers that directly challenged belief in witchcraft and revenants, thereby attempting to impose correct behaviour towards the dead.[3] These beliefs also formed part of a budding scientific debate about the passage from life to death that shifted from purely theoretical considerations to experimental case study. The secular outlook of enlightened intellectuals did not mean that they turned away from theology altogether, and indeed many priests also took part in the Enlightenment debate about the retuning dead. Priests offered their own theoretical explanations about the revenants' phenomena and investigated local traditions on their own initiative and often equipped with new knowledge, they sought to put new ideas to good use at the service of reforming the Church.

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[2] See: Gábor Klaniczay, 'Decline of Witches and Rise of Vampires in 18th Century Habsburg Monarchy, *Ethnologia Europaea,* 1987, 165 – 180.; Winfried Irgang, 'Die Stellung des Deutschen Ordens zum Aberglauben am Beispiel der Herrschaften Freudental und Eulenberg' in: *Von Akkon Bis Wien: Studien zur Deutschordengeschichte vom 13.bis zum 20. Jahrhundert- Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Althochmeister P. Dr.Marian Tumler O.T.am 21.Oktober 1977*, ed. Udo Arnold (Marburg: Elwert, 1978) 269-270.

[3] Péter Tóth G. 'The Decriminalization of Magic and the Fight Against Superstition in Hungary and Transylvania, 1740-1848' in: *Witchcraft and Demonology in Hungary and Transylvania,* ed: Gábor Klaniczay and Éva Pócs, Plagave Macmillan, 2017. 291-318.

This can be seen in a circular letter written by Michael Brukenthal, commissioner of the Transylvanian district of Fogaras, in 1789, in which he sought answers to that very question: what superstitious beliefs and rites existed among the people of the region? He received answers from three Saxon Lutheran pastors, three Calvinists, one Unitarian minister, and one Greek Catholic priest.[4] Ambrus Miskolczy published these letters in 2016, rejecting the idea that the letter was written at the request of the monarch, Emperor Joseph II. Indeed, that same year (1789), a handbook was issued to district officials confirming an order dating from 1787, that was probably an inquiry into popular superstitions and their origin. Although this order was specifically issued for Galicia (divided today between Poland and Ukraine) we do not know if Joseph II also asked for a similar report on superstition in Hungary and Transylvania.[5]

Michael Brukenthal followed in his uncle's footsteps, Samuel Brukenthal, who was governor of the Habsburg Grand Principality of Transylvania between 1774 and 1787. From an early age, Samuel's travels and sojourns abroad gave him the opportunity to meet influential scholars who were involved in the funding of a Masonic Lodge in Halle and he was a Freemason all his life. He was also a leading figure of the Masonic lodge of Nagyszeben (Sibiu) in Transylvania. He travelled back to Transylvania with knowledge that he had acquired in German societies and Universities, and he had far-reaching connections throughout Europe. Samuel's nephew, Michael

[4] The letters published in: Miskolczy Amburs, *Felvilágosodás és Babonaság, Erdélyi néphihedelem-gyűjtés 1789-90*. (PTE Néprajz-Kultúrális Antropológiai Tanszék, 2006).

[5] Ibid. 61-62.

Brukenthal, joined the Masonic lodge in 1789, and soon began to collect superstitious beliefs and rites among the multi-cultural people of Transylvania. His letter collection is enormous and deals with all kinds of superstitious beliefs, such as magic and healing. I only analyse here the pastor's answers to Brukenthal's request:

> 'what kind of superstitious beliefs exist among people, even today and how deeply they believe the wonder of the soul of the dead at night; *vulgo Vampir,* in latin *Sanguisugae* or ghosts, *Lüdértz* (Lidérc) and their appearance to people, superstitious signs, with which the troubled souls torture people at night […]'.[6]

This collection, therefore, gives us a great insight into how the elite responded to belief in the returning dead that they heard about from pastors, priests and ministers who provided them with first-hand information about the superstition that held sway in their communities.

The first letter to answer the request is from Bodros Samuel Köpeczi, a Calvinist pastor, who mentions Joseph II numerous times in his letter, which suggests that he was a loyal supporter of the monarch. In the preface to his letter, he noted: 'in my county, [the] priest before me […] gave more credit to the words of the midwives than to the words of the wise men'.[7] Köpeczi's report is the most thorough, which suggests that he was particularly interested

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[6] Michael von Brukenthal: 'Kívánvá tudni, mitsoda babonaságok és bal vélekedések uralkodjanak...', Segesvár 26. April. 1789; in German: 'Da mir daran gelegen ist zu viβen waβ für Vorurtheile und Aberglauben noch unter dem gemeinen Mann herschen...' in: Miskolczy Amburs*, Felvilágosodás és babonaság*, 131-136.

[7] Köpetzi Bodos Sámuel, '...igyekeztem fizetés igéréssel is...' in: Miskolczy Amburs*, Felvilágosodás és babonaság*136-161.

in reforming the superstitious beliefs of his flock at the time. Following a Christian tradition for which all belief in the supernatural is the work of the Devil, describes at length fear of ghosts, belief in witches and fortune tellers' tales as superstitious activity. He talks about the witches who can harm from the grave, and the belief that if someone is weak and thin, it is a sign that the evil spirit *"gonoszok"* has drunk their blood.[8] Köpeczi also notes that:

> Witches take and kill not only in life. They harm in their death, they come back from the grave and take people with them. The only way to make sure they stay in the grave is to dig up the grave, turn the corpse face down and pin it down.

He also mentions the children of an old gypsy woman who wanted to execute her corpse believing she was a witch, but that he had managed to convince against doing such a thing.[9]

Executing corpses that were deemed 'harmful' in Central Europe was common practice within Habsburg territories. In fact, several cases date back to the Ottoman rule, when the locals turned to the Turkish magistrate for permission to execute the corpse of a witch, as they believed that it was harmful beyond the grave. Permission was often granted as Muslims believed all Christians went to Hell anyway, so why not allow them to execute corpses as well![10] The first known record in Transylvania dates back to 1709, in the

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[8] Ibid. 150.

[9] Ibid. 152.

[10] For example: 'Cántor Jánosné és Paija Czoitos Margith boszorkányok haláluk utáni elégetéséről';
'Cántor Jánosné és Czortos Margith boszoikányok sírból való felásásáról' in: Sugár István: *Bűbájosok, ördöngösök, boszorkányok Heves és külső Szolnok vármegyében* , Boszorkányperek (1645-1814), 23.

village of *Kis-Kerék*, where the whole village collectively dug up the corpses of a man, two women and a young girl as they believed them to be 'vampires' and the cause of some deaths that had occurred in the village.[11] In order to kill the 'vampires', the villagers wedged stones into their mouths and drove a stake into their hearts. According to the records the same thing was done in four other villages, where the corpses were executed in the same way:

> The news is spreading across the province, the belief that plague is caused in many places by evil spirits through the souls of many. Reports have stated that, in many places, to stop the epidemic, locals have used the effective antidote of excavating suspected corpses, mutilating them, and stabbing them in the middle of their chest.[12]

Similar executions can be found in court records, for instance in an account from the Transylvanian village of *Dés* from 1723, where a woman who had died at a time of plague was accused by her own daughter of having come back from the dead to take children and adults away. The court record states that the body was dug up; however, the corpse's state of decay contrasted with the belief that revenants did not rot. Therefore, the magistrates stated

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[11] The word vampire was not used at this time. The first known appearance the 'Vampyr' word is in: 'Copia eines Schreibens aus dem Gradiscker District in Ungarn'. *Wienerisches Diarium* 58, 21.07.1725. For works on vampire see: Mézes Ádám, 'Georg Tallar and the 1753 Vampire Hunt - Administration, medicine and the returning dead in the Habsburg Banat' In: Éva Pócs (ed): *Magical and sacred medical world.*
Notions of the ethnology of religion with an interdisciplinary approach. (Cambridge Scholars,2019) 93-136.

[12] Samuelis Köleseri de Keres-Eer*, Pestis Dacicae anni MDCCIX scrutinium et cura* (Heltzdörffer: Cibinii, 1709) 111-113.

that they were given false information.[13] It is notable that these cases were always limited to certain communities and did not spread further at the regional level, but also that these rites were often authorized by town magistrates and clergymen.

The next entry in Brukenthal's report is a letter from the Protestant minister Bálint Baló. The tone of the letter is extremely emotional, and it becomes clear that its author was embarrassed about writing about such a topic. He tells an interesting story that happened to him 'a few years back':

> I was here in *Fagaras* in a lodge, and one of us (who we all believed was an intelligent man) would swear that one night a Spirit (*Lélek*) appeared in front of him. He was extremely scared of the Spirit and started to pray devoutly. However, the Spirit encouraged him, and started to talk to him about important issues […] and forbid him to talk to anyone about that conversation. The others knew that I did not believe in such things, and some of them said: […] "Who would not see it clearly? the appearance of the dead`s spirits is only the Devil`s work, who appears in human form […] his aim is to take possession of people in any way that he can".[14]

Baló did not deny the possibility that the spirit of the dead could come back, even in physical form, just that it was the Devil's work. His account is filled

[13] 'A meny, Mezei Ferencné hiresítette azt, hogy anyósa: Mezei Péterné hazajáró és az gyermekeket hordgya, már a nagy embereket is hordani kezdette' 25.06.1723 in: *Boszorkányok, kuruzslók, szalmakoszorús paráznák*, ed: Kiss András (Kriterion: Kolozsvár, 2004) 161-164.

[14] Baló Bálint, „...a' magam tulajdon tapasztalásaival, egy Rendbeszedett Írással, Excellentziádnak igen alázatoson udvarolnék", in : Miskolczy Ambrus, *Felvilágosodás és Babonaság*, 167-187.

with personal anecdotes, in which he often argues that it was the lack of education, especially teaching younger children, that explained the spread of irrational beliefs.

The Unitarian minister, János Bodor, for his part answered Brukenthal's request with a letter in four parts entitled: "*A description of all the superstitions spread among the foolish people in 1789, including a systematic account of the supposed antidotes by methodology*". Part one dealt with *De Crassioribus Supersitionibus*, such as witches; the second part is about *De Incubus deu Ephialtibus,* such as *Lidércz* [15],the third part is about wandering dead spirits *De vagis seu Errantibus mortuorum Animabus,* and the fourth and part, *De Spectris Seu Phantasiis* is about ghosts. He discusses these beliefs in detail and lists the antidotes that people of the village believed they could use against these supernatural creatures without making any personal comments.[16] Interestingly, these antidotes include food made with garlic, garlic kept in bed, and wearing crucifixes around the neck; all elements familiar to anyone versed in Vampire lore.

The next entry- in what seems a glossary of East-Central Europe's religious diversity- is provided by the Romanian Orthodox priest, Ioan Halmaghi, who stated that belief in ghosts was due to irrational beliefs passed on from parents to children; for him, therefore, superstitious belief had deep

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[15] A *Lidércz* is a unique supernatural being of Hungarian folklore. See: Éva Pócs, 'We, Too, Have Seen a Great Miracle`: Conversations and Narratives on the Supernatural Among Hungarian-Speaking Catholics in a Romanian Village' in *Vernacular Religion in Everyday life. Expressions of Belief,* ed. Mario Bowman and Ülo Valk (London& New York: Routledge, 2012) 246-280.

[16] Bodor János, '…amit cask a' lényegről megtudtam, leírtam…' in: Miskolczy Ambrus, *Felvilágosodás és Babonaság,* 161-167.

roots in people's minds, as intractable as nursery rhymes. Christianity was supposed to be a cure for superstitious beliefs, although some of them were kept alive by the people, and due to poor education, they were still in wide circulation. He also argued that the creation of educational centres was important in order to keep the younger generations under control by means of uninterrupted education.[17] He clearly took advantage of Brukenthal's request to emphasize the need for education in his community. He also mentioned that many priests were at one with their people in their belief in the supernatural, and that 'they are not distinguished from the people by anything except the knowledge of reading, singing, and the knowledge of worshiping sacraments'.[18]

Finally, there is not much to say about the three Saxon Lutheran pastors' letters as they report no first-hand experience of superstitious beliefs in their communities but rather quoted from contemporary literature. Johann Gottfried Schenker, for instance, clearly tailored his answer to Brukenthal's request, entitled *Wamyren oder Blutsäuger*, (Vampires or Blood-suckers), from publicly available contemporary sources. Strangely enough, he even concluded his discourse on the execution of corpses with the innocuous words: *Ruhe sanft, armer Vampyr!* (Rest gently, poor vampire!).[19]

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[17] 'Superstitionum Omnium in Genere Anno 1789. adhuc in rudi Populo crassantium genuima observatio, inque certis Sectionibus et Articulis cum Opinatis Anthidotis Methodica Realtio' in: Miskolczy Ambrus, *Felvilágosodás és Babonaság*, 161-167. Translated to Hungarian by Fazekas István, 198-208.

[18] Ibid. 203.

[19] Johann Gottfried Schenker 'Uiber Vorurtheil und Aberglauben in Siebenbürgern', in: Miskolczy Ambrus, *Felvilágosodás és Babonaság*, 274.

Notwithstanding the variety of responses to Brukenthal's enquiry from these respective clergymen, we know that these beliefs and practices were common even during the nineteenth century; just as local communities re-interpreted the undead or harming witches in the context of epidemics and a disease-based explanatory system. For example, in 1861, Orczy Lőrinc, the cholera commissioner, reported to the Royal court that the people from the village of Arad had dug up the corpses of victims of cholera, because they believed that the disease was spread by the returning dead.[20] As late as 1899, the inhabitants of the village of Krassova went to the cemetery at night, dug up corpses, cut then up with wooden axes and put them back in the grave. They did this to stop the swine-fever epidemic, as if it had been caused by what they believed were 'vampires'.[21]

Authorities had reacted early to these beliefs and practices and actions had been taken by the Catholic Church and the political elite. For instance, Empress Maria Theresa issued a decree in 1766 forbidding "posthumous magic" the full title of which was: the *Imperial and Royal Law Designed to Uproot Superstition and to Promote the Rational Judgement of Crimes Involving Magic and Sorcery.*[22] However, these measures were not successful, as the closed communities passed on their belief system from one generation to the next. To paraphrase the Orthodox priest mentioned above,

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[20] Franciscus Xav. Linzbauer, *Codex sanitario-medicinalis Hungariae III*, Sectio 4 (Budae: Typis Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis Hungariace, 1861) 315.

[21] *Ethnographia* 10. Évf. Ed: Munkácsi Bernát and Sebestyén Gyula (Budapest: A Magyar Néprajzi Társaság Kiadása, 1899), 334, 415.

[22] 'Lex caesareo-regia ad exstirpandaiu superstitionem ac rationalem judicationem criminalem Magiae, Sortilégii' (1766). Edited in: Franciscus Xav Linzbauer: *Codex Sanitario-Medicinalis Hungariae 1* (Budae, 1852-1856), 776.

the problem came from the fact that parents pass on these superstitious beliefs to their children. Of course, we cannot know for certain how reliable the clergymen's answers to Brukenthal's request really were. Judging by the tone of the letters, these members of the cloth may have been ashamed, but they still provided detailed information. This provides us, therefore, with a great insight into how these shepherds judged their flock's belief-system. Fear of the supernatural, that plagued these small Transylvanian communities derived from a syncretism that had developed over time: a mixture of old belief systems and religious ideas that had shaped the community's idiosyncratic response to the undead.

Religion, as it has been established in recent historiography, played a key role in shaping emotions, including the interpretation of beliefs in a physical rather than spiritual afterlife, especially in the context of the Protestant challenge of the Catholic doctrine of purgatory. Examples of the interplay between new theological ideas and popular beliefs are numerous throughout Christian Europe.[23] Within Catholicism, the theology of Purgatory had provided a channel of communication with the souls of the dead for centuries. Its challenge by Protestantism, that demonized the waning economy of salvation it enabled, meant in practice several ways to deal with the fear of death and grief for the dead were no longer available in Protestant communities.[24] People's beliefs about the dead nonetheless survived the

[23] Bruce Gordon, *The Place of the Dead in Late Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe*, edited with Peter Marshall (Cambridge University Press, 2000)

[24] Craig M. Koslofsky: 'Souls: the Death of Purgatory and the Reformation' in: *The Reformation of the Dead, Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2000)19-39.

spiritual upheaval of the Reformation, and possibly the Turkish reconquest, in spite of theological shifts and attempts at reform on the part of different Christian denominations, that were enumerated above in response to Brukenthal's request. The Protestant Church, in particular, was faced with a considerable challenge to fulfil the spiritual needs of communities that had been deprived of legitimate channels for their fears (purgatory) and often resorted to superstition.[25]

Moreover, not all members of the clergy thought that belief in the returning dead was anti-Christian but rather understood it as the work of the Christian Devil. As the spiritual leaders of their community, they were perhaps ashamed to admit that they had failed in their mission and that some of their flock did not follow Christian faith to the letter and chose to describe belief in supernatural phenomena as the Devil`s work rather than admit these beliefs had a pagan origin. Harming witches, both alive and dead, physical ghosts and blood-sucking spirits were common currency in many communities. Priests, pastors, and ministers, instead of denying them, used the opportunity offered by Brukenthal's request to highlight the need for education, building schools and so on. In fact, the diverse elements of popular culture highlighted here, including pagan and folkish, were not that different from the Christian and Classical beliefs of the governing elites from antiquity onwards. The insight into these beliefs provided by these small village communities clearly shows that, the 'disenchantment of the world' never entirely took over ancient beliefs. The concerns of the pastors that repeatedly

[25] Ulrich L. Lerhner, *The Catholic Enlightement-Forgotten History of Global Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

called for reform and education for their flock, are a useful source for the study of popular religion if we accept the possibility that they reflect real beliefs or practices, at least to some extent, if not entirely accurately.

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Elisa Antonella Polignano, *Admiranda tibi levium spectacula rerum: the ideal community of Verg. G. 4. 149-227 and the humanised bee of Nicias AP 9.564 = HE VI 2775-2778*

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Abstract

At the very beginning of his fourth book of the Georgics (l. 3) Vergil claims that he will discourse of the "marvelous scenes of a miniature world", referring to the bees and their well organised social communities. Bees, in fact, have always been taken into account by Greco-Roman literary tradition over the centuries: Homer (Il. 2.87-93, 12.167-170), Pindar (P. 3.62), Plato (Ion 534), Aristotle (G.A. 3.10), Cicero (De Div. 1.78) and Petronius (Sat. 56) considered these little creatures as sacred, symbol of good luck, or simply related to human life. Hence, this paper aims to highlight how this parallel with mankind was carried out by the aforementioned authors, albeit with a particular focus on Vergil, for whom the beehive was but the ideal image of what a homogenous, disciplined, equal and dutiful community should look like.

At the beginning of his fourth book of the *Georgics* (l. 3-4), Vergil claims that, referring to the bees and their well-organised hives, he will speak of the "wondrous pageant of a tiny world — chiefs great-hearted, a whole nation's

character and tastes and tribes and battles"[1]. As Thomas[2] has shown, all these are typical subjects of ethnographical literature and anticipate the treatment that bees will receive later in the poem (ll. 149-227) "progressively more like human beings"[3] able to fight, treasure values, express the sense of community as a "nation"[4].

The aim of this paper is to examine lines 149-227 of *Georgics* 4 by focusing, in particular, on the reference the poet makes at line 189 to an epigram by Nicias (*AP* 9.564 = *HE* VI 2775-2778). I will demonstrate that Vergil not only knew the 3rd c. BC poet but also picked up his epigram, along with other Greek references, on purpose in order to strengthen the aforementioned humanising trend both in content and lexically.

The ancient Greeks had already in archaic times invested bees with familiar human connotations[5]. The poet Semonides (*Types of Women*, fr. 7.84-94 W.[2]), for instance, described the bee-woman as the only positive kind

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[1] The critical edition in use is Roger A. B. Mynors, *P. Vergili Maronis, Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969) and the translation is by H. Rushton Fairclough and George P. Goold, *Vergil. Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid, Books 1-6* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999). Note that, ever since the incipit, Vergil gives the bees an emphatic and epic treatment, which is even exalted by the "incongruous juxtaposition of large and small" in the choice of attributes (e.g *admiranda*, "wondrous", and *levium*, "tiny") and "the attribution of human martial fervor" by engaging with a lexicon typical of human heroes (e.g. the description of bees' war in ll. 213-218). This, consequently, produces a sort of estrangement that could be sensed by readers as humor. Cf. Stephanie McCarter, 'Vergil's Funny Honey: The Function of Humor in the *Georgics*', *Classical Philology* 114 (2019), 52-65.

[2] Thomas 1988: 147.

[3] Nappa 2005: 162.

[4] For this definition see Leendert Weeda, *Vergil's Political Commentary in the Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid* (Warsaw, Poland: De Gruyter Open Poland 2015), 96.

[5] For further examples of humanised bees, see Verg. *Aen*. 1.430-436, Plin. *HN* 11.109-110, Cic. *Off*. 1.157, Sen. *Clem*. 1.19.2.

of wife possible due to her ability to manage the household, her care, and her productivity. Aristotle (*HA* 488a8-14) mentions the bees as an example of "social animals" right after the men. Furthermore, the priestesses of Artemis (Ar. *Ra.* 1273), Apollo (Pi. *P*. 4.60), and Demeter (Porph. *Antr*. 18.8) were known as μέλισσαι (cf. *LSJ s.v.* II 2). Poets were another social category particularly close to bees ever since the Homeric Nestor, whose speech poured sweeter than honey from his mouth (cf. *Il*. 1.249)[6]. Bacchylides called himself the "bee from the island of Ceos" (10.10), Aristophanes praised his colleague Phrynichus as if he were a bee "sipping the fruits of ambrosia [...], ever bringing away sweet song" (*Av*. 750), Plato wrote that the souls of the poets "cull from honey-dropping founts in certain gardens and glades of the Muses like the bees" (*Ion* 534b)[7], while Hermesianax referred to Sophocles as the "Attic bee" (*CA* 7.57-60). So, these insects were proverbially related to men (poets especially) and their characterisations long before Vergil.

Nevertheless Vergil, great observer of the farm life, which he knew thanks to his father (Svet. *Poet*. 2.2), does not diverge from this path, as has

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[6] "It was also said that poets were fed honey by bees at a young age" and their art (μέλος "lyric poetry", *LSJ s.v*. B a) is frequently compared to honey (μέλι) through a pun on their assonance, cf. Athanassios Vergados, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 574; Oliver Thomas, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020), 458; Arthur B. Cook, 'The Bee in Greek Mythology', *JHS*, 15 (1985), 7-8. For more examples of the association poet-bee see Call. *h.Apoll*.110, Theoc. 1.146, Lucr. 1.947, 3.12, 4.22, Hor. *Ep*. 1.3.21, 1.19.44, Artemid. 5.83, Mary Lefkowitz, *On Bees, Poets and Plato: Ancient Biographers' Representations of The Creative Process* in R. Fletcher and J. Hanink edds., *Creative Lives in Classical Antiquity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Classical Studies, 2016), 182; Jan H. Waszink, *Biene und Honig als Symbol des Dichters und der Dichtung in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Düsseldorf: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 1974), 26-28; René Nünlist, *Poetologische Bildersprache in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1998), 60-63.

[7] Although generally human souls were compared to flying bees, see Nicholas Horsfall, 'Bees in Elysium', *Vergilius*, 56 (2010), 40.

been recognised by several Classical scholars throughout the years[8]. His bees in *Georgics* 4.149-227 possess, in fact, some of the best qualities that should define Roman *cives* ("citizens", cf. *Quirities* in l. 201) worthy of this title: *fides* ("trust"), *pietas* ("an attitude of dutiful respect towards those to whom one is bound by ties of religion, consanguinity, etc."), *industria* ("industry"), *auctoritas* ("right of ownership"), *concordia* ("mutual agreement"), *constantia* ("resistance to change"), *disciplina* ("discipline"). They are loyal, most of all to the queen, and reciprocally trustful since they rely on one another for the correct functioning of their complex society, where everyone must play his role as a small yet fundamental gear in order to make the entire system work. The *industria* ("industry" in the sense of a "diligent activity directed to some purpose", cf. *OLD s.v.* 1 a) is probably their most noticeable virtue since they would gladly "bruise their wings, and freely yield their lives under their load" (ll. 203-204) in the name of the "their glory in begetting honey" (l. 205). Egoism and self-interest are unknown to them, who prefer instead working without pause for the common good, namely reaching a profit that could benefit every current member of the beehive and their descendants. With that in mind, they get along animated by the same long-term purpose, although wars are likely to happen once the queen is gone. At that time, indeed, "they break their fealty, and themselves pull down the honey they have reared and tear up their trellised combs. [...They] expose their bodies to battle, and seek amid wounds a glorious death" (ll. 213-218).

[8] See, for instance, Theodore J. Haarhoff, 'The Bees of Vergil', *Greece & Rome*, 7/2 (1960), 161 and Thomas N. Habinek, *Sacrifice, Society, and Vergil's Ox-born Bees* in M. Griffith and D. J. Mastronarde edds., *Cabinet of the Muses: Essays on Classical and Comparative Literature in Honor of Thomas G. Rosenmeyer* (Atlanta: Scholars Pr., 1990), 209-223.

Varro transmits that bees fight too, and "they live as in an army" (*Rust.* 3.16.9), but in the end everything returns to normality as soon as a new ruler is found. Indeed, bees are devoted to their one and only sovereign, the queen, whose *auctoritas* ("right of ownership") they undoubtfully respect and honor with their life if necessary (this behaviour is compared by Vergil to the Oriental absolute monarchies such as those of Egypt, Lydia, Persia, and Media in l. 211, cf. also the word *rex* l. 210 used for the bees' queen).

However, besides the aforementioned descriptive content and the socio-political parallel between bees and men, I believe that Vergil leads his work to a more refined level. Instead of just stating the humanisation of bees in *Georgics* 4.219-227 by introducing similes comparing them with Roman citizens (or oriental monarchies, for instance), he uses those similes as starting points and enriches them with lexical forms often derived from Greek models, which he knew well (e.g. Homer, Hesiod, Callimachus, and Theocritus, as I will demonstrate shortly). In 1st c. Rome Greek texts (and Homer on the top of them) were, in fact, part of the school programmes: Horace claimed that "he had the luck to be bred, and taught how much Achilles' wrath had harmed the Greeks" (*Ep*. 2.2.41-42), and Petronius, Quintilian, and Pliny soon after confirmed it[9]. Coming back to Vergil's allusions, at first one may think of Jupiter's gifts to the bees at ll. 149-150, which he granted in return for the honey they provided when he was still an infant and was kept hidden in the cave of Dicte in Crete by the Curetes (Ant.Lib. *Met*. 19, Diod. 5.70, Call. *Jov*.

[9] Petron. *Sat*. 5, Quint. *Inst*. 1.8.5, Plin. *Ep*. 2.14.2. Cf. Bonner 2012: 212-213.

49)[10]. "Just as human beings are subject to a law laid down by Jupiter himself, so too did the bees receive their nature from him"[11] and with it the opportunity to have "children in common" (l. 153, cf. Pl. *Rep*. 457c10-d10 where a similar solution is proposed by Socrates), to hold "the dwellings of their city jointly" (l. 153), and to spend their entire life "under the majesty of law" (l. 154). Related to the *pater deorum* is then the activity of the Cyclopes said in ll. 170-175 to be as busy as the "Attic" bees (*Cecropias apes* at l. 177)[12]. Vergil, who seems keen on admitting the rather hyperbolical nature of such a parallel with the explicit concession "if we may compare small things with great" (l. 176, cf. μέγα ἔργον "big work" in Call. *H*. 3.49), echoes in this way what he said at the beginning of book 4 of the *Georgics* to introduce "the wondrous pageant of a tiny world". In addition, he draws attention and importance to this microcosm by comparing it with "the grandest industrial spectacle available to the imagination of Antiquity, the busy forging of Jupiter's thunderbolts"[13]. According to Homer (*Od*. 9.106-115) and Euripides (*Cyc*. 114-128), the Cyclopes were uncivilised shepherds living among men in Sicily (cf. *Aetna* l. 173, Verg. *Aen*. 8. 416-420), although in their description Vergil seems to have taken inspiration not only from this humanising tradition but also from the Hesiodic *Theogony* (139-146), where they fabricate the

[10] For more information on bees as τροφοί ("nurses") see Momolina Marconi, 'ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑ dea cretese', *Athenaeum*, 18 (1940), 164-166, Hein Verbruggen, *Le Zeus crétois* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1981), 41-42, Fabio Roscalla, *Presenze Simboliche dell'Ape nella Grecia Antica* (Pavia: La Nuova Italia, 1998), 16-18.

[11] Nappa 2005: 178.

[12] Cecrops (Κέκροψ in Greek) is precisely the name of a mythical king of Athens, later extended to the entire Attic region (cf. *LSJ s.v.*). In antiquity the honey produced from Attic bees (esp. from Mt. Hymettus) was proverbial, cf. Richard F. Thomas 1988: 181.

[13] Cf. Mynors 1990: 310 and Thomas 1998: 280. Cf. also Góráin 2009: 7

thunderbolt for Zeus (cf. A.R. 1.730-732)[14]. Behind this simile there is the presence of Call. *H*. 3.46-61[15] as well, who "seems to be the first to connect the Hesiodic Cyclopes with Hephaestus in the island of Lipari"[16], where they were smiths working side by side the god (another connection with war, cf. Verg. *G*. 4. 213-218) and making the Aetna "crying aloud" for the sound of their hammers (cf. *gemit* "groans" in Verg. *G*. 4.173). In the Callimachean *Hymn to Artemis* (l. 48) the volcanic island of Lipari is symbolically called Μελιγουνίς ("Meligounís"), as it was known in the past, which recalls once again the beehive and the honey (μέλι) stored in there.

In addition to the preceding Greek literary references, another plays a pivotal role in this context: Nicias *AP* 9.564 = *HE* VI 2775-2778.

Αἰόλον ἱμεροθαλὲς ἔαρ φαίνουσα, μέλισσα
ξουθά, ἐφ᾽ ὡραίοις ἄνθεσι μαινομένα,
χῶρον ἐφ᾽ ἡδύπνοον πωτωμένα, ἔργα τίθεσσο,
ὄφρα τεὸς πλήθῃ κηροπαγὴς θάλαμος[17].

"Bee, that revealest the presence of many-coloured
spring in her delightful bloom; yellow bee, revelling;
in the prime of the flowers; fly to the sweetly-
scented field and busy thyself with thy work,
that thy waxen chambers may be filled".

[14] Cf. Mynors 1990: 310 and Thomas 1998: 179.

[15] Cf. Farrell 1991: 243-245.

[16] Giusti 2014: 38.

[17] The critical edition in use is Andrew S. F. Gow and Denys L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge: University Press 1965). The following translation is by William R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology with an English translation*, vol. III (London: W. Heinemann, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons 1917).

In this epigram the 3rd c. BC poet indulges in the description of a bee which buzzes energetically around some blooming spring flowers and flies towards the fragrant fields nearby, thus performing her work of honey making and filling the hive (θάλαμος, l. 4) with it. Generally, θαλάμη is the Greek word used to indicate the hive or cell of bees in poetry (cf. *LSJ s.v.* I 2), like, for instance, in Nic. *Alex*. 449, Apollonid. *AP* 6.239.6 = *GPh* III 1142, and Antiphil. *AP* 9.404.2 = *GPh* XLII 1044. Although θάλαμος ("hive", lit. "bed") does not differ much in signifier and meaning in Nicias' poem (cf. Gow-Page 1965, 433), it does in Vergil though. As Thomas[18] points out, *thalamis* (a linguistic calque on θάλαμος) of *Georgics* 4.189 is "the only non-human [...] application of the word" in Latin literature (cf. *OLD s.v.* 1 a), where it stands for either an inner chamber or an apartment. Likewise, θάλαμος as "hive" or "cell" was firstly attested in Nicias *AP* 9.564.4 = *HE* VI 2778. Hence, the choice of resuming this specific noun is noticeable, even more if considering the similar bee-context. But where does such a finding lead the investigation and how can it be used in relation to Vergil's humanisation of bees?

Nicias' *floruit*, whom the epigrammatist Meleager of Gadara (I c. BC) mentions in the selective introduction to his *Garland* (*AP* 4.1.19 = *HE* I 3944) where every poet is compared to a flower or a plant (Nicias is likened to the green bergamot-mint), was probably in the first half of the 3rd c. BC. According to the hypothesis to Theocritus' *Id*. 11 (scholion d)[19], he was Milesian and a pupil of the Greek anatomist Erasistratus. For this reason, Nicias has been later identified as "the medical friend of Theocritus, four of

[18] Thomas 1988: 182.

[19] Wendel 1914: 240-241.

whose poems are concerned with him" (*Id*. 11, 13, 28, and *AP* 6.337 = *HE* I 3373-3376)[20]. Given that the dependence of Vergil on Theocritus is confirmed by the Latin poet himself (cf. *B*. 6.1-2)[21], there is no reason to exclude that he could have known Nicias' epigrams too, since he was explicitly mentioned in Theocritus' works and was an epigrammatist of Meleager's anthology[22].

To sum up, what I argue is that Vergil chose to use the word *thalamis* in *Georgics* 4.189 in full awareness that it designates human dwelling in Greco-Roman literary tradition (where it indicates a delimited space in the house). Moreover, he took inspiration for such an occurrence from the Greek poet Nicias, who is the only (and first) to relate it to the beehive instead. By so doing, Vergil proved to go beyond the content humanisation of bees, compared to Roman citizens in their everyday activities and ideals as it is clear at this point, and to refine this aspect even further by accurately engaging with the vocabulary that would reflect it best.

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[20] Gow and Page 1965: 428.

[21] Although the scholarship on the relationship between Vergil and Theocritus is vast, see as examples Wendell Clausen, *Theocritus and Virgil* in E. Kenney and W. Clausen (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1982), 301-319; Karl-Heinz Stanzel, 'Theocrits Bukolika und Vergil', *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 20, 1994-95, 151-66; A. Grilli, *Virgilio e Teocrito* in G. Ramires (ed.), *Teocrito nella Storia della Poesia Bucolica. Atti del Convegno Nazionale, Milazzo, 7-8 novembre 1998* (Milazzo: Spes 1999), 85-108; Styliani Hatzikosta, 'How did Virgil read Theocritus?', *Myrtia*, 16, 2001, 105-10.

[22] Such an anthology was known in I c. BC Rome and to Vergil, cf. Kathryn Gutzwiller, 2015, 233 (esp. n. 1), and *Catullus and the Garland of Meleager* in I. Du Quesnay and T. Woodman (eds.), *Catullus: Poems, Books, Readers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012), 79-111.

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Panagiotis Androulakis, *Conspiracy Narrative and Fractured Community in Plutarch's Galb*[1]

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Abstract

Conspiracy, as a socio-political phenomenon, is interviewed with a community. This paper is focused on the narrative analysis of the episode of Otho's conspiracy against the government of Galba in 69 AD, as presented in the homonymous life written by Plutarch. The contrast, as well as the similarity, between these passages and the ones describing the coup d'état of the praetorian guards against Nymphidius Savinus, is of great importance to outline the military and civil disorder during the execution of a conspiracy. Like Roman historians, Plutarch seeks to fill narrative gaps that reflect secrecy, one of the basic elements of conspiracies. Meanwhile, narrative techniques, such as the management of time and space, the narrator's focus etc., highlight Plutarch's attitude towards these socio-political events. My aim is to show the function of a conspiracy as a divider of the society, military and/or civil.

According to *OED* a 'conspiracy consists in the agreement of two or more persons to do an illegal act, or to do a lawful act by unlawful means'.[2] It should be noted that a conspiracy is also pervaded by secrecy, without which the risk of failure is high, because it is a vital element of their formation, but causes some problems: clues about the conspiracy stay hidden, thus making

[1] To get in touch with Panagiotis please contact the editors who will pass on contact details.

[2] OED, https://www.oed.com/oed2/00048049;jsessionid=0389830C953F30EA35E2A97FD896F289 (accessed 21 February 2021).

its narration inconsistent. The fact that only two —or more persons— form a conspiracy makes things even more complicated, especially when they stay anonymous, or the sources are confusing concerning their names. On the other hand, the conspirators' agenda is so big, that with the assassination of a politician, it might end up with the state overthrown. Finally, it is tricky to describe a conspiracy morally, if we think about, for example, a conspiracy against a usurper, or a malicious person.

Conspiracies are more or less the same in antiquity as in modern times. The question is how they are recognised in a text, when it is not clearly stated by the author. A conspiracy narrative in a text is identified mostly through specific vocabulary.[3] The meaning of the words may vary according to context; for instance, in an athletic or ritualistic context *συνόμνυμι* (vow together) is considered differently than in the context of a conspiracy, where sometimes a vow between the conspirators seals a conspiracy and legitimizes it in the eyes of men and gods. Another aspect of identifying a conspiracy in a text is the manipulation of time and space: most conspiracies are carried out during night-time, in private places. This does not mean that the conspirators would not be bold enough to perform their deed publicly in broad daylight. According to Pagán,[4] a Roman historian's purpose is to fill in the gaps of earlier sources or of what he had learnt through oral tradition. In order to accomplish that, the historian uses characterisation techniques to determine the conspirators' characters and motives, but he also tries to explain the cause and effect of the conspiracy. The final —sometimes full— account of a

[3] For the vocabulary of conspiracy, see Roisman 2006: 2-6.

4 Pagán 2005: 30-32.

conspiracy leads to its revelation. Through this, the historian teaches the readers or the audience to perceive the conspiracies as an example to avoid.

This paper examines with the conspiracy against Galba and the one against Nymphidius Savinus, both of which occurred in 69 CE and are part of *Galba*, a life by Plutarch's collection commonly known as *Vitae Caesarum*.[5] Already in the preface, Plutarch states his aim: to record the πραγματικῆν ἱστορίαν (actual, or rather formal history), meaning only the events concerning the emperor during his emperorship. Plutarch tries to highlight the danger that lurks in ἔργα (action), when λόγος (reason) does not control πάθη (emotions),[6] and to confirm generally accepted moral values by demonstrating the military madness and the (in)capacity of contemporary leaders.[7] All of Plutarch's Greek and Roman examples in the preface emphasise the different societies' and/or leaders' conflicts about power and dominance, which lead to the society's disruption, especially of Rome, which as –Plutarch states– 'was torn apart, and collapsed upon itself in many places' (§1.4).

1. Conspirators and Defenders

Only a few things should be said about the emperor Galba, who ruled from the 8th of June 68 to the 15th of January 69 BCE. He claimed that he was from the family of the Servii, and distantly related to Livia Drusila and the poet

5 Syme 1980: 105. *Galba*, as well as its 'sequel' *Otho*, have been condemned by former scholars, such as Leo Strauss and Geiger (See Bowersock 1998: 196.; Geiger 2017: 121, 124; Geiger 2005: 231-232. Nevertheless, these two lives are the earliest source about the 'Year of the Four Emperors', thus 68/69 CE.

6 *Pathos* here means negative emotions in general, but in other passages it means rage or anger. For more on the distinction between *logos* and *pathos* in Plutarch, see Duff 1999.

7 Duff 1999: 29 and 144-145. On military behaviour in *Galba*, see de Blois 2008.

Catulus, but nothing is stated as certain by ancient biographers. Galba was the most moderate and wanted emperor, as he was the best option after the fall of Nero, only in the beginning. His moderation, or rather his parsimony, combined with his counselors' advices, led him to despotic behavior. Namely, not only Galba rejected to give the promised *donativum* to the praetorians who supported him on his succession, but he also ordered the slaughter of a bunch of seamen who demanded their rights as soldiers (Nero had them form a legion), right before entering Rome (§15.3). This change in character led people of high rank and/or lower class to dislike Galba, and to support the conspiracy against him a few months later.

The reason that a conspiracy was formed against Galba is founded on the disappointment of Otho (§23). He believed that Galba would name him his heir to the throne, supported by Vinius, but Galba chose Piso. During the ceremony for Piso to be named heir, Otho was in an emotional tumult: he felt resentment for Galba's rejection, and because Titus Vinius reneged on his promise to support him;[8] his fear for Piso's future payback was also apparent. Friends of Tigellinus and Nymphidius Savinus –people of lower ethical principles (ἐν τιμῇ γεγονότων ἀπερριμμένοι τότε καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττοντες)– reignited Otho's hope for the throne, by standing by him with compassion and urging him to act with them. Notice again the compound verbs: this time with the first part being the preposition συν- (συναχθόμενοι, συνεπιστένοντες, συναγανάκτουν), which denote a collective emotional experience that rallies the potential conspirators. Only two of them are named: optio Veturius and tesserarius Barbius (§24.1). The others might be

[8] See §21, where it is mentioned that Vinius promised to support Otho for the adoption, only if Otho married his daughter, Crispina.

women and (former) Senators who had previously supported Nymphidius (§9.5) on his attempt to overthrow Galba.

Nympidius Savinus, the praefectus Urbis of Rome, fearing that Galba would demote him when he returned to Rome, decided to dethrone him by forming a conspiracy against him, or as Plutarch points out in the preface, 'by transforming the most beautiful act, the desertion of Nero, into treason with bribery'; he promised a big *donativum*[9] to the praetorians who would help him. Nymphidius' conspiracy failed due to a latent counter-conspiracy by centurion Antonius Honoratus and the praetorians (§14). He heard about the conspiracy late in the afternoon and rebuked the praetorians for the consecutive overthrows of the emperors. Besides pointing Nero's crimes to justify their former conspiracy, Antonius used one last argument: 'Shall we then sacrifice Galba right after Nero, and by electing the son of Nymphidia, kill the son of Livia, like we did with the son of Agrippina?' Honoratus' point is based on the contrast between Nymphidius' lowness,[10] and that of Galba's noble lineage. Honoratus is successful and the soldiers raise a shout, which substitutes the renewal of the oath of allegiance to the emperor. This common opinion is denoted by the use of compound verbs with the first part being the preposition προσ- (προσέθεντο, προσιόντες), which show that the soldiers became of one mind. The soldiers have changed their mind once again (μετέστησαν).

[9] *Donativum* was a gift of money given by the (new) emperor to his Praetorian Guard or to the legionnaires for gratitude for their service.

[10] See §9.1-3. Plutarch refers to an anecdote about Nymphidius' mother (Nymphidia, the daughter of a freedman and a tailor) and his father, probably an unknown gladiator, Martianus.

Onomastus, a freedman of Otho, played a leading role. He used bribery and promises to persuade and concentrate all those who were eager to form a conspiracy against the emperor. Plutarch does not analyse Onomastus' means of persuasion. On the contrary, the biographer slows the narrative time down and states that Onomastus needed only six days to convert the praetorians (μεταστῆσαι <παντά>πασιν) (§23.2-3). It should be pointed here that the praetorian camp is referred to as healthy (ὑγιαῖνον στρατόπεδον). In §14.6, the *metastasis* has the same meaning, but the essence of the act differs: Honoratus actuated the soldiers to act positively, whereas Onomastus did the opposite, thus being implied that the small community of soldiers is unhealthy. In this way, Onomastus may be thought like the parasite which has polluted a healthy body,[11] as well as the chess master who moves the pawns, since he was also the one who cued for Otho to begin for the execution of the conspiracy on the 15th of January (§24.6).

Among the other eponymous conspirators were also men of various military offices. First, Julius Atticus, one of Galba's guards, who arrived on the Palatine blandishing his bloodstained sword and claiming that he had slaughtered the enemy, thereby disproving the news (θροῦς) that Otho infiltrated the praetorian camp (§26.2). Secondly, Attilius Virgilio, who threw the *vexillum*[12] of Galba to the ground,[13] as soon as he heard the praetorian horsemen and hoplites arriving at the Forum (§26.7). Finally, as it seems, Plutarch's sources are diverging on the name of the one who slaughtered

[11] This view is based on the lexicological relevancy between the medical *metastasis* (used mostly for cancer) and its plain meaning, change of attitude, and the metonymy of body as a military force with the head as the leader.

[12] Military emblem with a depiction of Galba, see Tac. *Hist.* 1.41.1

[13] This move evokes the deposition of Nero's statues, after he was affirmed dead. This metaphorical deposition of Galba foreshadows his fatal fall in the end.

Galba, because he cannot name one; it might have been Terentius, or Camurius, or Lecanius (§27.3). Plutarch is only sure about Fabius Fabullus who beheaded Galba, raised his head from the hair, impaled it on a spear, and carried it around the Forum, like Agave (§27.4).[14] Plutarch is also sure about Piso's slaughterer, Murcus, who beheaded him in the temple of Vesta (§27.6). On the contrary, there is Sempronius Densus, 'the only man that the sun saw among thousands to be worthy of the Roman authority', who tried to restrain the praetorians from attacking Galba's carriage, using his *vitis*, a vine-stock used as a symbol of power. The praetorians' ἄλογον πάθος (uncontrollable anger) overruns every form of power, while Sempronius' *fides* to the emperor is not enough to save him from his fellow-soldiers' fatal blows on the limbs (§26.10).

As it is shown above, the members of a conspiracy vary. In these conspiracies, the masterminds of them are inspired by negative emotions – resentment, hatred, and fear of a future situation, but all the others' goals are not specified. It is also observed that a conspiracy does not only 'infect' the lower or the higher ranks of the army, but it has a tremendous impact on them. That explains why a simple symbol of power is less effective compared to the rhetorical use of a social mark, as is someone's lineage. It is quite unusual that Plutarch reconstructs the words of the centurion and uses the female indicator to define the origins of the three conspiracy victims to sooth the soldiers' feelings and induce them to agree with him. Women and men take part in a conspiracy for their own personal gain, but the interest is focused in their social status. As the times passed by, women in Rome had a role in politics

[14] For the tragic element of the scene, see Georgiadou 2014 and Ash 1997.

mostly behind the curtains, while freedmen had more advantages than during kingship times. On the other hand, instead of being the means to the end, former slaves played a leading role in a conspiracy, perhaps because they had political rights[15].

2. The conspiracy

In the first case, Nymphidius –confused by the soldiers' shouts– arrived at the semi-illuminated praetorian camp confident about his accession. The gates were shut, he saw the walls manned, went in, and heard the soldiers cheering Galba's name, so he did the same. Instantly, someone launched a spear against him, but Septimius protected him. Nymphidius was chased around the camp, but he was finally slaughtered inside a soldier's tent. In the second case, while Otho was descending from the Palatine towards the praetorian camp, more and more people were added to his party flourishing their swords. Otho and his supporters infiltrated the praetorian camp, while Galba insisted on more sacrifices to reverse the outcome, a clear irreverence. The rumour came that Otho infiltrated the camp and Vinius tried to prevent Galba from going to the Forum, against Celsus and Laco's advice, who believed that it was best for the emperor to assert his authority. Galba believed Atticus' lies and made his way towards the Forum, as mentioned above. On his way there, a rumour arrived that Otho was successful in his venture.

As Plutarch states (§26.3), the roads leading to the Forum and the balconies over it were crowded: the slaughter of the emperor was to be a spectacle of some sort. His carriage was in constant oscillation, while some

[15] See §7.6 for Icelus whom Galba promoted to cavalryman, with the institution of *restitutio natalium*, even though he was a freedman. On freedmen, see further Crook 1967: 36-37, 45, 50-51.

Roman citizens shouted at him to return to the Palatine and others to move on. Galba arrived at the Forum at the same time as the conspirators. Immediately afterwards, Galba's carriage and himself fell to the ground, next to Lacus Curtius. It should be noted that Galba fell literally and metaphorically next to that place, a monument of Roman heritage and pride.[16] Everyone was silent, only Galba, tilting his neck, said his last words calmly: 'If this is for the best for the Populus Romanus' (§27.1).

In both cases Plutarch uses a form of *teichoscopia*. He describes both scenes firstly from the protagonist's viewpoint, and then from the viewers' perspective. Notice the verbs used for Nymphidius and Galba: ἰδὼν (saw) and ἀπήντησε (come across) respectively. The difference between them is spotted on the development of Nymphidius' slaughter, it being like a part of a tragedy: it is executed in private, and the dead is dragged outside, like with an *ekkyklema* on the orchestra, but this time the body was dragged and put in the center of the camp –at a fenced spot– to be seen by everyone the next day. In the case of the conspiracy against Galba, his body and Piso's were already hanged headless at the Forum, still in their senatorial gowns for people to see them, before the *Senatus Consultum* had gathered to name Otho emperor of the Roman Empire. Earlier in the text, a form of *teichoscopia* is used again, but this time, not only to make the assassination of the emperor to be seen by everyone, but also to dissociate the citizens from the conspirators, since the citizens on the balconies were uninitiated in the conspiracy. It is remarkable though, that Plutarch chooses to use the same verb, βοῶ (shout), both for the

[16] Lacus Curtius was named either after a Sabine warrior, Mettius Curtius (Livy vii.6), or a young hippeas, Marcus Curtius, who self-sacrificed in the pit to reverse a curse on Rome (ibid), or Gaius Curtius Philo, who dedicated the spot to the gods due to a thunder strike, which dug the pit (Varro *Ling*. 5.150).

perpetrators and the citizens, a technique that intensifies the agitation of the situation, thus grouping everyone together under the same reception of the conspiracy.

Conclusion

The similarities between the two conspiracies are based on the element of surprise and deceit, which in turn are covered by secrecy, while the victim of each conspiracy is misled by a sound or noise, which wrongly confirms the expectation, or rather their will. In the end, an anonymous conspirator from the army leads the victim to his death. Conversely, the differences between them are based on social factors. The uniformity of the soldiers in the first conspiracy contradicts the diversity of them in the second. The fact that Plutarch characterises the conspirators through their military rank, is not only a mark to identify the characters, but also to indicate the expanse of Otho's conspiracy in all military ranks and social levels, as well as to make a distinction between conspirators and simple viewers. The latter are indicated through the technique of *teichoscopia* in the case of Otho's conspiracy, but in the case of the conspiracy against Nymphidius, *teichoscopia* is used to unify the conspirators for a specific cause. Furthermore, the victims' social status is consistent with the place of their slaughter, as well as with the dynamics of awareness not only of the victim, but also of the act itself. A potential conspirator's slaughter is not as remarkable as the public slaughter of the emperor, which has severe impact on the Roman Empire. The mutual exposure of the victims' dead bodies makes the act itself official, and it teaches a lesson mostly to the readers, through an example to avoid.

It seems, then, that only members of a conspiracy are unified, while they only differ in terms of social status or rank, whereas they are simultaneously diverging from the mass; the fracturing of the society is the result of their act. Unaware of the outcome of the event, people's opinions are divided, thereby deviating from the common standpoint, while others are forced to act contrary to social and political conditions due to the success of a conspiracy, namely the Senators. It is also observed that a conspiracy may be a microcosm, which mirrors the actual community, where different classes and ranks co-exist and interact. With these in mind, Plutarch's conspiracy narratives in this text show the political and social decadence, which affects the Roman community and establishes segregated collective identities within the collective Roman identity.

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Ben Cassell, *Collective Memories and experiencing the geranos dance: Sensory and cognitive considerations.*[1]

Abstract

During the height of Athenian influence on Delos, the island hosted to a number of sacred delegations (theōriai) sent by the city-state. This paper, in line with recent trends in the study of Collective Memory, will examine how the phenomenological experience of one of the most famous of these delegations, the so-called ''geranos'' dance, enabled differing forms of collective memory in its participants and audience. In doing so, I shall consider the intersecting material, sensory and cognitive parameters that would allow for the generation and/or re-iteration of distinct communal identities, most prominently Athenian and Delian. However, I will also consider the role of the dance, as an act of Thesean mimeses, in enabling the group identity of its performing epheboi as maturing Athenian citizens.

From the sixth century BC, Athenian activity on Delos became increasingly hegemonic. Throughout the fifth and fourth BC centuries this was most prominently exhibited in the mass purifications of the island and elaborate re-establishment of the *penteteric*[2] Delia.[3] As shared point of reference within the Cycladic islands, and notions of Ionian identity, Delos provided the perfect arena in which Athens communicated and defined her hierarchical relationship within the Delian League.[4] As has been argued by various scholars, these power structures were vividly exhibited in the various *theōric* delegations dispatched to Delos, all of which promoted notions of Athens' important role in the cultic history of the island. One of these was the annual

[1] To get in touch with Ben, please contact the editors who will pass on contact details.

[2] (Of ancient Greek festivals) occurring every fifth year.

[3] See Constantakopoulou 2007: 63-76; 2016, 105-38; Olivieri 2014; Rutherford 2004: 82-86; 2013: 304-6.

[4] See Kowalzig 2007, most especially 110-28 and Connor 1993: 195-99.

commemoration of Theseus' landing on Delos. During the fifth-fourth centuries BC, Theseus, slayer of the Minotaur, founder of proto-democracy and defender of Athens, was promoted as the hero *par excellence* of the city-state.[5] Indeed the Athenian hero as 'another Herakles'[6] became an emblem of Athens within Pan-Hellenic contexts. The *theoria* to Delos was overtly commemorative in nature constituting a 'particularly orchestrated, physical, re-enactment of myth'[7] including the performance of the *geranos* dance around the famous *keraton* altar. Plato describes it originating in the prayers offered to Apollo for the safe passage of Theseus and the twice-seven youths, while the same ship from the Cretan expedition was used by the delegation.[8] Aristotle uses the term ἠθέους (youths) to describe the *epheboi* (male adolescents) that made up the choir sent to Delos, while Bacchylides employs the same word to describe the entire group of the Twice-Seven.[9] While mixed choirs, and choirs of fourteen, are not attested in Athens, mixed dancing amongst young men and women of marriageable age did exist, and I find it hard to believe that in the re-enactive performance of the *geranos* the roles of the seven maidens were not represented.[10]

The initiation of the *geranos* dance is firmly attributed to Theseus by Callimachus, Plutarch and Pollux. Plutarch also states that the Delians still perform it in his day, which has been interpreted as the dance being performed by the specialist choir known as the Delian Maidens. However, Chankowski's

[5] For wide ranging studies see Brommer 1982, Calame 1996, Walker 1995, Ward 1970.

[6] Plut. *Thes*.29.3.

[7] Kowalzig 2007: 92. See also Calame 1996: 158-62.

[8] Pl. *Phd*. 58b.5-c.10. Shapiro 2019: 21-22; Walker 1995: 43.

[9] Ath. *Pol*. 56.3; Bacchyl. 17 *passim*; see Parker 2005: 81 for discussion.

[10] Pl. *Leg*. 771e-772a; See also Hedreen 2011: 503-8 and Parker 2005: 82.

detailed reconstruction of this *theoria* and argument for an Athenian choir performing the *geranos* during the sixth-fourth centuries BC.[11] Here, I want to consider the *geranos* dance in relation to generation of differing collective memories. Indeed, by examining the kinaesthetic, sensory and physical environment of ritual performance, we are provided with a clearer point of departure in considering its formative force. In this case we are better able to understand how the *geranos* could embed the cultural memory of Theseus through embodied action and experience, whilst providing the perfect conditions by which communicative/episodic group memory is created.

In doing so, I shall concentrate on the role of cognitive resource depletion and deprivation in ritual which has been indicated by Uffe Schjødt, Dimitris Xygalatas and others as a vital mode of analysis in investigating religious experience.[12] Cognitive resource depletion/deprivation refers to the way the brain's executive functions can be negated and subsumed due to high demands on attention. This in turn impacts the brain's ability to update its predictive models of the world, as conducted through the senses.[13] Essentially, ritual features that cause cognitive resource depletion/deprivation enhance participants' susceptibility to suggested memories and collective, socially meditated, narratives.[14] Along the depletion pathway, attentional focus on features such as physical exertion, emotion regulation and sensory arousal mean that episodic group memories of the event are constructed post-ritual via collective gossip and authoritative interpretation. The deprivation pathway includes features that allow for prior expectations and knowledge

[11] Chankowski 2008: pp.114-115.

[12] Xygalatas et al 2013; Konvalinka et al 2011; Schjødt et al 2013; Schjødt 2019.

[13] Schjødt et al 2013: 39-42.

[14] Schjødt et al 2013: 42.

schema, including cultural memory, to dominate the experience of the ritual. This includes sensorially negating aspects such as darkness and noise, and the support of expectations through material culture and religious/charismatic authorities.[15] Here pre-installed suggestions dominate subjective experience.

In its kinaesthetic and environmental framework, the performance of the *geranos* dance aligns with the conditions required of cognitive resource depletion and deprivation. The timing of the dance, in the dark of night, aligns with sensory limitations - characteristic of the deprivation pathway. Immediately preceding his specific description of the *geranos*, Callimachus describes the evening star Hesperos passing over Delos and hearing choral singing and the stamping of dancing feet.[16] The notion of night-time performance for the dance is also suggested by Delian itineraries which list accessories that accompanied choral singing at various festivals within the sanctuary. Dating from the late fourth-century BC onwards, these lists continuously mention olive oil, wicks and lamps (ἔλαιον καὶ ἐλλύχνια τοῖς φανοῖς) in association with choruses.[17] While the Thesean *theoria* is not specifically mentioned, night-time choral performance is indicated as the norm on Delos. If the *geranos* was indeed conducted at night and in torch light, then at its most fundamental level it provided a sensorially depriving experience in which prior expectations and knowledge could dominate the experience of the dance. This includes culturally shared schema and would relate to an understanding of Theseus' actions on Delos.[18]

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[15] Schjødt 2019: 367-68.

[16] Callim. *Delos*. 455-460.

[17] *ID* 316.70-80; 338. 17-25 (face A); 442. 189; *IG* II^2 161b 61-62. Arnold 1933: 455.

[18] Beim 2007: 1-23.

In line with the conditions of cognitive resource deprivation, these pre-installed expectations would have also been supported by the presence of authoritative figures. The most obvious of these would of course be the choir leaders who had selected and trained the performers. While not related to this particular *theoria*, the arrival of Nikias as chorus leader onto Delos in 421 or 417 BC certainly suggests the charismatic quality of this role.[19] While Theseus' Delian episode would likely have been known to the performers, in specifically training for its re-enactment the chorus leaders would have helped to form an embodied understanding of this cultural memory. Their presence at the dance would in turn deprive the performers of their ability to update these prior expectations as based on any conflicting sensory information - which would itself be deprived due to darkness. This same process would also be supported by the fact that while likely familiar with night-time ritual activity, the sanctuary would have been an unknown physical space for the dancers. Nevertheless, the *geranos* was performed in relation to recognized physical traces that evidenced Theseus' activity on the island.

Both Callimachus and Plutarch associate the initial performance of the *geranos* with the simultaneous dedication of a statue of Aphrodite given to Theseus by Ariadne.[20] Along with this very specific mnemonic trace, the *keraton* altar would have acted as a physical authority by which the experience of the *geranos* would have matched the dancer's prior expectations regarding the Thesean original and dominated their individual

[19] Plut. *Nic*. 3.5-6.

[20] Plu. *Thes*. 21.1-2; Callim. *Delos*. 305-15. Pausanias describes this statue as exhibiting an antique nature due to its not having feet (Paus. 9.40.2).

subjectivity. Moreover, in commemorating this event through mimesis, while sensorially deprived, and in relation to its physical traces, the *geranos* indicates the perfect conditions by which this cultural memory could become generated through embodied action.[21] Examinations of collective cultural memory have begun to emphasize its contextually specific and experiential nature.[22] In this sense, objects such the statue of Aphrodite and the *keraton*, provide avenues by which culturally shared memories are generated, not simply through semantic understanding, but by providing a physical index that allows for an embodied experience of the past.[23] In performing the dance the youths would themselves become what Jan Assmann calls 'bearers' of this cultural memory, owning to the fact that comparatively few Athenians would engage with these physical traces or the *geranos*.[24]

As well as deprivation, features of the *geranos* also align with the conditions of cognitive resource depletion. Again, this means that features of the ritual affect the attentional and executive cognitive resources in such a way that predictive models based on sensory information are inhibited.[25] This in turn impedes the construction of precise individual memory, instead creating the need for post-ritual memory construction through group recollections. Physical exertion and emotion regulation are identified as producing cognitive resource depletion and would have clearly framed the experienced of performing the *geranos*.

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[21] Connerton 1989: 73; Jones 2007: 22-26; Hewer and Roberts 2012: 175-77.

[22] Knowles 2009: 16; Peterson 2013: 272-78.

[23] Alcock 2002: 28-32; Jones 2007: 40-46.

[24] Assmann 2012: 41.

[25] Schjødt 2019: 367-68, 373.

Importantly the dance is described as intricate, winding, and fast paced, with both Callimachus and Plutarch the dance is circular and conducted around the *keraton*.[26] Plutarch also notes it involving rhythmic alterations and overlapping movements between the dancers as they mimicked the layout of the labyrinth.[27] We should also note the testimony of Pollux, who describes the *geranos* as being performed with dancers beside one another in two columns, and with leaders holding the end position on either side.[28] If the dancers were segmented into two lines of seven, then the description of Pollux would match that of Plutarch who has them overlapping and possibly shifting direction. Another late source, Eustathius of Thessaloniki, also stresses its rapidity and tempo.[29] We should also note that while Herodotus use of the word *labrythos* applies to confusing and interconnected passages, Plato specifically uses it to illustrate an argument that circles and bends around backwards on to itself.[30] Interestingly, for this point, the word '*geranos'* (crane) can also be translated 'to wind'.[31]

Far from being a simple circulation around the *keraton,* the *geranos* is demonstrated as being intricate and vigorous in its re-production of the labyrinth's passages, going in circular, intertwining and possibly bi-directional motions. The picture presented by these sources strongly suggests that the physical performance of the dance would cause the forms of increased attentional load that inhibit precise individual memory and support the

[26] Plut. *Thes*. 21.2; Callim, *Del*, 465-75.

[27] Plut. *Thes*. 21.1 (ἔν τινι ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γιγνομένην).

[28] Poll. *Onom*. 4.101.

[29] Eust. *Com. ad Hom*. 1166.

[30] Hdt. 2.148; Plat. *Euthyd*. 291b (περικάμπτω).

[31] Lawler 1946: 112.

generation of collective episodic memory.[32] This process would also be supported in the fact that the performers would experience the types of expressive and emotional regulation that demand post-ritual memory construction. As is well known in Plato's *Laws,* choral training and performance are a central component of the *paideia* in developing a balanced personality.[33] Regulation of emotion is here a central benefit of choral training - through song and dance one is 'rightly trained in pleasure (ἡδονῶν) and pain' (καὶ λυπῶν). Essentially, while pleasurable to both performers and audience, choruses are tools by which emotional discipline is trained and practised.

Exertive and synchronized movement in small groups, has been shown to form immediate bonds in its performers. This is attributed to the physiological and psychological 'blurring of the self and other', something supported in the dancers performing as the Twice-Seven.[34] The demand for expressive regulation while dancing in complicated and energetic movements would mean the *geranos* negated the ability to create strong individual memories. Yet in their post-ritual reflection, the bonds formed with fellow dancers would allow for shared episodic memories to take shape over time.

So far, I have considered the experience of the *geranos* from the perspective of its performers. What about the audience? How did observing the dance aid in generating collective memories in its differing members? While more tentative, we may reach some general conclusions. It is of course important to note that the performance of the *geranos* would have been

[32] Schjødt et al 2013: 42; Xygalatas et al 2013: 11.

[33] Plat. *Laws*. 683b-654d.

[34] Tarr 2015: 1-3.

attended by a diverse audience; including local Delians, stationed, and visiting Athenians and others from across the Cyclades.[35] As an explicit commemorative performance, the *geranos* represents the form of traditional dance that communicates cultural stability and continuity to its performers and audience. However, at the height of Athenian influence on Delos, local resistance is detectable, including a petition in 343 BC protesting the issue at Delphi.[36] Space does not allow for a thorough examination here, but it is important to note that far from expressing a uniform notions of the past, this period in fact saw a bolstering of differentiated, Delian, collective memories.[37] In this context we should be aware that the annual commemoration of Theseus in the *geranos* dance, may have been experienced as a contentious act from some Delians in attendance.

Cultural Memory is based on notions of shared origin, yet the Thesean *theoria* evoked an episode that emphasized the centrality of Athens in the foundational history and cultic landscape of the island.[38] How much this aligned or contended with Delian concepts of their past would of course vary, yet it certainly held the potential to differentiate the audience as based on the experience of contemporary power relations. In fact, evidence that this *theōria* had become conceptually linked with expressions of Athenian control on the island, is perhaps hinted at in the eventual retirement of the Thesean ship, which coincides with the establishment of Delian independence in 314 BC. While the performative aspects and physical setting would likely have

[35] Rutherford 2013: 304-305; Kowalzig 2007: 81-83.

[36] Constantakopoulou 2016: 127-8; Buckland 2001: 1; Hutcheson 2009: 865.

[37] Constantakopoulou ibid; See also Schachter 1999: 172-74.

[38] Assmann 2012: 34-41.

been familiar to a large portion of the audience, the *geranos* would enable a re-generative interaction with the collective memory of Theseus.

Research on embodied cognition has indicated how in observing dance, sensorimotor areas of the brain are activated.[39] In essence, audience members can mirror the movements of the dance both mentally and within their muscles. For the audience, the *geranos* communicated the memory of Theseus' foundational dance both in relation to what would have been their prior semantic knowledge of the event, but also through an embodied mirroring. However, at the level of spectator, it has shown that the experience of ritual is differentiated through familiarity with active participants.[40] For audience members that know performers, empathetic mirroring and synchronized arousal on mental, physiological, and emotional levels can take place. The stimulation of emotive/physiological arousal again aligns with the conditions of cognitive resource depletion, which would impact the creation of perceptual memory in members of the audience more attached to the performers. While not as strong as the forms of resource depletion experienced by the dancers, such synchronization would facilitate the adoption of collective episodic memories after the event through guided interpretation and gossip. While it is of course impossible to reconstruct the specific relationships between the performers and audience of the *geranos*, those most likely to share the forms of familiarity that allow for synchronized arousal in ritual would be the other Athenian members of the *theoria* and those serving as amphiktiones. I do want to dismiss the fact that non-Athenians may also have experienced the so-called mirroring effect in

[39] Bläsing et al 2012; Sevdalis and Keller 2011.

[40] Konvalinka et al 2011: 8514-19

watching the *geranos*, but simply underline that familiarity greatly supports it.

A very important consideration here is how the *geranos* was viewed by its audience. If the statue of Aphrodite did in fact play a part in the dance, then a general movement across the sanctuary from east to west is suggested: going from the either the Great Temple of the Athenians, which are its argued locations during the Classical era, towards the *keraton*.[41] This prelude and possible procession would be visually available to a wide audience.

However, whereas the altar had stood out in the open throughout its long history, during the fifth-fourth century BC it became housed within an apsidal building that was constructed under Athenian direction.[42] While dancing around the outside of a temple is specifically associated with Delia held in Attica by Theothrastus, if we assume that *geranos* was actually performed around the *keraton* inside the apsidal building, then a clear segmentation of who could actually see the dance would occur.[43] A rough measurement of the internal space of this building comes to about twenty by eighteen meters, which if we take account of space taken up by internal columns, the altar and the space needed to perform the dance, suggests a number of about 150 people able to view the dance. The larger *theōric* group would most certainly have formed part of this audience, as would Athenian amphictyonic members, Delians and other attendees. However, this very likely made up a small portion of the people gathered, suggesting that the visual consumption of the *geranos* would have been framed by spatial and visual exclusivity.

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[41] Constantakopoulou 2007: 41-2.

[42] Bruneau 1970: pp.19–23.

[43] Polemon fr. 78 Preller = Theophr. fr. 119

What does this tell us about how collective memories were generated by viewing/not viewing the dance? For those Athenians within the building, the forms of synchronized arousal and post ritual episodic memory would be more likely to occur. Likewise, while the *keraton* altar was a famous Delian mnemotope[44] outside of Theseus' landing on the island, on the occasion of the *geranos* it was consumed through an Athens-centric commemoration, physical space and audience.[45] For those both familiar and new to this ritual, the visual and physical segmentation would generate an obvious exclusivity in who, and how, the Cultural Memory of Theseus on Delos was recalled. Indeed, for those Delians and other non-Athenian attendees during the fifth–fourth centuries BC, this separation would have emphasized the wider claims Athens made on the foundational past of the island. While Theseus was remembered on Delos, it was as an emblem of Athens.

This brief survey of the *geranos* dance has indicated several conclusions. By approaching the dance through a consideration of its sensory, spatial, and cognitive experience, we are afforded with a clearer idea of how it would generate both collective episodic and cultural memory. In its practitioners' cognitive resource depletion and deprivation would have allowed for both pre-installed memory schema to dominate its experience, while also allowing for post-ritual interpretation and episodic memory construction. For the audience, those familiar with the dancers would have likely experienced synchronized arousal which negates precise perceptual memory and demands the construction of group episodic memories after the ritual. The physically segmented experience of attending or being able to

[44] Provisionally defined as any chronotopic motif which manifests the presence of the past.

[45] Marks 2016: 164-169.

actual view the dance, would also have emphasized Athenian claims on the cultural memory and early history of Delos.

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Clara Gambill and John Turco, *Local Viniculture in Rough Cilicia*

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Abstract

This paper discusses the architectural phases of a multi-storey structure uncovered at Antiochia ad Cragum during the 2019 excavation season. This structure, which spanned the Roman, Late Roman and Byzantine periods, provides evidence of domestic transition. As this paper will suggest, the inhabitants of Antiochia shifted private domestic spaces to agricultural production. The first domestic space to be excavated at Antiochia showcases this shift; the evidence presented here offers a framework for new research and suggests some initial interpretations. Analysis will centre on the Late Roman construction of a treading floor associated with wine production. The treading floor appears similar, in aspects, to other treading floors of the period located throughout Turkey and Israel, however, the wine press at Antiochia is unique for its simple structure. Our findings suggest that local agricultural production increased in the Late Roman period as urbanization developed on the southern Turkish coast.

The Site

Nestled upon the imposing sea cliffs of Rough Cilicia is the Roman city of Antiochia ad Cragum, located in the Antalya province on the southern coast of modern Turkey. The site began in the 200s BCE as a hub for pirate activity in the Eastern Mediterranean and the association with this piratic presence remained until Pompey's campaign in 67 BCE.[1] Following the expulsion of pirates, this site operated as a Roman city from 41 - 800 CE. The rise of Christianity in the region earned Antiochia the seat of a Christian bishop; resulting in the construction of many religious buildings as well as a demonstrable "urban transition" occurring around the 6th century.[2]

[1] Antiochia 2020; Hoff et. al. 2015: 201-227; 202

[2] The issue of urban transition will be addressed in the "Discussion" section.

Christianity similarly, played an important role in shaping the communal identity of the Antiochia's residents, the effects of which will be alluded to below. Archaeological work and survey began in 2005 but commenced in full in 2007 with the foundation of the Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project (ACARP) focusing on the North Temple and the bath complex. In 2013, the project expanded to excavate structures on the Acropolis to the south of the city. At present, the ACARP has excavated two bath complexes, an *agora* (marketplace), portions of the Acropolis, *bouleuterion* (meeting house of the assembly), and a domestic space.[3]

The Structure

In the 2019 excavation season, ACARP uncovered a domestic area at the city's Acropolis, marking the first time researchers studied a domestic structure at Antiochia. ACARP identified this area, called Acropolis North Slope (ACNS), as a domestic quarter due to its network of structures and small lanes as well as its location at the base of the Acropolis, adjacent to the Agora.[4] The 2019 season centered on uncovering the largest and most accessible structure of ACNS, ultimately focusing on one large room, designated ACNS1. The southwest wall of ACNS1 measures at 3.90 meters (m), the southeast wall is 4.35 m, the northeast wall is 5.15 m, and the west wall is 4.02 m. Excavators discovered small finds—such as a loom weight, small glass vessels, and local cooking ware—near the southeast wall, suggesting that this space had been used as a living area. Further excavation

[3] Jacobs and Elton 2019

[4] Donati 2015: 281.

yielded beam holes located above the southwest wall of ACNS1 (Figure 1) along with Cypriot and thin African red-slip pottery, both imported and expensive ceramics. These pottery finds, in addition to architectural elements, signal that the structure may have been an elite house. The data points, taken together, suggest that ACNS1 is a complex with multiple rooms and a second floor.

Additionally, the northwest and southwest corners on the wall with beam holes match the northwest and southwest corners of ACNS1 (Figure 2). A wall adjoining ACNS1 extends from the northwest Wall and continues in the same direction (Figures 3 and 4). Researchers will excavate this section further in the 2021 season, but the exposed sections suggest a multi-complex elite house with a second floor, see Figure 5. Furthermore, the 2021 season will question the dating of ACNS1 as both Roman and Byzantine pottery have been found at the site.

Figure 1: Wall with Beam Holes

Figure 2 (Above):
Wall and Southwest Corner

Figure 3 (Left)
Extension of Northwest Wall and Corner

Figure 4: Wall to the Adjacent Room

Figure 5: Aerial Image of ACNS1

Viniculture in Rough Cilicia

Before launching into any discussion of the wine production in ACNS1, it is important to properly contextualize wine making in the region of Rough Cilicia. As evidenced by numerous inscriptions found in Korykos and Korasion, Cilicia has long been a wine production center of some renown.[5] It's climate and proximity to the trading routes of the region enabled viticulture to, in conjunction with oil production, become major aspects of the region's economy. Pliny the Elder specifically mentions the raisin based *Passum* wine as a characteristic export of this area.[6]

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[5] Korykos for example has an inscription listing 17 wine traders, demonstrating the region's economic involvement in the trade. For further inscriptions and details see, Aydınoğlu and Alkaç 2008), 277-290; 279. See also, Rauh and Will 2016: 48).

[6] Plinius the Elder, *Natural History*, XIV 11 (81).

Having considered the involvement of winemaking in Cilicia's history, one can examine the various mechanisms utilized by ancient wine makers. Wine making breaks down to three basic steps: treading, pressing, and fermentation. Each of these processes requires a specific piece of equipment.[7] Treading, as one might imagine, requires a surface upon which to stomp the grapes (and skins) into a must. These treading floors can take many different shapes and forms. Most are rectangular and possess a downward slope towards a large storage vat.[8] Sometimes the surface is paved with mosaics or plaster while at other times it is carved directly into the bedrock.[9] The size of treading floors also varies, with some being only around two meters in length and width, while others are almost twice that size.[10] The ground surrounding these treading floors is generally fashioned into a working surface constructed either of *tesserae* or plaster.[11]

After the grapes are stomped by laborers, the grapes can then be pressed to further extract the juice as well as to remove any skins or seeds from the must. Roman and Byzantine wine presses usually take one of three shapes: lever-press, screw-press, or a wedge press.[12] The simplest of these presses, the lever press, utilizes a set fulcrum to gain leverage and exert a

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[7] This equipment is often organized into wine production complexes as seen in Negher-Ramala Quarry in Israel see, Avrutis 2015: 7.

[8] Aydınoğlu and Alkaç 2008: 280.

[9] For examples of mosaic work surfaces, see Dray 2011: 70. For examples of plaster work surfaces see Avrutis 2015: 18. And for the stone cut see Aydınoğlu and Alkaç 2008: 280.

[10] Avrutis 2015: 18, Wine press F-690 at Negher Ramala Quarry is 3.65x3.55m. And F-494 is 6.35x7.00, Avrutis 2008: 45.

[11] Dray 2011: 70.

[12] White 1984: 67.

pressing force onto the must (which has been placed into baskets) and allows the juice to flow freely into a collection vat. Workers could either operate this level manually or it could be connected to some large weight which acts as a counterbalance to the pressing side. Screw-presses are self-contained units in which one places the must inside two small walls, stacks press weights onto the must, then uses a large threaded screw to push the weights down onto the must.[13] The weights used by these styles of presses tend to be circular with a central depression where the screw fits. The product of this process is then a juice, largely untainted by the skins and seeds. Ancient vintners then stored the juice in large vessels where it could begin to ferment and become wine.

The Treading Floor

A treading floor was discovered by ACARP in the north corner and beside the north-eastern wall. The treading floor in ACNS1 has a thick outer layer of lime mortar with a thin red layer of hydraulic plaster called *opus signinum*, a pavement with crushed terra-cotta fragments cemented in lime or clay.[14] Since the layer of *opus signinum* is too thin for a reservoir (0.365 centimeters in thickness), the floor must have been used for wine or oil production. The treading floor is not likely to be part of an olive press due to its shape and makeup. Olive oil is made by workers crushing olives into a paste using a rotary mill with round-shaped crushing stones which rotate within circular basins therefore crushing the olives.[15] The crushed olives would then be packed into baskets and put under a mechanical press, such as

[13] White 1984: 70.

[14] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2012.

[15] Aydinoğlu 2008: 3.

the olive press found at Antiochia, located near the *agora*, which is built with stone and has a circular shape.[16] The treading floor is rectangular and made of mortar, not circular and made of stone (Figure 7).

Similar to other treading floors in Rough Cilicia, the treading floor in ACNS1 is cut into bedrock.[17] The bedrock is at an elevation of 300.915 m and the treading floor is at an elevation of 300.55 m. The *opus signinum* and lime mortar lie on top of the bedrock. Treading floors are generally rectangular, 2.10-2.85 m in length, 1.50-2.00 m in width, and 0.20-0.70 m in depth.[18] The treading floor in ACSN1 is rectangular and at a width of 1.99 m on the northwest wall and 1.65 m at the southeast wall, which fits the average width of a treading floor. The treading floor has a length of 2.95 m on the southwest wall and 3.66 m on the northeast wall, slightly larger than the average length of a treading floor. This size difference may be due to damage by two trees, one on the northeast wall and the other on the south corner. Lastly, the treading floor has a depth of 0.27 m. Laborers often constructed treading floors with one side deeper than the other, allowing liquids to flow from a higher level to a lower one in accordance with the gravitational principle.[19] This construction is evident in ACSN1. The south side of the treading floor is lower than the north side by 0.035 m. The elevation of the north side is 300.62 m, while the elevation of the south side is 300.585 m. The measurements of the trending floor fit within the typical understanding

[16] Rossiter 1981: 353.

[17] Aydınoğlu and Alkaç 2008: 280.

[18] Aydınoğlu and Alkaç 2008: 280.

[19] Dray 2011: 70.

of a treading floor; however, the layout of the treading floor is considered simple.

The wine press at ACSN1 is simple compared to these other wine presses along the Mediterranean coast. Unlike treading floors in the ancient Near East and Asia Minor, the treading floor in ACNS1 does not connect to a collection vat. The team concluded that the rest of the wine press is located in the adjacent room. Wine complexes located in the region, two in Turkey and one site in Israel, can serve as comparative examples for ACNS1. At Batisandal in Turkey, the treading floor of a wine press is attached to a collection vat.[20] At the site of Ömerli in Keşlitürkmenli, two treading floors connect to a single collection vat press.[21] The site at Nesher-Ramla Quarry near Tel Aviv in Israel displays similar treading floors as the floors in Rough Cilicia.[22] While no collection vat has been found, the treading floor in ACNS1 has similar factors to the sites at Antiochia, Rough Cilicia, and Israel: each treading floor has a hydraulic plaster floor constructed on bedrock.

The discovery of two different types of pottery at ACNSI supports the theory that the floor in question is indeed a treading floor. The team found an *in situ* African-imported Amphora, over a meter in height, on the northern side of the treading floor. Winemakers would have used the Amphora to store the remaining must (Figure 8). The second type of pottery found on the treading floor at ACNSI was a Hydria Jar with three handles, two on the side for lifting, and one on the neck for dipping and pouring (Figure 9).[23] The

[20] Aydınoğlu and Alkaç 2008: 288.

[21] Ibid: 290.

[22] Avrutis "Wine presses at the Nesher-Ramla Quarry" 20.

[23] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Hydria," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2012.

winemaker would use the Amphora and Hydria in conjunction to store and transport the must from the treading floor to the press in the adjacent room. This pottery found on the treading floor suggests a date for the agricultural activity of this building somewhere in the 5th-6th century.

Figure 6: Layer of Opus Signinum in the East Corner of ACNS1's Treading Floor

Figure 7: Treading Floor

Figure 8: The Amphoras Found in the Treading Floor

Figure 9: Hydria Jar

Discussion

The evidence of ACNS1 leads one to the question: why would the treading floor be constructed in an elite house and not constructed or carved out near agricultural fields in the open-air like those in Rough Cilicia?[24] A study of urban sociology reveals that urban centers depend on rural areas for resources and agricultural products.[25] As demonstrated at ACNS1, the urban center at Antiochia began to provide for its own agricultural needs. As with other sites in the region, Antiochia transitioned away from a dependence on rural production of wine and oil in the 6th century.[26]

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[24] Aydınoğlu and Alkaç 2008: 277.

[25] Jacobs and Hugh 2019.

[26] Discussing the archaeology of urban landscapes, Monica Smith states that ancient city centers have both inner and outer landscapes. Inner landscapes are visible through urban architectural and spatial organizations. Outer landscapes include hinterlands, which urban centers depend on for resources and agricultural products. Also see Smith 2014: 307.

The dating of the treading floor at ACNS1 provides insight into why a treading floor might be constructed within a domestic area. During the 4th and 5th centuries CE, elite houses in Asia Minor displayed luxurious wealth and architecture with decorative mosaics.[27] However, in the mid-6th century, the abundance of earlier ornamentation was lost when elite houses were remodelled and repurposed. The remaining citizens removed wall paints and the materials were piled up for later use. They then subdivided larger ornate rooms, courtyards, and porticoes into smaller spaces using poor-quality walls either made with mortar or of dry rubble construction; many of which blocked doors and windows.[28] These once-lavish houses were repurposed for rural and industrial activities. For example, workers installed animal troughs in the courtyard at the Sagalassos urban mansion and equipment for glass production replaced the private baths in the Southern Villa at Laodika.[29] At Antiochia ad Cragum a similar pattern occurred with the construction of a glass kiln in the Frigidarium and pool area of the Great Bath.

By the mid-6th century CE, elite houses were transformed into agricultural spaces to accommodate city needs. ACSN1 follows this development. The pottery and floor plan found during excavation suggests the structure was an elite house. Yet, there was no evidence that this structure was particularly lavish or ornate. Further evidence that ACSN1 went through this transition is visible after analysis of the Southeast Wall. The rubble-constructed southeast Wall suggests that ACNS1 was once a larger room.

[27] Uytterhoeven 2019: 10.

[28] Ibid: 10.

[29] Ibid: 11.

However, sometime in the 6th century, re-modellers built the southeast wall to create a smaller agricultural space (Figure 10). Further evidence of this theory can be observed from the fact that the south corner sits against the southwest wall and is not woven into the wall (unlike the western and northern corners). Indeed, excavation of the east corner indicates that the original room of ACNS1 extends 127 cm from the original southeast wall (Figure 11). This east corner displayed similar careful construction to the northern and western corners. The material used to build the southeast wall was reused material known as *spolia*.[30] Ancient vintners also repurposed the African Amphora and Hydria discovered inside the treading floor for storage and moving of the must after being crushed on the treading floor. The wine press is *post quem* 6th century following the political restructuring of Asia Minor.

Inge Uytterhoeven offers no explanation for the shift in elite housing in her study of urban housing in Asia Minor during the 6th century.[31] Meanwhile, Angela Commito provides an analysis of the transitions in southern Asia Minor among urban areas during the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries. Commito describes 6th-century urbanization as an indication of prosperity in southern Asia Minor.[32] Beginning as early as the 4th century, power shifted from traditional elites to informal elective groups of notables, including bishops. Urban elites left their home cities *en masse* because they lost local power.[33] By the 7th century CE, the defining characteristics of Greco-Roman

[30] Commito 2019: 124

[31] Uytterhoeven 2019: 23.

[32] Commito 2019: 110.

[33] Commito 2019: 113.

urbanism were absent. Cities in Asia Minor were largely depopulated, and fortification walls and churches dominated the urban landscape. The rise of the Church can be observed at Antiochia as the Acropolis holds an early 4th – 8th century Christian church and baptistery complex. The presence of the church and baptistery signals the rise of the Church in the 6th century at Antiochia and the reconfiguration of elite activity from personal displays of wealth and status to Christian piety and public service. This shift in elite self-presentation can also be seen within the collective actions of urban residents whose communal identities take on a similarly Chrisitian-centric orientation.

Urban residents had to produce agriculture either locally or regionally.[34] This transition is evident in Antiochia. Antiochia became a seat for the Christian bishop. The treading floor in ACNS1 and the oil press located near the *agora* display a need for locally produced wine and oil after Antiochia became a significant religious center. Socio-political activity shifted away from the Agora and city center, and toward the churches on the Acropolis. The presence of a second, more complex wine press (transformed from a Roman temple) could mean Anticohia also continued to produce local wines during the Christian period (Figure 12).

The presence of the church on the Acropolis displays the rise of ecclesiastical power. Elites who once held local power left Antiochia suddenly. Antiochia most likely experienced the same power shift that many urban cities in Rough Cilicia experienced in the 6th and 7th centuries. This development is evident in the plain elite house repurposed as a wine making

[34] Ibid: 109.

facility because it demonstrates the manifestation in physical space of this urban transition process.

Figure 10: Poorly Built Southeast Wall

Figure 11: East Corner: The Original Corner of ACSN1

Figure 12: Complex Wine Press Transformed out the Roman temple at Antiochia.

Conclusion

The treading floor is simple, unique from those found in Rough Cilicia and on the coast of Asia Minor. Unlike treading floors identified in Israel and Turkey, ACNS1 is not connected to a collection vat. The African Amphora and Hydria Jar might have served as pouring and carrying vessels between the treading floor, vat, and press. Further excavations on the base of the Acropolis will lead to additional analysis.

Urbanization in the 6th and 7th centuries altered the lifestyles of the elite while the city of Antiochia itself transformed into a significant center for Christianity. Ecclastiastical power, and the integration of a more Christian identity, rose in Antiochia, as evidenced by the Christian church and

baptistery found on the Acropolis. Current evidence suggests that Acropolis North Slope 1 began as an elite house before the 6th century. As ecclesiastical power increased, the elites who lived in ACSN1 lost their local power and soon left the region. Sometime in the mid-6th century, ACNS1 was stripped, made smaller, and revitalized for local agricultural purposes. This discovery creates a clearer idea of urban landscapes in Asia Minor, and particularly on the Rough Cilician coast, in the 6th and 7th centuries. Antiochia is not an unusual case, rather it follows the social-economic and religious shifts that occurred throughout Rough Cilicia and Asia Minor in the 5th and 6th century.

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Daisy Dorrington, *Suckling for Identity: The She-Wolf as a Roman Icon*

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Abstract

The she-wolf has long been an established image in Ancient Roman iconography with a crucial role in the best-known version of Rome's founding. As a renowned Roman icon and a mutual mythological ancestor of the Roman people, her familiar image was capable of inducing a sense of communal identity. The concept of using a mythological ancestor to incite a superior collective identity is a common theme in studies of antiquity. This article intends to add to this body of work using the she-wolf as its focus to highlight how use of her image by contemporaries emphasised Rome's military strength, divinity and divine favour and even their reliance on maternal roles to maintain their innate superiority. The she-wolf defined what it meant to be Roman; her position as a Roman icon provided a shared heritage which incited a sense of patriotism that highlighted the Romans' superior origins which gave them an advantage over other societies. This article will demonstrate how the she-wolf acted as a Roman icon that was used to promote different aspects of Roman superiority, focussing on what united the many people of the vast Roman Empire instead of the many things that divided them.

Then Romulus, proud in the tawny hide of the she-wolf, his nurse, shall take up the line, and found the walls of Mars and call the people Romans after his own name.

Virgil, *Aeneid.* 1.275

The she-wolf was a prominent Roman icon with a crucial role in the best-known version of Rome's founding. After their abandonment by the Tiber at the request of their great-uncle King Amulius, Romulus and Remus are said to have been rescued and nursed by a passing she-wolf.[1] This legend spanned a large portion of Rome's history and was known from at least 'the beginning of the 4th century BCE, possibly already in the first half of the 6th century

[1] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79; Liv. 1.4; Ov. *Fast.* 2.381-425; Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 3-4; Enn. *Ann.* F38-40;

BCE.'[2] The she-wolf's significance in Roman discourse is evident when one compares the numerous references (literary and iconographic) in the various accounts of Rome's founding with the minor role of the she-wolf in the narrative. Despite this subtle role, her image became one of the most iconic in representations of Rome and Roman identity to its citizens and enemies alike. One might suggest the reason for this was the she-wolf's ability to incite a sense of shared Roman identity amongst a diverse group of people via means of a common ancestor. The she-wolf emphasised what united the people of Rome, accentuating their superior origins of which regardless of external factors they, as Romans, shared. Her individual significance and personal role in Rome's founding is evident in the extract from Virgil's *Aeneid* above. When founding Rome, Romulus was 'proud in the tawny hide of the she-wolf'[3] implying gratitude is owed to the she-wolf for imbuing Romulus with vigour for discovery. Hence, all Romans are indebted to the she-wolf for the walls they live within, constructing a communal identity through a shared experience of patriotic gratitude to a mutual mythological ancestor. The concept of using mutual mythological ancestors to incite identity was prevalent even in Ancient Greek culture with the "embrace of Greek heroes and gods as ancestors (and legitimising agents) by the major dynasties."[4] Similarly, the image of the she-wolf was exploited by leaders seeking to unify the nation and secure their position.

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[2] Rissanen 2014: 336-7.

[3] Verg. *Aen.* 1.275.

[4] Patterson 2010: 65.

The wolf was a threat in the ancient North Mediterranean and its ecological dominance was equivalent to Roman strength and military might – Rome was the metaphorical wolf of the ancient world. As the sacred animal of Mars, alongside many other divine elements of the story, the she-wolf emphasised the divine favour and heritage of Rome and its inhabitants. Divinity passed from the sacred she-wolf to Romulus and then onto the Romans. The maternal role of the she-wolf outlined the expectations of mothers, underlining their fundamental importance to the function of Roman society and constructing an ideal identity exclusively for its mothers. Good mothers were imperative to rearing men to continue Rome's prosperity. Thus, the she-wolf constructed and maintained a superior Roman identity, translating what it meant to be Roman – strong and militarily valiant, divinely favoured and reliant upon idealised maternal roles. The she-wolf acted as a Roman icon and was used to promote different aspects of Roman superiority and focused on what united the people of the vast Roman Empire instead of the many things that divided them.

Lupine Strength

The wolf's place as an object of fear and symbol of strength in antiquity is clear; they were as P.M.W. Tenant asserts: 'the only type of animal which constituted a real threat to the community in the northern Mediterranean.'[5] Thus, the choice to select such a fierce predator to nurse their founder and act as a Roman emblem is significant, particularly considering the importance placed on breastfeeding in Roman culture. The contemporary belief that the

[5] Tennant 1988: 82.

feeder passed their own attributes via their milk suggests the she-wolf imbued the twins with her natural strength.[6] The perception of the transmission of wolf-strength is evident in Oppian's *Cynegetica*, 'on the breast of… she-wolf that roams by night; for so shalt thou make them strong and swift exceedingly, like unto their milky foster-mothers.'[7] Hence, the twins acquired the wolf's strength through suckling, implying the Romans, as descendants of Romulus, inherited this genetically. The heritable nature of lupine traits is evident in Propertius: 'a she-wolf nurtured the blood from which [the Romans]… sprang…what walls have sprung up from your milk!'[8] Propertius suggests the nursing of the she-wolf had a tangible impact on Roman biology, an impact which enabled the construction of Roman walls. By suckling the twins she had a role in erecting the walls of Rome by providing its citizens with superior genetics ensuring the success and prosperity of the state. The strength of individual citizens translated to Rome's military authority as a nation, as is suggested through the use of the she-wolf in militaristic contexts as in Fig.1. The militarism of the coin is evident, the obverse depicts the head of Janus and the reverse, the prow of a ship with the she-wolf suckling twins above. Janus was the god of beginnings and gates; the gates of his temple were closed in a ritual fashion during peacetimes, thus he was 'linked with… the beginning and end of military campaigns.'[9] In consideration of the date of striking, the ship may be a reference to Roman naval supremacy in the Third Macedonian War, where

[6] For breastfeeding in Roman culture see, Plut. *Mor. De amor prolis.* 2-3*;* Gell. *NA.* 12.1; Salzmann-Mitchell, 2012: 151-153.

[7] Opp. *Cyn*. 1.435-444.

[8] Prop. 2.19-30; 4.55-61.

[9] Purcell 2015: 1

Macedonian fleets were 'almost invisible.'[10] The depiction of the she-wolf alongside such imagery shows she could be associated with Roman authority. One may even suggest the she-wolf here is used as an agent to legitimise acts of violence in the name of continuing Rome's *aeternitas* – she provided them with the means and they were to maintain Rome in her honour. Her presence in the militaristic sphere is further established by her use as an individual emblem of several Roman legions (Legio II Italica, Legio XI Claudia), the use of her image on the reverse of coins minted by the Legio I Italica and her presentation on some military insignia of the Legio VI Ferrata.[11] Mika Rissanen says in this capacity 'the she-wolf motif can be seen as a reference to their Italian origin.'[12] However, the wolf was a ferocious beast, a suitable and valorous self-identification for a Roman legion communicating that they battled like wolves. Not only this, the image of the wolf referenced the superior strength innate to the Romans, suggesting in this militaristic context, the she-wolf conveyed their Italic origin but emphasised the valour inherited through their nationality and the she-wolf.

[10] Hoyos 2010: 514

[11] Rissanen 2014: 338.

[12] Rissanen 2014

Figure 1: Laureate head of bearded Janus on the obverse and the prow of a galley with the suckling she-wolf above on the reverse. Minted at Rome, 169-158 BC.[13]

Significantly, prior to Rome's supremacy the wolf was used as an icon by militaristic societies as reference to their combatant ability. The Spartans for example used the wolf as a representation of the homeland and 'all its soldiers fought for it, the alpha wolf leading the pack.'[14] Whilst the wolf represented Sparta itself for the Spartans, the Dacians defined themselves as 'those who are like wolves… [and] each Dacian who was able to fight answered the call of the sacred wolf.'[15] The Dacian's lupine identity is recognised on Trajan's column with the Dacian Draco (see Fig.2). The wolf dragon hybrid is used to emphasise Dacian strength in order to highlight Rome's superiority in defeating them. The message is clear, as Cristina Mazzoni points out: 'only another people descended of wolves – a people, that is, engendered by Mars and fed by a she-wolf – was able to conquer them.'[16] By displaying the Dacian's lupine identity the she-wolf and the

[13] BMCRR 514 in Freeman & Sear 1997: 192.

[14] Strechie 2017: 371.

[15] Strechie 2017

[16] Mazzoni 2010: 70.

heritable unrivalled strength she bestowed on Romans is indirectly referenced. For a nation constantly expanding, creating a homogenous identity encapsulating a diverse array of people for purposes of maintaining peace by inciting patriotism was crucial. Therefore, the ferocity of the wolf and its preceding use by pugnacious societies and the she-wolf's role in Rome's founding, merge to construct a superior Roman identity emphasising their inimitable genetic strength. The Romans were the wolves of the ancient world, imbued with the physical strength of an animal they were destined to dominate.

Figure 2: The Dacian Draco on Trajan's Column.[17]

[17] National Geographic 2021

Divinity and Divine Favour

The wolf's inhuman strength was perceived as synonymous with the divine. The divinity that surrounded and lived within the wolf was crucial to creating a nonpareil identity of a people divinely favoured and imbued. As the sacred animal of Mars, the god of war, the she-wolf's ability to reference strength and military might is obvious, but also significant is her divinity.[18] The wolf had a religiously charged history that preceded the she-wolf. For example, the Faliscans, who became the *Hirpi Sorani* (the wolves of Soranus), deemed the wolf sacred after a few of their tribe were fatally punished for chasing wolves after they disturbed a sacrifice.[19] The divine retribution enacted on those hunting wolves suggests they were perceived as being divinely protected animals outside of Roman culture. This undoubtedly assisted the wolf's transition to Roman divinity. Livy highlights the she-wolf's role as divine defender of Rome in his discussion of Gaius Flaminus' alarming consular authority. Divine disapproval revealed itself in the form of several prodigies, including the sweating of the wolves on Mars' statue on the Appian Way.[20] The wolf was shrouded in divinity hence her negative reaction communicated the will of the gods, allowing Livy to discredit Flaminus and exclude him from Roman destiny. Thus, the she-wolf was clearly perceived by contemporaries as being in communication with the divine, as a messenger of Mars she revealed their thoughts and judgements. She could also reaffirm and express Rome's divine favour as is evident in Dio's account of the Battle of Sentinum (295 BC).

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[18] For wolf as envoy of Mars see Verg. *Aen.* 8.630-635; Liv. 22.1.12; Ov. *Fast.* 3.10-43; Plu. *Rom.* 3-4; Kamm 1995: 2.

[19] Rissanen 2012: 119.

[20] Liv. 22.1.4-12.

He says, 'a wolf… entered the space between the two armies and… passed through… [the Roman] ranks. This encouraged them, for they looked upon…[the wolf] as belonging to themselves.'[21] This account is a vivid representation of the wolf inspiring a superior identity amongst the Romans, giving soldiers in battle the gumption for victory. The wolf does not alarm the soldiers because it is recognised as a fellow member of their elite group. In fact, as an intermediary of Mars, the wolf 'encourages'[22] them by reminding them of their divine support. Hence, not only were the Romans divinely favoured but imbued with a hereditary connection to the divine. Mars is the father of the twins and through the channel of the she-wolf is also the nursing mother – divinity surrounded Rome and its founder.

The she-wolf's exploitation by rulers looking for legitimisation through supposed divine approval further validates her ability to incite a sense of divine identity, as with Augustus' Ara Pacis (see Fig.3). Mazzoni writes 'the Julian line is seen on the Ara Pacis as descending directly from Aeneas and Romulus… Augustus was the new Aeneas.'[23] Through the she-wolf, Augustus explicates his divine heritage and places himself within the prophesised destiny of Rome. He was the new Aeneas, the re-founder of Rome, destined to bring tranquillity and peace through means of military success in honour of the she-wolf and the resources she provided. Severus also used the she-wolf to solidify his position. As with Augustus, Severus' emperorship followed a period of severe civil unrest and stability was required to prevent further conflict. Stability was acquired by legitimising Severus' claim to emperorship with a

[21] Cass. Dio. 8.8,1

[22] Cass. Dio.

[23] Mazzoni 2019:190.

propaganda campaign 'hinged upon publicizing… [his] divine favour.'[24] This included Cassius Dio's, imperially approved publication on Severus' 'dreams and portents which gave…[him] reason to hope for imperial power.'[25] Severus claimed to have dreamed 'he tugged at the udders of a wolf, like Remus and Romulus.'[26] The she-wolf is used as a blatant expression of Severus' divinity. By utilising the she-wolf's image Severus can monopolise the communal identity inspired by the she-wolf and weave himself into the fabric of Rome's divine destiny, framing himself as the new Romulus who would bring prosperity back to the previously chaotic Rome. Therefore, the she-wolf could represent Roman divinity, highlighting the divine favour of Rome or the divine heritage of its citizens. Mazzoni asserts that the she-wolf created an image of a people 'tinged with divine approval through Mars' she-wolf… so clearly supported by the gods.'[27] The she-wolf was a gateway to the divine, she protected Rome on behalf of the gods, communicated their judgements and articulated Rome's divine approval. More than this, she represented Rome itself but also the Romans as individuals, she was seen as a superior Roman but still as a member of the group – she was the Romans and the Romans were her. Thus, the she-wolf constructed a superior identity of a nation divinely favoured, protected, and imbued.

[24] Lusnia 2004: 538.

[25] Cass. Dio. 73.23.1

[26] Hist. Aug. *Sev*. 1.8; also see Cass. Dio. 75.3-4

[27] Mazzoni 2010: 31.

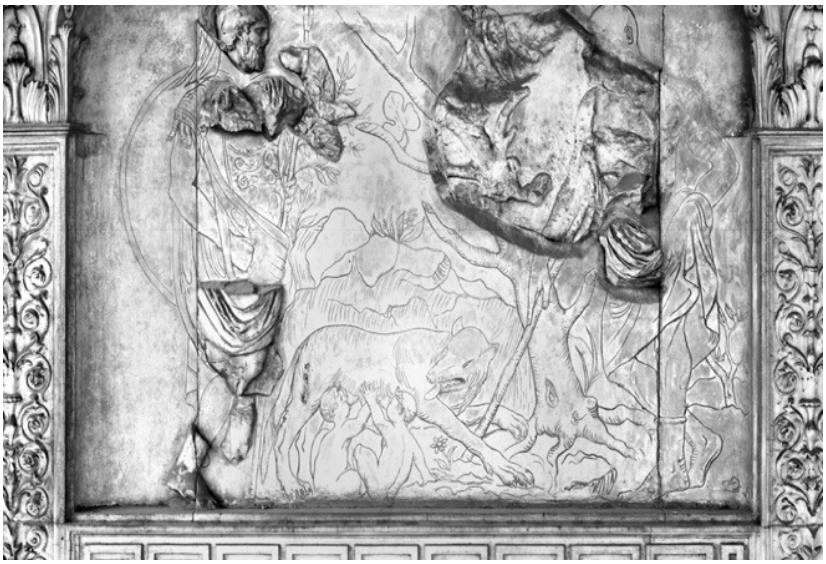

Figure 3: The fragmentary front left panel on the western wall of the Ara Pacis exhibiting Rome's founding. As shown in this reconstruction, it is believed Romulus and Remus were shown suckling the twins as Mars stands by nearby.[28]

Maternal Role

The she-wolf's maternal role communicated important messages about women and motherhood in Roman society, constructing an idealised identity for Roman mothers. The she-wolf's nexus with child-rearing is evident in her association with the Lupercalia, a fertility festival.[29] Women were essential for the procreation, nourishment and care of Rome's future generations. The she-wolf is one of three mother figures to the twins: 1) Rhea Silvia, their biological mother, 2) the she-wolf who nursed and cared for them on their abandonment and 3) Larentia, the foster-mother who raised them. To add a layer of further complexity to this maternal maze, the she-wolf whelped immediately prior to discovering the twins. The maternal maze explicates the fundamental nature of

[28] "The Western Wall of the Ara Pacis," accessed 4 February 2021, http://web.mit.edu/course/21/21h.402/www/arapacis/front.html.

[29] Glinster 2012: 1

motherhood, without these characters the twins would have perished, and Rome would not have been founded. Mothers were responsible for creating good Roman men to continue Rome's prosperity. One might suggest the she-wolf is used as a component to outline expectations of Roman mothers; each mother figure outlined an essential stage of motherhood – the birth, nursing and nurturing, and supervising their transition into adulthood. A mother's role in forming the personae of infants is elucidated through the wolf's care of the twins. A fragment of Ennius claims the wolf 'smooth[ed] their bodies with her tongue.'[30] Ovid uses similar language stating the wolf 'licked into shape their two bodies with her tongue.'[31] Both suggest the she-wolf's nurturing moulded and enriched the twins' characters, showing the importance of a mother's role in shaping offspring. This persisted even in negative perceptions of Romulus, Propertius writes: 'You, Romulus, nursed on the harsh milk of a she-wolf, were the instigator of the crime.'[32] Propertius relates the 'harsh'[33] milk Romulus was nursed on with the murder of his brother, thus the she-wolf – a faux-mother – is responsible for Romulus' faults.

The she-wolf's treatment of the twins constructs a caring maternal identity, outlining what behaviours were expected of Roman mothers. For example, the she-wolf's reaction to the crying twins; Livy says she 'turned her steps towards the cry of the infants,'[34] in Ennius she is 'aroused by the boys' crying.'[35] Her maternal instincts vanquished her feral impulses and she

[30] Enn. *Ann.* 1. t8

[31] Ov. *Fast.* 2.381-425

[32] Prop. 2.19-30.

[33] Prop.

[34] Liv. 1.4.

[35] Enn. *Ann.* 1. t7.

automatically began mothering the children during this vulnerable stage, illustrating the ideal Roman mother will have an innate maternal calling that unconsciously inspires them to nurture Rome's future generations. Following her reaction to their cries, the relaxed she-wolf casually cleans and feeds the twins. Livy describes her as 'gently'[36] feeding and Ovid as 'fawn[ing]… on the tender babes.'[37] Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes her as 'fondling the babes… caring for [them] as if they had been her young and the babes clinging to her as their mother.'[38] Ennius notes she was 'reclining…[whilst] the twin boys at play around her teats.'[39] This shows mothers were responsible for the basic care of their children, the comfortable and affectionate nature of the scene suggests this care should come intuitively. As Plutarch says, the she-wolf 'nourished and preserved Romulus,'[40] Roman mothers were expected to safeguard Rome's future generations. The she-wolfs ability to impose a maternal identity with a tangible influence on Roman women is explicit in Plutarch, who claims 'for a long-time people who dwelt near [the wild fig-tree where the wolf suckled]… preserved the custom of never exposing any of the new-born infants, but they acknowledged and reared them all.'[41] The maternalism of the wolf was so profound it encouraged others to follow suit and embody the motherly identity of the wolf. Therefore, the motherly characteristics demonstrated by the she-wolf suggest she contributed to the construction of a maternal identity for Roman mothers. Additionally, the she-

[36] Liv. 1.4.

[37] Ov. *Fast.* 2.381-425

[38] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.

[39] Enn. *Ann.* 1. t8.

[40] Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 21.

[41] Plut. *Mor. De fort. Rom.* 320 C-F.

wolf's place within a complex web of motherhood in the founding of Rome may reveal the fundamental importance of motherhood in Roman society. The central role mothers had in constructing their offspring's identity was vital for creating virtuous Roman men and moulding Rome's future.

The she-wolf is one of the most iconic images of Rome's founding; so iconic is her image she came to represent the Romans and Rome itself. Not only did she represent a higher authority as a connection to or symbol of the divine, but she was also a member of the same elite group. Through a mutual mythological ancestor, the she-wolf defined what it meant to be Roman; her position as a Roman icon provided a shared heritage which incited a sense of patriotism that highlighted the Romans' superior origins which gave them an innate advantage over other societies. The she-wolf's elevated position enabled her to create and maintain a superior Roman identity that was strong, dominant, divinely favoured and imbued and had ideal mothers to create Rome's future and continue its prosperity. As Rome acquired more territory the need for an all-encompassing communal image to which all could relate was crucial to unifying its vast and diverse group of citizens. Her image was so powerful it was utilised by leaders to legitimise their own claims to Roman authority allowing them to weave themselves into the tapestry of Rome's divine destiny. The she-wolf was the perfect symbol as she emphasised different aspects of Roman supremacy. The wolf's ecological dominance translated to Rome's strength as a nation and dominance in the ancient world. The divine Italian history of the wolf as envoys of Mars and ancient wolf cults shows the wolf was shrouded in divinity, thus her image as an icon explicated the divine favour, destiny and through suckling, heritage of the Romans. Her role as a mother-figure may have even contributed to the creation of an idealised

maternal identity and clarified the fundamental importance of motherhood in the Roman world. Through the humble image of a she-wolf suckling twin boys, Rome was able to saturate its citizens with national pride and emphasise the ascendancy of claiming Roman identity. Therefore, the she-wolf nursed Romulus and Remus, rescued them from exposure to the elements and enriched the future of Rome by providing them with an unrivalled heritage. Romulus and Remus suckled for nourishment but also for Roman identity.

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George Squires, *Ritual participation at the sanctuary of Olympia and the changing nature of individual and state identities (1000-397 BC)*[1]

Abstract

Sanctuaries in the Greek world were a nexus of community interaction, and none more so than at the sanctuary of Olympia in Elis. From the traditional starting date of the Olympic games in 776 BC through to their abolishment in 393 AD, communities would come together every 4 years to take part in athletics, feasting, worship and politics.

This paper will investigate the changing nature of individual and state identities from the evidence for participation at Olympia. It will examine material culture to understand how it grew to be a sanctuary of Panhellenic importance, shaping the way people interacted at the sanctuary, at home, and between states. This paper will cover from the end of the Dark Age (1000 BC) through to the end of the Classical period (397 BC), enabling it to get a strong sense of changed that occurred at the sanctuary, and how this impacted emerging Greek identity.

Pottery Style	**Dates (BC)**
Protogeometric	**1050-900**
Early Geometric	**900-850**
Middle Geometric	**850-760**
Late Geometric	**760-700**
Orientalising	**730-600**
Archaic	**600-508**
Classical	**508-397**

Table 1: Chronology Table (Adapted from Whitley 2001, 62; Lemos & Fantalki 2013, Fig. 14)

[1] To get in touch with George, please contact the editors who will pass on contact details.

Introduction

Religion and ritual in Ancient Greece permeated every aspect of daily life. In the classical period, activity at sanctuaries was a focal point for interactions between different social groups.[2] Analysing the evidence for participation at sanctuaries can provide a clearer understanding of how this interaction impacted developing notions of identity. From the Classical period, we know that the wealthy would often make costly dedications as a way of reinforcing the distinctions between themselves and the lower classes.[3] States also played an active role at sanctuaries, often competing with other states via dedications, including monumental architecture at state sanctuaries and treasuries and large dedications at inter-state sanctuaries such as Delphi[4].

While the Classical period is well documented, we should not project our understandings of activities at classical era sanctuaries onto an earlier period. Ritual and religion were constantly changing across time[5], as such activity at sanctuaries was not constant. This paper will explore how developing ideas of both individual and state identity manifest through activity at the Greek sanctuary of Olympia across a long period of time (1000-397 BC). A consideration of the evidence from the end of the Dark Age (1000 BC) through to the end of the Classical period (397 BC) will provide a strong sense of perspective for changes that occurred at the sanctuary.

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[2] Dillon 2013

[3] Valavanis 2004: 42

[4] Neer 2004: 64.

[5] Haysom 2019

It should also be noted that there are issues with dating the material from the early phase at Olympia as we do not have accurate stratigraphy. Normally when this is the case, we rely on pottery chronology, but we cannot confidently establish this until the 8th C. BC.[6] Scholars have attempted to establish a chronology for the earliest period based on other forms of evidence with varying success (Table 1).[7]

What is 'identity'?

'Identity' is a term employed in many ways, an ambiguity fuelled by anthropological studies which often use it to reference both individual and community identity[8]. This paper will consider both individual and state identity at sanctuaries and will make a clear distinction between the two. Status is another concept which is central to this essay but has been used vaguely in the past[9]. It has been seen as a category or objective entity, instead it should be viewed as a formative tool which can manipulated by an individual or state through actions[10]. This intrinsically links status and identity, as one often informs the other.

Earliest Votives

One of the earliest and most abundant forms of evidence from the sanctuary at Olympia are votive offerings, often comprising of animal representations.[11] The style, size, and manufacturing techniques of the earliest votives can tell

[6] Snodgrass 1972: 276

[7] Mallwitz 1988: 85-89; Shaw 2003: 210

[8] Barnard and Spence 1996: 292

[9] Wurst 1999

[10] Ibid:: 7

[11] Holmberg 1979: 72

us a lot about who was dedicating them and why[12]. By analysing the changing trends in votives over the period we can get a clearer picture of the way individuals were using material culture to establish identity for themselves at the sanctuary.

The earliest votives display connections with metalworking at Nichoria in Messenia. Tripods, jewels and figurines with strong similarities have been found at both sites.[13] Three horse figurine fragments found at Nichoria are paralleled at both Olympia and Artemis Orthia in Lakonia, where there is other evidence for high status metal working including gold wire and casting debris. The combination of manufacturing capabilities and parallels in material culture suggests that at least some of the offerings at Olympia originated in Nichoria. It is also possible that metalworkers travelled to Olympia to produce and dedicate objects. A possible suggestion is that the material changed hands through trade and was dedicated by someone different to who manufactured it. Unfortunately, due to the limitations of the archaeological record it is difficult to distinguish between down-the-line trading and craftsmen mobility in this scenario.

From the early period we have evidence for connection with metalworkers in Arkadia[14]. Archaeological evidence from Arkadia comes primarily from sanctuaries[15] and Arkadian sites show evidence of stylistic differences from the very beginning of activity. Activity at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea dates back into the Protogeometric period and the

[12] Morgan 1993: 18.

[13] McDonald et al. 1975: 95; 1983: 66, 70-90; Morgan 1990: 65

[14] Parker 2006: 11

[15] Ibid.

votives show close similarities with Olympia.[16] Due to the location of Tegea as one of Arkadia's easternmost sites there is a possibility that it may have been a movement of goods, not people. Tegean objects could have been exchanged between Arkadian chiefdoms before ending up as dedications at Olympia. A problem with this theory is that one of the closest Arkadian settlements to Elis, Bassai, has little material apparent at Olympia even from the 8th C. BC onwards, whilst there was a large increase in material from other Arkadian sites.[17] Based on this evidence Morgan argues that it is likely that craftsmen from Tegea were travelling to Olympia and producing the material in situ. [18]

Significance of the votives

Whilst the range of votives found at Olympia in the early period is important for displaying early connectivity around the Peloponnese, it is also important to consider the intentions behind the dedications. The earliest votives are figurines, most prominent of which are bulls, horses, and humans driving chariots.[19] During the proto to middle geometric period, it would have taken an above average amount of wealth to be able to travel to a remote sanctuary such as Olympia to make a dedication, no matter what the size. It is likely that the votives from this period had little religious connotations but instead represent a wealthy individual making visible their wealth from land

[16] Morgan 1990: 91; Voyatzis 2004: 191,

[17] Yalouris 1979: 91,

[18] Morgan 1990: 81

[19] Heilmeyer 1972: 38-40

ownership and livestock in a religious setting, distinguishing their identity in relation to the sanctuary community.[20]

During the late Geometric period the number of offerings at Olympia increased with the appearance of Lakonian and Corinthian material.[21] A major development is the appearance of tripods: the earliest had short, thick legs and were rivetted to a hammered bronze bowl.[22] These developed in the 8th C. BC to have large bronze cauldrons placed on the tripods and are found nearly exclusively in sanctuaries. Morgan has provided a comprehensive argument for why most tripods dedicated at Olympia prior to 700 BC were manufactured elsewhere and brought to the sanctuary for dedication.[23] Both the dedication and manufacturing of tripods were conspicuous activities. By commissioning the production of a costly item in their local area, the individual would be demonstrating their disposable wealth to the populace thus establishing a higher level of social prestige. Dedicating the item outside of their local sphere of influence, at site such as Olympia, reinforced their aristocratic identity and wealth in more than one context[24]. Bronze was a rare material to come by in the 10th-8th C. BC due to the disruption of trade routes for tin after the 12th C. BC collapse.[25] `This meant that to commission a bronze cauldron of the scale of some found at Olympia would have required

[20] Kindt 2012: 127

[21] Morgan 1990; Heilmeyer 1979: 21

[22] Rolley 1986: 61

[23] Morgan 1990: 37

[24] Neer 2007: 229

[25] Cline 2013: 173

immense wealth and long-range social contacts to source the materials necessary for production.

Why dedicate at Olympia?

The reason for dedicating at local sanctuaries such as Perachora at Corinth are clear as the actions are placed in a local context, establishing local group identity and status. The reasons for dedicating at a remote sanctuary such as Olympia are more complex. As mentioned above the earliest votives are a representation of the aristocratic man's land-based wealth, but there are a multitude of other reasons for dedicating at Olympia.

The earliest votives came from Messenian and Arkadian contexts, in the early Iron Age this would have been 'non-local'. Antonaccio suggests that Olympia was acting as a meeting place for the petty chiefs of the western Peloponnese.[26] They were in non-violent competition with each other through the quality and range of dedications to establish social prestige both in relation to each other and to the populace, increasing their elite identity in the community. Olympia could simultaneously act as a neutral space where the chiefs could carry out common religious rituals, discuss matters of trade, and exchange ideas.[27] With the introduction of Lakonian and Corinthian offerings, we can assume that chiefs and aristocrats from these areas were also partaking in meetings at Olympia, meaning communities across the whole Peloponnese were represented.

[26] Antonaccio 2006: 282

[27] Terrento 2011.

Since the 9th C. BC Italian metalwork was present at Olympia but by the 7th C. BC it had increased drastically[28] with a range of arms and armour including broken spearheads, helmets, and greaves.[29] Some scholars suggest that this is related to the increased Greek mobility in this period and battles being fought between Greeks and Etruscans in southern Italy, with weapons taken as prizes being dedicated at the sanctuary.[30] More recently it is understood that this process may not be quite so clear cut, and the Italic weapons at Olympia may have been dedications by Italic participants.[31] By dedicating at Olympia, the Italic elites are displaying their wealth to a new audience, the Greeks.[32] Etruscan horse bits of the Vetulonian type have been found, these often appear in high status Italic contexts and would have been recognised as a dedication of high prestige by the Greek participants at the sanctuary as horses were often equated with wealth.[33]

During the 8th C. BC there is a movement of arms and armour from graves to sanctuaries across Greece.[34] This is evidence of a shift from family and communal prestige as displayed through burial, to a display of individual identity being made in life as opposed to in death. The lack of ceramics until the 8th C. BC also suggests an emphasis on individual rather than communal activity.[35] The first ceramics to appear are Elean style and produced locally, they are essential sanctuary equipment and show parallels with the Samian

[28] Herrmann 1984: 282

[29] Antonnaccio 2006: 278

[30] Graham 1971: 38

[31] Frielinghaus 2013: 219

[32] Antonaccio 2006: 278.

[33] Naso 2000: 200

[34] Whitley 1991: 41; Snodgrass 1972: 279

[35] Barrow et al. 2000

Heraion and Isthmia.[36] Elean craftsmen could have been using Olympia as a commercial site, providing sets required by visitors to the sanctuary for a cost. This would have been convenient for travellers who could not bring/afford a personal set, whilst generating income for local Elean craftsmen.

Mary Helms argued that in pre-industrial societies, status is connected to a knowledge of culture outside of one's own local area, with an emphasis placed on cosmology.[37] This may be a key factor behind individual dedications at Olympia. At the start of the period, 'non-local' can be considered anything outside of the Elis region such as Arkadia, Messenia and the Argolid. Elites are displaying their wealth not just through the dedications but also through making the journey to Olympia, which would differentiate them from the rest of the community who may not have this luxury.

Helms' theory provides an explanation for Etruscan dedications at Olympia in the early period. By showing connections with a sanctuary on the Greek mainland, this would have acted to set apart the elites from the community. It would have connected the elites with the ritual tradition of Greece, whilst also demonstrating they have the wealth and power to make dedications far removed from their local context. Another possibility for Etruscan material at Olympia is that there were no south Italic sanctuaries in this period[38]. This means that those who wished to partake in centralised cosmological activities had to go elsewhere to do so – a privilege afforded only to the wealthy.

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[36] Kron 1984: 294; Morgan 1993: 19; Osborne 1998: 43.

[37] Helms 1988: 205; 1998

[38] Antonaccio 2013: 245

The Olympic Games

It is impossible to study Olympia without acknowledging the role of the games. The traditional starting date for the Olympics is 776 BC based on the list compiled by Hippias of Elis,[39] although this date is disputable based on archaeological evidence.[40]

The games may have been instituted as a way of creating both competition and unity simultaneously. A competitive sporting contest would have allowed elites at Olympia to display their superiority in a non-violent manner, whilst showing traits thought to be characteristic of the ideal Greek man.[41] The only event recorded at the first 13 games was the *stade* (192m foot race). Xenophanes wrote that 'Victory by speed of foot is honoured above all'.[42] This shows the extent to which winning at the Olympics would contribute to personal prestige and social power, enhancing or establishing an elite identity. Victors would gain the opportunity to construct a statue of themselves at Olympia, have victory odes wrote about them, and have their name added to a list of past victors.[43] This would contribute to the individual social prestige of the victor throughout Greece.[44] Those who cheated in the games also erected statues (*Zanes*), as a punishment for their indiscretion. This would have publicly humiliated the individual and acted as a deterrent to others.

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[39] Christesen 2005: 319

[40] Instone 2007; Mb'ller 2004: 169

[41] Burger 2008: 323

[42] Diels 1922: 129

[43] Smith 2007: 83

[44] Gribble 2012: 45; Isoc. 16.34; Thuc. 6.16.3.

A display of unity between states was the implementation of an Olympic truce. This was a truce between all Greek states that stated during the period of the festival of Olympia that all hostilities ceased and pilgrims to the sanctuary were allowed safe passage.[45]

Some scholars propose that the games would have created more division than unity.[46] They suggest that the games at both Olympia and Delphi created violent competition, and that erecting monuments commemorating the victory of one city over another was a public humiliation for the defeated state.[47]

Shift towards States

State activity is hard to witness at Olympia in the early period as a state is unlikely to leave offerings in the form of votive figurines etc. preferring instead to construct monumental architecture as a display of power and wealth.[48] Some of the earliest evidenced state constructions are the treasuries from the 6th C. BC onwards. A number of these were dedicated by western colonies. [49] Colonies may be some of the earliest state dedicators at Olympia as they may have to reinforce their socio-political identity as separate from their mother city.[50] A dedication at a sanctuary such as Olympia on the Greek mainland would emphasise a colony's socio-political independence.

[45] Mestre 2009: 27

[46] Scott 2010: 257

[47] Kindt 2012: 124

[48] Morgan 2002: 14

[49] Holne 1972

[50] Antonaccio 2006: 272.

State dedications appear at Olympia later than in state sanctuaries. During the early Archaic period state identities were fragile, with much internal strife between aristocratic families.[51] A priority for dedications was to establish the 'spatial, social and political definition of the state'.[52]

From the middle Archaic period onwards, the number of state dedications at Olympia increased greatly, but they did not fully replace individual dedications. The states may have intervened in the sanctuary as a way of containing and marginalising areas of traditional individual prestige, this would have allowed them to contain areas of elite action which may have been potentially threatening to the newly formalised states.

The construction of the Temple of Zeus (470-457 BC) is testament to the competition between states at Olympia. It was built by the state of Elis with spoils gained after the conquest of long-term rivals Pisa (Paus. 5.10.2), this would have been an important event for establishing the Elean's management of the sanctuary. It would have been a monumental display to their victory and seen by all visitors to the sanctuary based on its prominent location[53]. The temple was not just used by the Elean's to display dominance, the Spartans placed a shield in the centre of the temples apex to commemorate their victory over the Athenians at Tanagra in 457 BC (Paus 5.10.4). This was a conspicuous display of power by Sparta over one of their most significant rivals, in a period of high tensions, at one of the most significant sanctuaries in the Greek world. It was a bold political statement. The temple of Zeus

[51] Mitchell & Rhodes 2003: 18

[52] Morgan 1990: 16

serves to support the thesis that the sanctuary of Olympia created disunity and propagated competition at an almost violent level.[54]

The role of individuals did not diminish with increased state activity. If a competitor won at the Olympic Games, they would be rewarded by their home state. The rewards would vary state to state, Spartan victors would get to fight alongside their king whilst Athenians would be given 500 drachmas and free meals provided by the state for life.[55] This shows the states were seeking to encourage and reward their competitors as victory at the games would bring glory to the state. This demonstrates that there was always an emphasis on the individual at Olympia, even when the states were involved.

Conclusion

This paper investigated the changing nature of individual and state identities from the evidence for participation at Olympia. It initially served a functional purpose as a place for chiefs and kinship groups of the Peloponnese discussing alliances, trade and marriage[56] with the earliest votive offerings related to the land-based wealth of the participants at the site.[57] As time progressed participants came from a wider geographical area, with the inclusion of Lakonian, Corinthian and Etruscan material through the 9th and 8th C. BC.[58] Through the creation and dedication of elaborate objects, the elites were displaying wealth both at home and at the sanctuary, establishing

[54] Scott 2010: 257; Kindt 2012: 124

[55] Crowther 1996: 34

[56] Antonaccio 2006: 282

[57] Kindt 2012: 127

[58] Morgan 1990: 66, 67

greater social status. Parallels with other sanctuaries and Etruscan tombs[59] implies that similar ideas were held in multiple locations about what constitutes a high-status dedication within communities.

The beginning of state involvement at Olympia brought about a change in the nature of participation at the sanctuary. The emphasis shifted towards the athletic competition, with both individuals and states investing heavily. Victory at the games offered the individual the ability to increase their social prestige both in their local state and around the Greek world,[60] this is similar to the status increase gained through dedications in the earlier period. The games gave state rulers the ability to influence the actions of other aristocratic families by encouraging participation. This could potentially deflect any challenges to the rulers as there was a space for non-violent competition in which to gain and demonstrate power and prestige. The Olympic Games most likely fostered a sense of communal state identity amongst the participating elite that did not exist beforehand, serving to reinforce the geographical boundaries of early states through uniting land-owning aristocrats.

Potential future work could focus on how the material at Olympia parallels with material from other sanctuaries in the Greek world such as the Samian Heraion. Morgan and Scott have compared and contrasted Olympia with Delphi, another significant Pan-Hellenic sanctuary,[61] but through comparing with more sites we can establish a more holistic view of developing identity

[59] *Ibid;* Naso 2000: 200

[60] Burger 2008: 323

[61] Morgan 1990; Scott 2010

across the Greek world within the context of religious spaces. More work needs to be done to establish how individuals and states viewed themselves in relation to the cosmos, and how this influenced dedicatory practices and notions of identity.

A final aspect for future work is to identify the activities of non-elites at Olympia[62]. The lower classes most likely played a role in the manufacturing of votives, and took part in the religious festival, as well as being spectators for the games. It is important to consider all actors in Greek society if we are to establish as comprehensive an understanding as possible.

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