ΠΙΘΟΣ
PITHOS

Contents

From the Editor

ΠΙΘΟΣ (PITHOS): a large earthenware jar used for storage.

I am happy to present to you the twelfth annual volume of *Pithos*, the student-produced journal of the Classics Department at San Francisco State. Its contents range from the philosophical to the philological, the historic to the archaeological and present to the reader broad insight into the various workings of the ancient world.

Alice Chapman presents to us an extensive discussion concerning the international flavor of Macedonian Art through a visual analysis of the Derveni Krater. Alicia Hightower, in her turn, offers an examination of invective Pompeian graffiti and its social consequences. Carla Rosales' piece provides insight into philosophical ideas on emotion and its reception while Ian Tewksbury gives us a view on fear and suffering in the *polis* through an analysis of the *Bacchae*. Christy Schirmer discusses the construction of identity in the greek world as delineated by practices of feasting; and Russell Weber rounds off our volume with an historical treatise on administrative practices and structures in the Julio-Claudian principate.

As this has been my first experience with Pithos, I have many individuals to whose knowledge and skill I am indebted. I would like to extend great thanks and congratulations to our contributors for sharing with us the product of extensive thought; to Christina Appleberry and Alison Bartow for their invaluable assistance during the editing process; to Shannon Chapman without whom the digital compilation of the volume you hold would have been impossible; to Dr. Gillian McIntosh, our faculty advisor, whose joviality and positivity have helped during the most stressful periods of this process; and to JoAnn Perryman our program's office coordinator whom I cannot thank enough for her time and wisdom. .

I hope that the contents of this volume are cherished by you.

Gratias vobis ago.

Adriana Javier
Editor-In-Chief

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The Derveni Krater: Artistic Internationalization in Fourth-century B.C.E. Macedonian Metalwork

by Alice Chapman

In the fourth century, the kingdom of Macedonia was rapidly expanding as Philip II and later his son Alexander the Great used both diplomacy and new military strategies to transform the Greek world from a series of separate city-states into a single entity controlled by one ruler. At this time, the unstable system of warring *poleis* attained a new level of stability that increased the ease with which merchants and artists could travel between commercial centers. During this period, artists came into contact with a wide variety of styles and integrated different facets of distinct artistic methods and forms into their artworks. The previously dominant artistic power, the city of Athens, was in decline after a debilitating loss in the Peloponnesian war left it impoverished and socially unstable. The movement of social and political capital away from Attica encouraged artists to seek commissions outside of mainland Greece and may have promoted the transfer of entire workshops to the newly wealthy lands of the Macedonian kings. It is in this period of change that the Derveni Krater, a large bronze vessel, was created for a member of the Macedonian elite. Although some scholars claim that this vessel is Athenian[1], a closer examination shows an amalgamation of several distinct styles from different corners of the Greek world. Thus the Derveni Krater grants the viewer a window into the growing Macedonian empire and the cross-cultural exchange that was occurring as different peoples came in contact with each other through the development of an international trade market. Artists working for Macedonian patrons were exposed to new motifs, techniques, and styles, which were then integrated to form a new elite aesthetic. References to Athenian culture were often used by artists, and may be seen in the style of the figures on the body of the Derveni Krater, to emphasize Macedonia's connection to the intellectual and artistic values of the Athenian elite. Other styles and symbols tie this piece to luxury objects

of other cultures with which the Macedonians were coming into contact including South Italy, Scythia, and Asia Minor. This Krater, therefore, conveys power through a variety of different symbolic and stylistic languages, which were made accessible by this culture of internationalization created by Macedonian imperial ambitions. The Derveni Krater synthesizes distinct cultural signs intended to emphasize the power of the patron, and it is therefore logical to hypothesize that this Krater was created within Macedonia itself. The national identity of the workshop that created this piece, however, is not necessarily ethnically Macedonian, and although the artists that created the Derveni Krater were working in Macedonia, it is likely that their origins lie elsewhere.

THE DERVENI KRATER

    The Derveni Krater is 90.5 cm in length including the handles, and 51.5 cm at greatest diameter. It is a volute krater, a long bodied vessel, which swells at the shoulder, with a long neck and rounded handles that project above the rim. The entire body was hammered in the repoussé technique, in which supple bronze is hammered from behind to create figures in varying levels of relief. The vase is divided into six distinct registers. The largest, on the body of the vase, contains the only figural decoration, which runs around its entire circumference. This scene depicts a nude figure of Dionysus lounging with his hand thrown over his head (see figure 1). He is reclining next to a panther, which is seated docilely to his left. The god is much larger than the other figures in the scene and easily dominates this side of the vessel. Seated next to the male figure, on his right, is a draped female figure. Dionysus has his right leg thrown over her lap, and she pulls on her veil with her right hand. This gesture, the bridal gesture, identifies the female as Ariadne, wife of Dionysus.[2] She wears a flowing, clinging *chiton*, a type of light garment, and an applied silver necklace, which is mirrored by the other female figures on the vase. On her right are two female figures facing away from each other, each holding the legs of a faun, which is stretched tautly between them (see figure 2). These women are portrayed with bare breasts and heads thrown back. These female figures, as well as the others portrayed on the vessel are Maenads, the female followers

of Dionysus, dancing and reveling in the ecstasy brought on by the god of wine. Continuing around the vessel, another group of women is encountered (see figure 3). One Maenad, completely nude to the navel, is falling into the lap of a seated woman, who catches the falling figure around the waist. The falling woman reaches a closed fist towards another Maenad, who looks back towards her clenched hand (see figure 4). This Maenad faces a satyr who holds a walking stick and reaches out in an attempt to touch her. He is nude except for a cape and is portrayed with mostly human features except the tail, which secures his identification as a satyr. Next to the satyr, a clothed adult male wearing a single shoe and holding a sword walks down a rocky landscape (see figure 5). The final figure is another Maenad, who holds a flailing child over her left shoulder (see figure 6). These figures all inhabit a rocky terrain with an applied silver ivy wreath above them in the background. The scene has a sense of extreme movement and excitement. The garments flow wildly and undulate as the figures move about in space. The landscape and high relief give the figures a sense of gravity and weightiness, which liken them to stone relief sculptures.

      The other repoussé registers of the vase portray animal friezes and non-figural decorations. The rim of the Krater has an egg and dart motif, which contains the inscription (see figure 7). Below this band, is a palmette, wave, and circle pattern with inlaid silver details (see figure 8). The upper band, on the neck of the vessel, contains a variety of carnivorous animals (see figure 9). Although this area was normally reserved for non-figural decoration, some scholars suggest that the artist was using this repoussé animal frieze to hide the join between the mouth and neck.[3] The final frieze on the neck is an ivy wreath, inlaid in silver, which is knotted in two places (see figure 10). This may be a reference to the knot portrayed on the diadem of Macedonian priests that may also have been worn by Macedonian kings.[4] On the body of the vessel, below the main frieze is another animal frieze showing pairs of carnivorous animals attacking their prey, as well as a single fawn (see figure 11).

      The handles and seated figures, placed as though they are sitting on the shoulder of the vessel, were both made of solid cast bronze and added onto the hammered body of the Krater. Each volute contains a

mask-like bearded male face (see figure 12). Although they look very similar, each face has defining characteristics, which identify them as specific individuals or deities. On the outer edges of the volutes are images of snakes, each of which acts as a frame for the handle and their tails project from each volute in tight spirals. The decoration of the handles shows an elaborate floral and scroll motif. The seated figures are two females, one on each side of the vase, paired with a male figure, one sleeping and one languidly pulling at her garment, one male figure seated on a cushion and extending an arm towards the sleeping female and a satyr seated on a wineskin (see figure 13). In regard to their dress and pose, these figures are very similar to the ones in the frieze depicted on the body of the vessel. They are most certainly part of the same mythological group as those figures within the main frieze. The two females are, therefore, exhausted Maenads and the seated man the god Dionysus.

The Derveni Krater was discovered in one of five un-plundered fourth-century Macedonian burials in 1962, in a small grave site near the city of Lete in ancient Macedonia. It was discovered along an ancient road leading out of the town, which had a cemetery containing tumuli and cist tombs that was in use from the Late Classical Greek to Early Roman periods.[5] Since these burials are not within the ancient cemetery, but rather removed from it, Beryl Barr-Sharrar, infers that these burials were hidden to protect against grave robbers and invading forces.[6] The Derveni Krater was found in Tomb B, a simple cist tomb with stucco walls decorated with a floral motif. It was found with other grave goods that included bronze and silver metal vessels, weaponry and armor, and horse trappings. The presence of ashes in the Krater attests to its use as a container in a cremation burial, much like those spoken about in the Homeric epics.[7] The ashes inside the container are a combination of male and female remains. It is estimated that the male was older than the female and was probably a cavalryman, since other items in the grave are related to horseback riding.[8] Furthermore, an inscription on the vessel indicates that the man was a Thessalian with descendants from Larissa. The inscription, written in a dialect, which is a variation on those found in Thessaly, reads Ἀστιούνειος Ἀναξαγοραίοι ἐς Λαρίσας indicating

that the vase belonged to a man named Astioun, son of Anaxagoros from Larissa.[9]

An examination of the technical aspects of the Derveni Krater must take into consideration the ore that was used as well as the different processes that were used in the creation of this vessel. The examination of the ore can determine the origin of the metal while the examination of the metallurgical processes can determine the type of workshop the Derveni Krater was created in. The technical complexity of this piece indicates that a highly sophisticated metal workshop was responsible for its creation. First the alloy will be examined. Tests performed to determine the ore content of the vessel show that the gold coloring is not the result of gold plating, but instead due to the use of a high tin content in the copper alloy.[10] The vessel contains 14.8% tin and 85.03% copper.[11] Because the addition of tin makes the bronze alloy harder, and therefore more difficult to hammer, it was clearly an aesthetic choice made to mimic the appearance of gold.[12] The addition of so much tin made it necessary to keep the vessel hot at all times while it was being hammered in order to keep the metal supple, greatly increasing the difficulty with which it was created.[13] Similar tests revealed that the copper was probably mined in Cyprus because of a low impurity amount in the alloy.[14] Since there were many sources of copper ore in the ancient world, the choice to import copper from Cyprus indicates that this metal was specifically desired for its color and aesthetic properties. Other metal vessels within the tomb are attributed by Barr-Sharrar to different regions including Macedonia, Cyprus, and Athens, clearly indicating a trade relationship between Macedonia and these other centers at that time.[15]

The inclusion of so many different metalworking techniques also greatly increased the difficulty with which this vessel was created. The repoussé technique may have been adapted from a cold hammering technique known as the matrix technique, in which artists worked with cold bronze hammered from the inside against a mold.[16] Artists working in the repoussé technique were able to create figures in extremely high relief.[17] The Derveni Krater has relief that is so high in places that cast additions were required to maintain the integrity of the piece.[18]

In addition to the repoussé technique, the body was also inlaid with silver and bronze additions including the silver necklaces of the Meanads and the wreath which encircles the top of the main frieze on the body of the vessel. The inlay technique involved the cutting of grooves in the bronze vessel into which small strips of silver or copper are placed and then hammered.[19] Finally, the artist added cast handles and figures seated on the shoulder of the vase. X-ray examinations confirmed that these figures were solidly cast and not hollow.[20]

The mixture of techniques indicates a highly skilled and sophisticated workshop comfortable with complex metallurgical processes. The use of multiple techniques on the same vessel implies this workshop contained artists who were comfortable working in all facets of bronze creation. Further, the mixing of casting and repoussé techniques indicates that different artists were working on the same vessel simultaneously since it is unlikely that a single artist would have been able to execute such a large project with so many different facets singlehandedly.

Iconography of the Derveni Krater

The iconography of the vessel may also provide key information about the creation of the vessel and its purpose. Although the iconography of the vessel fits neatly within the canon of Dionysian mythology, it is unknown whether the artist intended to represent a single coherent scene of revelry or a narrative of Dionysian mythology. T.H Carpenter suggests that these scenes depict a cycle of the life of Dionysus, and he assigns each Maenad a specific role in this mythological history.[21] For example, the Maenad holding the baby over her shoulder may be the god's nursemaid who, in a fit of insanity, hurled her children into the sea.[22]Although it is tempting to connect these scenes in a narrative fashion, the proliferation of images of Dionysus and his retinue in Greek sculpture and vase painting make it more likely that these images were chosen as the representation of a theme, rather than a particular narrative program. As early as the archaic period, groups of Maenads participating in Dionysian cult rituals were represented in vase painting. This interest continues for example in fifth-century vases throughout the Greek world, which represent scenes

of Maenadic revelry similar to the scenes on the Derveni Krater (see figure 14). [23]Artists working in the fourth century would have been very familiar with these motifs and would have been able to represent them without a specific reference point in vase painting, sculpture, or mythology.

In contrast to the clearly identifiable satyrs and Maenads, the identity of the man approaching the scene from a rocky landscape remains unknown. He is identified variously by scholars as Pentheus, Lykourgos, or Astioun, the man whose remains are within the Krater.[24] According to Greek burial custom, idealized portraits of the deceased were often included in funeral monuments with indications of their occupation.[25] It is within the canon of Greek imagery to include a portrait of the deceased in his burial krater and therefore the identification of Astion cannot be immediately eliminated. The placement of the figure however, deviates greatly from a traditional portrait of a deceased man, who was normally shown removed from the action of the scene (see figure 15). In the South Italian tradition, funerary vases often placed a portrait of the deceased, among his attributes, in a separate architectural space with other mythological figures surrounding but removed from him. The placement of the figure in the landscape setting, to the side of the composition as a seeming onlooker to the main action, makes it unlikely that this is a portrait of the recently deceased patron of the vessel. It is more likely that this is a representation of a mythological figure who fits in the canon of Dionysian mythology. Both Lykourgos and Pentheus, mythological kings who were punished by Dionysus for their impiety, would be appropriate in this scene. Pentheus, as a king of Boeotia, provides a further connection to northern Greece and therefore is a more likely inclusion in this scene. The single sandal and the landscape in which he is walking, also support his identification as Pentheus, since Pentheus was convinced to dress as a woman in order to sneak up on his relatives in the woods who were consumed by Dionysian madness. Furthermore, Macedonian elite culture had a specific connection to this story, as the playwright Euripides composed his famous *Bacchae* while residing in the Macedonian court.[26]

The choice of Dionysian subject matter for the main register of this vase is not unusual. The cult of Dionysus incorporated many aspects of death and the *symposium*, and it was one of the few mystery cults which contained ideas about the afterlife.[27]. The afterlife, as cult followers believed it, would resemble a *symposium*, and the tombs of cult members often included drinking vessels, couches, and other implements related to feasting.[28] Furthermore, the mythology of Dionysus, unlike that of the other Gods, who were born immortal, contained the story of his death and rebirth, linking him directly to this idea of a life after death. Often funerary wares show scenes from the life of Dionysus or Dionysian revelry to make a connection between the earthly *symposium* and life after death. The *symposium* was a ritual integral to the Greek's ideas about death. For example, the *Perideipnon*, a banquet which ended the mourning period, completed a series of rituals to send the soul to the afterlife.[29]

DATE OF THE KRATER

Traditionally, the Derveni Krater has been dated between 330 and 320 B.C.E.[30] Scholars have assigned this date based on other goods within the grave, which share stylistic and iconographic similarities with other vessels known to have been produced at this time, and a coin of Philip II found within the vessel itself, which is dated to the third quarter of the fourth century.[31] Beryl Barr-Sharrar, however, contests this date and claims that the vessel was created much earlier, around 370 B.C.E.[32] She notes that the *chitonoi* of the Maenads are belted above the waist, a classical feature that would gradually change towards the end of the period.[33] Barr-Sharar agrees that the burial must have taken place towards the end of the fourth century; however, she argues that the Krater was a luxury object that may have been in a family for several generations before its actual burial.[34] Furthermore, she argues that the Krater was not a product of a Macedonian workshop, but instead an item specifically commissioned for a Macedonian patron made in Athens. She makes this claim based on her assumption that the main frieze of the vessel was copied from a monument in the Athenian agora, an assumption that seems to be corroborated by the proliferation of Maenads in similar, if not identical possess that circulated after the

classical period.[35] This monument does not survive.

Despite Barr-Sharar's argument for the placement of the Krater in the early fourth century, the degree of nudity of the figures and their similarity to the sculptures attributed to Scopas implies a later dating. The figures of the Maenads are in a state of undress rarely seen in earlier examples and seem to mimic the Maenads of Scopas more closely than their high classical counterparts (see figure 16). The high-belted *chiton* of the Maenad at Dresden similarly reveals the body, but is still conservative compared to the almost completely exposed Maenads on the Derveni Krater. The Maenad in Dresden has been dated on stylistic grounds variously between 360 and 320 B.C and may be a forerunner to the types of Maenads seen in the later Krater.[36]

If the vessel were created at a later date, the anomalies, which indicate an earlier dating, must then be addressed. The classical iconography may reflect the preference of the patron, not the vessel's date. Indeed, within the canon of Macedonian art it is not unusual to find an emphasis on conservative classical forms.[37] The figures on the metal vessels found in Philip II's tomb at Vergina share a similar affinity with classical models and are dated to the 330's B.C (see figure 17). [38] As Manolis Andronicos describes them, the figural decorations on metal vessels found at the tombs at Vergina do not submit to the plasticity of form of later Hellenistic works and instead maintain the solidity of the Parthenon marbles.[39] The use of this high classical modeling of form makes a connection between these metal vessels and the forms on the Parthenon in Athens. The dating of the metal vessel at Vergina is substantiated by David Gill, who describes inscriptions on the metal vessels, which indicate a weighing system that was in use during the creation of the tombs and which was not implemented in Macedonia until the reign of Alexander the Great.[40] These inscriptions indicate that these vessels were created during the Hellenistic era and that their reliance on classical forms was a matter of choice by the artist.

The stylistic evidence from other Macedonian art objects, as well as the physical evidence from the tomb supports the dating of this vessel to the late fourth century, and this date has been accepted by most scholars. The solidity of the figures on the Derveni Krater is in this case

mixed with extreme movement and emotion.

ORIGIN OF THE KRATER

The remainder of this paper will examine the iconography, style, and technique of the Derveni Krater in an attempt to understand the different cultural influences that were present in its creation. First, Athenian and Macedonian influences will be addressed, specifically in reference to the subject and style of the figural frieze. Then, the vessel's shape, technique, and layout will be examined in connection with other Greek and non-Greek centers. Specifically, I will explore the influence of South Italy, Asia Minor, and the Scythian tribes to the north on the Derveni Krater. For the purposes of this paper, I will define a local workshop as one that is located within the Macedonian empire, as it was defined before its expansion under Philip II. By this definition, the nationality of the artists working within the workshop would not necessarily be Macedonian but rather could be a group of artisans working in Macedonia for Macedonian patrons

ATHENIAN ORIGIN

Although the style of the figures on the vessel is Athenian, other cultural features make it unlikely that this piece was produced in Athens. Before discussing the style of the figures on the Derveni Krater, it is important to define style as it will be discussed in the following examples. For the purposes of this paper, I will use James Elkins' definition of style which suggests that this term's use should be restricted to similarities in quality not iconography.[41] The figures on the Derveni Krater share the solidity of form and emphasis on the body that can also be observed in the pedimental sculptures on the Parthenon. For example, the figure of the lounging Dionysus is extremely similar in style to the figure of the lounging Dionysus on the Krater. In this case, the similar accentuation of the body, the delicacy of line and the softness of the form indicate that these two artists were working in a similar stylistic tradition (see figure 18). These stylistic similarities can also be seen in a comparison of the rendering of drapery between the Maenads on the Krater and the Three Goddesses on the Parthenon. The clinging translucence of the fabric accentuates the form of the body and adds a sense of sensuousness to the figures.

Despite these stylistic similarities, the economy of Athens in the late fourth century and an examination of the surviving ceramic production reduce the likelihood that the Derveni Krater was created in Athens. Like many areas in the Mediterranean, archaeological evidence of casts and foundries confirm the presence of metal workshops within Athens' city walls.[42] Because there are no surviving metal vessels from the fourth century found within the city, scholars must turn to the ceramic tradition to uncover trends in artistic production at this time. Unlike bronze objects which were often melted down for their ores, ceramics can often be recovered from areas where bronzes are not. The durability of ceramics makes them a useful tool in determining the possible trend of bronze production in a certain area. After the Peloponnesian wars, and as the economy of Athens started to stumble, a migration of artists away from the city and into other artistic centers began to occur. The war may have given *metics*, resident aliens, and slaves the opportunity to escape the war torn city and move to more prosperous areas to continue their craft.[43] As the economy continued to falter, the market for expensive ceramics in Athens decreased and instead there was a demand for cheaper, mass-produced wares which valued utility over aesthetics.[44]

A trend away from the solid forms and delicate lines of high classical Athenian ceramic production can be seen in an examination of late fourth century Athenian wares Kerch Style and Ornate style, two styles which dominated Athenian ceramic production from 370 until 320 when the creation of vessel in Athens almost completely ceased.[45] The Kerch style is marked by an increased interest in three dimensionality and polychromic landscapes and although certain liveliness is seen in the work of the Marsyas Painter, the delicacy of line and solidity of figures seen in earlier vase paintings is missing (see figure 19).[46] The ornate style has similarly moved away from the delicacy of line, instead favoring an interest in the portrayal of pattern (see figure 20).[47] The rapidity of line in both styles suggests a movement away from the carefully rendered figures of earlier periods and a tendency towards a style which could be reproduced quickly. This is even more evident in the work of the Straggly Painter which reduces the form to a series quickly rendered

lines in an almost sloppy rendition of a female face.[48]

       Since artists from mainland Greece and elsewhere began working in Macedonia as early as the sixth century, it is often difficult distinguish between artwork imported to Macedonia and ones created there.[49]Athenian influence on Macedonian wares was intimately tied into ideas of aristocracy and intellectual culture, and the figural motif on the body of the vase is clearly indebted to Athenian prototypes in style. As artists were drawn to the Macedonian court by its wealth, they brought with them styles and artworks that were transferred into the canon of the Macedonian aristocracy. Macedonians used Attic forms to connect themselves to the cultural heritage of Athens and therefore gain respect and legitimacy, and the art found in Macedonian tombs strongly reflects this desire.[50]

MACEDONIAN ORIGIN

       The lack of particular features of Macedonian art which can be defined as specifically local and adoption of Greek models leads some scholars to believe that there is no true "Macedonian Style."[51] The Macedonian artistic tradition is almost entirely composed of a series of imported styles, which appealed to a Macedonian aesthetic. Artworks considered to be Macedonian are therefore considered "Macedonian" more because of their subject matter and find context than because of stylistic features that may associate them with a specifically Macedonian workshop.[52] If one considers the lack of specifically identifying features that indicate a Macedonian workshop, it is difficult to claim that the Derveni Krater was made by a workshop containing only Macedonian artists. It does seem however, in light of the highly developed style of the metal vessels found at Vergina that sophisticated metalsmiths were working in Macedonia. The box containing the ashes said to belong to Philip II uses a specifically Macedonian symbol, the sixteen-pointed Macedonian sunburst, to link it to the Macedonian royal house (see figure 21). There is however, nothing to imply that this piece was made by local craftsmen; in fact Andronikos specifically assigns this work to artists from the Greek mainland.[53] Evidence that the tomb may have been created in haste, something Andronicos uses to add credence to his hypothesis that the tomb was made for King Philip II after his untimely

assassination in 336, may lead to the conclusion that local artists were available to create these objects but does not necessarily imply that these artists were of Macedonian descent.[54] In fact, it is most likely that these artists were not of Macedonian descent, but rather outside artists who travelled to Macedonia and made a home among the Macedonian court elite, where they would be ensured of wealthy patrons and grand commissions.

Like the works from Vergina, it is likely that the Derveni Krater was made in a local workshop, but not necessarily by Macedonian craftsmen, since they were moving away from the traditional Macedonian reliance on Classical Athenian prototypes. Considering the other influences on the Krater discussed later in this paper, the placement of the workshop which created the Krater within Macedonia seems feasible, as working in Macedonia would expose the artists to a wide variety of international influences that were being introduced to Macedonia as it expanded into the surrounding Greek and non-Greek territories. To understand further influences on the Derveni Krater, the vessels' shape must next be examined.

SOUTH ITALIAN INFLUENCE

The shape of the vessel implies a different influence from the Greek colonies on South Italy. Although the krater shape originated in Athens in the seventh century,[55] it became popular throughout Greece, and the shape was adopted by many groups, including the colonies on South Italy, where it was modified from its original function, as a container in which water and wine were mixed during the *symposium,*[56] to serve as a funerary vessel. Although kraters originally had wide necks and mouths,[57] certain changes were made to the profile of the volute krater by South Italian artists, like the lengthening of the foot and neck to allow artists to decorate broader areas on the vase.[58] The handles were also adapted to include faces in the roundels of the volutes, which traditionally portrayed four heads of the Gorgon, perhaps an apotropaic feature, which may have originated from buttons or horse trappings.[59] Sculptured figures were also added to the shoulder of the vase. Archaic bronze figurines have been found in South Italy, which scholars believe to have been seated on the shoulders of larger vessels (see figure 22).[60]

More typically, as in later Apulian examples, animals, most often the heads of swans, are seen in this position.[61]

The shape of the Derveni Krater is very similar to the ceramic vases seen in Apulia. Both the use of masks on the volutes and the placement of figures on the shoulder conform to the traditional South Italian aesthetic. Unlike Athens, which exported a wide variety of products throughout the Greek world, scholars believe that the South Italian market remained closed, producing vases only for local consumers, who soon began to demand specific kinds of vessels.[62] This closed market implies that artists familiar with these design features most likely learned them in South Italian workshops. Despite scholars' assertion that South Italian pottery was not circulating in the fourth century, the Krater's affinity with South Italian prototypes likely suggests that the artist responsible for its creation was intimately familiar with South Italian workmanship. In a culture of internationalization, it is possible that South Italian artists traveled to Macedonian centers to seek commissions and that South Italian workshops could have transported this aesthetic to the Macedonian marketplace.

Like Macedonia, South Italy was prospering in the fourth century and wealthy *poleis* like Tarentum, in Apulia, would have had both the resources and the market for an object like the Derveni Krater. Easy access to mineral resources allowed it to develop a sophisticated metalworking tradition. The two areas also had a similar reverence for the cult of Dionysus and buried their dead with luxury objects in tomb structures. More concretely, there is recorded evidence of political contact between the Macedonian monarchy and the city of Tarentum. In 338 B.C, when it was attacked by the Lucians and Messapians, Tarentum appealed to Philip II for help.[63] Philip responded to its request by dispatching his brother in law, Alexander of Molossian, to South Italy. Alexander, like his nephew, Alexander the Great, had imperial ambitions and tried to consolidate South Italy under his rule.[64] Tarentum quickly withdrew its support of this invader and, after his death in 331, remained autonomous until being conquered by the Romans. The political connection between Tarentum and Macedonia is also implied by coins found in tombs, which confirm Macedonian presence

in South Italy. Coins produced during the reign of Philip II, known as "Philippeoi," which show the head of Apollo on one side and a two-horse chariot on the other are known to have circulated widely in South Italy.[65]

In addition to political and social connections between South Italy and Macedonia, there was also an artistic connection between the two states. The artist Lysippus both worked for the Macedonian court and was commissioned to create cult statues in South Italy.[66] He was also said to have worked specifically in the city of Tarentum, where he created a colossal bronze cult statue of Zeus, as described by Pliny the Elder (NH.34.XVIII).[67]

The shape of the Derveni Krater strongly suggests that the artist was influenced by South Italian examples, the knowledge of which may have been brought from South Italy to Macedonia by artists who moved to the north during the fourth century. The manner of decoration on the body of the vessel, however, is not South Italian in technique. It more closely resembles the metalwork of the Scythian tribes, a northern migratory group with a long standing tradition of decorative metal work.

SCYTHIAN INFLUENCE

To the north of Macedonia, in the areas occupied by nomadic tribes known as the Scythians, a sophisticated metalworking tradition flourished that produced elaborate repoussé decoration in a style similar to that found on the Derveni Krater. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., the Scythians built elaborate burial mounds filled with offerings to the newly deceased, which included human sacrifices, animals, and many luxury objects made of gold. Herodotus tells us that they used only gold, not silver or brass, although objects of other metals have been found in Scythian graves.[68] Scythian artists often adopted motifs and shapes from two dimensional ceramic decoration and incorporated it into their three dimensional repoussé designs. Some shapes and motifs so closely mimic Greek prototypes that Ellis Minns asserts that many Scythian metal works must have been imported.[69] Other scholars attribute the elaborate grave goods to Scythian workshops with masters working in a "Mix-Hellenic" manner, which was a combination of

Scythian and Greek techniques and motifs.[70] Mikhail Treister asserts that the founders of these workshops were most likely from Greece; however, they may have been operational for many generations, eventually incorporating local craftsmen and techniques.[71]

An examination of the Chertomlyk Vase provides an interesting comparison to the Derveni Krater, as both were metal funerary vessels created in a similar technique and are contemporary (see figure 23). The Chertomlyk vase, a silver vessel about two feet, four inches high, was found in the eighteenth century at an excavation of the Chertomlyk burial mound, a site located in the Dnieper Basin in modern day Ukraine.[72] The body of the vessel has three spouts with strainers, implying that the vessel was intended for a liquid which contained dregs.[73] The vessel is divided into three registers. The lowest and largest register of the vessel is decorated with animals, birds, winged horses, lions and non-figural motifs including palmettes and scrolling vines. The register above this large panel, on the shoulder of the vase shows scenes of men wearing pants and tunics breaking horses (see figure 24). Unlike the scene below, this scene is composed entirely of cast additions and does not contain repoussé decoration. The topmost scene shows griffins attacking stags.

This vessel, dated between 330-300 B.C,[74] has multiple features which connect it with the vessels of mainland Greece. For example, the motif of griffins attacking stags is used throughout Greece but most likely originated in the east. This type of scene is also portrayed on the Derveni Krater, although the predatory animals are more varied and spread across two separate registers. Similarly, the shape of the vessel is derived from the ceramic Greek Amphora. Despite these Greek features, other elements specifically connect the vase with Scythian culture. The men in the middle register are able to be identified as non-Greek by their clothing, pants and hats and their occupation, breaking horses. Although Minns asserts that this vessel was most likely created in mainland Greece, a "Mix-Hellenic" workshop in the north seems a more likely origin for the vessel, since repoussé decoration is used so widely in Scythia and the subject of men breaking horses so clearly refers to a Scythian activity.[75] Scythians revered their horses, and as

Herodotus recounts in his history, one Scythian king was buried with up to 50 horses.[76] Like the Derveni Krater, this vessel seems to be an amalgamation of different traditions both from mainland Greece and local cultures. The amphora shape of the Chertomlyk Vase is undeniably Greek in origin but the motifs and sophisticated repoussé metalwork are more reminiscent of a northern tradition.

There is also direct evidence of Scythian art in the Macedonian mainland. A bowcase or *gorytos* found in the tombs at Vergina demonstrates that the Macedonian elite admired the Scythian aesthetic (see figure 25). This repoussé silver vessel, completely gilded on the outside, contains two registers of figural relief bordered by animals and decorative patterning. The two figural bands show scenes of women and children fleeing a sanctuary, which has been infiltrated by soldiers, a scene which may be interpreted as the fall of Troy but which Andronikos thinks has a different meaning.[77] Bowcases with this exact form and similar compositions have been found in tombs throughout Scythian lands, including the Chertomlyk burial mound (see figure 26). Although the *gorytos* is a form unique to Scythian lands, Michèle Daumas insists that all of these objects were made by Greek craftsmen because they integrated Greek mythology into their figural registers.[78] Mikhail Treister instead argues that the each *gorytos* was made in Scythia to portray a Scythian myth.[79] Treister posits that each *gorytos* was made using separate smaller plates with groups of three or four figures, which were chosen by the patron and combined by the artist.[80] This implies that the creation of the *gorytos* was industrialized in a specific way to suit the needs of the Scythian artist and patron and that the figures portrayed on each individual piece were stock figures, recombined for a specific visual effect, not necessarily to portray a certain myth. Since there is no evidence of the *gorytos* form outside of Scythia, this *gorytos* is most likely the product of a Scythian workshop, and, as Andronikos posits, it may be a gift of a Scythian king to the Macedonian royal family.[81]

The discovery of the *gorytos* at Vergina suggests that the Macedonian aristocracy would have had access to Scythian artistic forms by the 330's B.C.E. The armies of Philip faced the Scythians in 339, and

20,000 young Scythian men were taken to Macedonia as slaves.[82] With such a large population of young Scythians brought to Macedonia, it is likely that artists were included among the prisoners of war. These artists would have brought their artistic skill set into the Macedonia. Even before this battle, Philip had many encounters with the Scythian tribes, forming alliances with them that would allow him to maintain control of his northern frontier while campaigning elsewhere.[83] The Macedonian aristocracy, being aware of the elaborate burial traditions of the Scythian kings, may well have been attracted to the appearance of their metal vessels as symbols of power and wealth. The Derveni Krater reproduced the elaborate repoussé decoration of the Scythian tribes, connecting it with the burial tradition of the Scythian kings and increasing the prestige of the man buried within it.

Thus far, mainly technical and stylistic aspects of the Derveni Krater have been examined to determine sources of possible influence. Other iconographical clues may also indicate the presence of different groups within the Macedonian marketplace. Influences from the east, especially areas of Asia Minor and western Persia, areas with which Philip and Alexander came into contact during the expansion of the Macedonian empire, can be seen in the iconography of the main figural scene on the Derveni Krater.

EASTERN INFLUENCE

Sardis, once the capitol of the Lydian kingdom, became a completely Greek city under the control of Lysimachus in 334.[84] Before this absorption into the Greek orbit, a slow process of Hellenization in the east brought together different cultures and created a mixture of local and international style. It is also known that artists and artworks were imported to Sardis from the Greek mainland as well as from the Scythians and other northern tribes, making Sardis, as well as other cities in Asia Minor, international commercial centers with a variety of foreign influences that combined to form a strong local aesthetic.[85] Although literary sources testify to a monumental bronze tradition in Sardis, which lasted from the sixth century B.C.E. until the second century A.D, only fragmentary remains of this industry have been attested archaeologically.[86] Archaeological evidence of a local school of Sardian

bronze-work has been uncovered in the form of unfinished pieces and a large bronze foundry known as the "House of Bronzes."[87] This implies a lively metalworking tradition in Sardis, even though the physical manifestation of that tradition has mostly been lost over time. Because the archaeological record of metal vessels is so fragmentary, we must instead look to the sculptural tradition to find instances of this mixing of cultures in ancient Asia Minor. Early relief sculpture at Sardis is made with "Graeco-Persian" iconography, which represents local rituals like funeral banquets and funeral processions with strong Greek influence.[88] This mixture is reflected in a relief excavated in Sardis, which shows a man reclining on a couch taking a meal with his wife seated on a throne at his feet (see figure 27). This theme, known as the *Totenmahl*, or funeral banquet, was a favorite of the Persian Empire.[89] The figures, however, have distinctive Greek attributes, especially the three quarters view of the female figure which, as Nancy Ramage points out, closely mimics representations in Greek funerary monuments.[90]

By the time Alexander the Great conquered Sardis, Greek influences begin to appear in Persian art.[91] *Totenmahl* reliefs still played a large part in the visual culture of the Asia Minor. First appearing in the late 6th century, [92] traditional *Totenmahl* scenes portray the couple surrounded by vessels, which indicate a banquet, perhaps a funerary meal since these reliefs are often associated with burial ritual. The layout of Macedonian tombs reflects the funerary banquet portrayed on *Totenmahl* reliefs, with *klinai*, couches on which the males reclined, and *diphroi*, thrones on which the females sat upright, although no feasting appears to have taken place within the burial chambers.[93] In Macedonia and Asia Minor, *Totenmahl* reliefs were a demonstration of wealth and show the elite status of the deceased.[94] Although *Totenmahl* reliefs did make their way to Attica and Boeotia in the second half of the fourth century, the emphasis there was on a humble familial setting.[95] The poor quality and limited number of these reliefs leads Johanna Fabricuis to posit that they were made for members of the lower classes, who were most probably foreigners.[96] The persistence of this motif outside of Attica in more elite settings, especially in Asia Minor and Macedonia speaks to its importance as a symbol of power.

Although the *Totenmahl* reliefs are rare in Attic grave stele, the style of the figures on these grave markers is very similar to those seen in Athens in the fourth century. For example the Gravestone of Thraseas and Euandria from the Kerameikos cemetery completed in 350 has the same solidity of form as the *Totenmahl* relief from Sardis (see figure 28). Although the influence of high classical sculptures like the Parthenon pediment is more obvious in Athenian grave stele due to its state of preservation, if the drapery in the two examples is compared, the falling of folds similarly emphasizes the body and the delicacy of line creates a sensitivity to form. The figures are also pushed up to the front of the composition against and stage-like background. The stele from Sardis has taken a Persian iconography which indicates wealth and status, and transformed it using an Athenian style.

Although not a funerary banquet, the main scene on the Derveni Krater resembles a *Totenmahl* relief in composition, with Dionysus lounging on a couch with Ariadne seated at his feet. The artist who created the krater was clearly aware of this long standing symbol of power and took it a step further, integrating the gods into this funerary ritual, emphasizing both the patron's piety and wealth. The Macedonian aristocracy inherited this immense wealth and attempted to emulate the splendor of this conquered land by incorporating symbols of the Persian elite into its own canon. Although the figures of Dionysus and Ariadne are in an Attic style, like most elements of the Derveni Krater, the *Totenmahl* relief is combined with references to Classical Greek art forms to create an amalgamation of styles inherited from different parts of the Mediterranean world.

CONCLUSION

The Derveni Krater reflects a culture of internationalization that characterized the initial stages of the formation of the Macedonian empire. As different artists flocked to the cities of Macedonia, they were exposed to a wide variety of new artworks and artists, which influenced their future artistic production. As artists settled in Macedonia and set up workshops, wealthy patrons were attracted to symbols of power and prestige from different cultures around the Greek world, which were then reproduced for the Macedonian elite. Although the

precise workshop that made the Derveni Krater is unknown, it is most likely that it was created in Macedonia, the location of this merging of cultures and the home of patrons made wealthy by the spoils of Alexander and Philip II's imperial ambitions. The artist clearly understood the styles and influences of several different cultures, and it can be inferred, then, that this artist was in a workshop which had been working in Macedonia for some time. A workshop which was not new to Macedonia would be able to integrate more seamlessly the needs of a Macedonian patron into the stylistic trends of late fourth-century Macedonia, as well as learn the different forms and techniques required to create this elaborate vessel. Due to the elaborate repoussé decoration, it is perhaps most likely that this workshop had origins in the north, where elaborate metalwork had been created for centuries to honor the king.

The Derveni Krater, as the creation of a northern craftsman residing in Macedonia, is a product of an international market that was able to integrate different symbols of elite power from diverse cultures to create a luxury object for an aristocratic class able to interpret royal symbols throughout the Macedonian empire. As a funerary object, this Krater was intended to emphasize the elite status of the man buried within it. Artists working on the Derveni Krater adopted symbols of power from different cultures to create an overarching statement about the power of the conquering Macedonian empire and more specifically the aristocratic values of this patron. By integrating repoussé decoration from the burial chambers of the Scythian kings, the volute krater shape from the tombs of the South Italian elite, and the *Totenmahl* relief from the funerary stele of the aristocracy of Asia Minor, the artist endows the patron with the power of all these cultures.

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FIGURES

Figure 1: Interior wall of Derveni Tomb B showing Floral Motif

Beryl Barr-Sharrar, *The Derveni Krater: Masterpiece of Classical Greek Metalwork*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2008. fig. 16, p. 21
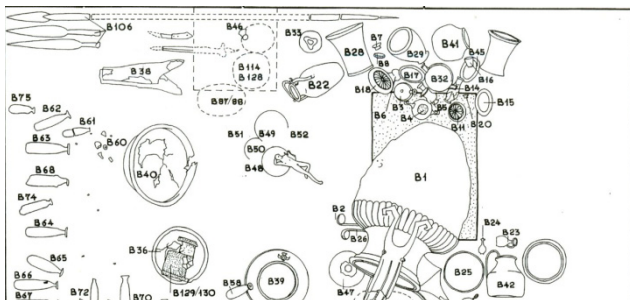
Figure 2: Diagram of Tomb B

Barr-Sharrar, fig. 14 p. 19

Plate 5

The Derveni krater: Detail showing Dionysos and Ariadne

Figure 3: Derveni Krater, main frieze showing the God Dionysus with Panther and his wife Ariadne

Barr-Sharrar, plate 5

Plate 8

The Derveni krater: Detail showing the two maenads with the young deer

Figure 4: Derveni Krater, Maenads tearing apart a faun

Barr-Sharrar, plate 8

Plate 6 ⌷

The Derveni krater: Detail showing the trio of maenads

Figure 5: Derveni Krater, one Maenad falling into the lap of another

Barr-Sharrar, plate 6

⌷ Plate 7

The Derveni krater: Detail showing the Silenus and a dancing maenad

Figure 6: Derveni Krater, Maenad and Satyr

Barr-Sharrar, Plate 7

Plate 10

The Derveni krater: Detail showing the hunter

Figure 7: Derveni Krater, man in a rocky landscape

Barr-Sharrar, plate 10

Plate 9

The Derveni krater: Detail showing the maenad with a baby

Figure 8: Derveni Krater, Maenad with child

Barr-Sharrar, plate 9

Figure 9: Derveni Krater, egg and dart motif showing inscription
Barr-Sharrar, f. 49, 44.

Figure 10: Derveni Krater, palmette, wave and circle pattern
Barr-Sharrar, plate 11

Figure 11: Derveni Krater, lion and boar from animal frieze on the neck
Barr-Sharrrar, plate 11-12
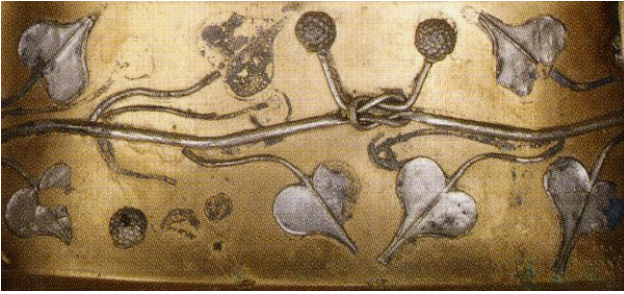
Figure 12: Derveni Krater, Ivy wreath with knot
Barr-Sharrar, Plate 19
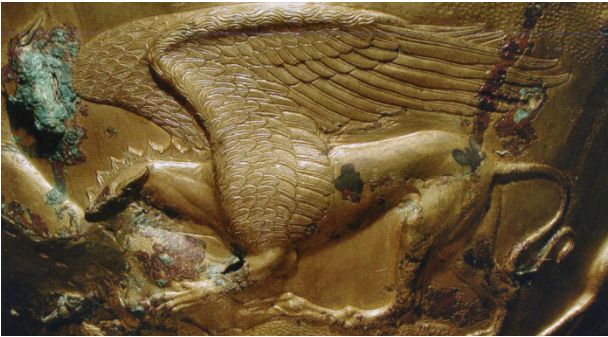
Figure 13: Derveni Krater, griffin from animal frieze below main frieze on body

Barr-Sharrar, plate 11

Figure 14: Derveni Krater, volute masks

Barr-Sharrar, plates, 11-12
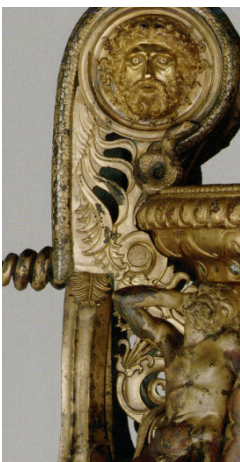
Figure 15: Derveni Krater, handles

Barr-Sharrar, plate 12
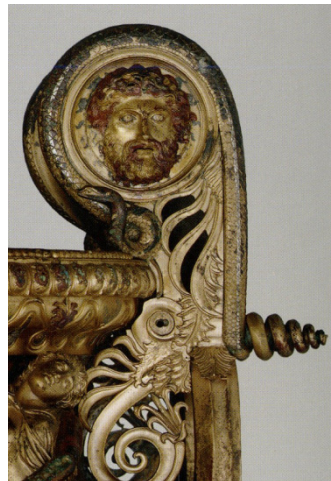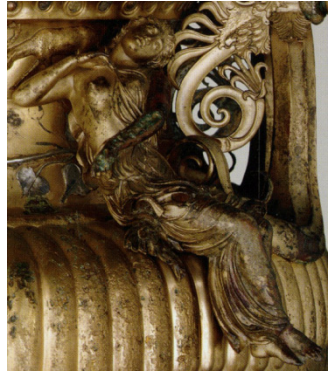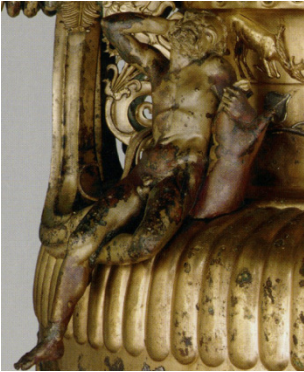
Figure 16: Derveni Krater, seated figures

Barr-Sharrar, plate 11-12
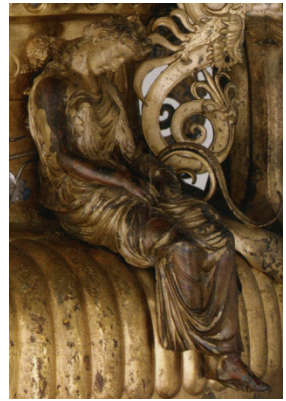
Figure 17: Attic Red Figure Pyxis Lid painted by the Meidias Painter, from Eretria, 410-400B.C.

Barr-Sharrar, fig. 110, p. 125

Figure 18: Volute Krater by the Painter of Copenhagen: youth with a horse

A.D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily: A Handbook*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1989. fig. 188

Figure 19: Roman copy of Greek marble original, Scopas, Maenad, 350-325

Figure 20: Heads of Herakles and a Silen found at the Tomb of Philip at Vergina

Manolis Andronicos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*, Athens: Ekdotike Athenon S.A., 1984. figure 116, 120, p. 152, 155

Figure 21: Lounging Figure of Dionysus, Parthenon, East Pediment, Athens, 432 B.C.
British Museum, London

Figure 22: Three Goddesses, Parthenon, East Pediments, Athens, 432 B.C. British Museum, London

Figure 23: Pelike by the Marsyas Painter Showing Peleus and Thetis, Kerch Style, Found in Rhodes, 360-350 B.C.

British Museum, London

Figure 24: Hydria by the Meidias Painter Showing the Dioscouroi and the Heros of Athens, in the Ornate Style, late 5th Century Athens

British Museum, London

Figure 25: Lekythos by the Straggly Painter, Showing a Female, Athens 400 B.C.

Ure Museum, University of Reading

Figure 26: Gold Larnax containing the ashes of Philip II, Tomb of Philip, Vergina

Andronicos, fig 136, p. 169
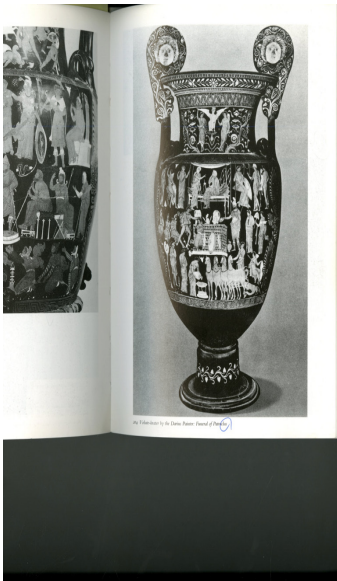
Figure 27: Apulian Volute Drater by the Darius Painter showing the funeral of Patroclus

Trendall, fig. 204
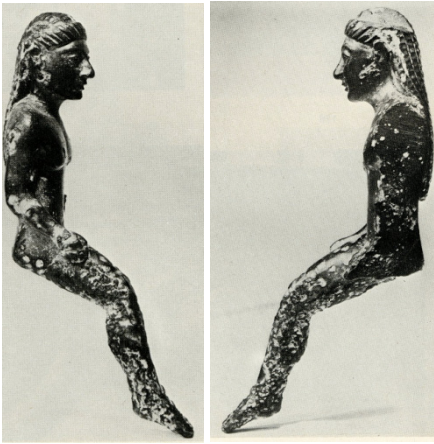
Figure 28: Seated figure attached to a Metal Krater
Claude Rolly, *Les Vases De Bronze De L'Archaïsme Récent en Grande- Grèce*, Naples: Publications Du Centre Jean Bérard, 1982, pl. 37 fig. 174-175

Figure 29: Chertomlyk Vase, Silver; cast, embossed, chased, engraved and gilded. H. 70 cm, Scythian Culture. 4th century BC Chertomlyk Barrow, Dnieper Area, near Nikopol Russia (now Ukraine)
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

Figure 30: Scene of Men Breaking Horses from the Chertomlyk Vase, silver; cast, embossed, chased, engraved and gilded. H. 70 cm, Scythian Culture.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

Figure 31: Scene of Griffins attacking Stags from the Chertomlyk Vase, silver; cast, embossed, chased, engraved and gilded. H. 70 cm, Scythian Culture.

The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

Figure32: Gorytos from the tombs at Vergina
Color Plate 28, *The Search of Alexander: An Exhibition* (Washington D.C.: Washington National Gallery of Art, 1980)

**Figure 33: Gorytos from the Chertomlyk Burial Mound
Overlay for a Goryt (Case for a Bow and Arrows) Gold;
stamped. 46.8x27.3 cm, Scythian culture. 4th century BC,
Chertomlyk Barrow, Dnieper Area, near Nikopol Russia
(now Ukraine)**
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

**Figure 34: Funerary Relief
from Sardis showing a typical
Totenmahl scene**

Plate XIV (b) Nancy H. Ramage, "A
Lydian Funerary Banquet," *Anatolian
Studies* , Vol. 29, (1979), pp. 91-95
http://www.jstor.org/stable/3642732

Figure 36: Funerary Stele of Thrasea and Euandria, Marble, Kerameikos cemetery, Athens, 375-350 B.C.
Pergamon Museum, Berlin

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Sexual Scrawling: Homoerotic Invective in Pompeian Graffiti

by Alicia Hightower

Masculinity was a major theme in graffiti over two thousand years ago. Threats to said masculinity was a frequent tool in insulting inscriptions. The credibility of these messages is for the most part irrelevant because they accomplish the goal of the author: to slander their target's name and reputation. Modern ideologies label this type of graffiti as "homosexual" as they deal with acts that we identify to be homoerotic in nature. However, our modern concepts of "homosexuality," "bisexuality," and "heterosexuality" are relatively new to the way we understand sex and gender. Ancient Romans would have been unable to relate with our own divisions between sexualities. Instead, the central idea to Roman sex roles revolved around the ultimate identity qualification: masculine versus feminine. This was not a separation between the sexes but between genders. The attributes that society deemed appropriate for men and for women were to be upheld and those who did not maintain this ideal were scorned. We might find this ideology of gender to be constrictive but it could be compared to our modern views on sexuality. Where we see the lines between masculine versus feminine to be black and white, ancient Romans would find our ideas of defined sexualities to be just as confusing, if not insulting. The ties between sex and slander go beyond definitions and into the practical world.

Scholars such as Alison E. Cooley and M. G. L. Cooley have analyzed Pompeian graffiti but only analyze the inscriptions concerning politics, business, poetry, and daily life. Antonio Varone has written possibly the sole book on the graffiti in Pompeii that includes a section on the "homosexual" graffiti but the inscriptions are given brief analyses. Scholars such as John Clarke have examined the art in Pompeii that depicts "homosexual" intercourse but does not touch on inscriptions. Through the interpretations of ancient sexuality by Craig Williams, Thomas Hubbard, and others I was able to frame my analysis

of the Pompeii graffiti that had largely gone ignored. Examination of Latin words will aid me in understanding the meaning and weight behind their use. Aside from their "homosexual" theme, these inscriptions are mostly invective in nature and as such, the focus of this paper will be to examine invective in the framework of Roman gender theory.

Most of the information we have on ancient Roman daily life comes from Pompeii. The population estimates range from 8,000 to 20,000 while approximations of literacy rates are even more difficult to pin down. Sealed in ash after the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE, the city was largely forgotten for over 1700 years. The wealth of archaeological evidence that comes from Pompeii gives us a window onto the lives of ancient Romans in ways that other information cannot. Graffiti is one example of data we lack from other areas, and the quantity and range of themes that Pompeii provides is truly incredible. Unlike imperial inscriptions or other literature, graffiti gives us a better understanding of the common men and women. These domestic inscriptions tell us countless stories we would otherwise never hear.

For the Romans, sexuality was not a simple matter of preferring to have sex with either men or women. Most scholars agree that the difference between "sexualities" was the roles of the penetrator and the penetrated. This makes it clear that it was not a distinction between men and women; instead the breakdown was between women, men who were penetrators and men who were penetrated. It is not entirely correct to say, but in a sense, these "submissive" men are the closest comparison to our modern versions of "homosexual" men. These receiving men were looked down upon and considered separate from the ideal Roman man who was always the active partner in sex. Romans would not have understood the difference between a "gay" man and a "straight" man, but they would have seen the difference between a submissive man and a dominant man.

Although the Romans lacked the concept of a "homosexual," they had something similar. The term *cinaedi* appears frequently in homoerotic inscriptions for a good reason. Amy Richlin says, "Overwhelmingly and explicitly, *cinaedi* are said, with disgust, to be passive homosexuals."[1] Although *cinaedus* lacks a direct English

translation, there are many meanings scholars use for this word. Hubbard uses "pervert" and Varone prefers "catamite" but neither encapsulate the entire meaning. It can be described as the male in the receiving position during sex with an incredible amount of negative connotation. *Cinaedus* was originally associated with dancers, who would have also been prostitutes, which helps explain the transformation from a dancer to a reviled passive man. The less charged words to describe this male are as follows: "*pathicus, exoletus, concubinus, spintria, puer* (boy), *pullus* (chick), *pusio, delicates, mollis* (soft), *tener* (dainty), *debilis* (weak), *effeminatus, discinctis* (loose-belted), and *morbosus* (sick)."[2] Alone, these definitions do nothing to help define *cinaedus* and if anything, they only broaden the scope. But if these traits make up a *cinaedus*, and if *cinaedus* is a commonly used insult, then we can better understand that which Romans looked down upon. Anything that was not associated with being a "Roman man" – dominant and strong – was something to be ashamed of in the ancient world. These inscriptions were insulting because, as simple as it sounds, they were insulting. Calling someone a *cinaedus* was considered insulting because the traits that were associated with what it meant to be a *cinaedus* was nothing to be proud of in the Roman society.

       With the groundwork in place, it is time to examine the inscriptions themselves. "Cosmus, Equitia's slave, is a *cinaedus* and cocksucker, with legs spread apart (fig. 1)."[3] Unlike some inscriptions, this one does not appear to mention an author. Most graffiti are unsigned and there are benefits to writing anonymous messages in the public's view. As an unknown author, one is able to write anything without having to face repercussions that accompany public speeches and signed writing. If we are to take this message at face value, intimate knowledge such as this may have let the target know who wrote it. Had Cosmus seen this on a wall, he could have taken revenge into his own hands if he had known the perpetrator's identity. But this graffito was not meant for Cosmus alone, and the weight of truth in this statement is not the key to determine the author's motive.

1825 ubi n. 1819 ACT. litteris rudibus fere qua-
dratis praeter S; littera Q v. 1 alta 0,03 m.

COSMVS EQVITAES
MAGNVS CINAE
DVS ET FELLATOR
ˈE S V R I S A ᴘ E R
TIS · M A R I

Figure 1: CIL IV 1825, field record and location.

The first question we might ask is: why would anyone write this? To name a few motives we can suggest to brag, to slander, to declare something, and for the simple reason of 'why not?' These ancient graffiti artists had to inscribe their messages into walls with the back of styluses, meaning that it took a decent amount of work and it was deliberate. The author wrote this message with the knowledge of what traits society considered malicious. Whoever wrote this would not have used these traits to describe Cosmus with the intent to slander his name if they had been associated with anything positive. The credibility of truth to this message is not the point to focus on. Whether Cosmus read this graffito in passing and responded in outrage over the message's lie or over the confidentiality leak is also not the important detail for us. The fact that Cosmus would have read this – that other people in

Pompeii read this – and had to deal with the consequences and the shame is the motive for writing this inscription.

Something that separates this particular inscription from others lies in Cosmus' identity – Equitia's slave. Slaves in antiquity were little more than property and were often used as sexual instruments, whether they were male or female. While age played a part in how appropriate homoerotic sex was in Rome, slaves fell outside this sliding scale as they were considered not only property, but as boys all their lives. They were expected to be passive in sexual relations with their masters and they were looked down upon even more because of this role in society. If Cosmus was the slave of Equitia, then did she write this? If not, then who did? If we are to value this statement as the truth, it would have to have been someone intimate in Equitia's household to either know this about Cosmus or learn through firsthand experience. However, considering that invective does not need to hold any truth, the above conjecture may serve no purpose. But if this is empty invective, then why would anyone write such an abusive slur about a slave? It would have been a near equivalent to insulting your dining table. A possible explanation is that another slave in Equitia's household could have written this as a joke or means of revenge. Like the motives to any graffiti, this inscription lacks the background story leading up to the deed itself that would unlock the mystery.

There is an inscription with homosexual themes that is an outlier in this invective study: "Beautiful Sabinos, Hermeros loves you (fig. 2)."[4] Consequences of essentially "outing" their relationship would have certainly arisen from this inscription but it lacks any abusive words that are used in the Cosmus inscription. Both of these messages deal with similar "homosexual" themes but the difference is their motives; Hermeros wanted to declare his love for Sabinos and leaves out anything insulting that goes with the submissive nature of their relationship whereas the author attacking Cosmus does the opposite. The fact that both men involved in this "homosexual" relationship are named is especially eye-catching as there must have been consequences to deal with after such an act. But without more details, it is difficult to speculate. These two men could have been travelers who inscribed this

onto a wall while passing through the city and therefore would have remained anonymous to the citizens of Pompeii. Another possibility is that they were not lovers and that this is a confession that would have caught Sabinos off guard. There are a number of other unknown factors that make this inscription troublesome for scholars but it remains as evidence of another side of same-sex relationships that lacked the common cruel invective.
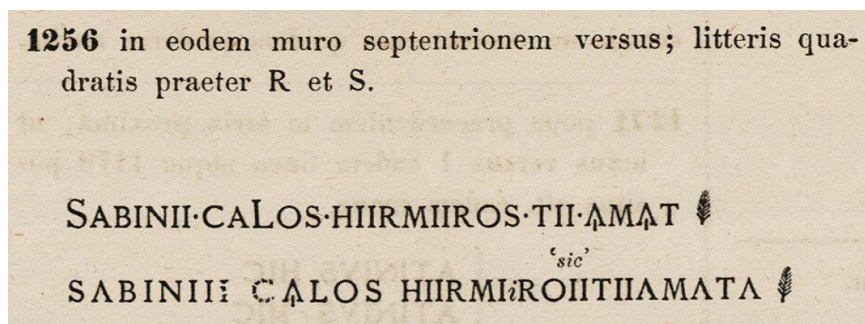
Figure 2: CIL IV 1256, field record and location.

If Hermeros found it worthwhile to inscribe his love for another man, then there must have been others who felt the same about homoerotic relationships. The next graffito shows that involvement in a homoerotic relationship was not to be ashamed of in all circumstances. "Vesbinus is a *cinaedus*; Vitalio has fucked him (fig. 3)."[5] While the submissive partner was humiliated, the dominant role was something to boast about. The author of the Cosmus inscription did not name himself or allude to dominating Cosmus, which could allude to the author not being involved in a homoerotic relationship with Cosmus. Like other graffiti authors, Vitalio found it more than worth mentioning in his message. The act of homoerotic sex itself was not the snag in Roman sex norms or else Vitalio would not have bragged about taking part in said activity.

2319*b* inter primum et secundum a via Stabiana ostium in rubro tectorio.
VIISBINVS CINIIDV S VTIALIO PIIDiCAVIT

Figure 3: CIL IV 2319b, field record and location.

Vitalio was not the only man in Pompeii who felt that he could brag about his sexual escapades as is the case of the next graffiti: "Secundus has fucked boys till they hurt (fig. 4-5)."[6] A crucial aspect to note is that in the inscription, the name "Secundus" is written much larger than the other words, which leads scholars like Varone and Hubbard to believe that Secundus was the author of this graffito and the act was meant as a boast. This is not a hard thing to imagine if dominating others in sex was something to brag about in Roman society. While no boys are named like in Vitalio's engraving, the same message is being transmitted. Both authors wrote their graffito with the intent to brag about their sexual exploits. Both men wanted the world – or at least the people of Pompeii – to know that they were men among men in that they were the "active" partners in sex. Also as with Vitalio's message, Secundus found that it was not shameful to be partaking in homoerotic sex because he was not going outside his gender role. The fact that Vitalio and Secundus sign their messages shows that it was not shameful to engage in homoerotic sex so long as they were the ones in the dominant position.

2048 in eadem pila.

SECVNDVS PEDICAVD
P V E R O S
LVCLE   VTIS

Figure 4: CIL IV 2048, field record and location.
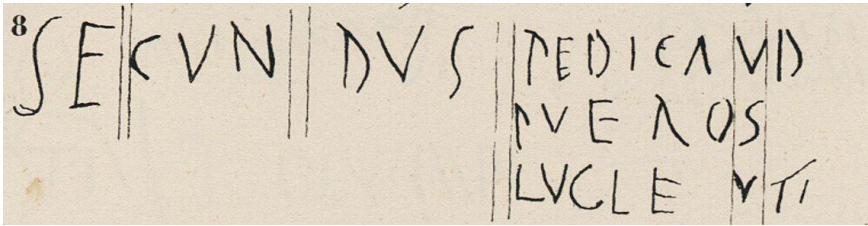
Figure 5: CIL IV Plate XXXIV, field sketch of original graffito.

Men who went outside their roles faced ridicule, humiliation, and sometimes even penalties. Those perceived to be passive men were grouped into the *infamia* category in which they would have lost their legal rights and faced serious humiliation. But like most cases in the Roman world, decisions were extremely ad hoc, so the actual weight of this status is unknown. According to Richlin, "*infames* are people who have done something bad, usually involving fraud; or who habitually do something bad, usually involving the public use of bodies (actors, pimps, gladiators)."[7] Those men who were "willingly" penetrated were *infames*, although this status should not be attributed to all males who were penetrated. Young boys who had not reached adulthood were often in pederastic relationships with older men. Slaves were expected to be passive as they were considered less than full men all of their lives regardless of age. In this context, freeborn men who were willingly passive to other freeborn men during sex were considered unchaste and often given the *infamia* status.

The insulting nature of these graffiti combined with the *infamia* status creates a great threat to men. Roman society was based on personal connections where reputations were crucial – a bad reputation could theoretically ruin one's life. But Winkler argues that men who were not interested in holding public office would have not cared about having *infamia* social standing. For example, take a graffito that says, "Albanus is a *cinaedus*."[8] If Albanus was a senator with a family and a lot on the line, then would this slur have had any effect on his career

or his life? We lack any personal journals that could have told us how a victim of graffiti abuse might have felt and it is not so strange when we consider the factors of the situation. It is important to remember that these graffiti are not located in Rome, the political center of the Roman Empire, but in Pompeii. It is not a big stretch to think that the authors and targets of these inscriptions were not involved in the cut-throat business of Roman politics like the senators living in Rome. If this is the case, then by Winkler's argument, these graffiti lacked any actual damage. People passing these inscriptions probably read these with a chuckle – or if they were the intended target they may have frowned, received a few mocking comments from their friends, and then gone about their day. This is not to say that the reputation of non-senators were not important to Pompeian men. The watered-down threat of *infamia* would, however, hold less weight in situations outside of Rome. Anonymous messages on walls would seemingly render the menace powerless.

     The graffiti in Pompeii pose many questions that will hopefully be better evaluated over time. To the casual reader they are amusing and shocking; to the scholar they are captivating and intriguing. These were anonymous messages: even the ones with authors lack the credibility of a speech in the Senate. Men who were accused to be *cinaedi* in court may have been penalized but graffiti lack the same threat. Short of having a time machine, we are unable to truly know how these graffiti affected the lives of the inscriptions' targets. However, graffiti gives us a window into the Roman world of slander and sex. A powerful threat or not, homoerotic invective through graffiti tells us the story of Roman gender in ways that other evidence cannot.

1 Amy Richlin, "Meaning of Irrumare in Catullus and Martial." *Classical Philology* 76, no. 1 (Jan 1981). http://www.jstor.org/pss/269544 (accessed November 20, 2011).

2 Richlin, "Meaning of Irrumare," 549.

3 CIL IV 1825

4 CIL IV 1256

5 CIL IV 2319b

6 CIL IV 2048

7 Richlin, "Meaning of Irrumare," 559.

8 CIL IV 4917

ABBREVIATIONS
CIL: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

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Emotional Reactions in Plato's Lysis [1]

By Carla Rosales

I argue that Plato uses emotional responses to characterize both Socrates, his friends, and the interlocutors; and that this characterization is instrumental in the framing of the narrative in which the philosophizing happens. Furthermore, that the emotional framework of the *Lysis* forces us to read and re-read the dialogue, in terms of both philological form and philosophical content, as a whole. To do this I will examine notable emotional responses, and their function to the whole dialogue. In this reading the fundamentality of character does not necessitate Aristotle's understanding of character—namely that, character must be like us in order to induce emotion.[2] Instead, the focus is on the instrumentality of the responses regardless of the audience's ability to relate to Socrates and the interlocutors of the dialogue.

The prologue of the *Lysis* is significant in that it frames and structures the narrative of the dialogue. Serious considerations about the function of the setting have argued that the setting of the *Lysis* grounds the philosophizing of the dialogue in an external frame that allows for a binary reading—both literary and philosophical—of the dialogue. However, an account of the emotional reactions of both Socrates, his companions, and his interlocutors adds to this narrative frame another level of understanding. Namely, Plato has framed the *Lysis* with emotional responses, and these responses are instrumental in reading the dialogue as a whole.[3] In the prologue of the *Lysis*, Plato sets the stage for the dialogue and begins to develop his characters. I argue that the emotional responses of the characters in the *Lysis* are intentionally marked in order to unite both the content and form of the dialogue.

First, it is imperative to consider Hippothales and his repeated blushes. As Socrates questions Hippothales, he notices Hippothales' evasive discomfort when questioned about his παιδικός. That is, when asked who is καλός, Hippothales responds ἄλλος ἄλλῳ ἡμῶν δοκεῖ—different ones to different ones (204b). Socrates picks-up on

Hippothales' evasive answer, and continues his inquiry into whom Hippothales fancies. Plato writes,

> καὶ ὃς ἐρωτηθεὶς ἠρυθρίασεν. καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον: ὦ παῖ Ἱερωνύμου Ἱππόθαλες, τοῦτο μὲν μηκέτι εἴπῃς, εἴτε ἐρᾷς του εἴτε μή: οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐρᾷς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω ἤδη εἶ πορευόμενος τοῦ ἔρωτος (204b).

> And at being questioned [Hippothales] blushed. And I said: Eh Hippothales, son of Hieronymus, you should no longer answer this [question], whether you are in love or not. For I know that you are not only in love, but you are already deeply in love.

Here, Hippothales is described as blushing when he is questioned about his παιδικός. But why is Hippothales blushing?[4] Greek culture did not frown on pederastic relationships, so it does not make sense that Hippothales is ashamed of being in love.[5] Gooch analyses the blushing faces in Plato's dialogues. In addition to blushing from a feeling of shame or public humiliation, Gooch finds that Plato's Greeks blush for reasons like ours: self-consciously when others guess something about us, or when we take ourselves by surprise, or from embarrassment about our inabilities or failure to meet expectations.[6] Thus, it is possible that Hippothales' marked blush is a self-conscious emotional response to Socrates calling attention to his love interest. Hippothales blushes because his infatuation for Lysis is revealed in spite of his evasive response. Moreover, as the conversation continues, Socrates claims to be an expert at distinguishing the lover from the beloved—γνῶναι ἐρῶντά τε καὶ ἐρώμενον (204c). At his remark, Hippothales blushes even more— ὃς ἀκούσας πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρυθρίασεν.

Plato's use of this marked emotional reaction cannot be, and is not, arbitrary. Ctesippus, still listening to the conversation, comments on Hippothales' blushing; he says: quite charming how you are blushing—Ἀστεῖόν γε ὅτι ἐρυθριᾷς (204c). Here, Plato's use of αστεῖόν is interesting. I offer a digression into Plato's use of ἀστεῖος to illustrate that this particular usage in the *Lysis* is noticeably different. Plato's use of ἀστεῖος elsewhere: in *Phaedrus* 227d Plato uses ἀστεῖος

as "witty" or "popular," here the meaning refers to that which Lysias writes about χαριστέον; in *Republic* 452d Plato uses ἀστεῖος as "the wits;" in *Gorgias* 447a as "refined" or "elegant;" not one of these usages carries the same emphasis as in the *Lysis*. In *Republic* 349b and *Phaedo* 116d, Plato's use of ἀστεῖος is closer to its use in the *Lysis*—its meaning here is "charming," in that in both cases it is used to describe a man. These instances, in which ἀστεῖος is used as an adjective, illustrate that Plato more often uses this word in a positive way. Moreover, in the *Lysis* Ctesippus says that it is ἀστεῖόν how Hippothales is blushing. Here, Plato's use of ἀστεῖος is marked in stark contrast as an ironic usage. Here, the irony serves to further intensify the marked blush of Hippothales.

Thus far, I have examined Plato's use of marked emotional responses to characterize his companions. These responses, in turn, illustrate the methodical rhetorical device of language that Plato uses to set the stage of the narrative. Furthermore, the careful reading of the characterization of Socrates' companions is also useful as an inadvertent manipulation. That is, Plato uses marked emotional responses in the prologue so that we are more attuned to reading the marked emotional responses of the interlocutors. Below, I explore the emotional responses of the interlocutors, and argue that Plato uses these responses in a similar way.

By engaging Lysis in conversation, instead of singing and reciting about him, Socrates attempts to show Hippothales the proper way to win the favor of his παιδικός. At first, Socrates questions both Lysis and Menexenus about the nature of their friendship. However, as the conversation progresses, Menexenus is called away; and Socrates continues to question Lysis *alone*. In the end Socrates asks Lysis, "οἷόν τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὦ Λύσι, μέγα φρονεῖν, ἐν οἷς τις μήπω φρονεῖ;" (210d). Lysis is forced to concede that it is not possible for him to be μεγαλόφρων—arrogant—in matters which he still requires a teacher. Here, Socrates turns to Hippothales, who is still hiding, to tell him this is how he should talk to his παιδικός and knock him down rather than χαυνοῦντα καὶ διαθρύπτοντα—puffing him up and pampering him. However, Socrates stops himself when he notices that Hippothales

is anxious and confused by what they are talking about. Finally, Menexenus comes back; and Lysis whispers to Socrates to repeat what they were just saying for Menexenus. In this passage Plato draws our attention to the specific reactions of the character. I will return to this point below.

The conversation continues between Socrates and the interlocutors. Hippothales remains out of sight. Socrates, then, argues that love, desire, and friendship appear to be of the οἰκεῖον. Here, Lysis and Menexenus agree. On this premise, Socrates questions whether friends must have natures that are congenial to one another. The boys agree. Finally Socrates says that one who loves or desires someone else would never have done so if he had not been οἰκεῖός to him in some way. More specifically:

> Καὶ εἰ ἄρα τις ἕτερος ἑτέρου ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἦν δ᾽ ἐγώ, ὦ παῖδες, ἢ ἐρᾷ, οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐπεθύμει οὐδὲ ἤρα οὐδὲ ἐφίλει, εἰ μὴ οἰκεῖός πῃ τῷ ἐρωμένῳ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν ἢ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ κατά τι τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος ἢτρόπους ἢ εἶδος. {—} Πάνυ γε, ἔφη ὁ Μενέξενος• ὁ δὲ Λύσις ἐσίγησεν. {—} Εἶεν, ἦν δ᾽ ἐγώ. τὸ μὲν δὴφύσει οἰκεῖον ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν πέφανται φιλεῖν. {—} Ἔοικεν, ἔφη. {—} Ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα τῷ γνησίῳ ἐραστῇ καὶ μὴ προσποιήτῳ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν παιδικῶν. {—} Ὁ μὲν οὖν Λύσις καὶ ὁ Μενέξενος μόγις πως ἐπενευσάτην, ὁ δὲ Ἱπποθάλης ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς παντοδαπὰ ἠφίει χρώματα (221e8-222b2).

> And then, if someone desires or loves someone else, I said, oh boys, he would never be desiring, or loving, or befriending him; unless somehow he happens to be οἰκεῖός to the beloved either in the soul, or in some ἦθος or direction or cast of the soul. Indeed, Menexenus agreed; but Lysis was quiet. Well, I said, the οἰκεῖον by nature has been proven to us necessary to befriend. It seems, he said. Then, it is necessary for the genuine lover and not for the pretend lover to be befriended by his favorite. Then, on the one hand, Lysis and Menexenus barely nodded; on the other hand, Hippothales was giving off colors of all sorts.

This passage is striking for two reasons. First, throughout the dialogue Lysis and Menexenus have consistently consented together when

Socrates addresses the both of them. Thus, Plato's manipulation of Lysis and Menexenus' emotional responses here is blatantly marked and incongruent. Second, it is striking that Lysis says nothing at all. Is there something to his silence? Why now? I argue that Lysis' silence is not coincidental. The divergence in response, from the rest of the dialogue, should take us back to the difference between Lysis and Menexenus. Specifically, as discussed above, Lysis has heard something from Socrates that Menexenus has not. As Socrates goes on he argues that, since the οἰκεῖον by nature has been proven to be necessary to befriend, that it is necessary for the γνησίῳ ἐραστῇ καὶ μὴ προσποιήτῳ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν παιδικῶν. Lysis and Menexenus barely nod in agreement, and Hippothales is in a flush of colors.

But what did Lysis understand more than Menexenus? And what does that have to do with anything? And why is Hippothales flushed with emotion? It seems unlikely that all this emotional characterization is coincidental or insignificant. Instead, Plato has added notable responses to Hippothales and the *eromenoi*. Lysis' silence, for example, is striking in that he has heard Socrates expound; thus his silence is sharply contrasted with Menexenus' verbal response, since Menexenus was not privy to the same talk with Socrates. In this way, Plato forces us to realize that Lysis has understood something that Menexenus missed. More specifically Lysis' silence is in response to hearing that someone can only desire or love someone to whom he is οἰκεῖος. Lysis ponders the final definition of φίλια. In understanding the complementary nature of φίλια, Lysis remembers what he learned from Socrates earlier—namely that he needs a teacher to learn that which he does not yet know. Thus, having been humbled by Socrates, Lysis understands that he desires that which he lacks, and that which he lacks can only come from a teacher. Ultimately, Lysis understands that this teacher must be οἰκεῖός to him in some way.

In a similar way, Hippothales, who flushes in every color imaginable, also understands something. Here again, Plato intensifies the emotional response to notably signal the action of the character. Socrates argues that it is necessary for the real lover and not for the fake lover to be befriended by the *eromenos*. Why does Hippothales

flush with emotional color on hearing this? It is imperative to remember that Hippothales has been stealthily listening to the whole exchange between Socrates and the boys. Thus, Hippothales *hears* Lysis' silence—he understands that Socrates has manipulated Lysis into desiring a teacher from whom he can learn the wisdom that he lacks. Furthermore, Hippothales understands that by its very nature this teacher must be οἰκεῖός to Lysis. Hippothales' excitement, thus, stems from his understanding that he must be *οἰκεῖός* to Lysis, and that Lysis, understanding this, must desire him.

Having examined the function of marked emotional responses in the *Lysis*, I now argue that this function is instrumental in understanding the dialogue in terms of form and content. These emotional responses evidence Plato's concern with the psychological framework of the characters.[7] That is, the responses make us aware that there is more to the dialogue than the incessant elenctic questioning of the interlocutors.[8] In the *Lysis* the Socratic elenchus[9] is different than in other early dialogues. The *Lysis'* elenchus lacks the rigid structure of refutation that is typical of Plato. However, this does not suggest that there is no elenchus. In highlighting the emotional responses of the interlocutors the Socratic elenchus of the *Lysis* becomes clearer. The elenchus is short, and more concerned with "psychological" refutation than "philosophical." Socrates convinces Hippothales that his wooing of Lysis is wrong, and that he will never capture his *eromenos* if he constantly praises him.[10]

Furthermore, the emotional structuring of the dialogue allows Plato to both philosophize about love, friendship, and desire while simultaneously exemplifying these processes. In this way, the *Lysis* engages in a duality between social relations and philosophical inquiry. From the beginning Plato's tangible aim in the *Lysis* is unclear. He presents various theories of φίλια as he tries to define friendship, but these definitions fail.[11] Moreover, after dismissing the final argument about φίλια—primarily because the premises of the argument have already been dismissed as problematic—Socrates returns to desire as a potential framework for understanding φίλια. In turn Socrates introduces the οἰκεῖός, which is the congenial or the familial, as a

possible solution, but just as quickly dismisses this new idea on the grounds that it entails the same problems it proposed to fix. As the dialogue winds down, and no definitions about the nature of φίλια prevail, Socrates—once again—focuses on the emotional reactions of the characters.

     The philosophizing is over and the narrative structure of the dialogue is brought back to the forefront. The discussion has focused on an elenctic reduction of Lysis' initial understanding of φίλια and reduced Socrates and the interlocutors into ἀπορία. In the end a big question mark about loving and being loved remains. That is, the problem that plagues the definitions of φίλια consistently involves the relationship between identity and desire. It is still unclear who is friend to whom, or who desires whom. Is it Lysis' want of wisdom that necessitates his desire for Hippothales? Or, does Hippothales desire Lysis on account of his own needs? It is unclear. The only inferences that prevail are that φίλια necessitates desire, and that we do not understand desire.

     In this paper I have argued that Plato uses emotional responses to characterize Socrates, his companions, and the interlocutors; and that this characterization is instrumental in the framing of the narrative in which the philosophizing happens.[12] However, in this reading of the *Lysis*, I hold that the "literary" and "philosophical" readings of the dialogue are complementary to each other in that everything Plato does is important to the meaning of the whole.[13] Blank argues that there is no conflict between the gadfly Socrates, whose primary effect on his associates is emotional, and protreptic, and the philosophical arguer of the Platonic dialogues. Furthermore Blank argues that the intended effect of Plato's arguments is essentially emotional: his logic affects us while it teaches. And, that this emotional manipulation is a chief aim of the Platonic dialogues.[14] In the end, the emotional responses seem almost forced. Plato's intentionality is evident in the characterization of the emotional responses of the characters. This is most forcibly done by Socrates with his elenctic investigation. This incessant attack with questions induces in the interlocutors an eventual resignation of the position they once held. In this manipulation, Plato evidences his

ability to frame the *Lysis*. In this methodical framing, Plato urges the audience to take note of blushing faces, to re-read a silence, to re-track the argument when Socrates is dizzy or at a loss. Plato forces us to read the *Lysis*—and probably all the dialogues—as a united whole, in order to fully understand the pedagogical significance of the premises.

Moreover, in his attempt to teach the audience—both the internal and external audience—about φιλια Plato stages the narrative so that the case of Lysis, Menexenus, and Hippothales serves as an active example. In this way, Plato's theories become both active and passive, in that they are both expounded in the *Lysis* and enacted by the characters of the dialogue.[15] Ultimately, we are forced to understand love and desire in terms of both philosophical content and the philological form of the dialogue.

1 All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

2 *Poet. 1452b30-1453a17*. cf Blondell (2004): argues that the degree of identification with any character depends on one's initial susceptibility, which is a function of one's pre-existing likeness to the character in question (p. 83). cf Wolfsdorf: argues that the aim of early dialogues is 'to philosophize about human conduct in an effort to foster ethical knowledge' (p. 237).

3 cf Konstan (2007): argues that the attitudes that entered into the ideological construction of emotion in ancient Greece were different from our own, due, in part, to the relative neglect of the categories of honour and insult in modern social life...The change in perspective also reflects an altered sense of self, in which the emotions are perceived as interior states of feeling rather than responses to social circumstances (p. 260).

4 Shame and embarrassment seem to be emotional reactions that we could expect in our own culture in a comparable situation. But it seems off that Hippothales should be ashamed or embarrassed at Socrates guessing that he is in love. Especially, considering that Hippothales' companions already know that he pines for Lysis—ἡμῶν γοῦν ἐκκεκώφωκε τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἐμπέπληκε Λύσιδος.

5 cf Konstan (2007): Greeks were constantly jockeying to maintain or improve their social position, and were deeply conscious of their standing in the eyes of others. When ordinary people stepped out of the house and into the streets of Athens, they must have been intensely aware of relative degrees of power and their own social vulnerability to insult and injury. The emotions of the Greeks were attuned to these demands (p. 259). cf. Chichi (2002) argues that refutation through shame (i.e. that through shame Plato criticizes the popular Athenian morality, that this shame is the reason by which the interlocutors are) compromises the limits between dialectic and rhetoric in addition to questioning the known criteria of the

Socratic Method. Also, Chichi reconstructs the relationship between shame in both direct and indirect allusions belonging to the level of reflection concerning the interchange which follows or that ends. Finally, she proposes that rebuttal shame accounts for the eventual rhetorical dimensions of these refutative practices, because they tend to the emotion, to the character of the interlocutors, and to the appropriate expectations of the audience.

6 cf. Gooch (1988) p.127.

7 cf. Tarnopolsky (2010): argues that Plato's problematic responses show that he is just as concerned to interrogate the psychological character of the Socratic elenchus as he is its logical character, and to understand the kinds of reactions both positive and negative that Socrates' interlocutors have to the painful shaming refutation that they undergo at the hands of Socrates (p. 40).

8 cf Vlastos (2009) on the lack of a Socratic elenchus in the *Lysis*: he argues that in the *Euthydemus*, *Lysis*, and *Hippias Major*, there is a common feature which distinguishes them from all of the other dialogues in the group: the abandonment of the adversary argument as Socrates' method of philosophical investigation. The theses which are seriously debated in these dialogues are uncontested by the interlocutor; Socrates himself is both their author and critic (p. 30). Socrates ditches the elenchus.

9 Vlastos (2009) (The Socratic elenchus is a search for moral truth by question-and-answer adversary argument in which a thesis is debated only if asserted as the answerer's own belief and is regarded as refuted only if its negative is deduced from its own beliefs (p. 4). The elenchus has a double objective: to discover how every human being ought to live and to test that single human being who is doing the answering—to find out if he is living as one ought to live. There is one elenchus doing two jobs: a philosophical elenchus searching for truth about the good life, and a therapeutic elenchus searching out the answerer's own in the hope of bringing him to the truth (p. 10)

10 NB: Although Hippothales is not part of the elenctic question, it is curious how the first blush leads Socrates into questioning his infatuation. That is, Socrates does not, in his usual way, break down Hippothales' statement (especially since he doesn't say anything) with his logic; instead he reads the blush and proclaims himself to be able to read expressions.

11 cf. Price (2004): argues that Plato's *Lysis* is not a false start in defining φίλια.

12 cf. Blondell (2004) she tries to show the interrelationship between content and form by looking closely at Plato's use of characterization, which provides a unique perspective for approaching the interdependence of the "literary" and "philosophical." B. argues that dramatic characterization offers us one way of approaching the Platonic concern with placing the particular, or the individual, in a larger context (pp. 2-3).

13 cf. Blondell (2004) ch. 1: on the tensions between "philosophical" content and "literary" form.

14 cf. Blank (1993): argues that the dialectical argument produces an emotional effect on the conversational respondent; and that this effect is beneficial because the questioner arouses in the respondent self-hatred and pursuit of philosophy.

15 Baumgarten (2006): argues that Plato conceptualized a new kind of philosophical rhetoric and poetry. This new conceptualization that can move the reader (audience?) to tears is

the first step towards the elimination of mistakes, in spite of knowing our mistakes. Aristotle on the other hand, does not require such a conceptualization. For Aristotle the ability of tragedy to inspire tears (catharsis?) is a major function of the poetry. Are the tears hazardous to the audience? Baumgarten argues that these responses are Platonic and Aristotelian provocations. (In the *Lysis*—although we have no tears—we can draw similar parallels).

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The Bacchae: Euripides on Wisdom and Suffering in the Body Politic

by Ian Tewksbury

In this paper, I have two central contentions. First, I argue that Euripides' *Bacchae* has been persistently misread as Socratic. By Socratic, I mean paradoxical, questioning and aporetic. Second, I contend that the *Bacchae* is primarily didactic. In my view, we have failed to understand the type of knowledge Euripides teaches because our own definitions of knowledge are fundamentally anti-democratic. This is central to my understanding of the text but unfortunately lies outside the scope of this paper. Therefore, I will focus on arguing my two primary contentions. In the process, I will seek to restore what I believe is the effaced didactic message of the play.

In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche proclaims "Euripides … the poet of aesthetic Socratism" (86). He explains, "Socratism condemns existing art as well as existing ethics. Wherever Socratism turns its searching eyes it sees the lack of insight and the power of illusion" (86). Nietzsche's reading of Euripides is important because it created a new understanding of Euripides: namely, Euripides as the aporetic poet – the poet who only questions and "condemns." This argument has influenced the modern understanding of the *Bacchae*.[1] For instance, E.R. Dodds, in *The Greeks and the Irrational,* writes:

> "what chiefly preoccupied Euripides in his later work was not so much the impotence of reason in man as the wider doubt whether any rational purpose could be seen in the ordering of human life and the governance of the world. That trend culminates in the *Bacchae* whose religious content is, as a recent critic said, 'the recognition of beyond which is outside our moral categories and inaccessible to our reason' (187).

However, the criticism of Euripides as aporetic is suspiciously absent in Euripides' contemporary, Aristophanes. This is notable because Aristophanes' criticisms are comprehensive. For example, he criticizes

Euripides for making tragedy sophisticated, rhetoricized, trivialized, feminized, eroticized, and, worst of all, democratized (Mastronarde 46).[2] Yet, Aristophanes surely never says that Euripides undermines the belief in the rational ordering of the universe. Furthermore, Aristophanes also portrays Euripides as didactic. In the *Frogs,* Dionysus himself asks Euripides, "τίνος οὕνεκα χρὴ θαυμάζειν ἄνδρα ποιητήν, Why should one admire a poet?" Euripides has an answer. His response in clear: "νουθεσίας, ὅτι βελτίους τε ποιοῦμεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, For good advice, since we improve people in the cities" (Trans. F.W. Hall. lns. 1008-10). Therefore, my question is: what good advice does Euripides offer in the *Bacchae*?

This question is central to understanding the *Bacchae*. The play is ostensibly about divine vengeance, a seminal theme in Euripides' later works. However, it is wisdom and its relationship to suffering that is the play's true theme. It is notable that the word σοφός, *sophos,* or wisdom appears in the text over twenty six-times. The characters Dionysus, Pentheus, Tiresias and the chorus all personify aspects of wisdom and knowledge. In looking at their dramatic characterizations in the *Bacchae*, I believe it is possible to recover Euripides' intended didactic message.

First, we should turn to Dionysus. E.R. Dodds' reading of Euripides' the *Bacchae* is in a sense his reading of Dionysus. For Dodds, Dionysus is the recognition of a beyond. In his introduction to the OCT, he describes Dionysus as representing the forces of nature that exist beyond human comprehension (iv). However, I believe it is clear that Dionysus, whatever his religious symbolism implies, serves a more particular dramatic function in the *Bacchae*. In the prologue, Dionysus proclaims:

> δεῖ γὰρ πόλιν τήνδ᾽ ἐκμαθεῖν, κεἰ μὴ θέλει,
> ἀτέλεστον οὖσαν τῶν ἐμῶν βακχευμάτων,
> Σεμέλης τε μητρὸς ἀπολογήσασθαί μ᾽ ὕπερ
> φανέντα θνητοῖς δαίμον᾽ ὃν τίκτει Διί.

> Learn and forget not, till she crave her part
> In mine adoring; thus might I speak clear
> To save my mother's fame, and crown me here
> As true God, born by Semele to Zeus
>   (Trans. G.Murray. Lns. 39-41).

This is the super objective of the play - it is necessary for the Thebans to learn the nature of Dionysus' revelation. In one sense, as Dodds notes, the play is about the introduction of a historical event (xi). Euripides' *Bacchae* would share this with Aeschylus' lost *Bacchae*. Yet, in a didactic and notably Euripidean sense, the *Bacchae* is about the necessity of a particular form of knowledge that is brought to Thebes by Dionysus. Here, though we are not told what this knowledge is, we are explicitly told the Thebans must learn it.

Contrary to Dionysus' own words, the tendency in Euripidean scholarship is to equate this revelation with the mysterious, the unknowable, and the aporetic – what Nietzsche calls 'Socratism.' Gilbert Murray writes, "We have in the *Bacchae*… a heartfelt glorification of Dionysus. No doubt it is Dionysus is some private sense of the poet's own; something opposed to the world, some spirit of the wild woods and the sunrise and untrammeled life" (186). This 'beyond' is further elucidated by the scholar Charles Segal in his *Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides' Bacchae:*

> "the *Bacchae* itself forms a 'liminal' space… Euripides brings us to the verge of what, next to death, is the most terrifying experience of human life, madness, the loss of clarity of those relations on which we depend for that boundary between fusion and otherness we call sanity" (21).

These critics, though for different reasons, share a conviction about the nature of Dionysus' revelation: he breaks down or is beyond the limits conventional forms of wisdom. What they fail to take into account is Dionysus' didactic statement, "δεῖ γὰρ πόλιν τήνδ᾽ ἐκμαθεῖν," which literally reads, "It is necessary for this city to know." The *Bacchae* is not primarily concerned with the impotence of reason and the power of the beyond, but with the wisdom that it is necessary (δεῖ) for the audience to learn (ἐκμαθεῖν). Furthermore, it is imperative to remember that the deeds of Dionysus, like its historical content, are endemic to the myth that Euripides utilizes as the form but not the meaning of his poetic expression. It is the dramatic performance of wisdom and knowledge, not the religious significance of Dionysus in general, that is specific to

Euripides' play. Therefore, we should look more closely at the dramatic characterization of *sophos* in order to understand Euripides' didactic message.

     Let us look at what Dionysus himself says about *sophos* in the third episode (lns. 433-518). He tells us that the one who speaks wisely will appear ignorant to one who is unwise,[3] that suffering is the penalty of ignorance,[4] that he, Dionysus, is wise, that Pentheus is unwise,[5] and, lastly, that Pentheus knows neither why he lives, what he does, or who he is.[6] In fact, it is Pentheus who represents the state of aporia and ignorance falsely equated with the *Bacchae*. This ἀμαθία, *amathia,* or ignorance, is the avoidable folly that brings about the destruction of Pentheus that will follow. Dionysus, as he says himself, represents precisely the opposite of Pentheus' *amathia*. Therefore a clear division arises: Dionysus is the dramatic manifestation of *sophos*, Pentheus *amathia*.

     In the episode (lns. 643-861) that directly precedes the destruction of Pentheus' palace, Dionysus proclaims, "ἃ δεῖ μάλιστα, ταῦτ᾽ ἔγωγ᾽ ἔφυν σοφός, I was born wise in all that I should be" (ln. 656). Once again, Euripides is explicit about the nature of Dionysus – he is *sophos*. Furthermore, this *sophos* is more concrete than the recognition of a beyond, the liminal, the otherworldly, or the illusory. To be precise, Dionysus states the opposite. His *sophos* is precisely of this world because it must be known in order to avoid the suffering that Pentheus' *amathia* engenders. Interestingly, there is also a direct relationship in the *Bacchae* between the *sophos* Dionysus possesses and peace and safety in the body politic. Inversely, folly and *amathia* are equated with suffering. In this sense, Dionysus admonishes Cadmus for failing to save himself from suffering:

> … εἰ δὲ σωφρονεῖν
>
> ἔγνωθ᾽, ὅτ᾽ οὐκ ἠθέλετε, τὸν Διὸς γόνον
> εὐδαιμονεῖτ᾽ ἂν σύμμαχον κεκτημένοι.
>
> Ah, had ye seen
> Truth in the hour ye would not,
> all had been well with ye (lns. 1340-43).[7]

Aristotle, in the *Poetics,* famously praises Euripides as the most tragic of the dramatists (1453a).[8] In the same passage, he equates the production of the tragic emotion catharsis with the well-crafted tragic flaw. Pentheus is a tragic hero and his tragic flaw is his *amathia* of the *sophos* that Dionysus has come to Thebes to reveal. What makes Pentheus well crafted in Aristotle's sense is the sympathy with which Euripides paints his tragic flaw. Segal writes, "Euripides enters deeply into both the Pentheus and the Dionysus of himself" (19). The flaw of Pentheus is so sympathetically drawn that scholars have even mistaken it for the thought of Euripides himself. For instance, the 19th century scholar A.W. Verral, in *Euripides: The Rationalist,* described the goal of Euripides' art in theses terms: "to fight the battle of intelligence and illumination, and to relieve at least one city in Hellas from the disgrace of submitting in passive stupidity to be devoured for want of an answer" (274). It is hard to imagine a better description of Pentheus' pretensions to knowledge. It is Pentheus' belief that his wisdom of authority makes it right to blight out the darkness of Dionysian superstition with violence. In fact, Euripides calls this pretension to wisdom *amathia.* In the end, it is Pentheus' tragic flaw, the folly of his over-reaching self-confidence, that creates the suffering and death that is his fate.

In the second episode, Pentheus, like Verral's misreading of Euripides, rushes into Thebes in order to save "at least" his one "city" from the scourge of irrationality and disorder. When he discovers Cadmus participating in the superstitious absurdities he calls him "νοῦν οὐκ ἔχον, not in his mind" (ln.253). Pentheus provides a litany of irrational scourges he must defend the city against: the new false god and his evils, the dangerous and shameful revelry of the women, the corruption of the young, the folly and shame of old age, the superstition and charlatanism of Tiresias. Ultimately, Pentheus is best read as a quixotic tragic hero who rides forth into Athens like the gentleman of La Mancha: "Forth through the Thebans; town! I am their king; Aye, their one man, seeing I dare this thing" (lns. 953-54). He continues, "All my land is made their mock – this needs an iron hand" (ln. 957). Pentheus is Euripides' answer to Aristophanes'

parodies of the democratic hero; Pentheus is a travesty of the Athenian conservative model of knowledge. His wisdom is anti-democratic and his authoritarianism is based on an overweening *amathia* that engenders human suffering with its "iron hand."

Whereas Pentheus represents what wisdom in the *Bacchae* is not, Tiresias and the chorus represent what wisdom is. In looking at Tiresias first and the chorus second, we can see what Euripides portrays as the wisdom Dionysus' epiphany reveals. Cadmus says to Teirisias, "σὺ γὰρ σοφός, you are wise" (ln. 185). Tiresias, we are told, has the "σοφὴν σοφοῦ παρ᾽ ἀνδρός, wise voice of a wise man" (ln. 205). Tiresias' *sophos* is exemplified in his speech to Pentheus. He tells us that it is easy for a wise man to speak well for a just cause;[9] a man who is out of his mind and rash to speak is a great danger to his city;[10] and, most importantly, power as personified by Pentheus is the false wisdom of a diseased mind.[11]

Furthermore, the wisdom Euripides dramatizes in Tiresias is humility and piety before traditional religion and customary public knowledge. Tiresias expounds on the relationship between humility and wisdom in this passage:

> πατρίους παραδοχάς, ἅς θ᾽ ὁμήλικας χρόνῳ
> κεκτήμεθ᾽, οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ καταβαλεῖ λόγος,
> οὐδ᾽ εἰ δι᾽ ἄκρων τὸ σοφὸν ηὕρηται φρενῶν
>
> That heritage sublime
> Our sires have left us, wisdom old as time
> No word of man, how deep soe'er his thought
> And won of subtlest toil, may bring to naught (lns. 202-4).

Though she is primarily discussing Protagoras, Martha Nussbaum explicates this passage perfectly in *The Fragility of Goodness*: "We could say, then, that Protagoras' τὲχνη follows Tiresias' advice. It leaves our original problems more or less where it found them, making small advances in clarity and self-understanding, but remaining close to current beliefs and practices" (105). This strikes at the heart of Tiresias' wisdom. The old beliefs and customs cannot be overturned by a new rationality, logic, or wisdom. Tiresias possesses a humility before the gods and a skepticism about the limits of human intelligence not unlike

that exemplified by Nussbaum's reading of Protagoras. For Tiresias, like Protagoras, these qualities in no way undermine our moral categories, nor do they make wisdom inaccessible to reason. In short, this is absolutely not what Nietzsche calls Socratism.

Nietzsche is even more mistaken in his criticism of the Euripidean chorus. He writes: "it destroys the essence of tragedy with the scourge of its syllogisms; that is, it destroys the essence of tragedy, which can be interpreted only as a manifestation and projection into images of Dionysian states, as the visible symbolizing of music, as the dream world of a Dionysian intoxication" (93). In fact, the chorus in the *Bacchae* didactically elucidates the *sophos* exemplified by Tiresias. Let us look at three passages in which the chorus clearly explains the *sophos* Dionysus is here to reveal. This is the knowledge we are told in the prologue that we must learn.

In the first chorus we are told that blessed and happy is the one who is initiated in Dionysus' wisdom.[12] In the second we learn that suffering is the result of foolishness,[13] and that the life of simple peace shields one from the storm of suffering.[14] Furthermore, we learn that since "the world's Wise are not wise," we should not search for great things beyond our grasp but live instead for the joy and peace of the present.[15] In the end, the chorus teaches us that the *sophos* Dionysus is here to reveal has been present all along. This is the customary knowledge that exists amongst the masses. The chorus states:

> τὸ πλῆθος ὅ τι
> τὸ φαυλότερον ἐνόμισε χρῆ
> ταί τε, τόδ᾽ ἂν δεχοίμαν,

> That simple nameless herd of humanity
> Hath deed and faith that are truth enough for me!

This is a type of wisdom the philosophers from Socrates to Nietzsche have failed to acknowledge. It is the traditional wisdom of the masses, which does not express itself in logical propositions. Instead, it expresses itself in the plurality of poetry and myth. Thus, it makes sense that Euripides gives this *sophos* voice in the very form Nietzsche most vigorously condemns – the chorus song.

In the last chorus, Euripides' song triumphantly praises this knowledge of the masses the epiphany of Dionysus has revealed to the city of Thebes:

> ὁρμᾶται μόλις, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως
> πιστόν τὸ θεῖον
> σθένος: ἀπευθύνει δὲ βροτῶντούς
> τ᾽ ἀγνωμοσύναν τιμῶν-
> τας καὶ μὴ τὰ θεῶν αὔξον-
> τας σὺν μαινομένᾳ δόξᾳ.
> κρυπτεύουσι δὲ ποικίλως
> δαρὸν χρόνου πόδα καὶ
> θηρῶσιν τὸν ἄσεπτον. οὐ
> γὰρ κρεῖσσόν ποτε τῶν νόμων
> γιγνώσκειν χρὴ καὶ μελετᾶν.
> κούφα γὰρ δαπάνα νομί-
> ζειν ἰσχὺν τόδ᾽ ἔχειν,
> ὅ τι ποτ᾽ ἄρα τὸ δαιμόνιον,
> τό τ᾽ ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ νόμιμον
> ἀεὶ φύσει τε πεφυκός.

> A strait pitiless mind
> Is death unto godliness;
> And to feel in human kind
> Life, and a pain the less.
> Knowledge, we are not foes!
> I seek they diligently;
> But the world with a great wind blows
> Shining, and not from thee;
> Blowing to beautiful things,
> On, amid dark and light,
> Till life, through the trammellings
> Of laws that are not the Right,
> Breaks, clean and pure…[16]

The chorus passages directly answer our initial question: what political virtue or what wisdom does Euripides teach? The chorus, like the *Bacchae*, is far from being aporetic or Socratic. It is clearly didactic.

One question that remains is why have scholars persistently misread Euripides' didactic message? I think the answer is that Euripides' conception of wisdom has often been overlooked because it is radically democratic and fails to conform to modern or ancient

definitions of specialized, logical, or craft wisdom. Whereas the bias against democracy is clear in Aristophanes, it is veiled in Nietzsche. Nonetheless, in proclaiming Euripides the poet of aesthetic Socratism, Nietzsche's influence has been pernicious to our understanding of Euripides' thought and his democratic sympathies. He is too often thought to lie hidden, like Socrates, behind the mask.

In the end, the wisdom of the *Bacchae* is much closer to Protagoras' wisdom than Socrates'. Dionysus has come to Thebes in order for the city to learn. We must learn the *sophos* of Dionysus, we are told, or we will live the *amathia* of Pentheus. This much, I believe is clear. However, we should attempt to synthesize Euripides' didactic message. When we look back at the lessons of the play, we see that Euripides teaches a wisdom that is antithetical to tyranny, that is humble before the limits of human cognition, that trusts in the goodness of the average man, that finds meaning in tradition, comity and peace, that respects women, and that believes in the dignity of human life and the law and morality of the masses. Though the forces of fate are destructive and the will and even existence of the gods unknown, this wisdom, this *sophos,* can shelter us from the storm of human suffering – a suffering that is engendered by the hubristic ignorance of authority that uses the guise of rationality to defend violence in the name of order. This, in my estimation, is the lesson of the *Bacchae.*

1 Mastronarde 311, Segal 10, 50, Dodds 187, Murray 124, 188.

2 Soph. (892-4, 1471-8, 1491-9), Rhet. (841, 892, 954, 1061-7), Triv. (976-91), Fem. (949-50, 1048 -51) Erot. (849-50, 1043-51, 1078-81), Dem. (948-51).

3 δόξει τις ἀμαθεῖ σοφὰ λέγων οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖν.

4 σὲ δ' ἀμαθίας γε κἀσεβοῦντ' ἐς τὸν θεόν.

5 αὐδῶ με μὴ δεῖν σωφρονῶν οὐ σώφροσιν.

6 οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅ τι ζῇς, οὐδ' ὃ δρᾷς, οὐδ' ὅστις εἶ.

7 εἰ δὲ σωφρονεῖν / ἔγνωθ', ὅτ' οὐκ ἠθέλετε, τὸν Διὸς γόνον /εὐδαιμονεῖτ' ἂν σύμμαχον κεκτημένοι.

8 ἀλλὰ τραγι κώτατός γε τῶν ποιητῶν φαίνεται.

9 ὅταν λάβῃ τις τῶν λόγων ἀνὴρ σοφὸς/καλὰς ἀφορμάς, οὐ μέγ' ἔργον εὖ λέγειν·

10 θράσει δὲ δυνατὸς καὶ λέγειν οἷός τ' ἀνὴρ/ κακὸς πολίτης γίγνεται νοῦν οὐκ ἔχων.

11 μὴ τὸ κράτος αὔχει δύναμιν ἀνθρώποις ἔχειν,/μηδ᾽, ἢν δοκῇς μέν, ἡ δὲ δόξα σου νοσῇ /φρονεῖν δόκει τι

12 μάκαρ, ὅστις εὐδαίμων /τελετὰς θεῶν εἰδὼς/ βιοτὰν ἁγιστεύει καὶ /θιασεύεται ψυχὰν (lns. 71-76).

13 ἀχαλίνων στομάτων / ἀνόμου τ᾽ ἀφροσύνας / τὸ τέλος δυστυχία: (lns. 387-389).

14 ὁ δὲ τᾶς ἡσυχίας / βίοτος καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν / ἀσάλευτόν τε μένει καὶ/συνέχει δώματα (lns. 387-392).

15 τὸ σοφὸν δ᾽ οὐ σοφία/ τό τε μὴ θνητὰ φρονεῖν. / βραχὺς αἰών: ἐπὶ τούτῳ /δέ τις ἂν μεγάλα διώκων /τὰ παρόντ᾽ οὐχὶ φέροι (lns. 395-399).

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Feast and Famine in Aeschylus' Persians

by Christy Schirmer

Understanding the traditions of elite dining in the classical world can inform our interpretation of the morality that permeates Aeschylus' *Persians,* especially insofar as those traditions differed in Greece and other parts of the known world. The play suggests, perhaps subtly, the importance of food consumption and its associated cultural implications. As tragic themes go, this one is a quiet but persistent undercurrent, and one that merits a closer look amid wider issues of luxury, consumption and judgment of other cultures, in particular Greek perceptions of Eastern peoples. By examining issues of feasting and famine we can better understand how Greeks perceived extravagance and determined what constituted luxury, and how they used those shared cultural concepts to articulate notions of Greek identity.

Feast

Our access to information about feasting in the ancient world is limited primarily to descriptions found in drama, poetry, and historiography. Because of the nature of our sources—that is, elites writing for other elites—the evidence is skewed toward wealthy aristocratic members of society. However, from these pieces of evidence we can determine how "ideal" dining was viewed in Greece and beyond, from the Bronze Age through the classical period. Food was indeed used as a way to distinguish differences between groups, such as Greeks from barbarians, or city folk from country.[1] Much of the information available to us addresses the *symposium*, which tells us about both the technical aspects and symbolic importance of formalized, ritualized dining. Words such as *euphrosyne* (festivity, good cheer), *charis,* (goodwill, favor), and *eunomia* (order) are used to describe the purpose of this tradition; Walter Burkert notes that the idealized ethics associated with *symposia* mimic those of the *polis*.[2] The Greek *symposium* was a formal drinking ceremony for men only, "aristocratic and egalitarian at the same time" with a distinct social function,[3] a custom in a long line of traditional drinking ceremonies. Bronze Age drinking scenes have

been found at Knossos (for example, the *Camp-Stool Fresco* and *La Parisienne*).[4] The earliest piece of evidence for seated or reclined drinking ceremonies comes in the form of a Mesopotamian seal from the third millennium B.C.E. and shows a seated couple (one male, one female) partaking in a harvest festival, drinking beer that is served via a tube attached to a vessel.[5] The contrast to the Greek *symposium* is obvious: here we have a mixed-gender couple who are appear to be royalty. A Syrian seal *ca.* 1700-1500 B.C.E. presents a similar scene of a goddess with a worshipper and priest, drawing beer from a vessel.[6] Ceremonial drinking and feasts for the purpose of worshipping a deity are attested in Late Bronze Age Syria and Palestine, for instance at Ugarit (northern Syria),[7] where the equivalent of the *symposium*, the *marzaʾu*, was hosted by a "president" who "[must own] a 'house' and other property."[8] Many of the early references to drinking parties or ceremonies allude to the tradition of helping one who has overindulged with wine and requires a son or daughter to walk him home, put him to bed and help with his recovery.[9] Overindulgence was not a problem in itself, but rather became one only if the over-indulger did not have offspring to take care of him.[10] A similar sentiment is echoed around 200 C.E. in Athenaeus 11.462c-f, but a distinction is made: "To drink as much as allows you to get home without a servant unless you are really old."[11] This later Greek passage tells us that drinking is acceptable so long as one does not get too drunk, whereas the records from the East indicate that even overindulgence is allowed for those with the status and means to get home safely. Behaving well is not necessarily maintaining one's composure, but rather having the status and security to allow for the occasional loss of composure, which could be more detrimental to someone of lesser means.

Herodotus may be able to help us understand how the Greeks perceived the Persians and other non-Greeks. His writings about the Scythians betray a disapproval and detachment from their traditions, such as in Hdt. 1.216, where they are described as eating meat and fish only, drinking milk, and even cannibalizing old men.[12] In Hdt. 4.2, Herodotus describes a ritual that combines blinding slaves and blowing air into a mare's anus to aid in the milking process.[13] There are exotic

and strange-sounding cattle sacrifices, flesh-boiling and use of bones for kindling because there was no wood,[14] and ritual blood drinking.[15] This is very different than the ideal methods of food preparation and consumption of which the Greeks of the classical period would have approved, in part because of wisdom handed down to them by Homer: "The meat [the Homeric heroes] received was roasted and normally beef – the process of boiling and the use of other meats were in principle more luxurious and excluded."[16]

Herodotus writes about the customs of the Persians just one generation after Xerxes' invasion of Greece. In Book Nine, Herodotus describes a *tycta*, or royal supper, held every year in honor of the king's birthday, and on that day Xerxes must anoint his head and give gifts to those who ask. On one occasion, Xerxes' wife made an alarming request, which the "law of the feast" would not allow the king to refuse: that he dispatch the wife of Masistes, who was also the mother of Xerxes' own daughter-in-law, because she believed him to be infatuated with her. In fact, he was infatuated with his daughter-in-law, but he complied with his wife's demand, which led to the poor woman's torture.[17] In Book Seven, Herodotus describes how the demands of the Persian army exhausted the resources of Greeks who were forced to host them, and must "entertain the Persian army and provide dinner for the king."[18] In Hdt. 7.119-21, the Greeks in every town along the Persians' path prepared for months, making flour, procuring excellent cattle and chickens, even making new gold and silver tableware for the occasion, all at a cost of 400 talents of silver per meal. The guests ate the meal and left the tables bare, taking with them the gold and silver cups and bowls and leaving their reluctant hosts devastated.[19] Herodotus' story suggests that their behavior should be read as luxurious and containing an air of entitled ungratefulness. Indeed John Wilkins, in a study of food in Greek comedy, explains how luxury was associated more with intention and self-control than with specific ingredients: "[To] a large extent luxury in ancient thought rested not on goods but on personal disposition and on the ability to control a person's desires...if the consumer's desire ran unchecked, he might outrun his resources and face ruin; he might also lose his sense of right and wrong, both in the personal and the civic

sphere."[20] The behavior of the consumer was more important than what he was eating, and "much of the diet of the rich in ancient Athens rested on more refined forms of the foods that the poor consumed – finer barley, larger fish –together with a greater range and quantity. This was not a culture in which social distinctions were always marked by exclusive foods brought from elsewhere, though there were some."[21] It is not surprising, given the standards Greeks imposed upon themselves, that they would look unfavorably upon the above descriptions of Persian comportment.

This brings us to *The Persians*, which demonstrates that this attitude about food, discipline, and luxury was indeed on Aeschylus' mind in the fifth century B.C.E. First, however, we must wrestle with the ambiguity of the only passage in the tragedy that directly mentions taking a meal. In the messenger's speech, which describes the events of the Battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.E., a passing reference to meal preparation is phrased in a way that makes it unclear which group of men Aeschylus is actually describing (Aesch. Pers. 374-76)[22]:

> οἱ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀκόσμως, ἀλλὰ πειθάρχῳ φρενὶ
> δεῖπνόν τ᾽ ἐπορσύνοντο, ναυβάτης τ᾽ ἀνὴρ
> τροποῦτο κώπην σκαλμὸν ἀμφ᾽ εὐήρετμον.

> The men not disorderly but with obedient heart
> prepared for themselves their dinner, and a seafaring man
> was fastening his oar-handle to its pin around his well-fitted oar.

This passage is problematic for several reasons. The messenger, while explaining how the Persian effort was thwarted by the trick of an Athenian who told Xerxes that the Greeks were planning to escape under the cover of night, describes the actions of the men as they prepared for the impending morning confrontation. Was it the Greeks or the Persians who prepared their dinner "with heart[s] obedient"? The fact that editors do not all agree on whether "οἱ… ἐπορσύνοντο" are the Greeks or Persians highlights the importance of reading culture, and one culture's judgment of another, onto a text like *The Persians*. The context of the play, as well as our knowledge of Greek drama and historiography in the fifth century B.C.E., anticipates

that such descriptors as πείθαρχος, or obeying rule, should be applied
to the Persians, who are fighting on behalf of an autocrat and are not
self-sovereign, a marked and key departure in values from their Greek
counterparts. Furthermore, it is not clear how the Persian messenger
would be privy to the secret preparations of the Greek navy. Unless we
accept this as a moment of omniscience on the part of the messenger
character, an example of artistic license or even an oversight on the
part of Aeschylus, upon first reading we may assume the passage refers
to the Persians who are preparing to confront the Greeks, whom they
believe to be planning an escape. However, Edith Hall makes a strong
argument for οἱ being the Greeks, and addresses the issue of the
πειθάρχῳ φρενὶ, if not the messenger's impressive powers of narration.
Hall argues that "the delineation of the sailors in terms of orderly
conduct, in conventional democratic language defining *willing* obedience
to authority…is far more appropriate to the play's overall picture of the
Greeks."[23] She points out that the explicit mention of "orderliness"
and "mutual cooperation" contrasts with the Persian subjects described
earlier in the speech, and suggests that the quick and unexplained change
in subject may be due to some missing text.[24] Perhaps such a lacuna
could account for the fact that messenger's surprising insider knowledge
is also left unexplained. Taking into account the Greek stereotypes about
Persians as luxury-loving and decadent people (Aeschylus' language
throughout the play reinforces this repeatedly), one may conclude that
the orderly and disciplined meal preparation was exemplary of the
Greeks' winning qualities, and in deliberate contrast to the Persians'
qualities of disorganization and rashness. I believe the crucial word
Aeschylus uses in line 375 is ἐπορσύνοντο, from πορσύνω, to prepare
or provide (for oneself, in the middle voice), or to arrange or treat with
care. It is the *way* the Greeks made their dinner, and the moment when
and place where they took the time to do so, *not* the dinner itself, which
is noteworthy here.[25] The line about preparing their dinner and fastening
their oars is immediately followed by an interesting appropriation of
Persian language that serves to highlight (perceived) Greek superiority
(Aesch. *Pers.* 377-79):

ἐπεὶ δὲ φέγγος ἡλίου κατέφθιτο
καὶ νὺξ ἐπήει, πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἄναξ
ἐς ναῦν ἐχώρει πᾶς θ᾽ ὅπλων ἐπιστάτης

When the light of sun died away
and night set, every man lord of his oar went forward
onto the ship and every [man] the commander of his weapons

     Language describing men as "king," "lord," or "commander" may initially strike the reader as inappropriate when assigned to Greeks. Hall notes that "[t]he πείθαρχος φρήν of the Greeks was a concept intimately connected with Athenian democratic and imperial ideals. An Athenian citizen at Ar. *Eccl.* 762-4 says that he must obey (πειθαρχεῖν) the laws passed in the assembly; Isocrates, in his patriotic *Panathenaicus*, cites πειθαρχία as one of the virtues which enabled the Athenian democracy to maintain its imperial hegemony."[26] It seems reasonable to conclude that Aeschylus was deliberate in his choice of words, aware of this Greek sentiment. Furthermore, he may have intended to use language familiar to the tongue of a Persian to draw attention to the expectation that it should be applied to another Persian but was not, thereby inviting the audience to notice the contrasting Greek and Persian versions of "obedient."[27] Throughout the play, the Greeks are characterized as orderly, organized, and not under the power of a king. This is in stark contrast to the Persians, who are fighting under Xerxes' (ultimately flawed) orders. The Persians are ruled by a king; each Greek fighting in the battle *is* a king, and master of whichever tool he is commanding to lead him to victory on behalf of the Greek way of life.

     That the preparation of a meal should be included in this vignette of Greek goodness and piety is not surprising, and it reinforces the larger themes of prudence and temperance, behavior directly opposed to the arrogance and foolish greed that Aeschylus highlights as key to the Persians' demise. Wilkins describes how the ancient sources viewed luxury as something beyond the simple act of feasting, which was acceptable so long as it was done with temperance, appropriate reverence to the gods, and without overindulgence. "Order is threatened by impurity, betrayal, hybris, and the wrong kind of tale [as described in Athenaeus 11.462c-f]."[28] Athenaeus 12.526a-b describes the "softness"

of Lydians (a theme common in classical Greece that also runs through Aeschylus' *Persians*) and frowns upon overindulgence in drink, leisure, extravagant clothing, and perfume.[29] That is the ugly side of luxury. An item, food or otherwise, is not inherently luxurious but becomes so if it is coveted or consumed in a questionable or distasteful manner.[30] So the story in Hdt. 7.118 about the Persian troops dining at the expense of their Greek hosts very pointedly emphasizes not the meal or the fact that they dined in a formal setting, but rather that the Persians demanded and greedily took expensive tableware from their hosts with little thought or care for the effort that went into staging the affair.

Greeks had their own version of fine dining (delicacies included honey, grapes, figs, and various imported foods, such as snails) and while there was some concern about luxury, simply consuming those items did not necessarily constitute it.[31] Yet we do not see even a hint of Greek "elite" behavior in *The Persians*, alimentary or otherwise. One of the benefits of focusing so little on the Greeks in the play is that it allows the audience to imagine that Greeks never indulged or enjoyed anything in a selfish, hedonistic way, even if the audience knew that was not entirely factual. The Greeks appear moderate, of good sense and tough stock, requiring and desiring nothing other than to do what is right to ward off the Persian threat. There is no gluttony, no greed, and no indulgence shown on the part of the Greeks in this drama. We should not assume they weren't capable of it. The rise of the Greek hoplite gave an edge to citizens with enough wealth to afford their own armor and weapons, who owned land, and who were defending the land in which they had a monetary interest.[32] In other words, they were men of some means. The Greek soldiers and sailors in this play by all accounts should not be considered poor, and yet they behave, by choice, in the most prudent and temperate fashion.[33] The goodness and piety of Greek men in *The Persians* is emphasized throughout, and here it is applied to food consumption, an activity that inspires care and consideration in those who are noble and on the side of the gods. That the messenger character went out of his way to mention this quiet dinner is an important reminder that food culture and eating behavior was considered indicative of inner character. The Greeks' simple meal

is a feast in that it embodies and promotes their standing as elevated and superior people, and the Greek audience can relish in its very humbleness.

Famine

   The Greeks purported to live democratically and in an equality-based society, and they viewed with a critical eye anything they deemed excessive, in particular things enjoyed by the Persian elite and others in the East. For example, the Scythians were characterized as lacking agriculture and were portrayed almost paradoxically by Herodotus as uncivilized yet also gluttonous. The "civilized" Greeks, on the other hand, practiced moderation. The Persians indulged in elaborate banquets, required all the trappings of luxury when passing through a town, and left with their hosts' gold and silver as though they were party favors. Herodotus and Aeschylus seem to be saying that to be "civilized" is not to enjoy the best things money can buy and skill can produce, but rather to desire to control one's own emotions and employ self-discipline at all times, for the good of one's city and therefore the good of oneself. It also meant knowing how to live in less than ideal conditions and be adaptable in times of crisis. This is reflected in *The Persians*, and the narrative suggests that men will not want for what they need so long as the gods are on their side. The specter of famine, a concern for any society, including Greeks,[34] runs throughout the play and offers another perspective of the connections between food and its relationship to prudent behavior, good fortune, and favor of the gods. It affects the Persians particularly as they are portrayed as inherently different from Greeks.

   Xerxes could not meet the needs of his men. Their supplies were exhausted and they starved to death because the ships could not return with supplies for those left behind ("ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς πεζὸν ὤλεσε στρατόν, the naval fleet, after being distressed, destroyed the land army").[35] When the messenger is telling Queen Atossa what transpired for the rest of the fleet, he explains that in Boeotia some died of thirst, and most of those who made it to Thessaly were struck by famine ("ἔνθα δὴ πλεῖστοι 'θάνον δίψῃ τε λιμῷ τ': ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἦν τάδε, there most died from thirst and from hunger: for these things

both existed").[36] Hall notes that a "central theme is the Persian inability to endure extreme hunger, thirst, and sudden changes in temperature: this idea coincides with the argument of the fifth century Hippocratic treatise 'On Airs, Waters, Places,' which explains that Asiatics lack spirit and independence because of their temperate climate and plentiful harvests, whereas Europeans…know how to deal with harsh physical conditions."[37] During Darius's exchange with the Chorus, the Chorus asks how the Greeks' own land is their ally, and Darius responds that it acts as such "κτείνουσα λιμῷ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν, chiefly by killing the excessive populations with hunger").[38]

Herodotus offers another example of how Persian foolishness and disregard for the gods could lead to starvation, in Hdt. 9.118. At Sestos, one of Xerxes' governors, Artaÿctes, became barricaded by Greeks and he and his men had to "[boil and eat] the leather straps of their beds."[39] Their starvation is associated with failure, and, in fact, impiety, as Artaÿctes had begun to dally in unscrupulous behavior, as we learned in Hdt. 9.116: "…he had got possession of the treasures of Protesilaeus…[which were] of great value, gold and silver cups, bronze, rich garments, and other things which had been offered at the tomb, and Artaÿctes stole it all…and, what is more, whenever he visited Elaeus on subsequent occasions he used to have intercourse with women in the sanctuary."[40] Lack of self-discipline and the pursuit of temporary, corporal pleasures causes to the gods, sometimes via the very land, to withhold basic physical necessities from the offending party. We do hear about one Persian making careful preparations in the play. Queen Atossa instigates the necromancy ritual to call King Darius up from the dead, following a very specific routine, replete with hard-to-find liquid ingredients (Aesch. *Pers*.610-18). She also refers to her desire to normalize after learning of her son's ragged clothes and disheveled appearance (Aesch. *Pers*. 845-51):

ὦ δαῖμον, ὥς με πόλλ᾽ ἐσέρχεται κακὰ
ἄλγη, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἥδε συμφορὰ δάκνει,
ἀτιμίαν γε παιδὸς ἀμφὶ σώματι
ἐσθημάτων κλύουσαν, ἥ νιν ἀμπέχει.
ἀλλ᾽ εἶμι, καὶ λαβοῦσα κόσμον ἐκ δόμων
ὑπαντιάζειν παιδί μου πειράσομαι.
οὐ γὰρ τὰ φίλτατ᾽ ἐν κακοῖς προδώσομεν.

O spirit, how many wicked pains come to me,
and this misfortune stings most,
hearing of the dishonor of the garments around the
body of my son, which cover him.
But let me go, and after seizing dressing gowns[41] from the palace
I will attempt to meet my son.
For we shall not give up the things that are most dear in evil times.

By this point it is too late. The queen takes comfort in ritual at a moment when everything in her world has been upended and destroyed. Her efforts are in vain, unlike the efforts of the Greeks, who adhered to ritual, order, and temperance throughout and were rewarded for it. They are deliberate, thoughtful, and conservative, thankful for their meal and preparing it with the diligence and pious attention befitting a Greek citizen. The Persians are characterized as hubristic, greedy, rash, and foolish, and as a result are never shown to be enjoying the fine aspects of daily life. We hear about how they did not have enough food and could not survive because of Xerxes' greed and hubris, and how Xerxes rends his fine garments, extravagance that does him no good now that his kingdom is ruined. Had Xerxes behaved the way the audience understands each of the Greeks did, he would not have been defeated so utterly and so brutally, and by means that permeated every aspect of his troops' lives. Aeschylus teaches his audience that material pleasures are of no use to a kingdom whose excessive enjoyment of such things is self-defeating.

1 Garnsey 2002: 6.

2 Slater 1991: 3. It should be noted that Slater does not distinguish between 'dining' and symposium in this work (Slater 1991: 5). Burkert 1991: 7 notes that the drinking ("prolonged") was "separate from the meal proper."

3 Burkert 1991: 7

4 Burkert 1991: 7

5 Burkert 1991: 8. The couple are "representing the gods" at a temple meal ceremony.

6 Burkert 1991: 9

7 Burkert 1991: 9

8 Burkert 1991: 9

9 Burkert 1991: 9

10 Burkert 1991: 9

11 Wilkins 2000: 260

12 De Selincourt, A. and Marincola, J. 2003: 94

13 De Selincourt, A. and Marincola, J. 2003: 240: "The Scythians blind their slaves, a practice in some way connected with the milk which they prepare for drinking in the following way: they insert a tube made of bone and shaped like a flute into a mare's anus, and blow; and while one blows, another milks…[to force the udder down]."

14 Hdt. 4.60-61

15 Hdt. 4.70

16 Wilkins 2000: 264. See also Garnsey 2002: 73: "The Homeric heroes, according to Athenians, practiced frugality and self-sufficiency, virtues that are linked with moderation, generosity, and sharing."

17 Hdt. 9.110

18 De Selincourt, A. and Marincola, J. 2003:453

19 De Selincourt, A. and Marincola, J. 2003: 453

20 Wilkins 2000: 258-59

21 Wilkins 2000: 258

22 All translations which are not otherwise credited are my own.

23 Hall 2007: 137n374-83

24 Hall 2007: 137n374-83

25 And in fact we are not told what the meal is, but the audience should assume it was a very simple dinner befitting soldiers during wartime.

26 Hall 2007: 137n374

27 In fact Hall 2007: 137n378-9 notes that the "Persians' socio-political hierarchies ('king', 'master') are metaphorically transformed by the Athenian democratic imagination into descriptions of each citizen's relationship with the tools with which he will defend his own liberty."

28 Wilkins 2000: 260

29 Wilkins 2000: 260

30 Wilkins 2000: 261 "Luxury is thus not an intrinsic quality of an object or a food but is defined by the desire of the user to obtain and consume it."

31 Wilkins 2000:255

32 Snodgrass 1981: 101-2

33 After enduring Xerxes' forces and the sacking and burning of Athens prior to the confrontation at Salamis, should we consider the Greeks to be, in a sense, poor, fighting for what little they had? Was their current state of displacement informing their current habits? More likely they were behaving as men do when they are at war: living ruggedly and eating plain and little food. That Aeschylus zeroes in on their willingness to behave modestly is a strategy to present them as morally superior to their Persian counterparts.

34 "Food crisis threatened the dominance of the elite and the stability of the society over which they presided." (Garnsey 2002: 2)

35 Aesch. *Pers.* 728

36 Aesch. *Pers.* 491-91

37 Hall 2007: 144n480-514

38 Aesch. *Pers.* 794

39 De Selincourt, A. and Marincola, J. 2003: 602

40 De Selincourt, A. and Marincola, J. 2003: 601

41 It may be particularly meaningful that the word Aeschylus chose for "ornament" or "dress" in this passage is κόσμος, which also means "order."

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The Principate of Pigs: An Analysis of the Governmental Structure of Imperial Rome Under the Principates of the Julio-Claudian Emperors

By Russell Weber

"All animals are equal but some animaps are more equal than others" is a famous quote from George Orwell's literary classic *Animal Farm*, a novel that reveals the inherent flaws of the version of Communism implemented by the Soviet Union after World War II through the use of an extensive allegory in which the pigs became more equal than the rest of the farm animals and, eventually, their masters.[1] However, if several words within this quote are changed it can reflect a common view that many historians, both ancient and modern, held towards the Julio-Claudians' rule of the Roman Empire: "All Roman Citizens are Equal, but the *Princeps* is More Equal than Others." Ancient Roman historians, such as Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio, along with many of the other literary sources that remain from Imperial Rome, represent the Julio-Claudian "dynasty" of the Roman Empire as a period when "a monarchy, strictly speaking, was established."[2] Yet, the flaw of many of these ancient sources is that their Roman authors often allowed personal biases and anachronistic beliefs to skulk into their writings. Through careful analysis of these ancient primary sources one can clearly see that these ancient authors, in many cases, oversimplified and over-generalized the monarchical attributes that the Julio-Claudian *principes* held in Imperial Rome. In fact, this analysis reveals that, contrary to the depiction within the ancient sources, the reign of the Julio-Claudians was not an uncontrolled monarchy to the extent of tyranny, but rather a blend of the traditional Roman republican, who was a virtuous, disinterested, and self-sacrificing leader with new, monarchical powers of supreme authority over government, only bestowed upon the honorific "first citizen." This blend of contradictory characteristics from both the republican and monarchical styles of government can be seen in the way the Julio-Claudians obtained the

power of the principate, accepted and refused honors bestowed upon them, interacted with the common people and the Roman Senate, and were unjustly represented by the ancient sources, which depict these semi-monarchical powers as acts of overly tyrannical *principes*.[3]

One of the most insightful ways one can determine whether or not Rome was a pure monarchy during the reign of the Julio-Claudians is to analyze the manner in which each of the individual Julio-Claudian *principes* were elevated to the honorary position of *princeps* of Rome, and it makes logical sense to begin with the first of Caesar Augustus' successor, his adopted son Tiberius. The Senate first granted Tiberius tribunician power in 7 B.C. which, in both a symbolic and literal sense, made Tiberius the unofficial co-*princeps* with Caesar Augustus.[4] Interestingly, even though Augustus was offended by Tiberius' "supposed" abandonment of responsibility through his "retirement" to Rhodes the following year, he did not oppose the Senate renewing Tiberius' tribunician power in 4 A.D., which implied that Caesar Augustus was either appointing Tiberius as his successor or at least consenting and submitting to the Senate's will that Tiberius was the most suitable candidate to replace Augustus as the *princeps* of Rome after his death.[5] After the funeral of Caesar Augustus, Tiberius called the Senate together and informed them that "he did not feel himself capable" of maintaining the entire "burden of government" and desired the Senate to relieve him of such duties.[6] However, the Roman Senate did not support Tiberius' plea for dismissal from the principate and rather insisted and demanded that Tiberius take up the role of *princeps* that Augustus had left vacant. After great delay, Tiberius finally gave in to their demands and, with a "show of reluctance," accepted the title of *princeps* of Rome.[7] While it is debatable whether or not Tiberius attempts to remove himself from the most respected and powerful position in the entirety of Rome were genuine and sincere, it is clear that he did not forcibly take the power of the principate from the Roman Senate, but waited for them to confer power upon him; an action that reflects more the values of the old Roman Republic than the corrupt practices of an uncontrolled tyrant.

Interestingly, this acceptance of the principate only when

requested by a group of Roman citizens, just as Tiberius was by the Senate, became the precedence for the procedure in which the remaining Julio-Claudian *principes* would acquire the power of the principate. After Tiberius' death the Roman Senate, greatly influenced by their fond and loving memory of Tiberius' adoptive son, Germanicus, chose Germanicus' hereditary son and Tiberius' adoptive grandson, Gaius (Caligula), to be the new *princeps* of Rome, a position that none of the ancient sources imply that Caligula actively sought out.[8]   However, the Roman Senate was not infallible and only four years after ascending to the principate Caligula was murdered by his own Praetorian Guard for gross misconduct, leaving the position once again vacant.[9] While the Senate did not act fast enough to choose a replacement for the slaughtered Caligula, another group of Romans, the Praetorian Guard, would incidentally gain the honor of choosing the new *princeps*. Almost immediately after the murder, a soldier of the Praetorian Guard found a frightened Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, hiding behind a curtain in the imperial quarters. No sooner was Claudius brought back to camp than he was hailed *imperator* and, in accordance with the demands of the Praetorian Guard, was quickly proclaimed the new *princeps* of Rome by the Senate.[10] Fascinatingly, Nero, the last of the Julio-Claudian *principes*, would be appointed to the position of *princeps* in the same way as his adoptive father Claudius, with the Praetorian Guard first hailing him their *imperator* and then shortly afterwards the Senate passing a decree confirming Nero's status as the new *princeps*.[11]

  The fact that these three Julio-Claudian *principes*, just like Tiberius, waited for an outside body, either Senate, Praetorian Guard, or both, to appoint them as the new *princeps* and never took power by themselves, completely debunked the claim that the principate was a hereditary monarchy since it did not pass directly from father to son without outside interference. While one could argue that the selections of these *principes* was based upon each of the Julio-Claudians' adoptive connection to Caesar Augustus or hereditary connections to Germanicus, that does not prove that the principate had become a hereditary monarchy.[12]   First and foremost, the Roman Senate and the Praetorian Guard could have feasibly chosen someone not of the Julio-

Claudian clan, proving that there was no pre-laid line of succession of the principate. It would be extremely unfair to blame the Senate and Praetorian Guard's lack of creativity in choosing successors to the principate on the supposed tyrannical actions of the Julio-Claudians when the ancient sources clearly show that they were freely given the title. Furthermore, the inaction by the Julio-Claudians in claiming the principate reinforces that the old Republican virtue of appearing that one did not wish to obtain power was still essential to legitimizing one's principate, which illustrates that in the area of ascension to the principate the reign of the Julio-Claudians was not an intentional, preplanned, hereditary monarchy, but simply an accidental one still regulated by Republican tradition.

      Considering the exceptional adherence to republican values and symbolism that the Julio-Claudians had in regards to their accession to the principate of Rome it comes as no surprise that once *princeps* they, more often than not, continued to act in a republican, not monarchical, fashion refusing both honors offered to them by the Roman people. Tiberius and Nero both openly refused divine honors during their respective principate*s* and, by doing so, both men implied the inappropriateness of accepting honors meant for the "gods alone."[13] Although it may come as no shock that Tiberius and Nero were wise enough to understand the dangerous ramifications of self-deification, what is astounding is how quick and consistent the Julio-Claudian *principes* were in refusing civic honors bestowed upon them by the Roman Senate. Tiberius, when first appointed *princeps* of Rome, refused many of the honors that the Senate attempted to give him, only accepting a "few unimportant ones," like allowing the Roman people to hold a formal celebration on his birthday.[14] Furthermore, both Tiberius and Nero refused to accept the title "Father of the Country," again reassuring the Roman people that their intention as *princeps* was to promote the best interest of Rome and its citizens, not to advance their own personal power.[15] While Claudius surprisingly did accept the title of "Father of the Country" when first chosen as *princeps* by the Senate he did refuse both the praenomen *Imperator* and triumphal honors that went along with this military honor.[16] Rather than simply accept these

symbolic and superficial honors from the Senate, Claudius chose a more republican approach and decided to prove his military skill to the Roman people through his campaign against Britain and thereby gaining military honors through his own ability, not the sincerity of the Senate.[17]

In fact, Caligula seems to be the only Julio-Claudian who readily and excessively accepted honors from the Roman people. Not only did Caligula allow the Roman Senate to bestow upon him titles such as "Father of the Army" and "Caesar Optimus Maximus," the ancient sources even record that Caligula foolishly referred to himself as "king." With such arrogance through both acceptance of praise and self-praise, it is not surprising that Caligula is often viewed by the ancient sources as the most tyrannical Julio-Claudian *princeps*.[18] However, even with such arrogance it is still significant that none of the ancient sources report Caligula attempting to self-deify himself or call himself "Father of the Country," reflecting that even he knew there were limitations within Roman society to the honors that a *princeps* could receive. Through this continuous rejection of honors by a majority of the Julio-Claudians one can see that while, in essence, these *principes* may have held the supreme power over the entirety of the Roman Empire, they understood the importance of embodying the republican value of rejecting honors that a monarch would readily accept to maintain their image as "just another citizen" in the eyes of the Roman people.

However, while it is intriguing to see the readiness in which the Julio-Claudians rejected formal honors during their time as *principes* of Imperial Rome, one of the most revealing aspects of their collective principate*s* was their extremely republican treatment of their fellow Roman citizens. Tiberius, for example, was known for extending "excessive courtesy" to the Roman senators, constantly reminding them that he should act as their "servant," not the other way around.[19] The ancient sources also record that Nero, with great diligence, expelled "public abuses" that had plagued Rome, which included publishing the tax regulations that, up to his reign, had remained confidential and, during times of grain shortages, subsidized grain to stabilize prices and prevent famine and starvation.[20] Even Caligula, who was likely the most selfish and tyrannical *princeps* of the Julio-Claudians, restructured the

Roman voting system so as to help "restore voting rights to the [Roman] people."[21]

Yet Claudius, not surprisingly, was the Julio-Claudian who treated the common Roman citizen with the most kindness and consideration, an inclination that most likely arose from his own years being discriminated against for his physical handicaps by his own family.[22] Not only do the ancient sources recount episodes where Claudius showed mercy when passing judgment in court, but also reflect the patience Claudius had in unnecessarily tolerating harsh verbal and physical abuses from citizens while he was conducting his judicial duties.[23] However, the most fascinating aspect of Claudius' interaction with fellow Roman citizens is his ability to casually "walk among them" as seen in his unannounced appearance at the poetry reading of fellow Senator Nonianus.[24] It seems hard to believe that Claudius, if truly a monarch or tyrant, would feel comfortable to casually wander through the city of Rome without any body guards without fearing for his life. Through these examples of civility towards the common Roman citizens by both Claudius and the rest of the Julio-Claudians it becomes clear that they did, at least at some point during each of their principates, understand the necessity to treat their citizens as equals -- a republican characteristic that is often uncommon in a monarchy and consistently absent under a tyrant.

While this decent treatment by the Julio-Claudians of their fellow Roman citizens is essential to understanding how their principates were not completely monarchical, the most important aspect of the Julio-Claudian principates that stresses its nature as a blend of republican and monarchical values is the amount of political power these *principes* placed with the Roman Senate. One of the most profound statements that Tacitus makes concerning Tiberius' principate is that "pubic business – and the most important private business – was transacted in the senate."[25] In fact, Tiberius was consistent in his respect for the legislative powers of the Senate, as seen in his compliance with decrees that the Senate passed that he did not entirely agree with, reinforcing his willingness to be subservient *princeps* bound to act in accordance with the wishes of the Roman Senate.[26] Surprisingly,

many of the ancient sources agree that Tiberius only interfered in the proceedings of the Senate when he felt that things were not being "done properly" in accordance with Roman law and, furthermore, one of the only recorded events of Tiberius lashing out against the Senate was due to his anger in their refusal to act without his approval.[27] What is extremely intriguing is that while Tacitus himself insists that Tiberius was "the enemy of freedom" during his principate, the actions of Tiberius rather reflect a man willing to listen to and defer power to the Roman Senate whenever possible, not as an apathetic tyrant, but as a republican leader.[28]

However, this willingness to defer power to the Roman Senate can also be seen during both the principates of Claudius and Nero. Claudius, for example, did not simply give the citizens of Gaul the right to become Roman citizens and be elected as senators by invoking the power of a *princeps*, but rather went through the Senate, presenting his case as to why he believes the Gauls should be allowed into the Roman Senate, and then permitted the Senate to decide autonomously and without interference.[29] Nero also willingly placed power within the hands of the Roman Senators not only by not interfering with their right to mint coins, but also by increasing the status of the judiciary status of the Senate by demanding that anyone who appealed a case to the Senate must deposit the same amount of money they would if they appealed to the emperor himself.[30] Perhaps what is even more surprising is that whenever Nero was required to rule on a case, he would have each senator place their individual opinion on a tablet and review it in private, so as to be able to defer to their wisdom and make the best decision possible for Rome.[31] While the personal motivations of these examples of the Julio-Claudians bestowing authority and power upon the Roman Senate may be questioned, this deference of power still reflects that principates of the Julio-Claudians did not promote a monarchical rule over the Roman people and the Senate with the *princeps* making all political and legal decisions, but rather managed to amalgamate aspects of monarchy with the traditional republican structure of government by allowing the Senate, in most instances, to control the affairs of the Roman Empire.

While it is clear that the Julio-Claudian *principes* were aware of their need to keep the Roman system of government as republican as possible to maintain power and authority in the eyes of the Roman citizens, one must attempt to reconcile why the ancient sources often depicted these principate*s* not as a blend of republican and monarchical governments, but rather as tyrannical, and analyze to what extent the biases of the writers of these ancient sources influenced this perspective.[32]   First and foremost, Tiberius' principate is often viewed as overly strict and cruel in comparison to Caesar Augustus' principate and majority of this criticism is rooted in Tiberius' strict enforcement of the *maiestas* trials, such as the persecutions of senators such as Marcues Granius Marcellus and Appuleia Varilla.[33]   However, what is interesting is that Tiberius' rationale for the continuation of the *maiestas* trails was both logical and practical from the standpoint of the *princeps*: "*the laws must take their course.*"[34]   Furthermore, Dio states that "Tiberius was a very different kind of ruler, [so the Roman people now] longed for the man who was gone [Caesar Augustus]," yet Dio does not go on to say how Tiberius was different from Augustus.[35]   This leads Dio's reader, if he or she is paying close attention, to question whether Tiberius was "different" because he was cruel and tyrannical or because he was a more stringent enforcer of laws than Augustus and may not have been as forgiving in legal matters as his predecessor. It is possible, therefore, that Tiberius could have been disliked by his fellow Roman citizens and later Roman historians not because he was mean or corrupt, but simply because he took his role of enforcing the laws of the Roman Empire more seriously than his fellow senators may have wished.[36]

Claudius, although a historian himself, is not spared biased and anachronistic criticism by the ancient sources for his supposed foolish and tyrannical actions while *princeps*. While Claudius is often harshly condemned for listening to the advice of his freedmen, which could easily be interpreted as a monarch listening to his personal advisors over the will of the people, none of the sources seem to acknowledge that his freedmen occasionally had good ideas.[37] Pliny is one of those critics who harshly castigated Claudius for his closeness to his freedmen, especially in regards to Claudius erecting a monument to his freedman,

Pallas, who Pliny viewed no more than "dirt and filth."[38]   However, Pliny is quite obviously missing, or possibly omitting several of the facts concerning this situation. Tacitus, in his *Annals*, states that Pallas was honored directly in correlation to his suggestion, presented to the Senate through Claudius, that Roman women who married slaves should be penalized for degrading themselves and the status of Roman citizenship.[39]   Furthermore, it was Publius Cornelius Lentulus Scipio, not Claudius who suggested that Pallas should be honored for his concern for Rome's "national interest" and it was the Senate who passed a decree to build a monument to Pallas. Interestingly, this slanting of the events of Claudius' principate not only plagued Pliny, but also the philosopher Seneca, who unjustly condemned Claudius with a hyperbolic claim that he tried to give the entire western world the right to Roman citizenship.[40] While it is true that Claudius could have been manipulating the Senate to do what he wished, this is more likely, once facts are divorced from biases, that the Senate actually agreed with these suggestions by Claudius and, of their own accord, supported and confirmed his wishes.[41]

     Even though Tiberius' and Claudius' "tyrannical" natures are fairly easy to dismiss through insightful understanding of the biases of the ancient sources, Nero is not as easily defended. The rumor that Nero was the architect and arsonist who started the Great Fire of Rome is probably untrue since it is not given much validity by the ancient sources, yet it is impossible to ignore the claim that Nero, as a tyrant, was able to profit from this devastating event.[42] While Nero did provide relief for the homeless after the fire and implement new building codes in hopes to prevent a similar future atrocity, he also foolishly decided that now would be the perfect time to "build a new palace" and waste the funds of Rome's treasury, funds which should have been used to provide more relief for the Roman people instead of promoting his own personal avarice. However, while Nero's actions in this matter are morally inexcusable, it is possible to rationalize Nero's actions not as corrupt and tyrannical, but simply as foolish. Through careful reading of Suetonius, one learns that Nero's "greatest weaknesses were his thirst for popularity and his jealousy of men who caught the public eye."[43] Viewing Nero's insensitive actions concerning the aftermath of

the Great Fire of Rome, it seems that he was not acting so as to further injure the Roman people, but simply succumbed to his own personal demons and desires to be popular above all else, which led to foolish, not malignant actions as Rome's *princeps*.

However, Caligula is the single Julio-Claudian *principes* who seems to embody all the characteristics of a genuine monarch and dictator, making his "tyrannical" actions impossible to defend and almost impossible to rationalize. Caligula is the only of the Julio-Claudian *principes* that the ancient sources, without a doubt, know was murdered, which implies that he was probably the worst *princeps* of the Julio-Claudians' collective principate, which further reflects both the contrast between Caligula and the other three Julio-Claudians and the extent to which they did protect Roman liberty in comparison to Caligula.[44] This fact is not shocking if one considers the cruel and humiliating acts he is attributed with committing during his principate. Caligula supposedly killed both friends and enemies if it pleased his passing fancy, choosing to kill them as slowly as possible, triumphantly stating that he did not care if the Roman people hated him "so long as they fear[ed him]."[45] Not only was Caligula seen as a tyrant for the pleasure he took in killing his fellow Romans, but was also seen as an immoral and corrupt human being for the supposedly "incestuous relationship" he held with all three of his sisters.[46] However, what is believable is that Caligula did take pleasure in humiliating other Romans, something that is often seen in his actions towards the Roman military. Not only did Caligula enjoy mocking and belittling the Roman military by making them perform absurd tasks while on campaign, like hunting for sea shells, but was also known for mercilessly humiliating individuals, one example of which was his offensive verbal degradation of a tribune of the Praetorian Guard, Cherea, a Roman who would eventually be humiliated one too many times and, in a rage, murder Caligula.[47]

Even with these examples of Caligula's tyrannical cruelty and humiliation of others, it is not completely fair to condemn him outright since most of the accounts of Caligula's principate come from Suetonius, the most unreliable of the ancient primary sources in accuracy of fact and interpretation.[48] However, if one does not

agree with Suetonius' interpretation of Caligula's despotic principate, his writings can still provide another, more sympathetic explanation for Caligula's tyrannical acts, who states that less than six months into Caligula's principate he fell ill, quite possibly having had a nervous breakdown, which would have been exacerbated by his history of physical and mental illness, such as epilepsy.[49] While it is impossible to know if Caligula truly went insane during his principate, it is clear that in comparison to his fellow Julio-Claudians he is the exception, not the rule, when it comes to his management of Rome and is the only *princeps* who possibly could have been truly tyrannical and despotic.

Through analysis of the individual actions of the four Julio-Claudians *principes* it becomes clear that, generally speaking, under their collective principate Rome was neither tyrannical nor completely monarchical. In fact their collective principate*s* could most aptly be defined as a new kind of monarchical hierarchy within Roman government that was still governed through traditional republican practices, just as Caesar Augustus had originally intended.[50] However, this does not ensure that the four *principes* of the Julio-Claudians always acted in the best interest for the Roman citizens or that they were of equal, honorable status as the *princeps* of Rome. Perhaps Pliny the Younger stated the relationship between the *princeps* and Roman government in the most succinct and accurate terms possible: "Tyranny and the principate are diametrically opposed."[51] This single sentence implies the fluidity that the Roman principate, and governments in general, embody -- that each of the Julio-Claudians was a genuine *principes* who was upholding the new tradition of the republican-monarchy that Caesar Augustus had created, yet the moment they began to abuse their power they became more monarchical than republican and, as in the case of Caligula, even became a corrupt tyrant. Yet even if some of the Julio-Claudians did become tyrannical and "more equal" than the rest of the Roman Senate and the Roman citizen body, they cannot be expected to accept all the blame. For just as in *Animal Farm*, it was the Roman citizens who, intentionally or not, allowed their Republic to become monarchical and the *princeps* to become the greatest of Roman citizens.

1 This quote appears in Chapter X of *Animal Farm* when it is revealed that the pigs, who had been "managing the farm" since the humans had been driven out, were now "superior" to other animals on the farm, reflected by the mimicking of human behavior. Within the context of this paper this quote will be used to draw a parallel between the way Orwell's anthropomorphic farm animals viewed their pig "masters" and the way many Romans, senators and average citizens alike, viewed the Julio-Claudian *principes*. To read the complete text, see one of the many editions of *Animal Farm*. George Orwell, *Animal Farm* (New York: Signet Classics, 1996) 134.

2 Dio goes on to claim that the only reason that the Romans who lived under the Julio-Claudians did not call their *princeps* "a monarch" was because of their "hatred" of that title. Cassius Dio, *The Roman History*, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert (New York: Penguin Books, 1987) 53.17. Tacitus states that the hatred of that title originates with the expulsion of the last of the corrupt Etruscan kings in 509 B.C. by Lucius Junius Brutus, who, through this action, created the "free Republican institutions" of Rome. It becomes clear that after this expulsion Romans consistently viewed "monarch" as synonymous with "tyrant" and the eventual loss of their Republican freedom. Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, trans. Michael Grant (New York: Penguin Books, 1996) 1.1. Also, for a complete account of the expulsion of the Etruscan kings see Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt (New York: Penguin Books, 2002) 1.59 ff. and for a thorough analysis of the Roman mindset towards monarchy see Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*, trans. Ian-Scott-Kilvert (New York: Penguin Books, 1979) 6.3 ff.

3 It is important to note that due to a lack of extensive surviving information regarding the principate of Gaius Caligula Caesar, a majority of evidence for this paper will be extrapolated from the sources recordings of events during the principate*s* of Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero. However, events concerning Gaius Caligula Caesar's actions will be included when events are both present in the ancient sources and appropriate to the focus of this paper. Also, since Suetonius is the primary source of events concerning the principate of Gaius Caligula Caesar and simultaneously one of the most "fanciful" and "exaggerated" ancient sources, one must always take into account his accuracy of description of not just Caligula, but all the Julio-Claudian *principes*. Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars* trans. Robert Graves (New York: Penguin Books, 2007). Add a definition of republican, monarchy, and principate in this footnote.

4 Dio states that in 7 B.C. Tiberius was "conferred tribunician power [by the Senate] for a period of five years," and that the reason that he decided to leave Rome for Rhodes was that he wanted to ensure that this newly bestowed power did not make it look like he was competing with Gaius and Lucius, Augusts' grandchildren, to ascend to the role of *princeps* after Augustus' death. Dio 55.9. Ironically, this power immediately gives Tiberius the power to check Augustus' power to pass decrees, therefore making him a legal equal to Augustus.

5 While Dio states that Tiberius was given tribunician power for ten years, Suetonius states he only received it for five. While the discrepancy of the amount is not essential to the argument of this paper, both sources imply that holding co-tribunician power with Caesar Augustus was seen by the Roman Senate and the Roman people at large as Augustus' way

of designating a successor, especially since this was the second time that Tiberius was being granted such powers by the Senate. Dio, 55.13. Suet. *Tib.* 16. Also, for Augusts' offense at Tiberius retreat to Rhodes see Suet. *Tib.* 10.

6 Tac. *Annals*, 1.12.

7 Suet. *Tib.*, 24. Tac. *Annals*, 1.13. Velleius Paterculs, *The Roman History* trans. J.C. Yardley and Anthony A. Barrett (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2011) 2.124.

8 Suet. *Calig.* 13. Also, Gaius is commonly referred to as Caligula, which means "little boots," an affectionate nickname he received while in Germany with his father, Germanicus, from the troops under his father's command. Tac. *Annals*, 1.41.

9 Gaius Caligula was anything but a decent *princeps* of Rome for he constantly mocked and humiliated his fellow Roman senators and his soldiers, which included a tribune of his Praetorian Guard, Cherea. Even though Dio, Josephus, and Suetonius disagree on the details, they all agree that Cherea was constantly mocked as effeminate and that Caligula constantly gave him feminine watch words to further humiliate him. However, it was Caligula's choice to attempt to take the stage as an actor and performer, an action that would dishonor the principate and the entirety of Rome itself, which pushed Cherea over the edge and led to his murdering of Caligula. Cassius Dio, *The Roman History* trans. Herbert Baldwin Foster (New York: Pafreats Book Company, 1905.), 59.29; Josephus, *The Works of Josephus: The Antiquities of the Jews* trans. William Whiston (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987) 19.29-30; Suet. *Calig.* 56, 58.

10 The accession of Claudius is an extremely complex event, one that the primary sources are in constant contradiction with one another in almost every possible way. However Tacitus, in his *Annals*, states that "[Claudius'] popularity was an inheritance from Germanicus, of whom he was the only surviving male descendant," which was a key factor in their choice of Claudius as *princeps*. Tac. *Annals*, 11.12. For a full reading of Claudius' accession to the principate see Dio, 60.1-2; Joseph., *AJ* 19.162 ff.; Josephus, *The Jewish Wars* trans. G.A. Williamson (New York: Penguin Books, 1981) 2.204-213; Suet., *Claud.*10-11.

11 Suet., *Nero* 8; Robert K. Sherk, ed. and trans. *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) Document 61; Tac., *Annals*, 12.69.

12 It is interesting that through Tiberius' adoption by Augustus the remaining of the Julio-Claudian *principes* were related to Caesar Augustus. However, what is even more interesting is that all four of the Julio-Claudian *principes* were hereditarily related to Germanicus: Tiberius was his uncle, Caligula his son, Claudius his brother, and Nero his grandson. For a full Julio-Claudian family tree see Appendix B and C of Graves translation of *The Twelve Caesars* noted above 2 n. 3.

13 Sherk, Document 31 (for Tiberius) and Document 62 (for Nero).

14 Suet. *Tib.* 26; Tac. *Annals*, 1.11-12, 14.

15 While the sincerity of Nero refusing the title of "Father of the Country" simply because he felt himself too young, it does not change the fact that both he and Tiberius wisely refused such honors. Tac. *Annals* 1.72; 12.69.

16 Dio does state that initially Claudius does reject the title of "Father of the Country," yet,

for an unexplained reason, seems to accept it shortly after his rejection of it. Dio. 60.3.

17 Suet. *Claud.* 11-12, 17. Also, it is a possibility that Claudius, as Germanicus' brother, felt he had to prove to the Roman people that he was deserving of the same respect they showed Germanicus not because of their pity for him, but rather because of his own skill as a military commander. Compare Tacitus' description of the campaigns of Claudius and Germanicus, respectively, in *Agricola* 13 and *Germany* 37. Tacitus, *Agricola, Germany, and Dialogue on Orators* trans. Herbert W. Benario (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2006).

18 "Pious, Son of the Camp, Father of the Army, Caesar Optimus Maximus" are all the titles Caligula accepted during his short four years as *princeps* of Rome. Suet. *Calig.* 22.

19 Suet. *Tib.* 29

20 Suet. *Nero* 16. Tac. *Annals* 13.51; 15.18.

21 Suet. *Calig.* 16.

22 Dio, 60.2; Suet. *Claud.* 4, 30.

23 Claudius willingly spared the British tribal king Caractus and his family out of a plea for mercy made by Caractus. Caractus appealed for his life by begging Claudius to allow him the chance to bring honor again to his family's name while simultaneously bringing honor to Claudius' name for sparing his life. Claudius was moved and did spare Caractus' life. For the full trial and its aftermath see Tac. *Annals*, 12.35-40. Two anecdotes reflect Claudius patience in court. The first is recounted by Pliny the Younger, who describes how calmly Claudius responded to Arria's emotional outburst during the trial concerning the revolt of Scribonianus. For the full incident see Pliny the Younger, *The Letter of the Younger Pliny* trans. Betty Radice (New York: Penguin Books, 1969) 3.16. The other anecdote is when Claudius, while admitting evidence into court one day, had a "stylus and wax set of tablets" thrown at his face, causing a gash to open up on his head. Suet. *Claud.* 15. Since neither of these actions were punished it is hard to believe that Claudius was a tyrant or even considered himself a monarch.

24 Pliny, *EP* 1.13.

25 Tac. *Annals* 4.6. Suet. *Tib.* 30. Velleius Paterculus agrees with Tacitus' thematic interpretation of Tiberius' principate stating that when Tiberius took up the role of *princeps* "Justice, equity, and industry…had been given back to the state." Vell., 2.126.

26 It is no surprise that Tiberius, who is often described as a prudish *princeps*, agreed with the Senatorial decree to regulate the actions of relatives of Roman Senators, which included prevented relatives from becoming ungodly actors. Sherk, Document 35. Also, for examples of Tiberius yielding to the will of the Senate see Suet. *Tib.* 31.

27 Suet. *Tib.* 33. Tacitus recounts how Tiberius, whenever he left the Senate House "exclaimed in Greek, 'Men fit to be slaves!'" Tac. *Annals* 3.66.

28 Tac. *Annals* 3.66.

29 To see the full speech Claudius gave to the Senate in defense of the inclusion of Gauls to the Roman Senate see Tac. *Annals* 11.23-25 and Sherk, Document 55. However, it is important to note that Claudius did give Roman citizenship to individuals he felt was worthy

without consulting the Senate, but not the entire province of Gaul. Sherk, Document 52.

30 For the Senate's power to mint coins see Sherk, Document 68. To see how Nero increased the Senate's prestige sees Tac. *Annals*, 14.28. Furthermore, Nero often refused to give explicit opinions concerning incidents and cases if he was not required to, for example: in the case concerning offenses of former slaves, Nero simply requested that the Senate judge each case separately to ensure fairness and not pass a general, catch-all rule. Tac. *Annals*, 13.26-27.

31 Suet. *Nero* 15. What is especially interesting is that this matches precisely the anachronistic advice that Dio, through the mouthpiece of Maecenas, to Octavian before he becomes *princeps* in 29 B.C. Dio 52.31-36.

32 What will follow is a selection of some of the acts each Julio-Claudian *principes* preformed that have been viewed in a negative light by one or more of the ancient sources. Due to the limitations of this paper these examples will be anything but completely inclusive and many more examples of each *princeps* "tyrannical" behaviors can be found throughout the ancient sources, but were rather chosen to help illustrate how the ancient sources portray the Julio-Claudians in an often unfair and biased manner.

33 Tac. *Annals* 1.72-75; 2.50-51. Both Marcellus and Varilla were supposedly tried for speaking ill of Tiberius, which would constitute "treasonous" speech and would fall under the jurisdiction of the *maiestas* trials.

34 Tac. *Annals*, 1.72.

35 Dio also states that "Augustus knew Tiberius' nature very well, and had deliberately made him his successor to exalt his own reputation." Dio, 56.45 This statement completely contradicts Dio previous characterization of Caesar Augustus in his proceeding books as a man who ruled with the best intentions of Rome in mind. For further readings concerning Dio's interpretation of Caesar Augustus as *princeps* see Dio 5.

36 Also, it is important to note that since Tiberius was allowing the Senate to conduct a majority of private and public matters, it is possible that they were using the *maiestas* trails to persecute their rivals within the senate, a precedence that dates back to the Roman Republic: one example of which was Cicero's persecution of Catiline for his supposed conspiracy to overthrow the Republic. For a complete recollection of the Catiline Conspiracy see Sallust, *The Jugurthine War/The Conspiracy of Catiline*, trans. S.A. Handford (New York: Penguin Books, 1963) pp. 175-233.

37 Suet. *Claud.* 29.

38 Pliny, *EP* 7.29. In fact, Pliny goes so far as to state that he is grateful that "his lot did not fall in those days" for he would have been disgusted by the power Claudius used to honor a lowly freedmen and furious at how quickly the Senate conceded to Claudius' wishes. Pliny, *EP* 8.6.

39 Tac. *Annals* 11.52-53

40 In Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* he states that Claudius, if he got his wish, would have seen "every Greek, Gaul, Spaniard, and Briton in a toga." Not only is this a hyperbolic and overly

spiteful statement on Seneca's part, probably due to his exile by Claudius, but Seneca seems to forget that the Senate did approve of the extension of Roman citizenship to all of Gaul. Seneca, *The Apocolocyntosis* trans. J.P. Sullivan (New York: Penguin Books, 1986) 3. For the Senate's approval of Claudius' petition see Tac. *Annals* 11.23-25. For Claudius exile of Seneca see Tac. *Annals* 12.8.

41 What is even more interesting is that if Claudius was this tyrannical manipulator of the Senate as the ancient sources portray him as, it would directly contradict their description of him as a fool and a slave to his freedmen. To grasp a better understanding of the way the ancient sources viewed Claudius as a fool and idiot see Sen., *Apocol.*4-7; 10; Suet. *Claud.* 4; 38-40.

42 Tac. *Annals*, 38-40. Also, it did not help that Nero was out of Rome when the fire occurred and only returned "when the fire was approaching" one of his manors.

43 Suet. *Nero* 53.

44 For a list of readings concerning Caligula's assassination see above 3 n. 8.

45 Suet. *Calig.* 26, 30. However, what is interesting is that Dio states that Romans were "worried" by the extent of the trials and murder of friends that Caligula was committing yet he does not give explicit lists or examples of the individuals that Caligula killed. Dio 59.23. This claim would be more believable if it was substantiated by Tacitus, yet his books concerning Caligula have not been found.

46 Suet. *Calig.* 24.

47 For Caligula making the soldiers hunt for sea shells see Suet. *Calig.* 46. The events concerning Cherea and Caligula are especially believable since it is confirmed by Dio, Josephus, and Suetonius. 59.29; Josephus, *The Works of Josephus: The Antiquities of the Jews* trans. William Whiston (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987) 19.29-30; Suet. *Calig.* 56

48 For example, how could have Suetonius known that Caligula discussed openly, at dinner "the good and bad physical points and criticiz[ed the] sexual performance" of the married women he invited to dinner in front of their husbands. This event, which is one of many, reflects the excessive creativity and liberty that Suetonius takes with his historical representation of the Roman Emperors.

49 Suet. *Calig.* 14; 50.

50 Interesting, it is Dio who contradicts himself, for while he states in 53.17 that Rome had become a monarchy in all but name, in 56.43 he states that Augustus had "saved [the Roman's] freedom for them" by "combining monarchy and democracy."

51 Pliny, *Panegyricus* trans. Betty Radice (Cambridge: Loeb Classic Library, 1969) 42. A view that is also shared by Tacitus, as seen in his *Agricola*; Tac. *Agr.* 3.

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