CORVUS

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

MMXV - MMXVI

CORVUS

The Journal of the Carleton University Classics Society

Published by the Carleton University Classics Society
President: Andrew Beatson
Treasurer: Sheri Kapahnke
Coordinator: Esther Guillen

Volume
2015-2016

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Katherine May is a third year exchange student from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, UK, currently studying Classical Studies. During her time at Carleton University she has been privileged enough to be involved in the Classics society. Upon completion of her Undergraduate degree Katherine plans to obtain an MA in History of Costume, from the London College of Fashion.

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Jacob DesRochers is currently completing his undergraduate degree in Carleton's Religion program. He will begin studying for his Masters this fall at Queen's University's School of Religion. Jacob's research focus has been on assessing the variations of sexual orientation in the ancient Near East, with a concentration on Israelite conceptions of masculinity and ancient attitudes towards sexual interactions. His work includes new approaches to biblical criticism arising from gender theories, feminism, and masculinity studies.

Laura Hutchingame is a fourth year Art History student interested in Italian Renaissance and Baroque art and architecture, particularly that of Venice. She is also interested in religion and visual culture, and how they come together to convey

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Colleen Dunn has raised two amazing sons and experienced a rewarding four-decade career in Pediatric Diagnostic Imaging. She is now thrilled to be studying at Carleton as a part time student. She is currently in 3rd year pursuing a Combined Honours in Greek and Roman Studies and Religion with a Minor in Archeology. She would like to thank the Faculty, Staff, and Students of Carleton for their support and inspiration and is very pleased to have this opportunity to share her 'rhyming' with all of you.

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Morgan Simmons-Feigel is currently a third year student working towards a double major in History and Greek & Roman Studies. His interests include archaeology, particularly in the Iron Age, and he wishes to eventually attend graduate school and earn a Masters Degree in Classical Studies.

A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

As I am finishing my 3rd year in the Carleton University Classics Society executive, it has been wonderful being a part of the growth of our society and the *Corvus* Journal. Joining three years ago as treasurer, our novice executive of Matthew Robertson, Fawn Leslie, and myself navigated the ins and outs of running a society and I am proud to see the level of participation and activity of the Society today. Even more exciting is the progress of *Corvus*, now printing for its 6th year. It has been thrilling to watch the growth of the Journal since I first saw it in Academic Orientation five years ago. I can't wait to see what will happen next year!

First, I must thank all of the friends I have made over my years associated with this department, you have kept the passion for Classics burning in this Economics student.

Now, I must take this opportunity to thank my colleagues in this endeavour. A big thank you to our Editor-in-Chief Petra Hohenstein and the rest of the editorial team for all of their hard work putting together this year's journal. I also must thank Esther Guillen for her enthusiasm in arranging our social events, her creativity and love of a good theme-party has been a great asset to the Society. I thank our Treasurer, Sheri Kapahnke, who stepped up to fill this important role; her willingness to learn has been a great help to the society. And finally to Martha Cassidy, for all of her work in organizing the *Corvus* Launch and being a jack-of-all-trades who was always there to help when one of us needed it. A very special thank you goes to the College of Humanities and the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences for their enthusiasm for our Journal, without your help, this would not be possible.

The society graciously thanks our members and supporters; your engagement with the society and passion for classics has been fantastic to have this year. And a big thank you must go to the contributors of this Journal, truly there would be no Journal without you.

Finally, we would like to thank Dr. Greg Fisher for all of his years of support. Your years of commitment to the journal have made it what it is today.

Valete,
Andrew Beatson
CUCS President

SOCIO-POLITICAL ADVANTAGES OF DIONYSIAN WORSHIP

KASSANDRA GEVRY

It comes as no surprise that one of the most eccentric of the Greek gods has exciting rituals associated with his worship. Dionysus, the god commonly associated with wine and life-giving liquids, is also known as the god who causes madness amongst his worshippers, namely the maenads. The maenads worshipped the god in private, female-only rituals, but there were also public rituals. The common theme amongst the different rituals, which is unique to Dionysian worship in particular, is the obvious and abnormal reversal of the status quo. Many ritual aspects of Dionysian worship seem to represent the rejection of social norms. The temporary and exaggerative nature of these rituals actually work as an affirmation of the social order. The following discussion will use what limited evidence is available to suggest that religious festivities of Dionysian worship were a tool used to support the socio-political structure in ancient Greece; especially in Athens, where there is the most evidence of Dionysian rituals.

It becomes immediately clear that many aspects of Dionysian worship are mysterious and unknown. Some scholars

suggest this is because many elements were restricted to the initiated; although Euripides might have known that such secret rituals existed at the time he wrote the *Bacchae*.[1] Euripides' *Bacchae* seems to be the jumping off point from which most scholarly research originates; this presents issues in historical accuracy. As Henrichs points out, the events in the play represent a worst case scenario; any truth to the portrayal of the maenads should be assumed to be exaggerated for dramatic effect.[2] A technique that seems to be common amongst scholars is the combination of literary and artistic sources to create a holistic depiction of maenadic ritual. However, the vase paintings that are often used as archaeological evidence of maenadism can be subject to misinterpretation and are just as likely as literature to be based on myth rather than fact.[3] Bremmer warns that much scholarly analysis on the subject is based on these mythic representations, and might be considered a detriment to later research.[4] Nevertheless he maintains that myth often presents a superior illustration of the intentions behind ritual.[5] It is with this in mind that these sources might yet prove useful in the following discussion.

To demonstrate how rituals that seem to be a rejection of the norms are actually a method of socio-political preservation, it is necessary to look at the types of role reversals that took place in

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[1] Ross S. Kraemer, "Ecstasy and Possession: The Attraction of Women to the Cult of Dionysus," *The Harvard Theological Review* 72 (1979): 60.

[2] Albert Henrichs, "Between City and Country: Cultic Dimensions of Dionysus in Athens and Attica," *Cabinet of the Muses: Rosenmeyer Festschrift* Griffith, M & Mastronarde, D (eds) (1990): 258.

[3] Barbara Goff, *Citizen Bacchae: Women's Ritual Practice in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004P), 214.

[4] Jan. N. Bremmer, "Greek Maenadism Reconsidered," *Zeitschrift Zeitshcrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 55, 1984, 274.

[5] Ibid: 273.

Dionysian worship. This is most easily identified amongst the maenadic rituals, representing both gender and social role reversals for the women of Athens. In most religious festivals, including some Dionysian celebrations such as the City Dionysia, the roles of women in ritual were limited to carrying sacred items in a procession or performing choreographed dances.[6] The maenadic rituals seem to be the exception. Maenadic ritual occurred during a biennial festival of Dionysus and was exclusive to women, usually of aristocratic families.[7] Though the details are unclear, maenadic ritual required women past the age of puberty to leave the city and travel for several days to Mt. Parnassos at Delphi in order to participate in a night ritual.[8] There is no evidence of male accompaniment during their travels. It appears that they were given a temporary sense of authority and independence that was usually only experienced by men. Their time away from home suggests a rejection of the maternal role, as the men were left in the city to take care of the children.[9] Although it is likely that the children were left in the care of the slaves rather than the husbands.[10] It can also be considered a rejection of the role as the wife and of sexual obligations; since many of these women were often recently married.[11] One can imagine that the departure of most of the female population from the city, even for a short period of time would have social effects. From this example, the ritual can easily be interpreted as a rejection of social status. This becomes more obvious through an explanation of the rituals that took place on Mt. Parnassos.

The main element of maenadic ritual was divine

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[6] Goff 2004: 37.
[7] Bremmer 1984: 273.
[8]Matthew Dillon. *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 147.
[9] Bremmer 1984: 275-276.
[10] Ibid: 285.
[11] Kraemer 1979: 67-68.

possession. The setting of the ritual created excellent conditions to enter an ecstatic trance. The rituals took place during a winter night, up in the mountains, meaning that the low temperature, thin air, and sleep deprivation expedited the transition of the maenads into what appeared to be a state of madness.[12] The setting also provided a significant sense of danger, which was contrary to the safety of the city they left behind. The women used chants, dancing, and wild head movements to achieve a state of ecstasy and fell into climax, at which point they would be considered possessed by Dionysus.[13] According to Zeitlin, religious possession was a common form of release for women in societies with a strong social hierarchy.[14] Possession presented the excused escape from everyday responsibilities that would otherwise have been denied. As will be revisited later in the discussion, possession legitimizes the ritual in a way that prohibiting the practice would incur the anger of the god.[15] By entering into a state of madness, the women of Athens freed themselves, temporarily, from their traditional social responsibilities.

Further proof of the reversal of social norms can be found in examples of the activities that took place while the women were in an ecstatic state. During the maenadic ritual, the elite female participants were able to let loose their elaborately styled hair and take off their footwear as a symbol of separation from social status and of equality amongst the maenads.[16] They were also thought to have participated in animalistic behaviours during their possession. This includes dressing in fawn skins, suckling baby animals at their breasts, and possibly even the consumption of raw

[12] Bremmer 1984: 280.
[13] Bremmer 1984: 277-281.
[14] Froma I. Zeitlin. "Cultic Models of the Female: Rites of Dionysus and Demeter," *Arethusa* 15(1982): 133.
[15] Eric Csapo. "Riding the Phallus for Dionysus: Iconology, Ritual, and Gender-Role De/Construction," *Phoenix* 51(1997): 279.
[16] Bremmer 1984: 277.

meat; though this is usually considered more mythic than realistic.[17] These behaviours represent distance from the order of the city and an embracement of the chaos of the natural world. There is also evidence that the maenads may have participated in a hunt as part of the ritual. Kraemer suggests that hunting would have been a symbolic activity in the reversal of gender roles, as it could be considered to represent a rejection of feminine activities in favour of the higher pursuits of men.[18] From these examples, it is clear that the maenads were women looking for an escape from the patriarchy. They found the release they needed in the form of maenadism.

So far in the discussion, it is clear that maenadism, a form of Dionysian worship, is used as a rejection of the social order, at least at face value. However, a look at role reversals in the public rituals with male participants reveals a contrary perspective that suggests Dionysian worship is more significantly a tool for socio-political consistency. The *Oschophoria* festival in Athens in honour of Dionysus included a procession that was led by two elite boys on the cusp of adulthood. These pubescent boys, probably around the age of 18, would have been elaborately dressed as women. They were chosen based on their feminine looks and prepared ahead of time to lighten their skin, train their hair, and teach them to impersonate a feminine manner.[19] It isn't explicit why two boys were chosen to lead the procession, rather than young girls, but it may have something to do with the theme of cross-dressing at Dionysian festivals. On any other day, it would be considered inappropriate for men to cross-dress, but the act was encouraged during festivals of Dionysus.[20] This religious transvestism remains mysterious in its own right, until one

[17] Csapo 1997: 264.
[18] Kraemer 1979: 68.
[19] Csapo 1997: 263.
[20] R. J. Hoffman. "Ritual License and the Cult of Dionysos," *Athenaeum* 67(1989): 94.

becomes familiar with the behaviours known to occur during the festival of *Anthesteria*. This festival was also in honour of Dionysus, where male citizens would dress up as women. However, there is evidence that at this festival their costume was meant in mockery. The men would participate in demeaning, feminine dances and make lewd gestures while interacting comically with the crowd.[21] Evidently, the role reversals in the perspective of male worshippers are meant as a parody, rather than a call for political reform. It is clear that the male view is in favour of maintaining the social hierarchy.

Further evidence of the reversal of social roles suggest that male worship of Dionysus took advantage of the ritual license to act out social taboos, much like the maenads during their ecstatic trance. Public festivals of Dionysus were encouraged to spill into the streets of Athens, and were the only religious festivals in which ritual license was practiced.[22] This permission to violate the social norms occurred in public, male-dominated celebrations and is another example of the superior freedom of men in comparison to women, who were only allowed such freedom in private, secluded celebrations. The male worshippers took advantage of this opportunity and drank excessive amounts of wine to the point of drunkenness, in honour of the god of the vine. Public drunkenness was a social taboo, of course, but it was also considered barbaric and dangerous to drink unmixed wine.[23] On the other hand, consumption of wine during ritual was symbolic of containing the god within you.[24] It would have brought the men to a state similar to the ecstatic trance of the maenads. Along with intoxication came further instances of lewd comments and boisterous activity throughout the streets of Athens, which was often used as an excuse to instigate fist fights

[21] Ibid: 95.
[22] Hoffman 1989: 93.
[23] Ibid: 96.
[24] Csapo 1997: 258.

with enemies.[25] Although these examples also represent an apparent rejection of the social order in favour of chaos, the behaviours of the male worshippers suggest symbolism for a socio-political perspective contrary to the maenads. They seem to suggest a dismissal of the social concerns evident in maenadic ritual and agree with the superiority of men on the social hierarchy.

Many different theories have surfaced from scholarly debate to try to explain the significance of role reversal in Dionysian worship in relation to the social hierarchy. One commonly held opinion is that gender reversal in maenadic ritual is interpreted as an attempt to create a female version of the city, where women have authority and are released from the subordination of the patriarchy.[26] This theory supports the idea of maenadic ritual as a coping mechanism for women in the Greek world who were living in a world where the pursuits and achievements of men were always of higher value.[27] However, this theory focuses solely on female attraction to maenadism and does little to explain the incentive for men to allow these rebellious practices to take place. Some scholars argue that men were prevented from interfering with the rituals out of fear of the god's wrath. The distribution of myths about those who had resisted the god and suffered are thought by some scholars to be a sufficient enabler of these eccentric rituals.[28] Although these theories are pertinent to the rituals as they occur, they lack a feasible argument for the continuation of these ritual practices, which seem to have a stronger political objective than these theories would admit.

Upon consideration of the logically assumed political objectives of the patriarchy, it is clear that role reversals in

[25] Hoffman 1989: 97.
[26] Zeitlin 1982: 132-3.
[27] Kraemer 1979: 76-7.
[28] Ibid: 67.

Dionysian worship must have had a supporting role in the preservation of the social order. The goal of the government was to maintain the hierarchy, and the reversal of social roles during Dionysian rituals appeared to threaten this goal. Zeitlin presents a theory that accounts for the perspectives of both the maenads and the male citizens. She allows for the use of maenadic ritual as an outlet for oppressed Greek women but adds that, though the women might have intended these rituals to be an expression of freedom, the rest of society used them as an affirmation of the necessity of the present social order.[29] Zeitlin claims that possession was considered an illness in the weakest members of society, which required some sort of cure. As applied to ritualistic behaviours of the maenads, their behaviour was considered an example of the natural chaos inherent in all women and Dionysian worship was believed to be a necessary cure for hysteria.[30] The male-dominant society determined that these rituals could be taken as evidence of the madness that women were vulnerable to, if left without the structure of a patriarchal government.[31] This explains the derisive nature of male rituals in the worship of Dionysus, which often seemed to be a parody of maenadic ritual. Over time, one can imagine that the views of either gender would have blurred together and become irrelevant. The only members of society that had any political power were of the opinion that maenadic rituals supported the social hierarchy. Thus this would be the common opinion and would eventually have been accepted as the truth.

Dionysus, the god who inspires madness, has socio-political significance that often goes unnoticed. In the above discussion an explanation of gender and social role reversals as part of maenadic and public Dionysian worship revealed that

[29] Zeitlin 1982: 134.
[30] Ibid.
[31] E. R. Dodds. *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 272-273.

Dionysian worship had both rebellious and supportive significance towards the patriarchal structure of ancient Greece, specifically in Athens. Dionysian worship was revealed to be a religious experience permitted in order to ensure the necessary preservation of the social hierarchy. What has yet to be resolved is why it is in service of Dionysus that these political ends are met. It is possible that the foreign origins of the god determined that he is most appropriate to represent activities outside of the social norm[32] or it could be that he has always been associated with polarities, seeing as how he is often depicted as an androgynous figure.[33] Whatever the association, Dionysus has added yet another role to his many divine responsibilities, this time in the overlapping religious and political spheres of the Greek world.

[32] Zeitlin 1982: 137.
[33] Henrichs 1990: 258.

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ON THE CENTRALITY OF A FORGOTTEN GODDESS

CECILIA COZZI

Among the female deities who belong to the Greek Pantheon, Hecate has not always been perceived as a relevant one: her prominence has been often confined only to the world of magic and witchcraft. However, by looking with a more comprehensive perspective at the evidence, it can be argued that this approach does not take into account the diachronic development of this goddess, starting from her early characterization down to her later evolution throughout antiquity.

Thus, this essay will focus on the huge sphere of influence owned by Hecate especially in Archaic times, emphasizing the beginning stages of Hecate's development and the prerogatives truly attributed to her: the aim is to fully appreciate and recognize the prominence of Hecate as a complex female deity within Greek religion, despite the scanty material evidence left to support the written sources.

The first issue related to Hecate is of her origin: a long debate has divided scholars and there is still no agreement on the geographical provenience of the goddess, whose features have always appeared to be not purely Greek. Indeed, most scholarship

identifies the ancient region of Caria as the place where Hecate appeared and, thus, her worship began: "Karia has become the most commonly cited homeland of Hekate's in modern literature".[1] Nilsson pointed out how Hecate had been introduced into the Greek Pantheon only later on, thanks to contacts with the East: "First came Hecate from the southwestern corner of Asia Minor, as early as the early Archaic age."[2] He also justifies his statement on a linguistic basis: " That Hecate originated in Caria is proved by the fact that proper names compounded with her name are very frequent in this district and rare or absent elsewhere".[3] The same path is followed by Burkert who claims that "Hecate seems to have her roots among the Carians of Asia Minor"[4] and adds that " the theophoric name Hakaomnos, which is non-Greek in formation, is actually Carian." However, this inclusion into the Greek Pantheon was not without consequences, since the goddess lost some of her original traits and eventually turned into the chthonic patron of magic and darkness known by Classical sources. To support the hypothesis of the non- Greek status of Hecate, different kinds of evidence were provided: the etymology of "Hecate" suggests a link with Asia Minor and the traditional objects of her cult; the most majestic temple dedicated to Hecate is "a temple state of oriental type"[5] located at Lagina, in Caria, and the decorative programme of the friezes testifies to the "exalted grandeur"[6] of the goddess in her several roles. Thus, the prevailing view is the one shared and summarized by Clay: "Most

[1] R. Von Ruddloff, *Hekate in Ancient Greek Religion* (Victoria: Horned Owl Pub, 1998), 51.
[2] M. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 90.
[3] Ibid.
[4] W. Burkert, *Greek Religion,* trans. Raffan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 171.
[5] Ibid.
[6] W. Berg, "Hecate: Greek or 'Anatolian?," *Numen* 21(1974): 130.

scholars posit a Carian origin for Hecate, whose characteristic functions are said to parallel those of several female Anatolian divinities, such as the Phyrgian Cybele and the Ephesian Artemis"[7], in other words, "the notion of a non-Greek, Anatolian origin for Hecate".[8] However, this statement has been recently challenged and questioned by Berg who takes Hecate back to Greece and, after having examined some controversial Linear B tablets, argues that her origins can be ascribed to the Mycenaean era, assessing that

> "Literary, archaeological, and epigraphical evidence down to the end of the fourth century B.C. indicates that the worship of Hecate was limited to the Ionian and Aeolian poleis and their colonies on either side of the Aegean- to the population, in other words, which claimed blood ties with the fallen Mycenaean rulers." [9]

On the same ground, another scholar claims to recognize a Greek origin for Hecate: Mazon describes her as the "Grand divinitè de Tesphies"[10] whose local cult, following the pattern of the *potnia theron*, was deeply attested in Boeotia in the early Archaic age and would have partly justified the prominence shown in the literary production of the Boeotian poet Hesiod. The common element of these eccentric interpretations lies in the the specific geographical focus adopted by the two scholars: Hecate is depicted as a powerful deity in some defined local setting and thus Hesiod's *Theogony* is reflecting a concretely attested phenomenon and not trying to inaugurate her worship in virgin

[7] J.S. Clay, "The Hecate of the Theogony," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 25(1984): 28.
[8] Berg 1974: 129.
[9] Ibid: 140.
[10] Mazon 1928: 24

territory, as Nilsson suggested by saying that "propaganda was resorted to on behalf of her cult."[11]

However, these two different explanations fail to evaluate the central element at the base of Hecate's characterization: instead of attributing to her an historically defined geographical area where she first appeared, it is more productive to trace her origin back to a further, remote, preceding time. In this regard, the evaluation given by Maria Gimbutas should surely receive more emphasis: she identifies Hecate as a relic of the prehistoric "Great Goddess", who preceded the establishment of the Indo-European, man-centered culture.[12] According to Gimbutas' reconstruction, "As the predecessor of Anatolian and Greek Hekate-Artemis (related to Kybaba- Kybebe/Cybele), she lived through the Bronze Age, then through Classical Greece and then even into later history in spite of transformation of her outer form and the many different names that were applied to her."[13]

Subsequent to Gimbutas' observations, it seems secondary to debate foreign Charia or mainland Greece as the setting of Hecate's first appearance, because her belonging to a wider pre-Indo-European pattern does not make her especially linked to a single place. On the contrary, each place shows a distinguished rendering of this prominent deity, stressing certain features over others of the prehistoric Great Goddess, who characterized the religious imagery of an early Europe. Gimbutas recalls the longevity of this model, since "in her various manifestations-strong and beautiful Virgin, Bear Mother, and Life-giver and Life-taker, the Great Goddess existed for at least five thousand years before the appearance of the Classical Greek civilization".[14] Confirming the early development of Hecate beyond Greek

[11] Nilsson 1940: 90

[12] M. Gimbutas, *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 197.

[13] Ibid: 198.

[14] Ibid: 199.

civilization , Feather recalls how "Hecate's great temple at Lagina in modern day's Turkey, 200 miles from the large Neolithic site of Catal Hoyuk, comes from the Antique Bronze Age (3000 BCE) and locates her origin in that of a primary Anatolian deity."[15] However, this prominence in the Middle East has been justified by scholars as a consequence of Hecate's belonging to an early pattern, since "they understand Hecate as a reflex of the Great Mother figure."[16]

By assuming this, the approach to Hesiod's *Theogony* seems to be more explicable: its purpose is to represent the last stage of a long process, the progressive transformation of the old "Great Goddess" into another, still prominent figure, which will become our "Hecate". Hesiod is a deeply important source in order to approach Hecate: his famous Hymn to Hecate,[17] is rare and constitutes the earliest literary source which gives such a detailed portrait of Hecate. The reason for her centrality has always caught the attention of scholars, who had variously tried to unveil it, especially because her description has little or no match with the contemporary material evidence, since "the amount of archaeological material found is quite limited".[18] However, this lack of evidence will be followed by "the relatively sudden appearance of archaeological evidence for Hecate's worship in the sixth century" [19], much later than Hesiod's poetry.

The common explanation advocated to justify the difference between Hesiod's account and the other sources has been traced in the text of the *Theogony* itself. In many regards, the Hymn to Hecate can be seen as consistent with the compelling story of the establishment of the new rule of Zeus which precedes it, with the

[15] J.M. Feather, *Hekate's Hordes. Memoir's Voice* PhD dissertation Pacifica Graduate Institute 2011: 1.
[16] Clay 1984:28
[17] *Th.* 411-452
[18] Von Ruddloff 1999: 33
[19] Ibid: 58

partitioning of the several *timai* between the Olympian deities which follows. Particularly, Boedeker found in the text many similarities between Zeus and Hecate, suggesting that the description of Hecate can be put in relation to the characterization of Zeus:

> "Hecate, who with her time incorporates and unifies so many aspects of the cosmos (especially the human world), provides yet another model of foreshadowing of Zeus' acquisition of power. The categories of people she helps, which appear to reflect Indo-European tripartite social structure, are in turn reflected by the course of events through which Zeus gains his primacy." [20]

It is also noteworthy how Hecate, despite her status of primeval goddess, eventually embodied the three fundamental functions of the Indo-European hierarchy (sovereignty, physical force and fertility), as they were theorized by Dumezil, in her assistance to different categories of men, from agriculture to political life. As Boedeker explains, "According to Dumezil, tripartition is primarily an ideology rather than a description of actual social structure, a 'means of analyzing, of interpreting the forces which ensure the course of the world and the lives of men".[21]

Thus, Hecate becomes a sort of paradigmatic counterpart of Zeus, halfway between mirroring and opposing to him: "Hecate may be described as providing a model for Zeus' synthesis of powers. Yet her passive acceptance of the *timai* accorded her by other gods presents an antithesis to Zeus' active pursuit and use of

[20] D. Boedeker, "Hecate: A Trasfunctional Goddess in the Theogony?," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 113(1983):91.
[21] Ibid: 84.

power".[22] Surely, Boedeker is right in taking into account the placement of the Hymn within the text but an analysis of the Hymn to Hecate should also examine the major themes of the macrotext in which it is included. If the hymn has to be regarded as an authentic piece of poetry composed by Hesiod (as it has been judged by most recent commentators of Hesiod), it is clear that its arrangement matches the broader content of the *Theogony*, offering an echo of the bigger narrative around which the full text is centred. However, Hesiod's difference from the other evidence still remains a striking fact: "Hesiod's portrait of Hecate is unique. It is her earliest appearance in Greek literature and nowhere else is she depicted so reverently."[23] Indeed, even if beyond Marquadt's view, it is possible to explain this unmatched centrality if Hesiod was preserving in his text the primeval memory of a powerful, ancestral goddess, whose traits were undergoing a deep transformation in Greece, where her presence may have also been challenged by other similar goddesses. Therefore, Hecate has not received the spotlight merely because of the needs of the author himself, but her description points to an importance which goes beyond Hesiod and can be explained by her preceding status of "Great Goddess".

In particular, there is one key factor which emerges from her characterization and tends to be predominant: her capacity for mediation between different spheres of the world, as well as between men and gods. Boedeker precisely acknowledges that "with her beneficent and pervasive *timè*, Hecate unites the spatial divisions of the universe, and also links the immortal and mortal races."[24] In addition, Hecate's will and favour seem to be very effective in raising prayers and hope that they are going to be listened to: her role is to make easier the communication between

[22] Boedeker 1983: 93.
[23] P.A. Marquadt, "A Portrait if Hecate," *The American Journal of Philology* 102.3(1981): 260.
[24] Boedeker 1983: 82.

these two different categories, preserving the cosmic order well settled by Zeus. Therefore, by considering these lines in Hesiod, the whole evolution should be reconstructed as it follows: Hecate started as a Great Mother Goddess, on the same path followed by Asian Goddess, but, in the indigenous Greek rendering, her function became particularly associated with the exchange and transition. Therefore, she facilitates passages and protects human activities and their efforts to deal with the superior world *par excellence*, the one dominated by the Gods. As Marquardt rightly claims, "men summon Hecate when they want to gain favor with the gods in general, as though Hecate were an intermediary between man and gods. Such an interpretation would not be inconsistent with her personal involvement in men's lives or with her extraordinary *timè* among the Gods."[25]

Turning the focus from mankind to nature, scholars have also long discussed the possible resemblance of Hecate to the *potnia theron* model: they are still divided on evaluating to what extent it is possible to ascribe to Hecate the features of this powerful mistress, who controls the animals surrounding her and holds a strong kinship with the whole natural world. The dominant view is that Hecate cannot be fully assimilated to the *potnia theron* model, since her sovereignty in nature is restricted to certain, specific domains and her activity mostly applies to other aspects of human civilization. Citing Hesiod[26] in this regard, Marquardt notes that "Hecate's power over animals seems directed primarily toward their breeding. She appears in the pens as the farmer's helper rather than as huntress in the wilds, like Artemis in the Hymn."[27] The emphasis lay on protection rather than domination. On the contrary, Hecate seems also to pay attention to the anthropomorphic world and, even if her remote origin can tie her to the pattern of a "Great Goddess" also associated with nature,

[25] Marquardt 1981: 245.
[26] *Th*. 444-447.
[27] Marquardt 1981: 255.

she gradually focuses on another area of influence, still related to nature: the intersection, the crossing of boundaries and passages. Thus, even if Hecate does not completely match the pattern of *potnia theron*, it can still allude to her early phase and help to understand her comprehensive sphere of influence: "although Hecate in the *Theogony* does not function as a *potnia theron* or, more generally, as a nature-goddess, the description of her broad powers may be found in such a religious orientation."[28] This element needs to be taken further into account, since it leads straight to a separate issue that is extremely consistent in Hecate's development, her association with one Greek deity in particular: Artemis.

Artemis is fundamental in approaching Hecate: in Hellenistic times and later antiquity, the two figures have often been equated or deliberately assimilated, to the extent that there is still a vivid discussion on which deity influences the other and how it is difficult to distinguish them because their individual prerogatives eventually ended up overlapping. Describing Hecate is not possible without involving and considering also the role of Artemis in shaping this goddess. Although reconstructing the clear outlines of this process is not always possible, the inclusion of Artemis in the picture can help to better identify the specificities owned by Hecate.

First, it is relevant to point out that even Artemis's origin was ascribed to the model of the *potnia theron*, as Burkert also clarifies:

> "In the *Iliad* Artemis is called Mistress of the Animals, *potnia theron*, obviously a well established formula and this has justly been seen as a key to her nature. The eastern motif so beloved by archaic art, which shows a goddess, often with wings, standing between symmetrically arranged wild animals, is generally

[28] Marquardt 1981: 255.

associated with Artemis."[29]

On the same path, Gimbutas was pairing Artemis and Hecate as surviving examples of the Great Mother Goddess [30] and Burkert confirms the antiquity of this model, by stating that "without doubt, customs of this kind, as well as the very idea of a Mistress of the Animals, go back to the Paleolithic."[31] However, instead of merely looking back at their mutual origin, one must also recognize in Artemis' contradictions, with the capability of cracking her unitarian image, which are similar to those that have been noted in Hecate. Already Burkert saw the same gap between the Homeric treatment of Artemis and her previous status as *potnia theron*: "In the Homeric poems, this sphere of activity, still betrayed in the title "Mistress of the Animals" and very much alive in the cult, is decidedly suppressed, and Artemis is made a girl."[32] Thus, even Artemis, in the way she has been worshipped in the Greek mainland, was primarily regarded as a virgin warrior, without all those connotations associated with fertility and motherhood which were emphasized in Asia Minor and Ionia, such as with Ephesian Artemis.

Thus, the profile of Artemis appears not to be fully coherent and, given the origin to the pre-Indo European pattern, evolved along different paths in a surprisingly similar way to Hecate. Strikingly, both deities developed different shades which were initially in the background at the time of their first appearances in Asia and, having identified this common process, it is now necessary to turn to their involvement in human affairs, rather than focusing on their roots as nature-related goddesses. In fact, by taking into account their human-centered activity, it would be better to conceptualize Artemis and Hecate as two deities equally

[29] Burkert 1985: 149.
[30] Gimbutas 1982: 197.
[31] Burkert 1985: 149.
[32] Ibid.

representing two sides of the same story, instead of attempting to establish who was the first to appear and influence the other.
Surely, the most poignant similarity between the two plays on a specific ground: their common concern for tending the young. Hesiod's characterization of Hecate culminates with her definition as *kourotrophos*, capable of taking care of all the Titans, as well as nursing young men.[33] Highlighting her assistance in a very important sphere of life, this detail is not random since, as Marquardt revealed, "Expressions of Hecate's immediacy in the lives of men and her benevolent nature form a recurring theme in the Hymn."[34] A deeper significance can be found by searching for any trace of the same attitude in the personality of Artemis. The result is that the same feature can be recognized in Artemis and in her massive involvement in rites especially related to growing boys. Lloys-Jones remarks that:

> "Artemis is connected with girls but also with young men: in Sparta the ephebes were flogged at the altar of Artemis Orthia, and in Athens they swore their oath in the temple of Artemis Agrotera, the same goddess who received a sacrifice of five hundred goats as a thank offering for her aid at Marathon."[35]

Artemis is the hunting virgin who protects young heroes and guard their development, but she is also the goddess surrounded by maidens to whom she especially devotes herself: Marinatos writes:

> "it is obvious that the demands of Greek communities extended her range beyond male patronage. At Brauron we come across a softer Artemis, a protectress of girls. The late Archaic and Classical

[33] *Th*. 450-452.
[34] Marquardt 1981: 244.
[35] Lloys-Jones 1983: 91.

> Artemis is a maiden who leads choruses of maidens."[36]

Artemis plays a huge role in the transition of young people between puberty and maturity, which has always been regarded by the Greeks as a fundamental passage for youth within their society. On this point, Marinatos confirms the persistent heredity of the "Mistress of Animals" pattern, which contributed to shape the identity of Artemis:

> "Artemis presides over achievements of the warriors, even such as can be termed 'savage'. Yet this savagery is constrained by rituals and warrior ethics dictated by the Greek *polis.* Young man had to learn to defend their cities and this could not be done without harsh, even brutal training." [37]

The savagery inherent to the *potnia theron* model plays a specific role not only in boys' training, but also in girls' transitions, as Burkert suggests:

> "As goddess of the wilds, Artemis presides over hunting and over initiation of the girls. The aetiological myth points to an even more intimate connection; the dedication of young girls at Brauron is said to be in atonement for a bear sacred to Artemis which was killed by Attic youths; for this reason, the girls themselves are called she-bears, *arktoi*."[38]

Artemis is traditionally associated with this delicate stage, but even Hecate seems to be relevant in this regard, especially if the

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[36] Marinatos *The Goddess and the Warrior: The Naked Goddess and Mistress of Animals in Early Greek Religion* (2011): 100.
[37] Marinatoes 2011: 114
[38] Burkert 1985: 150

focus is centered on the maidens and the myth explores the extent of this connection. Indeed, Von Ruddloff points out that "A different sort of connection between Hecate and Artemis is revealed in a number of similar legends concerning girls or young women who die either by being sacrificed or by taking their own lives, often in order to ensure the safety of their people."[39] The link to maidens and their further development has been analyzed by Johnston who sees this prerogative as central to approach the mythical and ritual figure of Hecate, because:

> "when Hecate entered Greece, she continued to serve as a goddess of women's transitions in *cult*, sharing the role with Artemis, but in *myth* Hecate was subordinated to Artemis by being moved into a variation of the role of mythic victim. This role brought her into even closer contact with the vengeful ghosts that she was already believed to avert." [40]

Before concentrating on Hecate, Johnston recalls mythical girls such as the orphan Erigone, Laconian Carya or the daughters of Athenian Pandareus who underwent a transformation and died before having been married, because of some dire perturbation. [41] Johnston provides precise mythical examples, such as Iphigeneia and an unnamed Ephesian woman, both set in Asia Minor where both protagonists, contending with Artemis, ended in "becoming Hecate".[42] This expression directly connects Hecate not only to Artemis, but also to the figure of the "dying maiden" and makes

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[39] Von Ruddloff 1999:68.

[40] S.I. Johnston, *The Restless Dead: Encounters Between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 247.

[41] Ibid: 219- 237.

[42] Ibid: 242-244. (Stesich. fr.215 *PMG* for the former, Call. fr.461 for the latter.)

her a paradigmatic model of this un-fulfilled transition. Therefore, Hecate, the Great Goddess became a "dying maiden" in close association with Artemis, with whom she shared many aspects but who was too well known in Greece to be completely overshadowed by Hecate's arrival. Johnston summarizes the whole process by emphasizing how "the role of dying virgin must have seemed to myth-makers like a more promising way to bring Hecate into a close relationship to Artemis".[43] Her inclusion into the Greek Pantheon was made possible through her refunctionalization as a new archetype of dying maiden, then her absorption into Artemis' sphere of interest.

Johnston's analysis emphasizes the intrinsic elements which explain Hecate's gradual transition into a Chthonic presence mainly devoted to dark magic, ghosts, crossroads and other liminal places. Hecate's sovereignty over darkness is, therefore, intimately linked to her more ancestral characteristics: it is the result of a progressive focus on the consequences of her assistance as helper during some of the most prominent passages in human life, such as birth and ritual initiations, particularly in the life of a young woman. As Stratton claims, "the fact then that Hekate nearly always carries torches in art and sculptures suggests that she has a close connection with mystery initiations, especially those of Eleusis, which symbolically enact a passage through death."[44] The dark twists of some mythical stories should not give the wrong impression that Hecate only identifies with the tragic outcome of this universally spread plot. This pattern was positively reinterpreted in another hugely important early literary source about Hecate: the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.

Although in this text Hecate is not treated with the same favour Hesiod reserved for her in his *Theogony*, the hymn

[43] Johnston 1999: 246.

[44] K. Stratton, "Power and Taboo: Considering Hekate's Role as Goddess of Magic in Graeco-Roman Antiquity," MA level paper for Harvard University (1994): 10.

provides a concrete example of Hecate's interactions with other gods and her role in the Greek pantheon. Indeed, although she is not the main character, she still marks the fundamental turning points of the myth in the Homeric Hymn: on the one hand, she is important to Demeter, by telling her about the cries of Persephone and escorting her to Helios in order to learn what truly happened to her daughter;[45] on the other hand, she is taking care of Persephone[46] and will become her guide, once the mystery of her disappearance is solved. Nonetheless, it seems difficult to catch a glimpse of the mythical and ritual connections between Hecate and the two Goddesses involved in the Eleusinian mysteries, even if "Hekate's companionship with Persephone, Queen of the Dead, is clear, and is in agreement, with the later portrayals connecting Hekate to the dead."[47]

In this regard, the opinion expressed by Johnston is particularly effective: she points out how "the passage in the Hymn should be interpreted as the earliest clear allusions to Hekate's role as a guide at times and places of transition." By assuming so, the immediate equivalence is that "just as she guided Persephone and the disembodied souls across the boundary between life and death, she helped men cross the more mundane boundaries that they faced daily."[48]

One must look at the Hymn as a specific product of the poetic tradition and remember Von Rudloff's cautions: "the hymn undoubtedly reflects both local and common traditions; inconsistencies within it, and discrepancies between it and other versions, may reflect awkward compromises."[49] The Hymn

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[45] *Th.*1.51-59.

[46] *Th.*1.438.

[47] Von Rudloff 1999: 28.

[48] S.I. Johnston, *Hekate Soteria: a study of Hekate's roles in the Chaldean Oracles and related literature* (Atlanta: Scholars' Press, 1990), 26.

[49] Von Rudloff 1999: 28.

proves to be consistent in giving a full picture of one of the main prerogatives of Hecate, the same which progressively bonds her with Artemis: her guidance of young maidens and her protection in crossing boundaries, the same she once offered to Persephone and which became proverbial, as vase printing also confirms.[50]

In conclusion, the literary evidence analyzed in this essay, though puzzling and difficult to confirm by contemporary material evidence, all seems to create a coherent image of this goddess, whose dark twist is partially due to her later specialization and her will to mediate between opposite spheres. Once all these sources are put in relation to each other, they reconstruct the unitarian picture of a powerful female goddess who is incredibly ancient, but who adapted her external physiognomy to better express her prominence in the key aspects of the partitioning of the space and human life. There seem to be two steps through which Hecate's development occurred. First, from ancestral "Great Goddess" in the Asiatic environment, she was inserted into the newly pacified Olympian universe as an agent of assistance to humans in both rural and political activities. Then her sphere was even more restricted to the ritual passage from puberty to adolescence, a passage often characterized by death and a negative outcome if not performed in the proper way. Hecate's most important aspect paradoxically lies in her "liminality" with which she is related. In opposition to Stratton, who states about Hecate how "her ability to mediate between realms, as seen in the *Theogony*, evolves into the ability to guide others through liminal passages, establishing her as the patroness of liminal crossings *par excellence*,"[51] I suggest that this conclusion should be pushed further. The specific centrality of Hecate is her control over *limina* of every kind, on a geographical as well as biographical basis. Therefore, crossroads, gateways and entrances are not merely marginal places, but also resemble the cyclical crossing between different ages and status

[50] Johnston 1990: 23; Von Rudloff 1999: 64
[51] Stratton 1994:11

among mankind, with particular emphasis on the fundamental passage between life and death, over which Hecate exercises control as "Great Goddess". As Stratton remarks, "By utilizing the power inherent in liminality- ghosts, crossroads, nonsense, magicians accessed the primordial power of chaos. Thus Hekate's liminal character necessarily led to her role as patroness of magic and of witches."[52] The stress should lie especially on the ancestral quality of Hecate's domain: if liminality is identified as the main reason for her progressive association with magic, it should also be seen as the specific characteristic, which distinguishes Hecate from other prominent female goddesses. Additionally, Gimbutas talking about the prehistoric great goddess, recalls one of Hecate's cult features, by saying that "in her chthonic and frightening aspect, she must have been a Mother Terrible, perhaps yearning for human and animal blood, as indicated by her epiphany in the shape of a ferocious dog."[53] Therefore, Hecate's "association with magic can be understood as a part and parcel of her liminal character "[54]: in other words, it is the direct reflex of an early centrality, which was centered around the concept of mediation and interaction between different realities, both in a concrete and metaphoric way. Therefore, Hecate's development seems to be coherent: magic is not a dark twist to the early or traditional prerogatives of the goddess, but it is rather the confirmation of her prominent role as it is depicted in the Archaic literary evidence. Through the approach with Artemis' complicated evolution, Hecate should be seen not as an eccentric, but as coherent evidence of further transformations occurring to a principal components of the Greek Pantheon.

[52] Stratton 1994: 23
[53] Gimbutas 1982: 196
[54] Stratton 1994: 22

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THE REPUBLIC AS A PICTURE OF PLATO'S SUFFERINGS

HIRYON PARK

Plato did not perceive his own perspective as the one right way of seeing the society. He was very progressive and acknowledged that his view was only a small part of the larger picture. The degree of his open mindedness can be demonstrated by the acceptance of different opinions in his teachings. The Platonic dialogues, such as *The Republic*, were "intended to perform the function of a living teacher who makes his students think".[1] In other words, the dialogues served as an instrument to stimulate his students' thought, rather than implant certain knowledge. *The Republic* was an inspirational dialogue that illustrated one of many angles of viewing a society. In his work, Plato's views on the society largely originated from his sufferings.

Plato is certainly one of the most well known philosophers of the Western civilization. Unfortunately, modern philosophers have shadowed many of his works. It is important to remember that *The Republic* alone covered a countless number of issues, from defining what justice ought to be, to criticizing democracy. Similar to many modern philosophers, Plato experienced and witnessed many hardships, leading him to view the society from a

[1] Plato, *The Republic,* trans. Allan Bloom (Basic Books, 1991), xxi.

pessimistic point of view. Even though all of Plato's works touch on the topic of how the society was and how it should be, this paper will only examine *The Republic* specifically. *The Republic* outlined the necessary elements and transitions a society would need in order to be classified as utopian, but it seemed to have reflected more of Plato's destructive and painful experiences than his yearnings. In the dialogue, he laid out a Spartan-like society as the model city, explained the inevitable transitions all forms of government need to go through, and proposed the Allegory of the Cave. The fact that Plato's ideal society is modeled after Sparta is quite reflective of the consequences of the Peloponnesian War. His chronological order of political degeneration demonstrated his experience with failed forms of government, particularly the oligarchy run by the Thirty Tyrants and the democracy that sentenced his mentor, Socrates, to death. In the Allegory, he further described how blind the masses were in comparison to the wise Socrates.

Plato was born during the early stages of the Peloponnesian War, and lived in an age where the immediate outcome of the war resulted in Athens being ruled by the Thirty Tyrants, of whom were pro-Spartan.[2] It may have been the consequences of being on the defeated side that brought doubt into Plato's eyes regarding the Athenian style of society. It was most likely at the moment when Athens lost the war, that its people realized the city-state's inferiority. Simply speaking, Athens could not hold its grounds against Sparta, because the latter was much more established as a stable state in comparison to any other Greek city-state.

Sparta was a military state that prioritized war over most other aspects of the society. Unlike Athens, Sparta did not have the richness or the devotion to the arts. Its stability and military

[2] Claude Mossé, *Athens in Decline 404 – 86 B.C.,* trans. Jean Stewart (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 9.

was like no other Greek city-state.[3] Whereas other Greek cities had constant revolutions and changes in their government, Sparta was unwavering.[4] Its constitution rarely changed and its society was under rigorous control.[5] This helped Sparta achieve its purpose of maintaining the high standards of its military. Bertrand Russell explains that this degree of control comes from how the boys of Sparta were raised.[6] For the sake of keeping its soldiers "hardy, indifferent to pain, and submissive to discipline",[7] the boys of Sparta were gathered into one school until they were twenty years old. The separation of the boys from their families and the society freed the boys of temptations and created a stronger bond with the military than with their blood-related family.

Plato described soldiers to be a necessity in the feverish city. His "feverish city" was depicted as a world of luxuries. Its counterpart was the original city, where only basic necessities were present. Soldiers would undoubtedly be needed in the feverish city to restrain the people from acting out on primitive instinct and greed. It was after realizing the weakness in Athenian military power that he depicted his "guardians" of the city to be very much like Spartan men. He explained how the "Noble Dogs" needed to be taken from their families to rob them of all luxuries.[8] It was vital for him that soldiers stayed away from their families and stayed in the outskirts of the city because the family and the concept of private interests would have created a world for the soldier that was unrelated to the wellbeing of the city. His image of a noble dog was a soldier who had loyalty and discipline, one

[3] Bertrand Russell, *The History of Western Philosophy* (Touchstone, 1967) 98.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Russell, *The History of Western Philosophy*, 95.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Plato, *The Republic,* trans. Allan Bloom, 361c.

who was incapable of being blinded by greed. It is quite probable that Plato's vision to strengthen the military was a consequence of Athens' defeat[9]. He suffered greatly from the loss of his aristocratic status at the hands of Sparta and undoubtedly would have wished for a stronger military force.[10]

Plato's experience with different forms of government would justify his disbelief in all forms of governance. He experienced corrupt rulers at the hands of one, of the few, and of the masses. The Peloponnesian War and Sparta itself represented Plato's encounter with tyranny. At the end of the Peloponnesian War, Thirty Tyrants spread "a reign of terror which entailed many arrests, banishments and confiscations of goods".[11] After the reign of the Thirty Tyrants, Athens reinstated democracy, but Plato's mentor was sentenced to death for spreading thoughts that were against the social and political norms of Athens.

In *The Republic*, Plato ranked his regimes in the order they would arise and diminish. He began with his ideal regime, the kingship. He characterized it to be ruled by one man with wisdom and virtue; this was his "philosopher-king." Although this was his ideal regime, he acknowledged that the philosopher-king was also impossible. If one ruler achieved total power, he said it would likely end with tyrants, such as in Sparta. His second best but more practical regime was the aristocracy. He interpreted this regime to be the rule of the best and brightest who were virtuous and noble. Nevertheless, as it occurred with the Thirty Tyrants, if the few who ruled came from noble birth and wealth, it might fall into an oligarchy. For Plato, oligarchy had a bad reputation as he meant it as a term for a failed aristocracy.

Lastly, the most practical form of regime was polity. In polity, there were oligarchic elements, but the elites were elected,

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[9] Russell, *The History of Western Philosophy*, 60.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Claude Mossé, *Athens in Decline 404 – 86 B.C.*, trans. Jean Stewart (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 9.

not appointed. The masses would also have the opportunity to judge those on trial. This system was created so that people could receive good government while the elites were still able to hold office. However, according to Plato, this regime was also one that would inevitably fail. A failed polity is interestingly enough, a democracy. Democracy in his sense meant the rule of the many. This will be explained further with the Allegory of the Cave. In short, Plato did not have a practical idea on what a utopian political community was. Instead, he related the fall of regimes to his tragic encounters.

Socrates's trial and death have been depicted many times in Plato's works. As a devoted and loyal student, he portrayed Socrates as righteous and a just philosopher who died at the hands of the blinded masses. In *The Apology*, Socrates was on trial defending himself from the people of Athens on the account of corrupting the youth, defying the gods and inventing new beliefs. He claimed that he only wanted to spread wisdom to all Athenians, not to deny the norms that circulated Athens at the time. According to Plato, he truly wanted the people of Athens to enlighten philosophically as he had done. He even went to the extent of stating that it would be their loss to sentence him to death:

> "Men of Athens, do not interrupt, but hear me; there was an agreement between us that you should hear me out. And I think that what I am going to say will do you good: for I have something more to say, at which you may be inclined to cry out; but I beg that you will not do this. I would have you know that, if you kill such a one as I am, you will injure yourselves more than you will injure me."[12]

[12] Plato, *Plato The Republic and Other Works*, trans. B.Jowett (New York: Anchor, 1973), 460.

Socrates realized that persuading the masses was a very difficult task to achieve. His struggle was reflected in Plato's definition of democracy, because the definition noted how easily the masses could be corrupted and manipulated through enforcement of social and political norms.

The Allegory of the Cave certainly mirrored Socrates's struggle in conveying the wisdom he obtained to the people of Athens. The allegory is broadly about the unwillingness and the refusal of the masses to become enlightened with the Truth. The story begins with prisoners deep within the cave. These men symbolize the masses in society, being trapped and being forced to face the mere shadows of their masters, or the puppeteers. When they had the opportunity and decided to face away from the shadows, they ascended the cave towards the entrance, passing by the Untruths of the society. The rebel that chose to ascend out of the cave would see the puppeteers that were reflected on the wall. Much to his surprise, he would also see that the light creating the reflections was not from the sun, but from a lit fire. This may have symbolized that even the puppeteers were manipulated by their circumstances. When the rebel passed the fire, he would finally see the outside of the cave, where the true light shone by the sun. However, he would struggle to get outside of the cave, because he would be too accustomed to the dark, or the Untruth. After obtaining the courage to step outside and witness the Truth, he would adapt and become accustomed to the light of the sun. In *The Republic*, the sun is portrayed as the ultimate truth or knowledge. Unfortunately, Plato mentions how it is by human nature that the enlightened will pity the prisoners in the cave, and ultimately descend back into the dark. This is when the masses decide to execute the enlightened, because he would speak in an incomprehensible manner. This allegory illustrated how Plato thought it was unfair that the wise Socrates died at the hands of the blinded fools.

In conclusion, *The Republic* truly reflected more of Plato's unfortunate experiences than his hopes for mankind. He

depicted a totalitarian society to be ideal; he explained his disbelief in all forms of governance because they will all inevitably fail; and finally, he illustrated the foolishness of the masses and how blind they are of wisdom.

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PUELLA

It bewilders me to gaze upon myself in rainbow hues.
They said it was an honour, with no recourse to refuse.
Mater says I'm lovely, a scented blossom of Pompeii.
Jesting frater says my soulful eyes could scare Cupid away!
Dear Pater listens misty eyed then he burbles ancient tales,
of mater looking just like me, shy beneath her orange veil.
So there I stand in somber pose, wax tablets, crafted wand,
with stylus pressed to pouting lips rouged rosy like the dawn.
Sheer golden net tops gilded loops nestled in my auburn curls,
but in the boredom of the moment the slender stylus twirls.
Behind the deep set almond eyes my thoughts roam wild and free.
I dwell on Jove and life and love, of sky and earth and sea!
Familia mea rarely dwell on dreams beyond to crave,
yet I yearn to turn my back to catch and capture Pompeii's waves.
Truly nothing lasts forever, faces, family, Pompeii's walls.
As with fragile ashes after fire, wind and rain may grasp it all.
Wheels and sandals, cobbled roads, they could lead this girl away,
but if perchance you find me here know Puella chose to stay!

— Colleen Dunn

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CATAPULT

JON ORGAN

Writing his *Library of History* in the 1st century BCE, Diodorus had occasion to mention that "In fact the catapult was invented at this time in Syracuse"[1] when recounting the events in Sicily at the dawn of the 4th century BCE. It is a direct and simple statement that belies the gaps in our knowledge and glosses over the often complex evolution of technology, but nevertheless supplies a concrete starting point in a discussion of the appearance of catapult technology. Although the catapult continued to evolve after the 4th century BCE, this paper focuses on its early development, covering primarily the time between its supposed invention in Syracuse and first use in Dionysius I's siege of Motya in 397 BCE to the siege of Tyre by Alexander in 332 BCE. Addressed chronologically in this paper are the numerous issues and problems associated with understanding the emergence of catapult artillery in the Greek world, including their invention, design improvements, diffusion through the Mediterranean, the

[1] Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library*, 14.42.

types of catapult developed and some of the instances of their deployment. The paucity of information from our sources and the fragmentary nature of archaeological finds means that a full understanding of some of the most important developments in the history of catapultae, such as the appearance of the torsion-spring principle, remains elusive. Despite these ambiguities, however, it seems that within less than a century what started as a bolt-shooting machine somewhat larger than a bow[2] had evolved into a machine capable of hurling stones against and damaging city walls.[3] Indeed, catapult artillery proved to have a significant and lasting impact on the evolution of siege warfare that "brought about new methods of attack"[4] and defense, which cities and armies had to thereafter take into account.

Between 409 and 405 BCE, Carthage had toppled several of the Greek city-states of Sicily in an eastward expansion that with each victory inched closer to Syracuse, home of the tyrant Dionysius I.[5] Faced with the likelihood that Syracuse would be next once hostilities with Carthage resumed, Dionysius set about building up the military strength of the city by inviting craftsmen from the Mediterranean world, including areas under Carthaginian control, to produce a large store of weapons.[6] It was during this flurry of preparations for war that in 399 BCE Diodorus reports that, among other innovations, the catapult had been created in order to make up for "Greek inferiority in armaments and siege

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[2] Landels, J.G. 1978. *Engineering in the Ancient World.* (London: Chatto & Windus), 100.

[3] Diod. 17.45.

[4] De Gandt, F. 2003. "Technology," in *The Greek Pursuit of Knowledge.* J. Brunschwig & G.E.R.

Lloyd (ed.) (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Havard University Press, 335-346), 338.

[5] Kern, P.B. 1999. *Ancient Siege Warfare.* (Indiana: Indiana University Press), 164-174.

[6] Diod. 14.41-43.

equipment".[7] However, the idea that the catapult spontaneously emerged in Syracuse without a technological forerunner is not shared by all scholars, modern or ancient.

If we define a catapult as a machine that is capable of firing a projectile such as a bolt or stone over a further distance than a single person could manage with a bow, then the presence of such machines in the Mediterranean world prior to the time of Dionysius would likely have left some evidence behind. Marsden[8] suggests that a reference in the Bible[9] to artillery constructed for the defense of Jerusalem in the 8th century BCE cannot be taken as solid evidence because the passage was written during the 3rd century BCE, at a time when catapultae were already widespread, implying that the author was perhaps applying knowledge of their time to a description of events long past. Marsden[10] further suggests that despite their proficiency in siege warfare, the circumstantial evidence for artillery from Assyrian reliefs is insufficient to draw a certain conclusion. Cuomo[11] points to the possibility that had a forerunner of the catapult been developed in the Near East, it could have come to the attention of the Greeks through Carthage (which had been founded by Phoenicians from the eastern Mediterranean), then countering that no historian from before or after the siege of Motya mentions the catapult as having been invented before that time. Writing in the 1st century CE, Pliny the Elder[12] mentions that the catapult was invented on Crete, though he does not provide a timeframe. It would seem then that the inspiration for catapult technology may

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[7] Kern, *Ancient Siege Warfare*, 176.

[8] Marsden, E.W. 1969. *Greek and Roman Artillery: Historical Development.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 52-3.

[9] The Bible, *Chronicles*, 2.26.15.

[10] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 53.

[11] Cuomo, S. 2007. *Technology and Culture in Greek and Roman Antiquity.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 45, 46.

[12] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 7.56.

have existed prior to Dionysius, but without more concrete evidence its invention in 399 BCE remains a firm starting point if for no other reason than it thereafter "achieved widespread recognition".[13]

The catapult that Dionysius' engineers developed seems to have been based on enhancing the powers of the composite bow, already long known to the Greeks.[14] Made of layers of sinew, wood and horn, bow-makers would have been aware of the ability to make a bow that was too large or stiff for a person to pull back, a problem which the engineers in Syracuse sought to overcome.[15] Marsden[16] places the origin of catapult technology with a weapon described by Heron of Alexandria (writing in the 1st century CE[17]) as the *gastraphetes* (belly-bow), which he himself identified as the earliest type of catapult. The *gastraphetes* (fig. 1) was essentially a large composite bow connected to a long board attached to another which could slide on top; the bowstring fit into a trigger mechanism on the top board and the user placed the end of this board on the ground, pushing with their body weight on the lower board to draw the bowstring; the bow stayed cocked due to a ratchet mechanism between the two boards and could be fired at the user's discretion.[18] There is some question as to whether or not Dionysius' catapultae were only of the *gastraphetes* type as Diodorus mentions "He also had catapults made of every style".[19] However, the type of catapult first developed in Syracuse may well have been at least similar to

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[13] Campbell, D.B. 2011. "Ancient Catapults: Some Hypotheses Reexamined," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.* (80: 677-700), 679.
[14] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery,* 8.
[15] Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World,* 100-101.
[16] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery,* 5.
[17] Ibid. 3.
[18] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery,* 5.
[19] Diod. 14.43.

the *gastraphetes*, owing to the relative simplicity of its construction.

Armed with his new catapult in 397 BCE, Dionysius led a large army from Syracuse to the Carthaginian city of Motya (fig. 2), which lay in a lagoon off the west coast of Sicily.[20] Motya was connected to the mainland by a mole which, because news had arrived that Dionysius was coming with his siege engines, had been rendered impassable in anticipation of the attack.[21] Upon arriving, Dionysius' forces started to rebuild the mole and move their siege engines forward, while they left their fleet pulled up on the beach across the lagoon.[22] It was then that the Carthaginians sent reinforcements in the form of a large fleet which their commander, Himilcon, hope to use to neutralize the Syracusan ships.[23] However, Dionysius had the ships dragged across the peninsula they had beached on and into the open water on the other side, providing covering fire using archers and his new catapultae.[24] This caused Himilcon to retreat back to Carthage and Diodorus reports that the catapult both "shot sharp-pointed missiles"[25] and "created great dismay, because it was a new invention at the time."[26] That Dionysius' catapultae shocked the Carthaginians can be taken as evidence for their recent invention and Marsden notes that these catapultae were capable of "outshooting the most efficient existing hand-bow by about 50 yards,"[27] which would have put the Carthaginians at a distinct disadvantage. Diodorus[28] continues his description of the siege,

[20] Diod. 14.47.
[21] Ibid. 14.48.
[22] Ibid. 14.48,49.
[23] Ibid. 14.50.
[24] Ibid. 14.50.
[25] Ibid. 14.50.
[26] Ibid. 14.50.
[27] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery,* 12.
[28] Diod. 14.51.

again noting how once the siege engines and rams had reached the walls, Dionysius employed his catapultae to keep the walls clear of Motyan defenders.

While Motya was eventually taken through a clever night raid to secure a defensible position inside the city,[29] the new catapult was arguably instrumental in defending both the Syracusan fleet and siege towers as they advanced on the city. The ferocity of the siege could still be seen when Whitaker[30] explored the site and found great quantities of missile-fire. From the evidence it seems likely that by 399 BCE Dionysius` engineers had produced a weapon that, if not entirely new, was on a whole new scale. They had mechanized the bow to increase missile range beyond what was attainable with hand-bows known at the time. Along with his other siege engines, the catapult put Dionysius' siege of Motya "on an altogether grander … scale, and it presaged the siege of Tyre by Alexander."[31]

After the siege of Motya until the time of Philip II, the catapult underwent transformations in terms of design and size as it spread across the Mediterranean following paths that are difficult to trace, but nevertheless seem to converge on Macedon by mid-century. If the catapult originally developed by Dionysius` engineers was similar to the *gastraphetes*, the next refinements to its design would likely have been the winch and base.[32] The winch had existed from at least the 5th century BCE,[33] and its inclusion in catapult design would have allowed an even greater mechanical

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[29] Diod. 14.52.

[30] Whitaker, J.J.S. 1920. "Recent Archaeological Research at Motya," *Man.* (20: 177-180), 178.

[31] Caven, B. 1990. *Dionysius I: War-Lord of Sicily*. (London: Yale University Press), 103.

[32] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 13.

[33] Drachmann, A.G. 1963. *The Mechanical Technology of Greek and Roman Antiquity: A Study of Literary Sources.* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard), 184.

advantage in loading than the just the operator`s bodyweight could manage.[34] The addition of the winch would have freed the user from having to hold and lift the machine, as well as allowing increases in size and power. Eventually, lifting catapultae would have been both unnecessary and essentially impossible for one person to manage easily and at this point a permanent base would probably have been required to keep the catapult steady.[35] After this development the catapult would have started to take on its more familiar appearance (fig. 3). The evidence for when the winch and base became permanent features of catapultae is not conclusive and ancient accounts suggest different development models. Diodorus`[36] account of the siege of Motya mentions that the catapultae used against Himilcon`s ships were fired from land and not from the ships that he was dragging across the peninsula. This may suggest the presence of at least a base for these catapultae, as loading a *gastraphetes* by pressing it against uneven, possibly sandy, ground would have been inferior to loading a catapult attached to a solid base. Although Marsden[37] interprets the technical treatises of Biton and Heron (Biton`s treatise was written in the 3rd century BCE[38]) as possibly indicating the emergence of the winch and stand at approximately the same time as the development of torsion-spring catapultae, he nevertheless suggests that the winch and base likely came first.

An invention as powerful as the catapult, with the resources of Syracuse behind its development, would have found its way to the other major centres in the Mediterranean world as Marsden[39] suggests that the original developers of the catapult would have eventually been employed in other cities, bringing

[34] Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World*, 104.
[35] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 14.
[36] Diod.14.50.
[37] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 13, 14.
[38] Ibid. 3.
[39] Ibid. 66-7.

their expertise with them. Approximately thirty years after the invention of the catapult, however, the evidence indicates that it was still Syracuse that was mainly responsible for disseminating the technology, as Plutarch records the reaction of the Spartan prince Archidamus when given a demonstration of "a piece of catapult artillery then brought over from Sicily for the first time".[40] Marsden[41] proposes that the catapultae introduced at that time were part of the military assistance sent to Sparta by Dionysius in 368 BCE. Further evidence for the presence of catapultae in mainland Greece by about 370 BCE comes from an inscription in Athens which records a store of catapult bolts, perhaps part of a gift from Dionysius himself.[42]

The textual and archaeological evidence for the spread of catapultae in 360s and 350s BCE is comparatively scant and it is only during the latter part of the reign of Philip II that the narrative picks up again with greater certainty. However, an event from the earlier part of his reign may indicate that catapult technology had not only spread, but was being improved upon. Marsden[43] interprets an account by Polyaenus on a battle between Philip and Onomarchus of Phocas in 354 BCE to suggest that the latter employed stone-throwing catapultae. However, as the Phocian troops threw their stones from a "steep and craggy mountain,"[44] the rocks may have simply been thrown down by hand, and Diodorus' account of this battle makes no mention of catapultae.[45] Whether or not stone-throwing catapultae had been invented by this time, Worthington[46] points out that Philip was interested in

[40] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 191 E.
[41] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 65.
[42] Ibid. 65-6.
[43] Ibid. 59.
[44] Polyaenus, *Stratagems of War*, 2.38.2.
[45] Diod.16.35.
[46] Worthington, I. 2008. *Philip II of Macedonia*. (New Haven: Yale University Press), 31.

new technologies for siege warfare and not long after 350 BCE had gathered engineers to his court to presumably improve his siege capabilities. Indeed, Kern[47] likens the situation in Pella at this time to that in Syracuse in 399 BCE, when a group of engineers was assembled to develop artillery technology. Such an environment would have been conducive to the development of one of the most profound improvements to artillery, that of the torsion-spring principle.

Although non-torsion catapultae grew to be quite powerful, their performance was still limited by the size of the composite bow.[48] Estimates by Marsden[49] on the stone-throwing non-torsion catapultae presented in Biton`s treatise suggest a bow 15 feet in length and capable of firing stones weighing 40 pounds. Bows much bigger than this would likely have become impractical to produce. It is perhaps in response to this that torsion spring catapultae began to appear in the latter third of the 4th century BCE.[50] These new machines replaced the composite bow of earlier catapultae with two bundles of rope (either sinew or hair) which formed the springs. Wooden arms were then fitted into these bundles, which were held in a large frame and twisted tight; the bowstring was connected to the ends of the wooden arms and working a winch allowed the catapult to be operated in the same manner as previous models (fig. 4).[51]

In 340 BCE Philip's army besieged the city of Perinthus with the assistance of catapultae, while the city itself employed in its defense catapultae sent by nearby Byzantium.[52] Kern[53] points out that the artillery sent by Byzantium in this siege is a sign that

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[47] Kern, *Ancient Siege Warfare*, 199.
[48] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 15.
[49] Ibid. 16.
[50] Campbell, "Ancient Catapults: Some Hypotheses Reexamined", 681.
[51] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 17,18.
[52] Diod. 16.74.
[53] Kern, *Ancient Siege Warfare*, 199.

catapult technology had still not spread to all major centres. Marsden[54] suggests that the catapultae employed by Philip's army at Perinthus were the torsion-spring variety, while those sent by Byzantium would have been non-torsion artillery. Marsden further posits that torsion-spring catapultae were developed by Philip's engineers "between 353 and 341 B.C."[55] Cuomo[56] however, counters that the transition to torsion catapultae is indistinct and that there is no evidence to suggest what kind of artillery either side had in the battle or at that time generally.

Less than ten years after the siege of Perinthus, Alexander's army besieged the Phoenician island city of Tyre in the eastern Mediterranean (fig. 5).[57] In order to reach the walled city, Alexander ordered a mole constructed through the sea,[58] a situation not unlike Dionysius' siege of Motya nearly 70 years prior. In a passage which underscores the similarities between the two sieges, Plutarch[59] reports that of the books sent to Alexander at the time, Philistus' history, which recorded the Motyan siege, was among them, which Sanders[60] believes Alexander would have found useful. The Tyrians not only had their own catapultae, which they set on the walls of the city and placed in ships to harass the workers building the mole, but were capable of building them as well.[61] After the mole had been partially washed out in a storm, Alexander had it repaired and used both his stone-throwing catapultae against the walls and his smaller artillery against the guards on top in order to protect the workers and siege engines on

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[54] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 60.
[55] Ibid. 60.
[56] Cuomo, *Technology and Culture in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 50.
[57] Diod. 17.40.
[58] Ibid. 17.40.
[59] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 8.3.
[60] Sanders, L.J. 1987. *Dionysius I of Syracuse and Greek Tyranny.* (Beckenham: Croom Helm Ltd), 48.
[61] Diod. 17.41-2.

the mole.[62] When the mole was completed and the Macedonian siege towers engaged the walls, Alexander's army continued to use both types of catapult against the walls and soldiers, while the Tyrians resorted to many creative devices to counter the catapult-fire.[63] Although Tyre capitulated soon after its walls were breached by Alexander's rams,[64] artillery nevertheless played a large role in the siege, with both combatants possessing large quantities of catapultae. Additionally, stone-throwing artillery was used against walls for perhaps the first time, which both Marsden[65] and Cuomo[66] believe implies that they would have been torsion-spring catapultae (fig. 6). As Philip's son, Alexander would have inherited his team of engineers, which Kern[67] describes as "large and famous", and both monarchs would have had both the incentive and means to develop new and more powerful weapons.

In the discussion of torsion-spring artillery, two terms were used in antiquity to distinguish between those that shot bolts (euthytone/ευθύτονος), and those that shot stones, (palintone/παλίντονος).[68] Although they may have started out with nearly the same design, the meaning of these terms indicates something about the possible differences that evolved in their construction. Euthytone translates as "straight sprung", whereas palintone translates as "backwards sprung" and different models have been put forward to explain what this meant (fig.7).[69]

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[62] Diod. 17.42.
[63] Ibid. 17.43-45.
[64] Ibid. 17.46.
[65] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 61.
[66] Cuomo, *Technology and Culture in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 50.
[67] Kern, *Ancient Siege Warfare*, 210.
[68] Campbell, “Ancient Catapults: Some Hypotheses Reexamined”, 685.
[69] Ibid. 687.

Marsden[70] and Landels[71] interpret these terms to suggest that they refer to the orientation of the frames holding the springs and arms, with euthytone frames lying 90 degrees to the stock (fig.5,7a) and palintone frames projecting forward at the ends (fig. 6,7b). Campbell,[72] however, suggests that palintone refers to the positioning of the catapult arms such that they would swing inside the frame (fig. 8); he points to Heron's treatise, which describes the springs of palintone catapultae as being more widely separated than in euthytone designs, as evidence of this. Indeed, with a narrow space between the spring frames in a stone-throwing catapult, any misfire could cause the stone to damage the catapult's body, a risk that could be minimized by spacing the frames further apart and letting the arms swing through the center.

While catapultae continued to develop after the siege of Tyre, it was generally through refinements to the existing designs. The treatise of Philon of Byzantium (written in the later 3rd century BCE[73] contains formulae that were developed to allow craftsmen to calculate the size of a catapult`s components for a required size of shot.[74] Philon also states that these formulae were developed under the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt,[75] which fits into the pattern of innovations in catapult technology being associated with the patronage of powerful rulers, as with Dionysius, Philip and Alexander. Despite torsion artillery remaining in use well into the Roman era, Greek engineers continued to attempt innovations in the field.[76] In his treatise, Philon describes a repeating catapult (the polybolos) which did not require the manual reloading of bolts between shots, a method of using wedges to tension the

[70] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 21,22.
[71] Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World*, 118,119.
[72] Campbell, "Ancient Catapults: Some Hypotheses Reexamined", 688.
[73] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 3.
[74] Ibid. 62; Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World*, 120-123.
[75] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 362.
[76] Ibid. 174-5; Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World*, 123.

catapult springs, the idea of using bronze instead of rope for the springs, and a pneumatic catapult which would have used compressed air to throw the arms; however, all of these seem to have remained at the level of research projects.[77]

From no mention of catapultae in Greek literature before the time of Dionysius to the abundance of artillery employed at Tyre,[78] the rapid emergence of catapult technology is an indication of how useful it was deemed and how desirable it was for a city to possess. In terms of development models during this time, Marsden[79] constructs an image of progression from the comparatively humble *gastraphetes* to larger, mounted non-torsion catapultae, which are then supplanted by torsion-spring varieties and grow in size by the time of the siege of Tyre to the point of being able to damage walls. Cuomo[80] instead takes the lack of technological linearity in the ancient treatises on the subject as evidence for a "'scatter' model,"[81] where after the technology spread out of Syracuse, development of artillery continued in different places simultaneously and in different ways. This model emphasizes the fact that the progression of technology does not always strictly proceed from the simple to the complex.[82]

The literature that remains from antiquity and the models proposed by others suggest that an instrument similar to the *gastraphetes*, developed by Dionysius' engineers, constituted the first catapult; from this it was likely soon enlarged by the addition of the winch and base with both types then spreading through the Mediterranean. Torsion-spring artillery may have been invented

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[77] Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World*, 123-130.
[78] Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 52, 102, 103.
[79] Ibid. 49, 56, 58, 61
[80] Cuomo, *Technology and Culture in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 54,55.
[81] Ibid. 55.
[82] Ibid. 48-9.

by engineers in the employ of Philip, but it may have also occurred elsewhere and been brought to their attention. From this point torsion artillery would have received Philip's, and then Alexander's, backing, growing in size and becoming more refined. Other centres would have continued to build and develop their own varieties of catapult, then share and spread this information in turn until the cities of the Mediterranean were a patchwork of arsenals at different levels of sophistication.

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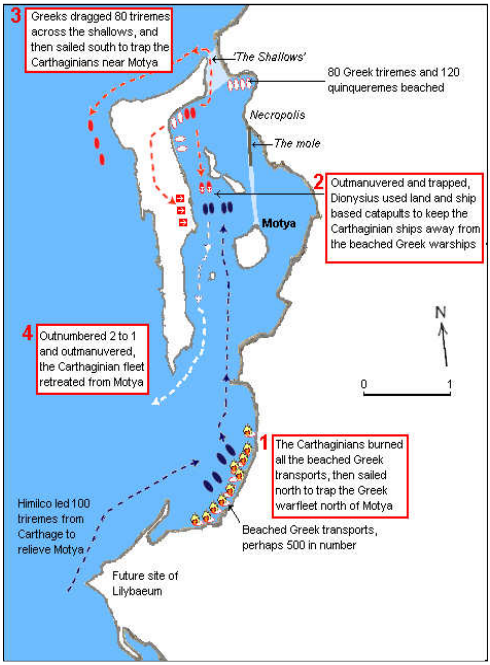
Figure 1
Depiction of an early *gastraphetes*-type catapult.



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Geography of the area around Motya and plan of the siege.

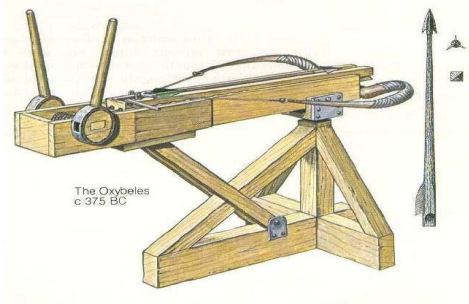

Figure 3
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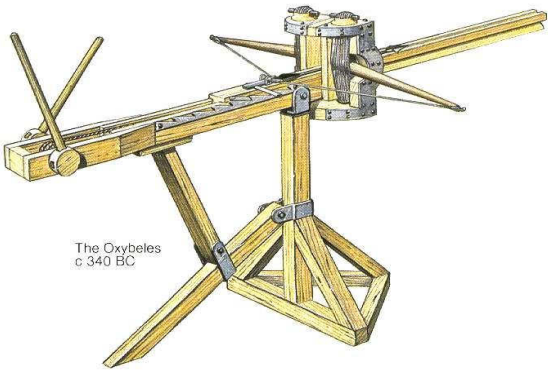


Figure 4
Depiction of a bolt-shooting (euthytone) torsion catapult.

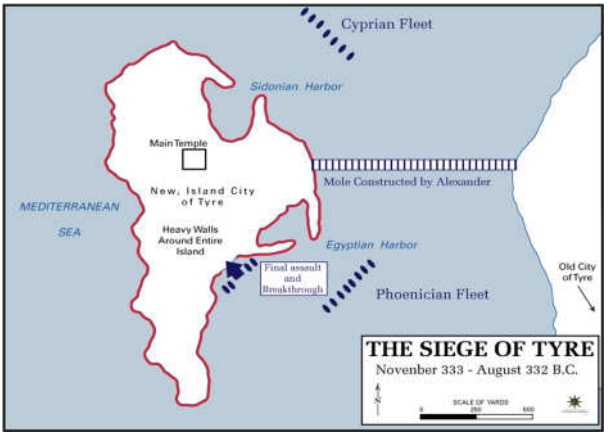


Figure 5
Geography of Tyre and plan of the siege.

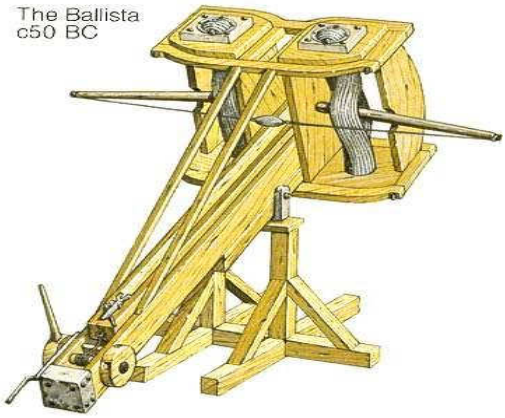
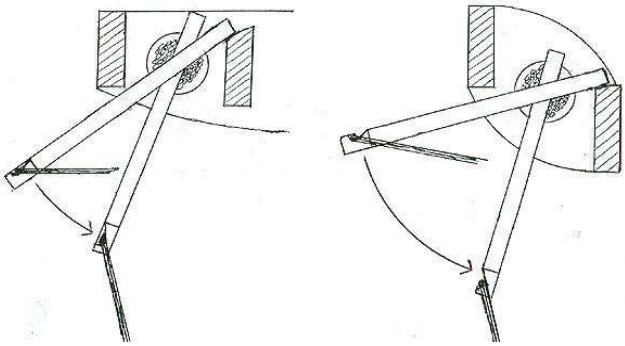


Figure 6
Depiction of a stone-throwing (palintone) torsion catapult. Regarding the date attached to this diagram: the differences in appearance between the late fourth century BCE and mid-first century BCE palintone catapult (depicted above) would have been minimal (Marsden, 1969: 35, 43).



a) euthytone b) palintone

Figure 7
Difference between the frames of euthytone and palintone-type catapultae.

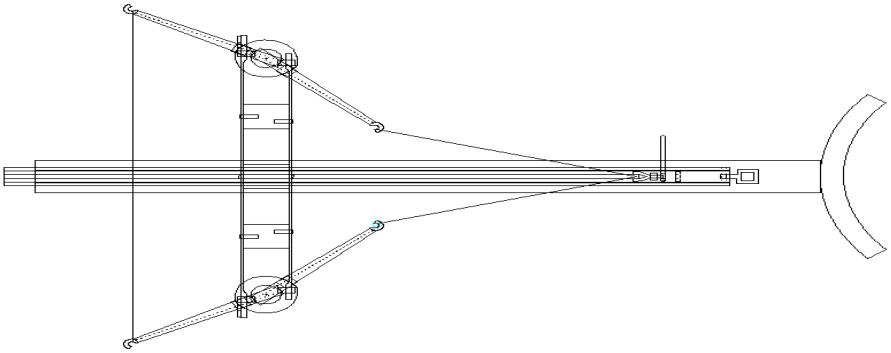


Fig 8
Design of an inwards-swinging palintone catapult (arms shown in loaded and discharged positions).

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THE MYTH OF THE WEREWOLF

HEATHER SCOTT

The ancient belief of man shifting into animal is most popularly associated with the old legends of werewolves. As an overtly romanticized pop-culture topic, the origin of this supernaturally violent creature originates within the wild outcast mythology of ancient cultures. The topic of werewolves, in an academic context, is commonly found in relation to cannibalism, predators, and violent nature. This primitive base is seen in Greco-Roman mythology most prominently, with sources varying from Apollodorus to Ovid, but is also seen in cultures outside of the typical Indo-European geography.[1]

The werewolf was not the only violent shape shifter said to have existed, in the depths of the Congo and Sierra Leone rests the myths of were-leopards that roamed and hunted closely within villages. In South and Central America came the deity like were-jaguars most often associated in deity form with the god Olmec, and in India and China came the shape shifting were-tigers. In Europe, the bear is also considered one of the most savage

[1] Frazer, J.G., 1921, tr., Apollodorus: *The Library*, London: 3.8.1. More, B., 1922, tr., Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, Boston: 1.163.

predators and is incorporated in Norse legend as a pelt wearing rage infused warrior, the Berserk.[2]

In each location, the shifted animal is associated with the geographical territory's biggest predator, the tiger in the East, and wolves and bears in the North-West. Each of these animals is carnivorous and therefore a threat to human settlements. It is this predatory element that creates such fear within the myths and so fascinates modern academics. Predator shape shifting monsters originate within cultures almost worldwide. This paper will attempt to explain the similarities between each and the differing variables to their origins.

The werewolf myth most associated with the Greeks, is that of the Arcadian King Lycaon of fifty sons and his cannibalistic offerings to Zeus. This tale is recounted by Apollodorus, Ovid and Pausanias. Each of these authors agree on few points of the story and differ in the details. Each state that Lycaon's sacrifice consisted of parts of a young child as an offering to Zeus.[3] Pausanias' recount differs in that Lycaon's offering is sacrificial, not as a dinner for visiting Zeus. Rather than cooking and serving a young boy, the blood of a baby is offered.[4] The accounts of both Apollodorus and Ovid present the offering with an element of deception, for the young boy is concealed within cooked meat. Apollodorus claims the boy was "a male child of the natives,"[5] while Ovid describes the sacrificial child as "a Molossian hostage sent to him". [6]

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[2] Lindow, J. 2001. *Norse Mythology: A Guide to Gods, Heroes, Rituals, and Beliefs.* New York: ABC-Clio

[3] Apollod. 3.8.1,

Ov. *Met*. 1.163.

Jones, W.H.S., Litt, D. and Ormerod, M.A., 1918, tr., Pausanias: *Description of Greece*, London: 8.2.3.

[4] Paus. 8.2.3

[5] Apollod. 3.8.1.

[6] Ov. *Met*.1.163.

The victim of Lycaon's blasphemy depends upon the story teller, yet all agree that the child offered was not a citizen of their home. Pausanias does not specify the origins of the baby Lycaon offers, but it can be assumed the child did not originate from his dwelling. The heredity of the child offered as sacrifice could have been considered a more personal contribution if he originated from Lycaon's territory. However, since the child is said to have been a hostage from another kingdom, it could be interpreted as vaguely insulting and simply out of convenience for Lycaon, depending on the level of detail concerning human sacrifice. If human sacrifice was a common occurrence, it would seem a purer offering would come from a King's own people or family; therefore, translating as a personal and rich offering to the gods. The heredity detail of the person offered could be argued as both important or not.

Much attention has been paid to the punishment bequeathed Lycaon by Zeus following this human offering. At Zeus' bidding Lycaon is transformed into a wolf. According to Apollodorus, all of Lycaon's 50 sons, with the exception of one, face the same fate as their father.[7] Neither Ovid nor Pausanias provide details of the transformation of Lycaon's offspring, but do agree Lycaon was turned into a wolf as punishment. This punishment, referred to only in the works of Apollodorus[8] and Ovid,[9] is enacted when struck by a thunderbolt. Ovid goes into great detail regarding Lycaon's final form, even describing his end transformation:

> "howling in his vain attempts to speak;
> he raves and rages and his greedy jaws,
> desiring their accustomed slaughter, turn
> against the sheep—still eager for their blood.
> His vesture separates in shaggy hair,

[7] Apollod. 3.8.1
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ov. Met. 1.163.

his arms are changed to legs; and as a wolf
he has the same grey locks, the same hard face,
the same bright eyes, the same ferocious look."[10]

This common factor in the Greco-Roman myths of wolf-man transformations are all in accordance with the region of Arcadia. King Lycaon originated from Arcadia, the supposed birthplace of Zeus. The land of Arcadia holds other wolf myths as well, notably that the transformation into a wolf lasted for nine consecutive years.[11] Demarcus and Anthus are the victims of such a transformation. Pliny describes the conditions under which Anthus can return to his human form, stating that if he "ke[eps] himself from beholding a man during the whole of that time," he will return to his original form.[12] This transformative ritual is cyclical as in order to return to his human form he must cross to a lake from a dessert, mimicking his primary transformation.[13] Transformed into a wolf during a sacrifice to Zeus Lycaean, Damarchus, simply "became a man again," after serving his nine years as a wolf.[14] This coincidence of nine years in both accounts perhaps ties to the location of Arcadia. Lycaon's punishment does not seem to be constricted by time, his transformation was however an act of punishment rather than a ritual to Zeus Lycaean like in Damarchus' situation. Euanthese and Varro's Anthus transforms into a wolf for nine years, but not in accordance to a human sacrifice; although, his actions do seem to be related to a ritual of some kind concerning swimming across a lake in the nude. [15]

Pausanias records the myth of Demænetus whom was

[10] Ov. Met. 1.163.
[11] Bostock, J., 1855, tr. Pliny the Elder: *Natural History*, London: 8.34.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Paus. 6.8.2.
[15] Plin. Nat. 8.34.

transformed into a wolf after offering human flesh at the Arcadian sacrifice to Lykaean Jupiter. Upon tasting the sacrificial meat Jupiter immediately turned Demænetus into a wolf. Unlike King Lycaon, "ten years afterwards, [Demænetus] was restored to his original shape" and continued on as an Olympic contender much like Damarchus.[16] It is a puzzling myth because it holds similar details to those of the original Greek myths, though it is told by a Roman, much like Ovid, and therefore represents a secondary retelling of the original Greek tales of wolf-men. Aside from Arcadia, the only other specific location discussed in regards to werewolves is the land of the Scythians by Herodotus. He describes the wolf form as temporary condition, much like Demarcus and Anthus, specifying only that the Scythian's change occurred once a year, becoming "a wolf for a few days and chang[ing] back again to his former shape."[17] This Scythian myth supports the more common temporary were-shift rather then permanent nine years previously discussed.

Lycaon of Zeus is not solely known for creating the werewolf legacy in Greece; his daughter, Callisto, is also infamous for changing into this form. Callisto is known among the same leagues of Io the cow. Much like Io, Zeus sexually assaulted Callisto. In order to escape this sexual onslaught Callisto was transformed into a bear after Hera confronted her husband. Pausanias even pairs Callisto and Io together "of both of whom exactly the same story is told, to wit, love of Zeus, wrath of Hera, and metamorphosis, Io becoming a cow and Callisto a bear."[18] Concerning shape shifting, the difference between Io and Callisto is one of hunted and hunter. Callisto's metamorphosis, alongside the European grey wolf, is the most intimidating land predator in Europe. Her punishment is not tied to cannibalism but victim blaming, unlike Lycaon she did not commit either a moral or

[16] Paus. 6.8.
[17] Godley, D., 1920, tr., Herodotus, Cambridge: 4.105.
[18] Paus. 1.25.

religious crime, Zeus did, representing a different form of flesh offering. This time, like Lycaon, the flesh is not consentingly given by the victim; "being ravished by Zeus" is supposedly punishment enough.[19] Perhaps this balances the transformation of Callisto's transformation, occurring not by thunderbolt like Lycaon and his sons, but through trauma.[20] Callisto's new, permanent, transformation is of that commonly appears in European mythology, notably the Beserk of Norse mythology. Many Greek myths of Arcadia concern the shape change of werewolves but few mention bears.

Bears are the only European land animal predators that are ranked higher than the grey wolf. Due to their status as omnivores they are not commonly known for the carnivorous stereotype. In ancient Greece they would be seen the same as a larger, more terrifying than a wolf for it does not need the support of a pack. The solitary nature of the bear may allude to its capability in hunting and survival, much like the Norse *Vargr*. According to the Northern Myth Dictionary, a *Vargr* was a placeless criminal outcast by society and viewed as free to kill in the context of travelling.[21] The *Vargr* is metaphorically a 'long wolf', an expelled criminal that must draw upon its primal instincts in order to survive outside civilization. Paradoxically a *Vargr* is not associated with bears, but rather wolves.[22]

Lindow notes that the term *Vargr* is often associated with the appellation *warg*. While the term *warg* "displays no special legal relationship to outlawry and loss of legal status" it does suggest "a potential semantic link between the *warg* and the

[19] Ov. Met. 2.401
[20] Apollod. 3.8.1.
Ov. Met. 1.163.
[21] Simek, R. 2008. "A Dictionary of Northern Mythology". Trans: Angela Hall. BOYE6: 353
[22] Ibid.

wolf."[23] Like the individual bear, and occasionally expelled lone wolf, the *warg* remains with the survival of the predator bear. The term *Vargr* continues to be associated with both wolves and the adoption of animal pelts as clothing. The *Vargr* is not a prestigious title, it is a position in society seen as weak and outcast like a sick wolf left to die.

In an Indo-European context, myths featuring warrior bands closely resemble berserks of Norse mythology. The significant difference is that the warrior band myths of central Europe are not taken over by a magical force that grants mass battle skill and immunity. The warrior bands are simply a more savage, primitive group of men who join in their youth, raid and pillage the country side, and later retire back to their towns to marry and settle. The warrior bands, much like the *männerbünde*, are humans accessing a primitive form of camaraderie and foraging which resembles the traits of wolves.

The habit of returning to society after partaking in this organized troop resembles the type of initiation process of the Irish *fianna*. The *fianna* too left the confines of a conventional society in order to join a group of savage pelt wearing youths whom were dedicated. For the *fianna*, however, this behavior was reserved for the aristocratic youths alone.[24] The process of leaving civilized urban centers in order to run rampant through the wild and the uncultivated lands of Europe falls within the 'uncultivated land' theory discussed by Endsjø. This theory, in the context of ancient Greek Olympic and chthonic sacrifice, refers to the philosophy of a controlled and conventional atmosphere within the confines of a city and a wild primitive nature outside the

[23] Lindow, J. 1977. Review of "Wargus, vargr 'Verbrecher' 'Wolf.' Eine sprach- und rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung" by Michael Jacoby. *Speculum* 52 (2). Cambridge University Press, University of Chicago Press: 382-3

[24] Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, Early Medieval Ireland, Longman, 1995: 88

polis.[25]

Beyond the boundary of man-made cities, the gods had total access to humankind and their influence. Man most commonly interacted with mythical beasts such as centaurs or dryads in nature beyond cities where humans did not touch or influence wild nature. This likelihood to a primitive, raw nature and lack of conventional boundaries could explain the warrior band myths and their reign of terror on travelers being mistaken for actual shape-shifting wolf packs. Therefore, listening to tales of the gods, the Greek oral tradition, interacting with and influencing humans outside of their protected cities could easily convince a civilized traveler for men actually changing and shifting into wolves after falling victim to the band's terror.

In Sierra Leone and the Congo there exists a similar war band known as the leopard men, or, were-leopard.[26] They held the same raiding and roaming traditions as the Greek warrior bands, berserks, and the African leopard-men. The Norse berserk, from the original *berserksgangr*, is a Norse alternative to the werewolf.[27] The berserks followed the same wild, unconventional living style; they however demonstrated a higher need for battle and war than either the Greeks or the leopard men. Their prowess in battle resembled quasi-supernatural feats; an animalistic thought process and frenzy that momentarily increases strength.[28] The frenzy is often associated with an animalistic urge to kill, like the wolf or bear.

The Norse myth, The *Herjolfr* ('band-wolf') is important due to its association with Odin.[29] An ancient cult to Odin consisted of small warrior bands, whilst he also received the

[25] Endsjø, D.Ø. 2003. "To control death: sacrifice and space in classical Greece," *Religion:* 330
[26] Gusinde, M. 1955. "African Leopard Men" *Anthropos:* 470
[27] Lindow, *Norse Mythology*, 75
[28] Ibid. 75
[29] Ibid. 75-76

epitaph Herjan. Lindow introduces the idea of a human warrior band, thought to possibly participate in an ancient cult to Odin, that pillaged and wandered the rural land.[30] This cult "would have centered on young warriors who entered into an ecstatic relationship with Odin" and encouraged the frenzied battle habit of the berserks.[31] Variations of this cult may have been created in order to encourage the symbolic recreation of the *Einharjar*, the "chosen warriors of Odin, who sport at Valholl awaiting the last battle at Ragnarok."[32] The *harii* are often associated with *einharjar*, and are identified as the superior warrior bands of Germania by Tacitus. In Tacitus' account of the *harii*, he creates an image of a horrific supernatural foe, whilst fostering unadulterated fear among the reader: "their shields are black, their bodies dyed. They choose dark nights for battle, and, by the dread and gloomy aspect of their death-like host, strike terror into the foe, who can never confront their strange and almost infernal appearance. For in all battles it is the eye which is first vanquished."[33]

Each of these warrior bands shares the frenzied patterns of berserks and the wandering nature of wolf packs. Physical transformations of men into animals are not recorded, but the specific quality of their battle habits and chosen garb can often lead to associations with wolves.

These warriors sported wolf and bear hides, an act that would have represented their bravery and prowess in the hunt, for killing a wolf or bear was no mean feat. These warriors' bands are easily associated with the tropes of werewolves due to their innate frenzied nature in battle and their animalistic savagery in the domestic sphere. This savage and brutal animalism is seen in the

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[30] Lindow, *Norse Mythology*, 105
[31] Ibid. 105
[32] Ibid. 104
[33] Church, A.J., Brodribb, W.J., Cerrato, L. 1942, tr., Tacitus: *Germany and its Tribes*, New York: 43

mythology of three different cultures thus far; the Greek warrior bands, leopard-men and berserks. Both the Greek warrior bands and the Berserks are tied to the wolf image, but the leopard-men allude to the concept of other were-men type lore throughout the world.

Were-leopards were previously mentioned as individual hunters that roamed like the warrior bands and acted in savage primitive ways. The were-leopard, according to Hutton, was a form of bodily possession by a roaming leopard. Incapable of controlling themselves, humans of either gender, was selected by a leopard and possessed into a joint-survival bond.

Hutton gives the example of a Christian convert in a Ao Village of Ungma who had been victim of such joint possession and desperately pleaded for the life of his leopard counter part:

> "He said that he was very sorry that he was a were-leopard; he did not want to be one, and it was not his fault, but seeing that he was one, he supposed that his leopard body must kill to eat, and if it did not, both the leopard and himself would die. He said that if he were tied up the leopard would certainly be killed and he would die. To tie him up and hunt the leopard was, he said, sheer murder."[34]

This peculiar joint possession involves two separate beings joining together and acting as one, rather than the transformation of man into beast, similar to the Indo-European werewolves.

A relationship of dominant and submissive is created, for the leopard commands the human whom follows without a choice. The were-tiger of Asia is much like the were-leopard because of it's urbanized hunting grounds. It seems that this is where their similarities end, for the were-tiger possess merely the attributes of a tiger than the ability to physically shift into one, and does not

[34] Hutton, 1920: 45

have the ability to possess mankind. Spaeth claims that the were-tiger is "[the] first cousin to the werewolf of Greece and Italy and other parts of Europe" proving details upon the habits of said were-tiger.[35] He fails to mention physical transformation from one form to another.[36] However, like the berserks and warrior bands of Greece, the were-tiger very clearly holds the same primitive and animalistic attitudes of a tiger. Their breach into urban centers includes the theft of farm animals and vicious behavior. Spaeth describes the were-tigers as monstrous creatures of the forest, residing in the realm of supernatural abominations, such as a woman who "is only a lovely trailing length of entrails, and it is the end of you to ever meet her."[37] The were-tiger is only referred to as a 'Tiger', never a man even though there are indications that the creature is a man with a secret persona of a tiger.[38] Clearly this creature is both man and tiger; Sheath indicates a moral conflict between eliminating the threat "well, you ought not to shoot a man, of course, but a tiger is not a man, is it?"[39] Spaeth's were-tiger is only mentioned in the geographic locations of India, but the were-tiger is also mentioned by Hammond in "Chinese ritual exorcisms of fated death [which] also required shamans to appear as tigers." [40]

The final shifter mentioned is the Amazonian and central American were-jaguar. This were-animal originates in the South-American Olmec civilizations and differs significantly from the previous examples due to its separate religious affiliations. The

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[35] Spaeth Jr, J.W. 1933. "Petronius and H.M. Tomilson the Werewolf Again" *The Classical Weekly*. Vol 26, No. 13: 98-99

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Hammond, C.E. 1992/3. "Sacred Metamorphoses: The Weretiger and the Shaman" *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.* Vol 46, No. 2/3.

were-jaguar represents the assumption of a partial man-jaguar form by Olmec gods and is depicted as such through motifs found from Olmec societies in central Mexico.[41] The jaguar is the predator par excellence in the Central and South American hierarchy. To associate this animal with a deity represents a symbolic elevation compared to the shameful *vargr* or human bound leopard men.

Worship in Indo-European cultures was not generally associated with animal predators, but instead with omnipotent anthropomorphized gods. The were-jaguar is representative of not a single god but several such as the "Olmec rain god … a maize god, Xipe, death god, fire god, and feathered serpent god, all of which were important deities to later Mesoamerican civilizations."[42] Each were-creature from these civilizations are all in association with the hierarchical predator of their geographic locations, whether for a worshipping sense, like the were-jaguar, or for a scape goat purpose, such as the vargr. These were-predators are an ancient myth tradition that has evolved over centuries to fit modern standards yet still retain qualities of human fascination with the supernatural, even in a religious sense.

The Indo-European werewolf is the most prevalently known were-creature, in modern pop culture. One may ascertain that this may be due to the plethora of documented historical literature in feudal Europe. This literature preserved the Greco-Roman classics through to the Christian monastic Feudal age. Ancient texts continued to be used as educational tools for centuries, carrying and influencing the werewolf myth through to modern age. The Christians of the western empire influenced and absorbed the myths of Tacitus, Pausanias and Ovid incorporating them into their own religions. Documents such as the Burchard of Worms indicate the Christian belief that werewolves were

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[41] Coe, M.D. 1969. "America's First Civilization: Discovering the Olmec," *American Antiquity*. Vol. 34, No. 4. pp. 495-496.
[42] Ibid.

involved in pagan practices and to eliminate them from society. The Burchard wrote the manual '*Corrector'* which identifies the specific penances to be taken as a consequence of pagan practices, specifically pertaining to witchcraft, supernatural and paranormal involvement, and werewolves. The Burchard of Worms identifies dietary restrictions of bread and water as a punishment for werewolf involvement:

> "Hast thou believed … [that a person] can be transformed into a wolf, that which vulgar folly calls a werewolf, or into any other shape. If thou believes what never took place or could take, that the divine image can be changed into any form or appearance by anyone except almighty God, thou shouldst do penance for ten days on bread and water."[43]

The werewolf was truly a source of horror for those of antiquity and the preceding civilizations of South and Central America, Asia, and Africa. To assume that the werewolf myth originated solely within a Indo-European context would be ignorant of other cultures and civilizations that existed at the same time, especially considering the fascinating similarities among each of the myths. Werewolf myths, as well as simply predator shifting myths, are located on each continent and resemble similar aspects of several cultures. Both warrior bands and the dominance of the top predator of a designated area are a common occurrence. These myths have evolved and are explored even in a modern context, from religious influence to the study of ancient civilizations and the trials of survival in the ancient world.

[43] Buchard of Worms. *Corrector*, Chapter 5, p. 152

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THE ROMAN ARMY IN BRITANNIA

NICK ROSE

Following the first expedition by Julius Caesar in 55 BCE, Britannia became part of the Roman world. The roads built by the Roman army in Britannia had both economic and social impact in turning Britannia into a Province of the Roman Empire. The settlements built by the Romans provided the foundation for many modern towns in Britannia. Through mining, the Roman army provided Britannia with the resources for infrastructure and a form of currency. In these ways the Roman army helped establish the conditions for a stable economy to emerge in Britannia. These three major socio-economic changes in Britannia were largely facilitated through the military's presence throughout the province. In order to aid their conquest of Britannia, the Roman army built a network of roads. By the 2nd century CE, these roads would play a vital role in unifying the Britannic economy. The first roads built by the Roman army in the 40s CE branched out from Londinium to the Antonine Wall by 161 CE. To construct roads, architects and surveyors from the army determined road alignments, while soldiers and requisitioned local Britannic

labourers, built the foundations, laid surfaces, and dug ditches.[1] Once completed, military roads were mainly used to link Roman forts.[2] Despite their military purpose, roads were a cooperative effort between Romans and Britons and helped to stabilize their relationship after the first Roman invasions. With linked forts, the Roman army was able to transport resources more effectively throughout the province. The road-building program was evidence that the Romans were willing to work with the Britons although hostilities remained between the two. By the reign of Emperor Trajan, the roads in Britannia took on a more economic role. As roads moved away from exclusively military use, many traders and artisans began to use the roads as a means of transportation.[3] With traders and artisans able to travel throughout Britannia, the local populace could now purchase goods and services in their own towns. Additionally, roads provided Britons with a secure communication link with other settlements, providing stability in Britannic society. For example, local towns were able to remove brigands away from roads with the co-operation of the Roman army, making the roads safer for travellers.[4] Having a well-established method of transportation between towns, Britons were now connected on a larger scale. The economic benefits of the roads reveal the extent to which they united the province.

Prior to the construction of roads by the Roman army, Britannic communities were isolated and often quite poor. According to Cassius Dio, "The Britons were not free and independent, but were divided into groups under various kings."[5] The road network, however, gave Britons the ability to travel to new settlements and

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[1] Guy de la Bedoyere, *Roman Britain: A New History* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2006), 92-94.

[2] David Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC-AD 409* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 2006), 159.

[3] Op. cit., 93.

[4] Ibid. 92.

[5] Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 60. 20. 2.

search for economic opportunities apart from traditional agricultural jobs. With new jobs, wealth spread throughout Britannic society, and the growing number of traders meant that Britons could purchase goods they otherwise would not have been able to. Apart from some communities in the north and west, Roman roads were transformative for Britannic society, as they linked the isolated pre-Roman communities.[6] Britannia was no longer a barbaric, isolated island, but a functioning economic province of the Roman empire.

No element during the Roman occupation of Britannia better exemplifies the socio-economic changes caused by the Roman army than roads. In the countryside especially, the Roman army had changed Britannic geography with roads. The network of roads provided travellers with an improved method of transportation, such as bridges at river crossings.[7] With this infrastructure in place, the speed of communication and travel in Britannia greatly improved, and Britannia effectively became smaller. Wetlands and forests that previously had been difficult to travel through became easier to navigate. Roman roads took on many different roles as they served as borders, meeting places, and reference points.[8] Over the course of the 1st century CE, it was through roads that the Roman army further established the conditions for a stable economy in Britannia.

As a direct result of newly linked communities, the Roman army developed many settlements that would become the foundation for modern communities in Britannia. These settlements are evidence of how the Roman army was directly involved in the Britannic economy. Through their involvement in the construction process, Roman authorities ensured that

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[6] Mattingly, *Imperial Possession*, 366.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ian Haynes, "Britain's First Information Revolution. The Roman army and the transformation of economic life." In *The Roman Army and the Economy*, ed. Paul Erdkamp (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 2002), 118.

economic development was promoted alongside the military roads.[9] Settlements developed in close proximity to the roads, provided lodgings for those using the roads, such as artisans and traders.[10] A whole new demand for goods was created due to the increased population in settlements along the roads. Roads and a new demand for goodsbecame the foundation of an infrastructure for Britannia's economic development.

The first notable Roman settlement was Londinium (modern day London), as it was the military stronghold for the conquest of the province. Following the occupation of Britannia by the emperor Claudius in 43 CE, the Thames became the most important route into central Britannia.[11] By 61 CE, Londinium was a wealthy center for trade in largely in part of its harbour, and was accessible to Britons because of the roads entering the city built by the Roman army.[12] The process in which the Romans established cities such as Londinium, however, ensured that they would last after the Roman army had left the province. Roman merchants throughout Britannia who dealt with the large number of troops, moved into the settlements built by the army.[13] After the Roman army abandoned Britannia in 409 CE, the descendants of these merchants stayed in the province. This ensured that a degree of economic continuity would remain in post-Roman Britain. Additionally, the construction of public buildings in Londinium by the Romans in the 1st century CE caused a growth in shops and houses in the city, further creating a centralized economy based out of Londinium.[14]

The Britannic economy was able to expand throughout the province because of the continued presence of the Roman

[9] Haynes, "Britain's First Information Revolution", 119.
[10] Ibid.
[11] De la Bedoyere, *Roman Britain*, 96.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

army. As Britannia proved to be abundant in natural resources, the Roman army discovered that these resources could be exploited to suit their needs and the needs of the Britons. The industry that the Roman army developed to the greatest extent was mining. The mines of Britannia were smaller compared to those in Spain and Dacia, but were crucial for paying off the costs of Emperor Claudius's conquest and funding the army stationed in the province.[15] The Roman state, therefore, administered the mines, and became the main beneficiary of them.[16] With roads for transportation, settlements for supporting merchants, and resources such as mines, the province of Britannia was fast becaoming a valuable part of the imperial economy.

After the invasion, mineral exploitation significantly increased to meet the growing demands of the Roman colonizers.[17] During the 1st century CE, the Romans extensively mined for lead in Britannia. Lead in Britannia was plentiful and naturally malleable, proving to be valuable for infrastructure such as plumbing and waterproofing.[18] Britannic lead was soon being exported throughout the Roman empire. Lead became to the Romans as plastic is to the modern world. Additionally, tin became a major export for the province because it formed bronze when alloyed with copper. Bronze was heavily used in military equipment as it was idealistic for weaponry. Tin was imported into Italy from modern day Cornwall through a trade route created in 96 BCE by the governor of Spain, the father of Marcus Crassus.[19] The demand created by the Roman army for a constant supply of resources turned the mines into a steady profit for the Romani-Britannic economy as a whole.

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[15] Mattingly, *Imperial Possession*, 506.
[16] Ibid.
[17] De la Bedoyere, *Roman Britain*, 162.
[18] Ibid. 163.
[19] Fritz M. Heichelheim, Allen M. Ward, and Cedric A. Yeo, *A History of the Roman People* (Montreal: Pearson Education Inc., 2014), 232.

The Roman army was essential for the development of mines in Britannia. Roman soldiers guarded the mines, whilst prisoners of war, criminals, and slaves provided the labour force.[20] Troop detachments were used to escort convoys of minerals.[21] Over the next 200 years, the mines would significantly increase the economic value of the province, and result in Britannia being a valuable resource for the empire. Britannia ceased to be an unknown and foreign land thanks to its mineral production, in which the army played a pivotal role. An estimated one tenth of the total military strength of the Roman empire was stationed in the province for several decades, thus greatly altering the economic landscape of both Britannia and the empire.[22] Many of those soldiers were engaged as custodians for the mines and providing secure transportation, it was this sector that experienced the greatest economic growth. The riches brought in by the mines allowed subsequent emperors to pay off the debts of Claudius' conquest within fifty years.[23]

By the 2nd century CE, the mining interest of the Romans in Britannia moved away from lead and towards silver. It was discovered that many lead ores were rich in silver. Silver became a valuable resource for the Roman army, because bullion coins were used as a form for payment to bureaucrats and soldiers.[24] Through the mines in Britannia, officials across the empire received payment and silver further became the basis of Roman coinage. As a result, silver became the main concern of the Roman authorities in Britannia. Coinage was a significant change brought to the Britons by the Roman army. With the introduction of Roman coin as the common currency, native Britannic coinages

[20] P.A. Holder, *The Roman Army in Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1982), 95.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Haynes, "Britain's First Information Revolution," 125.
[23] Mattingly, Imperial Possession, 506.
[24] De la Bedoyere, *Roman Britain*, 162.

fell out of use and bartering decreased in most of the province. As Roman coinage became more accessible, ordinary daily monetary transactions took place.[25] By providing a common currency and reducing bartering, the Roman army introduced essential modern financial principles into the Britannic economy.

Near the end of the 2nd century CE the Roman army had made Britannia a key province in the empire for trade. Perhaps one of the most important factors to the success of Britannic exports was the province's extensive maritime trade network. As noted above, Londinium was home to a successful and well managed harbour that attracted sea traders from across the empire. From the Londinium harbour, traders would sail across the English Channel to northern Gaul, as well the North Sea area to engage in small-scale trade.[26] The items traded were low in value, and included textiles such as wool, as well as foodstuffs like honey and beans.[27] The Roman army was responsible for high valued exports such as metals, and for their transportation to the continent. The army was also responsible for provincial imports, and imposed customs on traders using Britannic harbours.[28] Over the course of the Roman occupation, Britannia would become a major center of maritime trade in the empire. These stable maritime exports became the foundation of the Britannic economy.

The economic impact of the Roman army had introduced benefits for Britannic tribal leaders. In the first forty years of occupation, treaties between the Roman army and tribal leaders resulted in economic gains for Britannic tribes.[29] The rich farmland of the Moray region in modern Scotland would have greatly benefited the Romans, but they let the local tribe retain

[25] Haynes, "Britain's First Information Revolution," 120.
[26] De la Bedoyere, *Roman Britain*, 176.
[27] Ibid. 177.
[28] Mattingly, *Imperial Possession*, 494.
[29] Ibid. 151.

possession of the land as a sign of appeasement under treaty terms.[30] By allowing the tribes to keep their lands, the Roman army was further demonstrating that it was willing to cooperate economically with the native Britons. In addition, tribal leaders received less complex benefits from the Romans. Frequently the Roman army would give tribal leaders a lump sum payment of gold or silver as part of a treaty agreement.[31] Although there would be continual pockets of resistance (especially in the north), the violent relationship between the Romans and the Britannic tribes had largely ended. By pacifying the tribal leaders, the Roman army inadvertently altered the social status of the Britannic tribes. While the Britannic tribes would lose most of their lands to the Romans, individual chiefs became wealthy through payments of gold and silver.

The common feature shared by roads, settlements, and mines in Britannia is that they were all facilitated by the Roman army. While the native Britons could achieve a degree of socio-economic development independently, they were unable to overcome their geographic isolation. The roads built by the Roman army for their conquest ended this isolation by linking settlements. Through mining and other resource development, the Romans put in place the economic infrastructure that enabled Britannia to become a successful trading power in the empire. These elements established the conditions for a stable economy in Britannia. When the final Roman legions left Britannia in 409 CE the economic structure collapsed. However, certain Roman elements remained. The road network provided the foundation for most of the roads in modern Britain. The descendants of Roman merchants allowed Britannia to continue as a strong trading economy. The Roman army thus left a legacy that shaped the Britannic socio-economy for centuries to come.

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Haynes, "Britain's First Information Revolution," 116.

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BELIEF AND DISBELIEF

Who goes there? Pilgrims trudging up the Sacred Way to honour ancient gods. A Pythian path to plea for intercessions which may ease their lifelong passage. Pythia blended with her vapours still drifts hazy in our dreams and faith remains.

Strength and virtue in the perils of their journey.

And what of People of the Book searching gentle guidance from their sacred prose? Recognizing revelations stir unease which healing words then assuage. Comfort of Covenant, Peace of Islam, and sweet soothing Christian choral strains.

Strength and virtue shared by their father Abraham.

Beyond the Book, bouquets of faith stalk and flower all that heart and soul suppose. Meditations of Gautama, community of Khalsa, every searching sage. Avatara Krishna alongside ascetics watch the Daoists walk the way.

Strength and virtue stem from joyous quests for truth.

Honour too for those who draw their numinous awe from earthly realms and cosmos,

Those whose kindness springs from human heads and hearts and from knowledge of the ages,

Majestic mystery and magic meld to metabolic cells, a god not named.

Strength and virtue rests in belief and disbelief.

— Colleen Dunn

CELTIC ESOTERIC KNOWLEDGE

MORGAN WINDLE

The Elder Pliny's writing on the metallurgical and medicinal properties of iron, lead, tin and silver has long been a source of dialogue within classical studies. Although in some instances Pliny is criticized for his lack of scientific accuracy in others he is seen as a forerunner of scientific thought.[1] His detailed encyclopedia *Naturalis Historia* provides one of the best insights into ancient understandings of technology and natural phenomenon. Pliny, as a source, demonstrates that metal was a raw material and a spiritual material. Recent study on the socio-cultural practices of Iron Age groups in Britain and on the continent shows deep technological and spiritual connections to the production and utilization of metal implements.[2] It is widely understood amongst scholars that Graeco-Roman religious

[1] William H Stahl, "*Roman Science: Origin, Developements, and Influences to the Later Middle Ages.*" 1962; Ernesto Paparazzo, "*Pliny the Elder on Metals: Philosophical and Scientific Issues.*" 2008.

[2] Melanie Giles, "Making Metal and Forging Relations: Ironworking in the British Iron Age." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 26(2007): 395-413.

thought was equally influenced by natural phenomenon and divine power.[3] Following Caesar's campaigns in Germania, legionaries interacted frequently with Celtic groups along the Rhine-Danube. The rapid expansion and consolidation of the Roman Empire and its frontiers during the reigns of Augustus and the Julio-Claudians yielded even more prominent cultural exchange between Europe north of the Alps and the Italian peninsula. As new ideas entered the Empire they were readily assimilated.[4] Pliny's work, despite its inaccuracies, provides a view of shared knowledge between Celts, Romans and ancient thought processes.

Archaeological evidence from the Middle Iron Age in Garton Slack, Yorkshire provides a contemporary demonstration of Celtic systems of thought around metalworking.[5] The discovery of a votive offering consisting of iron-working tools and carbonized grain packed by straw displays the potential spiritual connections made by groups within the British Isles. According to Giles the finds illustrated a "metaphor [made] through similarities in qualities or capacities between things…on the basis of attributes which represent aspects of their identity… iron objects, their lineage of associations, evidence of wear and repair."[6] Giles suspects that fertility had a close association with metal production and Iron Age people made these offerings as an appeal for reproductive success, not only of crops, but of their temperamental iron bloomeries.[7] Metalworking and associations

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[3] Mary Beagon, *"Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder."* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 92-104.

[4] Beagon, "*Roman Nature*," 83.

[5] Giles, "*Making Metals and Forging Relations*: *Ironworking in the British Iron Age*." 2007.

[6] Giles, "*Making Metals and Forging Relations*: *Ironworking in the British Iron Age*." 396.

[7] The source of much of Giles' argument comes from ethnographies conducted by Bardon and Herbert that overview the magical and procreative associations made in African societies during the act of

with death are seen in burials at Minehowe, Orkney in which an adult female was placed in a smithing shop that was utilized for copper and iron working.[8] Another adult male deposited later was placed in the same structure and seemed to have died in a conflict due to the puncture wounds around his body.[9] Giles suggests that smiths could have played a role as 'funerary specialists' for the people of the Iron Age which would explain the Garton Slack pit, these burials at Minehowe as well as complex hoards found in Llyn Cerig Bach, Wales and East Yorkshire.[10] Finally Giles makes an important note suggesting that this practice likely stems from the Bronze Age, which would justify the continuity into the 1st century AD. Where Pliny's frequent associations between metals, religion, and their practical uses displays the basis for a pan-European knowledge of metals as a spiritual material.

Book 34 of *Naturalis Historia* is the plainest example of this transferral of knowledge and common metaphysical associations with metal. Pliny begins by supplying lengthy descriptions on the sources of iron and lead ore and the various objects in use throughout the Roman world in religious contexts.

> "There is also in the same city [Rhodes] an iron figure of Heracles, which was made by Alcon, prompted by the endurance displayed by the god in his labours. We also see at Rome goblets of iron

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mining and smelting iron. See R, Bardon, *A Discussion of Magic and Medicines in East African Iron Working: Actors and Artefacts in Technology*, as well as E. Herbert, *"Iron, Gender and Power. Rituals of Transformation in African Societies,"* 1993.

[8] N. Card, J. Downes., J. Gibson, and P. Sharman. "Religion and Metalworking at Minehow, Orkney." *Current Archaeology* 199(2005): 322-7.

[9] Giles, "Making Metals and Forging Relations: Ironworking in the British Iron Age." 405.

[10] Ibid.

> dedicated in the temple of Mars the Avenger. The same benevolence of nature has limited the power of iron itself by inflicting on it the penalty of rust, and the same foresight by making nothing in the world more mortal than that which is most hostile to mortality."[11]

Pliny's example of religious metal implements exhibits a fine connection made between certain minerals and the pantheon of Graeco-Roman deities worshipped. The distinction of metal types indicates significant care, or at the very least, a soulful connection metals had to the gods. The direct intention to include religious implements in the same book as technological and medicinal uses of metals further implies a connection. Woolf discusses this, stating that thematic connections made in literature on nature is both teleological and anthropocentric and comments on the beliefs surrounding natural phenomenon.[12] This supports the notion that Pliny was joining the subjects together intentionally to convey a collective idea on metallurgy. Pliny's discussion on the strength and weakness of iron and its ability to inflict injury also perpetuates the importance and power of metals.

> "Iron is the only substance that catches infection of that [lode-stone] and retains it for a long period, taking hold of other iron, so that we may sometimes see a chain of rings; the ignorant lower classes call this 'live iron' and wounds inflicted with it are more

[11] Pliny. 1938. *Naturalis Historia*. Translated by W.H.S Jones. Vol. 9. London: Heinemann.

[12] Pliny often transitions within passages form religious discourse on the bounty supplied by the gods to the description of botanical medicines. (Gregory Woolf. 2011. *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West*. (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2011), 82).

severe."[13]

The magnetism of metals being described, whilst articulated with some difficulty would likely have had a great impact on how people viewed the special characteristic of metals. Not only could metal be created into something they had a particularly quality that would only have been explained in religious contexts due to the lack of the scientific understanding in the 1st century AD. Pliny uses his passages on the medicinal properties of rust to once again imbue metal with a spiritual power. In another example, fence nails extracted from tombs protected against nightmares and stopped pains brought on by other physical injuries.[14] Pliny supplies examples in which injuries were treated by cauterization and disinfected.

> "Some maladies are cured by cauterization, but particularly by the bite of a mad dog, inasmuch as even when the disease is getting the upper hand and when the patients show symptoms of hydrophobia they are relieved… drinking water is heated with redhot iron."[15]

The lack of explanation of cauterization with iron implies that Pliny supposed the iron itself, rather than the high temperature and the body's natural processes healed the wound. Interestingly upon indicating that rust was a weakness of iron he gives multiple remedies that can be made with rust.

> "Rust of iron is obtained by scraping it off old nails with an iron tool dipped in water. The effect of rust is to unite wounds and dry them and staunch them,

[13] Plin. *Nat.* XXXIV.XL.
[14] Plin. *Nat.* XXXIV.XLII.
[15] Ibid.

> and applied as a liniment it relieves fox-mange. They also use it with wax and oil of myrtle for scabbiness of the eye-lids and pimples in all parts of the body, but dipped in vinegar for erysipelas and also for scab and, applied with pieces of cloth, for hangnails o fingers and whitlows… Used as a liniment it also relieves gout."[16]
>
> "Scale of iron, obtained from a sharp edge or point is employed and has an effect extremely like that of rust only more active…It arrests haemorrhage… and it also arrests female discharges. It is also applied against troubles of the spleen…"[17]

Clearly iron had a tireless place as a remedy for a multitude of ailments; nonetheless and most importantly, Pliny clearly states that iron possessed the ability to 'arrest female discharge' and this is a clear connection of the element with fertility and fecundity in the Roman world.[18] This usage clearly suggests that on the Italian peninsula iron had many of the same spiritual connotations as discussed by Giles at Garton Slack.[19] This is a clear alignment of thought process involving iron; and furthermore, other elements mentioned in Pliny's texts support that knowledge, especially regarding metals, was moving between the classical and the Celtic worlds.

"… Black lead which we use to make pipes and

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[16] Plin. *Nat.* XXXIV.XLV. Note the inclusion of myrtle, otherwise knowns as *myrtus communis* a common plant in the Mediterranean mostly along the Italian coast.
[17] Plin. *Nat.* XXXIV.XLVI.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Giles, "Making Metals and Forging Relations: Ironworking in the British Iron Age."

> sheets is excavated with considerable labour in Spain and through the whole of the Gallic provinces, but in Britain it is found in the surface stratum of the earth in such abundance that there is a law prohibiting the production of more than a certain amount of lead."[20]

Pliny is not alone in sharing knowledge from further afield in Europe; other authors, as far back as Homer, described these imported metals as essential facets of life.[21] These Atlantic sources are likely to be Lusitania and Gallaecia, particularly Biscaya, and Cornwall.[22] This indicates a connection and relatively detailed understanding of Celtic practices and uses of metals. The information provided on the 'decoration' of carriages and chariots could be an attempt by Pliny to convey the importance placed on metals by Celts outside of material value. This notion indicates that Pliny was witnessing or hearing about much of the spirituality imbued into metallurgical production by the Celts. When elucidating further on Celtic and Gallic methods of mining, smelting, and forging, Pliny demonstrates his intricate knowledge of technology, trade, and production clearly demonstrating that complex and similar thoughts were being shared between Atlantic and Mediterranean Europe.

The evidence of Pliny's accounts on Celtic technological knowledge of metals can be highlighted by juxtaposing contemporary scholars' conversations on the scientific or philosophical approaches of Pliny's writing. Stahl claimed Pliny

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[20] Plin. *Nat.* XXXIV.XLIX.

[21] Plin. *Nat.* XXXIV.XLV.

[22] Paul Craddock, D. Gale, "Evidence of Early Mining and Extractive Metallurgy in the British Isles: Problems and Potentials," *Science and Archaeology, Glasglow: B.A.R.*, (1988): 167-192, and A. Lucas, "Notes on the Early History of Tin and Bronze," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 14 (1932): 98.

was scientifically inept with "no more than a child's understanding of cause and effect."[23] Despite the Elder Pliny's lack of modern scientific precision and accuracy it would be disproportionate to attribute modern scientific technology and understanding to antiquity.[24] Edmondson notes Pliny likely had first-hand experience witnessing the gold-mining in Spain at *Hispania Tarraconensis*.[25] In other words, to understand Pliny's writing, it is important to consider the mental processes of the writer himself. Pliny clearly was not creating works of fiction just because he lacked a scientific worldview. He was probably experiencing the practices being carried out by Celtic groups and likely reinforced his view and description of metallurgy and metal medicines within an ancient framework. Pliny's work demands to be viewed in conjunction with spirituality related to metallurgy and Graeco-Roman philosophical observation, not only as empirical knowledge.[26]

Pliny's philosophical mode of observation is outlined within Plato's two *Artes*.[27] For Platonic thinkers, philosophy achieved true knowledge through the 'un-hypothetical' first principles that were imperceptible to the senses, while science requires 'direct experience'.[28] Pliny was writing within the understanding that while he could not fully perceive the powers of the metals being smelted did not mean it was not a true example of divine presence or potency.

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[23] Stahl, "*Roman Science*," 106.
[24] Paparazzo, "*Pliny the Elder on Metals: Philosophical and Scientific Issues*," 54.
[25] Jonathan C. Edmondson, "Mining in the Later Roman Empire and Beyond: Continuity or Disruption?" *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 79 (1989): 85.
[26] Paparazzo, "*Pliny the Elder on Metals: Philosophical and Scientific Issues*," 42.
[27] Ibid. 41.
[28] Ibid. 42.

It is unreasonable to regard Pliny as scientifically incompetent; instead, reading within the framework of the ancient mindset allows for an understanding of the shared knowledge between cultures in antiquity. Metallurgy occupied a place of magical and spiritual connotations in the ancient mind as seen with Celtic groups throughout the British Isles. The archaeological record and its interpretation contribute to the idea of a shared European understanding of metals as spiritual material. Pliny's description and personal experiences in witnessing these groups in action would have led to a transferral of knowledge and ideals surrounding the metals themselves. The implications of this connection is a shared esoteric concept regarding metals between Celtic groups and the changing Roman world, contrary to classical understanding of 'barbarian tribes.' Rather, the Celts Romans interacted, which provided another view of these important resources; that metals were a natural phenomenon worthy of much appreciation and spiritual use responsible for the vitality of man.

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FEMALE ANDROGYNY IN GALATIANS 3:28

JACOB DESROCHERS

Biblical conceptions of gender attempt to define sexual difference through culturally imposed binaries. The appointment of gender-normative behaviours occurs at birth in which a "set of social roles, [and] symbolic functions…are assigned to the anatomical differences between the sexes."[1] The physical body is mapped by a social hierarchy of gender. These social functions that cohere to the gendered body are solely dependent on sexual difference. Our earliest impression of gender as a social construct can be found in ancient religious discourse. Historically, gender within a social fabric places women in an inferior position to their male counterparts. Virginia Burrus describes these binaries "as a

[1] This is Boyarin's own definition, which he claims would have commonly been accepted in a conventional conversation about gender. He rejects this definition however, for a more analytical definition by Judith Butler. I believe that his initial definition can be used to effectively analyze Paul's perspective in Galatians 3:28. For Judith Butler's definition see, Daniel Boyarin, "Gender," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 117.

dynamic spectrum…of relative masculinities."[2] Within antiquity, we see a categorization of gender in which "on the positively valorized end of the spectrum [are] 'true men,' fully masculine; [and] on the negatively valorized end, 'true women,' lacking masculinity."[3] The Greco-Roman "male and female were not two kinds of human; they were two *degrees* of human."[4] In Galatians 3:28 Paul appears to use Hellenistic-Jewish ideas of androgyny in his statement of 'no male or female,' to overcome the oppressive Greco-Roman views of gender.[5] Paul's baptismal formula attempts to abolish social distinctions through sacred unity in Christ.

The Pauline letters have fueled discussion around Paul's views of women within the Christ-movement. Throughout his writings, Paul resists "the religious leadership of the women prophets in mid-first-century Corinth," yet at the same time argues

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[2] Virginia Burrus, "Mapping as Metamorphosis: Initial Reflections on Gender and Ancient Religious Discourses," in *Mapping Gender in Ancient Religious Discourses*, ed. Todd Penner and Caroline Stichele (Netherlands: Brill, 2007), 4.

[3] Burrus' theory of "relative masculinities" serves as a backdrop to Paul's social distinctions. She further argues that "both gender's desired transformation towards the potentiality represented by masculine perfection." Ibid., 3–4.

[4] Bart D. Ehrman, *Lost Christianities: The Battles for Scriptures and the Faiths We Never Knew* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003), 63.

[5] Burrus argues that a polarization occurs between Judean views of gender, and the development of gender in the Greco-Roman world. "Imperial iconography aggressively asserted Roman dominance as a triumph of masculinity, representing conquered 'races' or 'nations' as women or effeminate males." She further states that "Paul's chosen mission to the 'nations' … takes on new meaning when Jews them-selves are understood to be interpellated among the nations conquered and thus effeminized by Rome." She provides a further analysis of Rome's influence on gender ideologies in her article, Burrus, "Mapping as Metamorphosis," 8.

for 'equality' in Galatians 3:28.[6] However, Paul's claim 'no male or female,' could have been written to circumvent the "dynamic spectrum" of gender proposed by Burrus. Galatians 3:28 can be read as a call to women to reject their gender and become androgynous.[7] This paper will examine how Paul's elimination of social distinctions is specific to Christ-followers. I will analyze how the categories male and female in Galatians 3:28 are rooted in Paul's 'eschatological realization.'[8] Specifically I will discuss how Paul's baptismal formula proposes a change "not just in…

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[6] Elizabeth Castelli, "Paul on Women and Gender," in *Women & Christian Origins*, ed. Mary Rose D'Angelo and Ross Shepard Kraemer (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 222; Martin quotes Schüssler Fiorenza who claims that "'equality' is the basic issue addressed by Paul's 'no male and female,' and that equality must be taken as pertaining not just to justification or salvation but to social and ecclesial roles." Found in, Dale B. Martin, "The Queer History of Galatians 3: 28: 'No Male and Female,'" in *Sex and the Single Savior: Gender and Sexuality in Biblical Interpretation* (Louisville; Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 78.

[7] Boyarin states ("Gender," 123) that the expression "no male and female" originally referred to a complete erasure of sexual difference in some forms of earliest Christianity and is cited by Paul here from such contexts." ; Martin posits, the verse can be "read as addressing the issue of gender by recognizing the reality of a dimorphic, dualistic, male-female gender construction and advocating equality between the two sides of the dualism." Discussed in, Martin, "The Queer History of Galatians 3: 28: 'No Male and Female,'" 78.

[8] Richard Baer uses the term "eschatological realization" to discuss "such motifs… as becoming male, becoming one, and becoming a virgin [which] were seen to be directly associated with progress in the moral and religious life." Although he specifically applies this term to the writings of Philo, he also uses it in discussing Galatians 3:28 specifically. Baer argues that Galatians 3:28 "could be considered a kind of theological anticipation of the future when Christ returns". See, Richard Arthur Baer, *Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female*, vol. 3 (Netherlands: Brill, 1970), 78–79.

anticipation of the future when redemption shall be fully realized," but also in his present communities.[9] Paul's rejection of Greco-Roman gender binaries is specifically intended for a life of salvation through Jesus Christ.[10] Galatians 3:28 permits women to have parity in Christ by conforming to masculinity through a position of androgyny.

Paul's "no male or female" must be viewed in terms of its historical relevance and not our western principles of gender relations. Scholars attempt to rescue Paul, or rather rescue women from the clutches of Paul, by rejecting the marginalization of women within his communities. Feminist scholars have claimed that women can be viewed as active leaders in liturgical practices and viewed in positions of authority within their social stations.[11] The argument of female leadership roles in the ecclesia is largely predicated on interpretations of Galatians 3:28. The role and function of women in early Christianity has been of interest to feminist social historians, who have attempted to "reconstruct woman's lives" by extracting them from the male-authored texts in which they appear.[12] Moreover, feminist scholars have claimed

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[9] Baer, *Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female,* 3:79.

[10] Ibid.

[11] "Schüssler Fiorenza's famous phrase 'the discipleship of equals' envisioned the ekklēsia as a liberating space for women and men". L. Stephanie Cobb, "Real Women or Objects of Discourse? The Search for Early Christian Women," *Religion Compass* 3, no. 3 (2009): 381; Schüssler Fiorenza's conception of gender equality and female ecclesiastical roles is further discussed in Martin, "The Queer History of Galatians 3: 28: 'No Male and Female,'" 78; Schüssler Fiorenza "also contends that to live as 'no male and female' would mean the end of marriage… Galatians 3:28c does not assert that there are no longer men and women in Christ, but that patriarchal marriage- and sexual relationships… [are] no longer constitutive of the new community in Christ." See Sandra Hack Polaski, *A Feminist Introduction to Paul* (St. Louis, Missouri: Chalice Press, 2005), 67.

[12] Cobb, "Real Women or Objects of Discourse?," 379.

women in the Jesus movement held 'nontraditional' roles; such as positions of apostleship and leaders of house churches.[13] Virginia Burrus suggests women "[strived]…for both a mode of self expression and a way to preach rebellion for the sake of continence."[14] Female rebellion within Christian circles has been interpreted to mean a shift in Greco-Roman conceptions of gender binaries. [15] I do not believe that Paul argued for social gender equality in his letter to the Galatians; rather, he advocated for

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[13] Osiek and MacDonald argue "[women] had always been, and continued to be, the most important teachers of other women… Women were traditionally associated with the house and viewed as natural household manager… and thereby already in a position to have considerable influence in a house church." See Carolyn Osiek and Margaret Y. MacDonald, *A Woman's Place: House Churches in Earliest Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006), 162–63; "[The] Romans, like many other pre-modern cultures, saw women as naturally suited to… the private or domestic sphere… women were praised for their focus on the world of the home." Kristina Milnor, "Women in Roman Society," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. Michael Peachin (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 610.

[14] Cobb, "Real Women or Objects of Discourse?," 384.

[15] "Paul writes as if male readers are the norm… No female colleagues or church members are mentioned in the letter" to the Galatians, with the exception of a reference to Hagar. However, I do acknowledge that when referring to groups, masculine plural was the default, and therefore Paul only addressing "males" could be indicative of language and not intentionality. See Polaski, *A Feminist Introduction to Paul*, 64; Paul does address women in other letters. Robin Scroggs argues that Paul's "theology of liberation… [does] take effect in the life of [his] communities". His evidence is the mention of "women who have been associated with him in ministry… [among] the persons Paul [mentions] in Rom. 16, six are women, [who] participated in the building up of the Christian communities." See Robin Scroggs, "Paul and the Eschatological Woman," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40, no. 3 (1972): 293– 94.

sacred unity through salvation.

Galatians 3:28 is demonstrative of Paul's eschatological theology; the baptismal formula serves to answer concerns associated with death.[16] His statement "no male or female" can be perceived as "a complete erasure of sexual difference" in Christ insofar as it enforces Judean-Hellenistic conceptions of androgyny, reducing femininity to a state of masculinity.[17] The caveat in this theory is the discussion of 'equality' in terms of Christ-centered communities and the Greco-Roman world as a whole. It has become a point of contention whether or not Paul intended for his "no male or female" to be a formula specific to his communities or a philosophy imposed upon gender within the Greco-Roman world.[18] Martin asserts that the discussion of 'equality' fits into a late twentieth century discussion of gender and feminist theory.[19] He further argues that"[earlier] treatments of the issue use language less about equality than *difference* or *distinction* between the sexes."[20] A 'distinction' between the sexes appears to be a more accurate interpretation of Paul's theology. In antiquity "gender was perceived less as biological difference than

[16] "Paul's intention in [Galatians 3:28] is to establish a theological point". See John Jefferson Davis, "Some Reflections on Galatians 3: 28, Sexual Roles, and Biblical Hermeneutics," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 19, no. 3 (1976): 202.

[17] "In such groups, the declaration that there is no male or female may very well have had radical social implications in a total breakdown of hierarchy and either celibacy or libertinism." See Daniel Boyarin, "Paul and the Genealogy of Gender," *Representations* 41 (1993): 10.

[18] Wayne Meeks argues Paul's claim of no male or female belongs to a "'baptismal reunification formula' [found] in congregations associated with Paul and his school." See Wayne A. Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *History of Religions*, 1974, 181.

[19] Martin, "The Queer History of Galatians 3: 28: 'No Male and Female,'" 79.

[20] Ibid.

a difference between one's social roles and behaviors."[21] Paul is not claiming that the Greco-Roman world should no longer see gender as a social barrier but nor should gender segregation be an issue in attaining salvation. Paul "does not mean that these differences have ceased to exist. He fully recognizes them; and indeed insists strongly on the proprieties of sex, and on the duties of civil station."[22]

Richard Baer argues that we can "compare the New Testament with the writings of Philo and the Gnostics in terms of the eschatological orientation of these writings".[23] Specifically I think we can contrast the writings of Philo with the ideologies posed by Paul in his letter to Galatia. In following Boyarin, "I am not claiming that Philo is the background for Paul," however there are apparent similarities between Philo and Paul.[24] I believe the primary similarity can be found in their use of the categories male and female. Gender distinctions appear to be closely linked to their eschatological views.[25] Paul and his contemporary both place emphasis on a rejection of the feminine state and a return to the primordial state in order to achieve salvation. A more in-depth analysis of Philo's 'primordial androgyne' could provide further context for Paul's own eschatology.[26]

Arguably, Paul "did intend a social meaning and function for baptism, namely, the creation of a new humanity in Christ… [but] he did not think that this new creation could be entirely

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[21] Polaski, *A Feminist Introduction to Paul*, 66.

[22] "G.G Findlay... says that [Galatians 3:28] teaches that in baptism 'distinctions...' are forgotten."See Martin, "The Queer History of Galatians 3: 28: 'No Male and Female,'" 79.

[23] Baer, *Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female*, 3:78.

[24] Boyarin, "Paul and the Genealogy of Gender," 10.

[25] Baer, *Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female*, 3:78.

[26] For further discussion of Philo's eschatology and "correlations" in the New Testament, see ibid., 3:76–80.

achieved on the social level *yet*."[27] Wayne Meeks argues that as long as Galatians 3:27-28 "is spoken validly, as perceived within that community's accepted norms of gender, it does what it says."[28] He suggests that Paul's use of the liturgical formula can be read as a shift within Paul's communities. Paul's baptismal formula was in preparation of Jesus' imminent return; it "declared that, within the community, these distinctions no longer held; they were, instead, 'all one in Christ Jesus.'"[29]

Boyarin states "[spiritual] androgyny is attained only by abjuring the body and its difference."[30] It is a rejection of 'sexual difference' that Paul implies in his baptismal formula. I believe we can more effectively call this rejection of sexual difference 'sacred androgyny.' It is not the complete 'abjuring of the body' that Paul is speaking of; rather, it is fleeing from that which is feminine by conforming to a position of masculinity. Deborah Sawyer states that "according to the spirit- there is a permanent change in the status of gender at baptism, [however,] gender transcendence is *not yet* fully realised on the social level- according to the flesh."[31] I would suggest Paul is proposing a fictive kinship of brethren in Christ.[32] Paul's declaration according

[27] Boyarin states that "[while] it was possible for [Paul] to conceive of a total erasure of the difference between Jew and Greek, he could not imagine that male and female bodies would be in any condition other than dominant and dominated when they were in sexual relationship with each other". See Boyarin, "Gender," 123.

[28] Polaski, *A Feminist Introduction to Paul*, 65.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Boyarin, "Gender," 121.

[31] Deborah F. Sawyer, *God, Gender, and the Bible*, Biblical Limits (London ; New York: Routledge, 2002), 135.

[32] Martin, "The Queer History of Galatians 3: 28: 'No Male and Female,'" 79; "Elizabeth Castelli argues: "Group unity rewrites the perspective of the … entire group… [Radical] alternatives to the rigid socio-political strata were being performed … but always with a particular eschatological perspective". See "Sawyer, *God, Gender, and*

to Wayne Meeks "should be understood as a 'performative utterance,' shaping the symbolic universe of the group of believers by its proclamation."[33] Paul's "no male or female" can be interpreted as a blurring of gender: "they are living a new identity in Christ that they have not lived before."[34] In this "new identity," women are reinvented in an image of androgyny. The females' new positions as 'perfect males' place them on a spiritual level synonymous with 'androgynous' men:

Asher-Greve defines androgyny as "a vision of the 'perfect man' with feminine qualities incorporated into the 'masculine vessel.'"[35] If Paul's "no male or female" is interpreted as a call to androgyny, then by Asher-Greve's definition one would have to contend that the state of androgyny is still not without elements of gender normative characteristics.[36] The 'perfect man' with female attributes still emphasizes masculinity. Therefore Paul's 'no male or female' must be interpreted as a unification of gendered traits and not a transgendering of the body.

Antoinette Wire discusses Paul's views of women in terms of marriage and intercourse. She states that "women prophets otherwise attested in the Hellenistic churches are expected to be chaste," and argues that Paul links this to "sexual abstinence and prayer."[37] Paul is known for "[preaching] perpetual

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the Bible, 143.

[33] Polaski, *A Feminist Introduction to Paul*, 65.

[34] Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction Through Paul's Rhetoric* (Minneapolis, Minn: Fortress Press, 1990), 161.

[35] Julia M. Asher-Greve, "Decisive Sex, Essential Gender," in *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Simo Parpola and R. M Whiting (Helsinki, Finland: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2002), 13.

[36] "The 'manipulation of conventional gender categories'… [produces] an androgyne who is always gendered male." Boyarin also argues that "[all] theories of transcendence are… appropriated by the male." Boyarin, "Gender," 122, 125.

[37] Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets*, 65.

virginity in the city, and… the abandonment of marriage."[38] These prohibitions were self-deprecating to women whose gender was dependent on their station. A female's ascent into womanhood was rooted in her engagement in heterosexual intercourse. As stated by Boyarin, "[when] a man comes in contact with a woman, he marks…the virgin as a woman. But when souls become divinely inspired, from being women they become virgins."[39] The female practicing celibacy submits herself to social displacement due to the absence of heterosexual intercourse. Peter Brown claims that intercourse was an expectation of heteronormative behaviour. Within Greco-Roman society it was expected that "girls moved with little interruption from puberty to child-bearing."[40] Boyarin proposes that "[by] escaping from sexuality entirely, virgins thus participate in the "destruction of sex," and attain the status of spiritual human who was neither male nor female." [41] In the Greco-Roman world spiritual androgyny and practices of celibacy were not fully comprehensible and thus Paul knew it could not entirely be achieved. However, Paul's pursuit for spiritual transcendence was predicated on his eschatological belief; in his eyes there was no need for procreation.[42] The transcendence of gender, distinctions between the sexes, and the

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[38] Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 5.

[39] Boyarin, "Gender," 122.

[40] Brown further states that virgins "heightened the awareness of contemporaries that marriage and childbirth were the unquestioned destiny of all other women". See Brown, *The Body and Society*, 9.

[41] Boyarin, "Gender," 122.

[42] "Citizens of the Roman Empire… were born into the world with an average life expectancy of less than twenty-five years… [The] ancient city expected its citizens to [beget]… children to replace the dead… [Women] would have had to have produced an average of five children" and thus socially Paul could not realistically see his theology come to full fruition. See Brown, *The Body and Society*, 6.

attainment of oneness in Christ, for Paul, are found through the degradation of one's sex.

Given the context in which Paul was writing, it is plausible that he aimed to contrast the values of his Christ-following communities with that of Greco-Roman society. Kristina Milnor claims that "[the] moral marginalization of women [and] their isolation in the domestic sphere… had an important role to play in the creation and maintenance of class distinctions in Roman society."[43] Paul's emphasis on gender difference could be an attempt to surpass the views of Roman society. His call to androgyny is replicated in the Roman story of Lucretia: "Valerius labels her a hybrid of male and female, a [manly spirit] in a [female body]. Yet, his words do not imply criticism."[44] She is given honour and praise for her display of "masculine strength" whilst still maintaining her call to "feminine virtue."[45] Furthermore, Deborah Sawyer argues "gender roles determined by biology can be suspended for humans when they are implementing divine plans or as a literary strategy to reflect the extremity of certain situations."[46] The blurring of gendered lines was also a common element in eschatological literature: "Gender roles are not fixed, but can be surpassed in biblical imagery, albeit at the end of time."[47]

Paul's "no male or female," when viewed within its historical context can be read as a call to spiritual unity. Galatians 3:28 "suggests an androgynous humanity," but "androgyny does

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[43] Milnor, "Women in Roman Society," 616.
[44] Ibid. 617.
[45] Ibid.
[46] This practice can be interpreted as a form of spiritual ascension. It was an attempt to manifest qualities of their deity. Sawyer posits "[biological] restrictions evident in the created world are non-existent for the deity". See Sawyer, *God, Gender, and the Bible*, 145.
[47] "The notion of 'discontinuity' can be applied as a methodology to reconstruct alternatives to given power structures." Ibid., 151, 153.

not imply equality'."[48] To place modern conceptions of gender on the social construct of the Pauline communities would be an inaccurate interpretation of Greco-Roman society. Societal equality was not an issue that Paul would have conceived of within his communities. Paul never "imagined a social eradication of the hierarchical deployment of male and female."[49] Attaining salvation required a woman to become "'like [a] man,' and [relinquish] her sexual powers of procreation, because the male principle stands for the…divine realm."[50] Reading Galatians 3:27-28 as a baptismal formula, acknowledges that, for Paul, redemption for women meant rejecting their femininity and assuming the role of the masculine.[51] The discontinuity of gender distinctions only occurs at the spiritual level, in which the feminine is adopted into the male hierarchy.[52] Paul's letters, with his anticipation of the eschaton, allows for the rejection of gender convention: "[Strategies] of 'gender-bending' are always set within the wider framework of expressing the inevitable outcome of the divine plan."[53]

[48] Ibid., 134.
[49] Boyarin, "Paul and the Genealogy of Gender," 12.
[50] Sawyer, *God, Gender, and the Bible*, 134.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Sawyer, *God, Gender, and the Bible*, 157.

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THE OLIVE IN ANCIENT ATHENS

LAURA HUTCHINGAME

The olive is inextricably linked to the history of ancient Greece. While the entire Greek world enjoyed the benefits of the olive, the city-state of Athens singularly elevated the olive above all other natural products. An examination of the evidence pertaining to the olive in ancient Greece will demonstrate the olive's intimate relationship to the goddess Athena, sacred significance in groves, religious meaning of the leaves and branches, spiritual value in oil form, prominence in the Panathenaia, and overall economic value.

The origin of the olive's importance to Athens was its association with the Attic myth of Athena and Poseidon. According to Greek mythology, Athena and Poseidon engaged in a competition to determine which deity would be the patron god of Athens. Both gods were required to offer gifts: Poseidon gifted a saltwater spring, and Athena an olive tree.[1] Athena was victorious, and her olive tree, the first in existence, grew on the

[1] Donald, Isabelle Anne. "Athena and Poseidon: The Contest for Athens." PhD dissertation. University of Alberta, 1996, 1.

Acropolis.[2] While there exists a separate olive-origin myth, which claims that Herakles founded the olive tree when he brought it to Olympia, the story of Athena and Poseidon tends to prevail.[3] While the Athena-Poseidon myth is widely accepted, one must recognize that both literary and artistic sources disagree as to who judged the competition.[4]

Within the myth, there are varying interpretations as to who judged the competition. Although a plethora of literary sources pertaining to the myth of Athena and Poseidon exist, prominent authors such as Apollodorus of Athens and Ovid maintain that the Olympic Pantheon judged the competition.[5] In contrast, Varro asserts that it was not the Olympic gods who judged the contest, but rather the Athenian citizens.[6] Regardless of who is believed to have judged the contest, it is obvious that the identity of the judges alters the meaning of Athena's victory. For instance, if Athena won by the grace of the gods, then the olive tree could have been perceived as an eternal and divinely sanctioned gift, as would Athena's place as goddess of Athens. If Athenian citizens chose Athena, then the olive tree could have been perceived as a self-selected bounty. The latter idea seems fitting with the Athenian history of democracy, yet Roman, rather than Greek, authors promote this version of the myth. Whether the competition was divinely or mortally judged, the victory of the olive tree over the saltwater spring cemented the primacy of the olive in Athens and set a precedent for how the olive ought to be regarded within Attica and Greek society.

A second aspect of ambiguity surrounding the myth is the

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[2] Håland, Evy Johanne. "The Ritual Year of Athena: The Agricultural Cycle of the Olive, Girls' Rites of Passage, and Official Ideology." *Journal of Religious History* 36.2 (2012): 268.

[3] Donald, "Athena and Poseidon: The Contest for Athens", 147.

[4] Ibid.183.

[5] Apollodorus. *Bibl*. 3.14. and Ovid. *Met*. 6.1.

[6] Donald, "Athena and Poseidon: The Contest for Athens", 160.

reason for the contest. Although the motivation for the competition varies from author to author, the unifying theme among most accounts states that Athena and Poseidon were to compete in a contest to determine who would receive veneration and become the patron of Athens.[7] Apollodorus' account argues that the competition was merely a way for one of the two gods to gain control a new city.[8] Donald mentions that, although Apollodorus' account is the most all-encompassing, it is the only account that claims the competition was the product of a "quest for power" and guardianship between the two gods.[9] It is believed that Athena and Poseidon specifically sought the patronage of Athens, and thus attempted to bribe the Athenians with gifts.[10]

By synthesizing all notable accounts of the myth, one may ascertain that the contest occurred because the gods sought control over a particular geographical location (Athens) and viewed competition as the only just way to determine which god could control the city. The emphasis on competition and its indisputable results, are telling of ancient Greek society and without explicitly stating so, reveals that competition was sacrosanct. Logically, the literal and metaphorical fruit of this competition, the olive, would have been regarded as sacrosanct since it was a product of the divine contest itself.

The criteria for Athena's victory is similarly inconclusive, Donald points out that Athena did not necessarily win the competition because the judges, whoever they were, considered the olive tree to be more beneficial than the saltwater.[11] It is possible that the olive tree was triumphant because of its "potential," and the fact that Athena demonstrated its generative

[7] Ibid. 153.
[8] Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.14.
[9] Donald, "Athena and Poseidon: The Contest for Athens", 153.
[10] Ibid.
[11]Ibid.

propensity.[12] The olive's life-giving power was a recurring theme in ancient Greece and is strongly associated with its physical properties. Regarding the precise reason for the Athena-Poseidon competition, there is an element of uncertainty surrounding the reason for the olive's superiority. Donald reminds the reader that, since the discussion of Athena's olive was more detailed than that of Poseidon's saltwater in written accounts of the myth, readers equated this emphasis with the olive's implicit superiority, even though the superiority may not have been stated in the text itself.[13] This discrepancy is noteworthy for it illustrates both the duplicity of origins for the olive's victory in the myth, whilst demonstrating that this single origin of the olive's sanctity is, to an extent, irrelevant. The fact that the olive could be revered to the degree that it was after the myth, and in spite of the myth, is a testament to its inviolability. While it is evident that all Greek myths are characterized by inconsistency, the inconsistency of the Athena-Poseidon myth is no less meaningful in the context of the olive. If a city-state could adopt a symbol such as the olive, irrespective of its concrete origins, and incorporate it into its religious rituals, then that symbol surely held power.

As a result of the myth, Athena became associated with the olive. The manner in which this association originally took root does not have a clear history.[14] Scholars maintain that there are several possibilities for the immediate connotation of Athena and the olive. It has been argued that Athena's guardianship of Odysseus resulted in this association, since an olive tree is a prominent feature on the island of Ithaka.[15] Further, Odysseus himself is associated with the olive as it is connected to the concept of restoration; in the Homeric epic the '*Odyssey*' he is

[12] Ibid. 162.
[13] Donald, "Athena and Poseidon: The Contest for Athens", 162.
[14] Ibid. 110.
[15] Ibid. 111.

eventually restored to his home of Ithaka.[16] Some scholars have pondered whether or not the Ithaka olive tree prefigured that of Athena.[17]

The role of nature ought not to be understated in this Greek myth. Donald hypothesizes that the connection between Athena and the olive stems from ancient Minoan nature-religion.[18] Scholars also suggest that it is possible that Athena became associated with the olive simply because an olive tree happened to grow beside her temple on the Acropolis.[19] The latter argument could be anachronistic. If the competition between Athena and Poseidon had already occurred, then this lone olive tree on the Acropolis would have been universally recognized as the blessed tree Athena endowed her city with. According to Donald, Athena has been depicted with the olive since the sixth century.[20] How Athena became associated with the olive is less significant than the fact that there was something so crucial about the olive that it became a permanent attribute of the goddess. However much the association between the olive and Athena became consolidated, it remained an enduring one.

Complementing the olive's divine association is the sacred character of its groves. Due to the process of the decay of these organic groves and their corresponding evidence over time, scholars must rely upon literary, rather than archaeological, evidence.[21] Although the precise beginnings of "tree cults" cannot be pinpointed, it is apparent that sacred groves were dedicated to gods and goddesses.[22] Athena was connected to several Attic

[16] Ibid. 87.
[17] Ibid. 84.
[18] Donald, "Athena and Poseidon: The Contest for Athens", 112.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid. 111.
[21] Birge, Darice Elizabeth. "Sacred Groves in the Ancient World." PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1982. 63
[22] Ibid. 12, 14.

groves, such as Kolonos Hippios and Tyre.[23] The principal groves were those found in the Athenian Academy and the Acropolis where the olive from the mythological contest was born.[24] While this refers to a single olive tree, it is the olive tree from which all future olive trees were believed to have originated (by virtue of it being the first one); therefore, it is appropriate to think of this mother olive tree as a grove in its nature.[25] The qualities that transformed an ordinary grove of trees into a sacred one are similarly imprecise; though the qualities pertain primarily to the mystic character of groves.[26] Birge elucidates how typically, the appearance of a sacred grove was the same as an ordinary grove of trees, but that it was the magical ability of these groves that rendered them sacred.[27] Athena's olive groves "part[ook] of something beyond ordinary existence."[28]

The *moriai*, a grove of one dozen olive trees at the Athenian Academy, thought to descend directly from the first olive on the Acropolis, as well as certain olive trees in the Athenian countryside, were considered sacred and untouchable.[29] Birge argues that the olive was not treated sacredly exclusively due to its association with Athena; but rather, the olive was venerated because it was a symbol of the state.[30] Athena was the goddess of Athens and was therefore equated with the state.[31]

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[23] Ibid. 33.
[24] Birge, "Sacred Groves in the Ancient World", 195, 34.
[25] Håland, "The Ritual Year of Athena", 268.
[26] Birge, "Sacred Groves in the Ancient World", 191.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Donald, "Athena and Poseidon: The Contest for Athens", 115.; Shear, Julia L. "Polis and Panathenaia: The History and Development of Athena's Festival." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2001, 405; Bowe, "The Sacred Groves of Ancient Greece." *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 29.4 (2009), 242.
[30] Birge, "Sacred Groves in the Ancient World", 214.
[31] Ibid.

Similarly, Patrick Bowe claims that ancient cities would often depict their sacred groves on their coins, even though archaeological evidence for the groves is scarce.[32] Not only were sacred groves religiously significant, but they also had an important economic value for Athens, which could explain why they may have been chosen to represent city-state on its coins. While volumes could be devoted to sacred ancient groves in general, it is clear that the olive groves of Athens retained a "particular sanctity" within the Greek world.[33] The olive possessed religious significance even in arboreal form when it was not actively being used in a ritual. The olive in its tree form was a symbol of the Athenian state and its mother: Athena.

The olive tree in its entirety holds significance. In '*The Odyssey'*, Odysseus favours the olive tree for its wood, crafting his axe handle out of it.[34] Additionally, Odysseus notices that the Cyclops' club too is carved from olive wood.[35] According to Herodotus, the olive tree was perceived as highly resilient, for the original tree allegedly grew back immediately after the Persians obliterated it.[36] Even the most sacred statue of Athena Polias was created from olive wood.[37] The choice to use olive wood for the cult statue reveals how inviolable the olive tree was. Only olive wood was deemed an appropriate medium with which to sculpt Athena Polias, as form surely followed function in this instance.

In addition to the olive wood itself, olive leaves played a substantial role in funerals in ancient Greece.[38] Although the scholarship regarding funerary use of olive leaves varies with each locale, it is believed that the ancient Greeks placed the corpses of

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[32] Bowe, Patrick. "The Sacred Groves of Ancient Greece", 235.
[33] Donald, "Athena and Poseidon: The Contest for Athens", 117.
[34] Homer. *Od*. 5.228.
[35] Ibid.. 9.318.
[36] Hdt. 8.55.
[37] Håland, "The Ritual Year of Athena", 259.
[38] Donald, "Athena and Poseidon: The Contest for Athens", 99.

their deceased "on a bed of olive leaves".[39] There is little reason to assume that the Athenians did not espouse this practice, particularly considering the olive's importance throughout Attica. The rich symbolism of olive leaves for burial ceremonies is likely derived from the tree being an evergreen, thus appearing never to die, and always appearing capable of regeneration.[40] Donald argues that the olive is representative of "the continuation of life", hence its potent symbolism in burials and funerary rites.[41] The aura of hardiness finds continuity in the story of the original olive tree growing even after the Persians attacked it, and represents the Athenian resolve. Olive leaves and wreaths were considered "apotropaic" and were used to adorn Athenian homes to celebrate the birth of a boy.[42] Victors of athletic competitions, such as the Olympic Games, were crowned with a wreath of olive leaves.[43] One may assume that this practice also occurred during the Panathenaia given that it took place in the city of the olive itself, although this is not explicitly referred to in Athenian scholarship.

While the olive tree was prized for its groves, branches, and leaves, it was most valuable for the oil produced from the olives.[44] Olive oil was frequently scented, and "perfumed oil" was a luxury item in antiquity.[45] As a result, scented oil was a customary votive offering for those who could afford it.[46] Both the olive and Athena appear to be connected to oil lamps, for various literary references represent her with a lamp.[47]

Just as olive leaves were part of funerary rituals, so was

[39] Ibid. 104
[40] Donald, "Athena and Poseidon: The Contest for Athens", 104.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid. 105.
[43] Ibid. 102.
[44] Ibid. 90.
[45] Ibid. 93.
[46] Ibid. 98.
[47] Ibid. 96-7.

olive oil, and the latter was often used to anoint bodies to preserve them, as described in book eighteen of *The Iliad* during which Achilles anoints of Patroclus' body.[48] Olive oil was also used in the funerary context as a votive offering to the gods at the resting place of the deceased.[49] One may assume that this type of offering would possess special significance in an Athenian grave due to its associated connotations.

Pervasive in the ancient world, olive oil played a dominant role in both Athens, as has been discussed, and the Panathenaic games, during which the olive oil from Athena's sacred olive trees was bestowed upon the winners.[50] It is unclear whether olive oil from the twelve sacred trees at the Academy, the sacred trees throughout Attica, or from both, was used for the Panathenaic prize oil. Regardless of which trees supplied it, olive oil was perceived to be as golden as its appearance. It could be argued that olive oil was similar to honey in its richness, fragrance, natural origins, and potential as a votive offering. Thus far, this essay has argued that the olive held a paramount position above all other produce from Attica, let alone above all other natural products in ancient Greece. As a result, even though olive oil may not have been drastically different in composition from honey, it was intrinsically different because it was from the olive tree. For these reasons, olive oil was the only appropriate prize for the Panathenaia.

The Panathenaia, observed during July or August, celebrated Athens as a city-state, as well as focusing upon agricultural harvest while worshipping Athena Polias.[51] Håland states that the Panathenaia occurred "by the end of the first month…of the official political Athenian year", while Popkin clarifies that, although scholars believe the Panathenaia celebrates

[48] Hom. *Il*. 18.324
[49] Donald, "Athena and Poseidon: The Contest for Athens", 102.
[50] Bowe, "The Sacred Groves of Ancient Greece." 242.
[51] Håland, "The Ritual Year of Athena", 256, 269.

Athena's birthday, it is more convincing to understand the festival in the context of the Gigantomachy.[52] The Panathenaia occurred every year, while the Greater Panathenaia was "quadrennial".[53] While it has also been argued that the Panathenaia is a political festival, employed to create social cohesion and a common identity, the agricultural emphasis is significant.[54] Håland convincingly argues that the agrarian importance of the olive cannot be dismissed due to the festival's synchronization with the cycle of the olive harvest.[55]

Despite the multifaceted nature of the Panathenaia, the centrality of the olive and agriculture is profound.[56] As the olive was intimately connected to Athena, it is logical that the festival honouring her and her city would place special value on the olive. During Panathenaic processions, participants would carry olive branches.[57] The olive oil for the victors was held in special Panathenaic amphorae for the festival.[58] The prizes, were not however, limited to olive oil, as victors received financial and livestock as prizes depending upon the event they competed in.[59] The fact that olive oil was designated the prize par excellence, reflects how sacrosanct the olive was to the Athenians. Evidently, they believed that no other prize was as worthy of glory in the name of Athena as her olive oil was.

The *Arrēpheroi* ritual was olive-centric for it was

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[52] Håland, "The Ritual Year of Athena", 256.; Popkin, 2012, 210.
[53] Popkin, Maggie L. "Roosters, Columns, and Athena on Early Panathenaic Prize Amphoras: Symbols of a New Athenian Identity." *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 81.2 (2012), 209.
[54] Shear, "Polis and Panathenaia", 3.
[55] Håland, "The Ritual Year of Athena", 275.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Shear, "Polis and Panathenaia", 1.
[59] Ibid.; Shear, Julia L. "The List of Panathenaic Prizes and the Sacred Oil." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 142 (2003), 87.

supposed to help Attic olive trees.[60] The olive was such an important part of ancient Attic religion that even the smaller Athenian festivals, such as the *Skirophorion*, *Thargelion* and *Chalkeia*, were based on the olive's natural cycle.[61] The olive's contribution to the Panathenaia clearly demonstrates how the olive was especially significant in ancient Athens in comparison to any other Greek state.

While the olive has been discussed in terms of its ritual significance, its economic value was also substantial. In her study of ancient olive agriculture, Foxhall states that most accounts of ancient olive farming come from Athens, although she also acknowledges that this is because the wealthy had access to olive farming.[62] Olive oil was an integral part of the elite Attic diet and hygienic practices.[63] Within olive agronomy, the difference between table olives and olive oil was stark, since olive oil was considered more luxurious and was "an expensive commodity"; hence its position as the ultimate prize at the Panathenaic Games.[64] Foxhall also mentions that cereals dominated the ancient Greek diet, if the olive was deemed simply another agricultural product to the Athenians, it would not have permeated their religious life to the extent that it did.[65]

The Athenians co-opted a fruit tree from their environment and infused their religious views with this coveted gift from Athena. It is impossible to conclude whether the olive preceded the myth of Athena, or whether the myth of Athena preceded the olive; however, one must believe, as the Athenians did, that the olive and goddess were born to Athens in unison. It is not the agricultural output which one must equate with the

[60] Håland, "The Ritual Year of Athena" 276.
[61] Ibid., 273.
[62] Foxhall, "Olive Cultivation in Ancient Greece" 1, 32.
[63] Ibid. 86, 89.
[64] Ibid. 94.
[65] Ibid. 16.

olive's significance to Athens, but its economic value. Regardless of the olive's importance in terms of Attica's agricultural production, the olive connoted sacredness.

Ancient Athens privileged the olive. The religious history of Attica demonstrates the Athenian attachment to the olive, since the olive figures into practically every aspect of Attic sacred practice. The myth of Athena and Poseidon's competition to determine who became the patron of Athens frames the Athenian narrative in which the olive is unequalled in stature.

In the form of branches and leaves, the olive maintained its religious significance and appeared in funerary and athletic rituals. The pinnacle of refinement, olive oil was extremely valuable in Attica, thereby injecting it with an elevated status and religious charge. In addition to the mythological and symbolic reasons, the olive's economic value contributed to its centrality in Athenian life. As the myth of Athena and Poseidon portrays the olive and Athena as intertwined, so too must the relationship between the olive and Athens be.

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THE PROMISE: PERSEPHONE AND THE POMEGRANATE

Daring Hades snarled her.
My shimmering princess entangled in the vortex of his kingdom.
Trapped and dizzy, light and life faded and famine reigned despair.
Wise Persephone waited.
Behold the golden chariot escape ensued,
fast flew the immortal steeds and mare!
Cold dark Hades tricked her.
Does Demeter's daughter not deserve an honorable suitor?
In mortal guise I had strained and struggled for her cause.
My rage was uncontained.
Pretending with the tempting fruit she was no fool,
intent on harnessing nature's laws.
The pomegranate burst.
Darting phalanges pierced the perfect ruby gemstone pulpy fruit.
Sweet sticky nectar dripped from her fingers to the thirsty earth of the Rarian plain.
Laughingly she scattered seeds of leafy promise,
Hades silenced by Persephone's mirth.

— Colleen Dunn

UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY

BUSHRA MUHAMMADI

NOTES ON THE TWO ENTRIES:

Please be advised that due to the sensitivity of the research fieldwork, both for confidentiality purposes and to protect the underwater archaeological site from potential looters, the entries have selectively limited information on the daily excavation journals, and how the activities were conducted.

ENTRY 1

Underwater Fieldwork Research

Both theoretical and practical knowledge of underwater archaeology were gained through this fieldwork assignment, along with the necessary completion of a diving certification through the International Diving Association (IDA).

The course was comprised of three primary elements; underwater methodologies, underwater reconnaissance, and an overall site survey, which included daily lectures and in-water exercises. Within the lectures, topics such as an introduction to the history of Menorca, Roman Pottery identification,

underwater archaeological surveying, site planning and excavation techniques, the application of marine geophysics, and the use diver tracing systems in archaeology were covered. In addition, a more focused topic of Mediterranean shipbuilding techniques was also introduced through the restoration of older vessels.

The underwater archeological activities took place within the Roman port of Sa Nitja, S'Almadrava, Cala Viola in Menorca, Spain and in Portus Iulius (Baia Underwater park), and Naples Bay, Italy. The amount of time dedicated to lectures and archeological excursions totaled 40 hours and time dedicated to the conservation and restoration of Mediterranean shipbuilding techniques (which were constructed in 1850), comprised of a total of 25 hours. The amount of in-water time dedicated to underwater archaeological fieldwork was 43 hours.

Portus Iulius 'Underwater Pompeii' Research Highlights:

The Portus Iulius fieldwork research primarily focused on Horea Area,[1] which comprised of a total of five rooms including the connecting corridors and staircases. As part of the groundbreaking research, each room was properly measured and mapped for the first time in Portus Iulius history. The artefacts found in the area helped to reveal the types of activities historically done on the port. For example, marble pieces found in the Horea indicate a storage area reserved specifically for new marble, as it was not normal to have used marble in port construction. Additionally, the type of marbles found further indicates clues to the history of the port. Marbles, such as White Rome, Green Greece, and Yellow Sicily, Giallo Antico. Furthermore, the lack of roof-tiles and bricks in the area indicate scavenging, since it can be assumed that they were taken by the locals, likely after the port was abandoned due to the effect of bradyseism after the Vesuvius eruption that took place in 79 CE.[2]

Other types of pottery found in the area were common Italian wares from the first century BC, African Cookware from the second to fourth century CE, and Italic Tesi from the first century BCE to the first century CE. The type of amphorae found were, Betic Dressel 7-11 from the first century BCE to the first century CE. Italic Dressel 2-4 from the first to second century CE, and Greek Dressel 2-4 from the first century BCE to the first century CE. The tesserae pieces also indicate the possibility of a mosaic floor. Further clarification or details of this research are confidential and cannot be disclosed.

Appendix:

[1.] The Horrea area was part of the city port used for unloading goods, such wine was put in one room to be transferred to other area, and the rooms were used as a last stop before selling their goods in the local market and broader distribution on the global scale. It is known that the port was used for three different purposes, private, military, and public. However, the biggest port of the city was called Autia port, which had fifteen Horreas for all three different purposes.

[2.] Mount Vesuvius is part of the Campania Region of Italy, which is known for volcanic activities. When Mount Vesuvius exploded in 79 CE, it affected Stabia, Herculaneum, and Pompeii. Following the eruption, Bradyseism occurred in the area, which affected Portus Iulius since it is located close to Pompeii. The ancient geographer and philosopher, Strabo talked about fire, thermal water and sulfur in the Ancient Biblica of Phlegraean Bradyseism, and given the mythological notions of the era, he believed it was actually the remains of Jupiter's lighting in the Titans war. And on 1539, Mount Nuovo (which means New Mountain) appeared in two days. On the first day, the ground rose about four meters, and then retracted by six meters, thus the entire Roman port of Portus Iulius Sank under water. For the past five centuries the area has been continually affected by the shifting of

the ground levels, both rising and descending. Since the sixteenth century there have been no significant changes in the Phlegraean Bradyseism, but in 1970 the ground of the Portus Iulius rose high enough, that ships were unable to enter the Naples harbor, and fish even died because of the resulting temperature change of the sea water. It should also be noted that the lack of fish and marine life in the area, caused both by this event and the act of over-fishing in the Mediterranean Sea, has resulted in the extinction of the sharks in the region.

ENTRY 2

While in Menorca, the first three days were spent obtaining the diving certification through the IDA, which was followed by both a practical and a written exam. Upon passing the exam, the next five days were divided among lectures, lab time, and underwater fieldwork research.

My diving training site before joining the rest of my team.

During the lectures, the history of Menorca was discussed including the archaeological involvement of the Sanisera Institution on the island. The island is protected, and is considered a UNESCO heritage site; therefore no commercial buildings can be developed on the island. The island has an abundance of potsherds and additionally, fragments of human bones can also be

easily found. It is an incredible experience to walk throughout the island and so easily find pieces of pottery that can be dated back to the first century BCE. It is this bounty of archaeological remains that makes Menorca truly a great place for any lover of archaeology.

Piece of human rib found on the pathway.

To shed a little light on the archaeological history of Menorca, it was during the last Punic War (which occurred during the second and first century BCE), that a Roman military victory greatly changed the economic dynamics of the area. Upon becoming a Roman territory, ancient trade was altered significantly, resulting in an increase in international trade. For example, Sanisera has materials from Italy, Ibiza (an island in the Mediterranean on the east coast of Spain), Iberia (which included Spain, Portugal, and the British Crown colony of Gibraltar) all dating from before the fourth century BCE.

From the first to the second century CE, the Roman Empire controlled most of the Mediterranean Sea, and therefore many of the amphorae found in the region dating from this period were obtained from Spain. From the fourth to third centuries CE, a few members of the Greek and Phoenician cultures started colonizing the western Mediterranean Sea, resulting in a number of amphoras from this era are from the Greek and Punic colonies.

Following the third and fourth century CE, the Roman Empire was increasingly losing control over the region, and as a result the production of amphorae from Tunisia (in northern Africa) increased. Thus, from the fifth to the sixth century CE, no underwater remains were found, as the western empire disappeared and Menorca became part of the Vandal Kingdom (a primarily Germanic culture).

It might come as a surprise, but this small island also has history of Muslim conquest, from 900 to 1250 CE. It was during these years that Muslims controlled the region from Africa to Spain, and near France. The King of Spain from 756-788 CE was named Abd-ar-Rahman, and was the only survivor of the Umayado Meyan family who were slaughtered by Abbasid Caliphate. People of all creeds enjoyed tolerance and freedom of religion, and thus throughout Sanisera archaeologists have found bodies in graves laid sideways to those facing all in one direction toward the Ka'aba house (such Muslim graves were also found in Christian monasteries). There are also remains of mosque buildings near some monasteries.

Other students project-working on the grave of a muslim boy, laid on his side way.

Besides spending time in lecture, lab times were another

important aspect of this fieldwork research. Classifying different types of amphorae, and potsherds occurred and their significance was discussed and studied to aid in dating the remains from Portus Iulius. The remains of the building structures were also measured and mapped, and a specific form of communicating via sign language, allowed the group members to communicate underwater, ensuring that the mapping and measuring were completed accurately. Proper underwater photography of the sites, and pottery remains was also practiced.

Entering proper journal logs was also practiced for underwater research. For example, different underwater archaeology techniques of surveying were practiced such as linear survey, where the surveyors hold a rope in one line, a method that is useful in covering larger areas. Circular survey was also practiced, this surveying method is useful for findings of remains, and uses the location of the material found as an access point.

The water temperature in Menorca was around 14 degrees Celsius, so gloves and hoods were used. There were some sites inhabited by jellyfish, spider fish, and lots of sea urchins, but luckily throughout the underwater research there were no incidents. The maximum depth of the fieldwork dive in Menorca was approximately 66 feet.

Once the tasks and trainings were completed in Menorca, 24 hours was needed before the flight to Naples, Italy, to avoid the bends or decompression sickness. Once in Italy, another 24 hours was need before diving again to avoid the bends. Visiting Pozzuoli (where the Portus Iulius is located) for the first time, and noticing how beautiful the city was and its rich ancient history, it was disappointing to find that many of the architectural structures were in shambles and there was little sign of any economic infrastructure occurring in the city. In Pozzuoli each day included two dives, and on free days visits to Pompeii, Museo Archeologico Dei Campi Fliegre, the Roman

baths, Parco Archeologico di Baia, the Temple of Diana, and other places were visited. Interestingly, the type of mosaics and construction techniques used in baths, temples, and ancient buildings in Pozzuoli were the same as the Roman construction techniques used underwater in Portus Iulius, such as Opus Reticulatum, opus Vittatum, Opus Tessellatum, and others. All of the names were actually very easy to remember since theyare used all over the city. During our dive in Portus Iulius, there was no need to wear hood and gloves, as the water temperature was around 19 degrees celsius, and the depth of the water was only twenty feet.

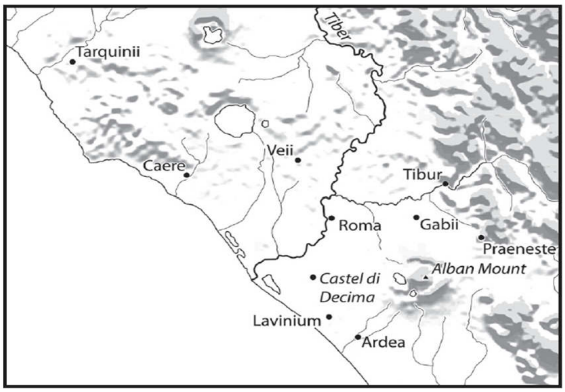
To summarise the entire underwater fieldwork, it was an experience of a lifetime. The Sanisera school is a wonderful place to do any archaeological fieldwork, and the staff are all friendly and approachable. I would recommend underwater archaeology to anyone, but prospective students must keep in mind that they must be fit both mentally and physically, as the coursework requires jumping from the boat backwards, and swimming long distances with all the gear before descending.

THE GABII PROJECT

MORGAN SIMMONS-FEIGEL

Located about an hour drive, with traffic, east of Rome along the modern Via Praenestina, Gabii was one of many ancient Latin cities founded on the western side of Italy between the northern Etruscans and Southern Greeks. Its modern landscape is that of rural Italy. The site's wide fields of short grass are dotted with clumps of Queen Anne's lace and hemmed in by large stone pines and cypress trees. In the distance, a traveler can spot the uncovered remains of Roman roads, marred by ruts dug by ancient carts or the tumbled-down ruins of the nearby temple of Juno and the tower of Castiglione. It was inhabited throughout the Orientalizing Period and onward into the third century CE.[1] The city's population finally disappeared after two centuries of shrinking caused in part, by quarrying of the native Lapis Gabinus, ever popular in Rome, which began to eat away at the once inhabited sections of the city.[2]

[1] Marcello Mogetta and Jeffery Becker, "Archaeological Research at Gabii, Italy: The Gabii Project Excavations, 2009-2011," American Journal of Archaeology Vol. 118 (Jan 2014): 171.
[2] Mogetta and Becker, Archaeological Research at Gabii, 183.



Gabii in its Italian geographic context.[3]

The field school itself was started in 2007 and has thus far unearthed six different sections, labeled A through to F, all of which lay just south of the now-filled crater lake of Castiglione. While working at Gabii in 2015 only three of those sections were open, C, D, and F. The earliest of these is Area D which includes the remains of stone-walled dwellings built overtop an even earlier collapsed hut feature made of wood and wattle, both dating to the Archaic Period. Also found in Area D were massive deposits of earlier pottery including impasto and later bucchero, as well as various tombs of both adults and children. Area C was from a slightly later period, including the walls and floors of Middle Republican homes, demonstrating early Roman architecture which is normal covered up by later Imperial construction. Finally, Area F is home to a large monumental building whose purpose and construction changed over the years until it was finally abandoned along with the rest of the city in the third century CE.

[3] Mogetta and Becker, Archaeological Research at Gabii, 172.

Gabii: The School

The Gabii School, which is directed by Professor Nicola Terrenato and run by the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, focuses on a variety of aspects of the archaeological profession. Most of the time I spent there I was working in the field alongside other young scholars from across the globe. Most of my work was in Area D under the supervision of Trench Supervisor Marylin Evans,[4] and included a constant routine of cleaning, documentation, excavation and sieving of excess soil. The work was at times hard and involved heavy labour, picking at the earth and hauling dirt under the beating sun. While at other times it required students to delicately trowel large patches of ground for hours on end, trying to spot the telltale signs of a filled-in posthole or midden heap.

Excavations in Area D[5]

I quickly grew to appreciate every break in work when I would sit

[4] "Gabii Project Team" University of Michigan, College of Literature, Science and the Arts.
Accessed 29/01/2016 at: https://sites.lsa.umich.edu/gabiiproject/team/
[5] "Gabii Project" © 2015 Ariel Regner for The Gabii Project.

beneath the shade screens and working on the electronic tablets to complete the documentation and forms used for recording the size and depth of each stratigraphic unit (SU) and to describe the colour and texture within. Other breaks came in the form of members of Gabii's topographical team, directed by Rachel Opitz who, with the aid of surveying poles, total stations and trusty jam lids, would construct three-dimensional models of every single SU on the site.[6] Each of these models was then combined together allowing future scholars to relive the excavations at Gabii electronically, slowly peeling away the layers of the site from home.

Topographic team member Tyler Johnson at totaling station.[7]

Another major aspect of the Gabii Field School were the various labs; the most frequented of which was the finds lab, directed by Professor Laura Banducci.[8] In the finds lab, under the supervision of Alison Rittershaus, all the artifacts discovered in the field would be washed, sorted, and labeled by a mixture of students and

[6] "Gabii Project Team" University of Michigan, accessed 29/01/2016.
[7] "Gabii Project" © 2015 Ariel Regner for The Gabii Project.
[8] "Gabii Project Team" University of Michigan, accessed 29/01/2016.

volunteers.[9] One could almost always guess the Area of origin by the contents of each cassetta (plastic bins used to sort the contents of individual SUs), pieces of red or grey impasto, shiny black bucchero which marked Area D or the charred cooking ware and glossy terra sigilatta that marked the later periods. Best of all was when one managed to find a piece of painted pottery and connect it with a few other ceramic sherds from the same, and occasionally nearby, SUs.

Cleaning pottery in finds lab.[10]

Other labs attended by students at Gabii included the zooarchaeology lab, headed by Francesca Alhaique and the archaeobotany lab, under the supervision of Katherine Beydler[11]. In the former, bones taken from the field and washed in the finds lab would be further sorted and analyzed allowing for population numbers and animal sizes to be roughly determined. This further allowed for hypotheses regarding ancient Gabine diets and farming methods to be formulated. The archaeobotany lab had

[9] "Gabii Project Team" University of Michigan, accessed 29/01/2016.
[10] "Gabii Project" © 2015 Ariel Regner for The Gabii Project.
[11] "Gabii Project Team" University of Michigan, accessed 29/01/2016.

similar goals, though it focused instead on charred seeds and wood in miniscule amounts to reconstruct the flora ecosystem of the past. These small pieces of charred plant matter are collected by a system called flotation. This involves the dumping of massive amounts of soil, collected from across Area C, D, and F, into a bin slowly overfilling with water. The plant matter as well as any small pieces of bone float to the surface, while the heavier dirt, sand and ceramics sink below. The floating seeds are then brushed aside and into a thin cloth which is then collected, dried and examined under a microscope. Other tasks involved in botany was the use of forceps to slowly and methodically pick through previously floated soil to ensure any small seeds, bones or pieces of wood were not missed.

Floating Soil Samples.[12]

Gabii: The Experience

Gabii truly was a wonderful and magical experience. Between getting a chance to explore archaeology first hand in the field to

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visiting the ancient sites and culture of Rome and Italy beyond, the Gabii Project proved to be a truly valuable opportunity. Even just living in an apartment alongside other students from across America and beyond; each with their own ideas and opinions, was profoundly eye opening and enriching. Weekends, which we had off, offered an opportunity to travel and sight-see which I readily took advantage of, viewing the excavations at Ostia Antica, Pompeii, and Herculaneum. On tours given by the Gabii School itself, I visited the Etruscan Museum at the Villa Giulia and toured the Forum, Palatine Hill and the Colosseum. Food also proved to be a focus of my attention and I quickly found myself touring the various restaurants experimenting with different dishes and drinks. Do not worry too much if you have trouble with the native language, the worst that can happen, as was my case, was thinking I was ordering an olive pizza and having a leek and onion salad come to the table instead. The Gabii experience and the wonderful city of Rome are two things I will not soon forget and I wholeheartedly encourage you, my reader, to attend a dig site and experience a little adventure of your own, should your time and money allow.

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ISSN 2369-9094
ISSN 2369-9086