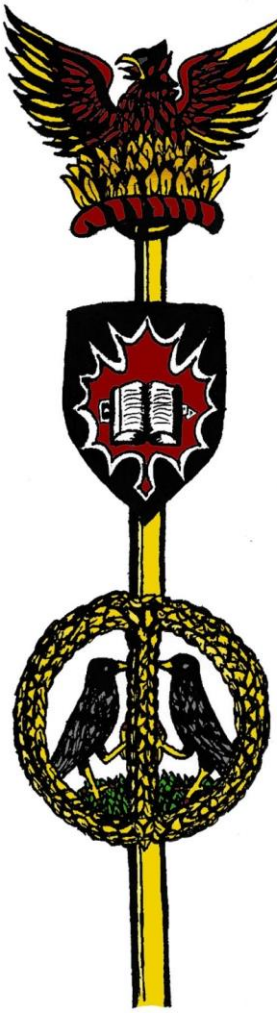

CORVUS

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

MMXIX- MMXX

CORVUS

The Journal of the Carleton University Classics Society

Volume 10

2019-2020

ISSN 2369-9086 (Print)

ISSN 2369-9094 (Online)

Published by the Carleton University Classics Society

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORS

Editor-in-Chief

Brooke McArthur is in her final year of a double-major in English and Linguistics, with a Minor in History at Carleton University. She will be starting her Masters in English Literature at Carleton in the Fall and will then complete a Publishing Certificate through Ryerson University. Her research will focus on the use of story-telling for healing trauma. Brooke hopes to land a career in novel editing, specifically historical fiction.

Senior Editors

Nigel Klemencic-Puglisevich is a student at Carleton University majoring in Greek & Roman Studies and History with minors in Archaeology and Medieval & Early Modern Studies. His main area of interest is Medieval Malta and Sicily, specifically the Islamic era and the evolution of the Maltese language.

Emily McElroy is in her fifth year of study at Carleton University. Her research interests include madness in women in myth, Death and the Maiden, and the ideal of the 'good death'.

Chris Albinus is a third-year student pursuing a Major in Greek and Roman studies with a Minor in Archaeology. He is particularly interested in the Celtic periphery of Antiquity, and previously worked on Corvus in his first year.

Robyn Marie is a fourth-year transfer student to Carleton in the Greek and Roman studies. Before Carleton she spent three years at Concordia and a year at the University of King's College in the Foundation Year Program… she is what the kids are calling it these days, "indecisive and prone to flightiness". Her areas of interest are Medieval History, Christianity and Gender studies, with a particular focus on the morbid and macabre. She is grateful for the opportunity to have worked on this edition of CORVUS and thoroughly enjoyed reading the various papers.

CONTRIBUTORS

Colleen Dunn, after retiring from over three decades of work in pediatric radiography and ultrasonography, entered university part time and is now a fourth- year student in Greek and Roman Studies and Religion. She has always composed rhymes and poems for her own enjoyment and studying has provided her with a vast array of fascinating topics to rhyme and write about. She is so grateful for the knowledge and inspiration offered to her by the faculty, staff, and students who contribute to this amazing Carleton family!

Jackson Harada-Poulter is a fourth-year undergraduate student in the International Business program, concentrating in Marketing and Trade and minoring in German. He has a great interest in Ancient Roman history, gained by exploring sites like the Roman Forum and the Colosseum during his academic exchange last year. While not majoring in history or classical studies, he took both *History of Ancient Rome* courses lectured by Dr. Pettipiece as electives this year. He thoroughly enjoyed them and highly recommends both courses to any student who wants to begin learning about Ancient Rome.

Cameron Perrie is a fourth-year undergraduate student at Carleton University, majoring in History. His interests in history come from video games he would play as a kid, such as Stronghold Crusader, Age of Empires, or Age of Mythology, which really sparked his love for medieval, colonial, and ancient history. Because of the innate connection Cameron had for video games and history, he hopes to combine both interests in future career opportunities.

Pamela Ong is a fourth-year undergraduate student, majoring in Cognitive Science with a concentration in Psychology and a minor in Archaeology. She is currently working in the technology sector as a user experience researcher and designer. She hopes to find an intersection between her interests by pursuing a career in interactive exhibition design to support learning in museums.

Dylan Robbescheuten-Oakman is a second-year student at Carleton, who is currently pursuing a BA Honours degree with a Major in Law and a Minor in Political Science. After graduating from his Undergraduate Degree, Dylan will pursue two Master's degrees from Carleton: first pursuing a degree through the Norman Patterson School of International Affairs, obtaining a 4-year degree for a Masters in International Relations and a Juris Doctor. Following this 4-year span, Dylan will pursue a one-year degree for a Master's in Political Management through the Clayton H. Riddell program. These degrees will be necessary steps for Dylan's career destination, as since grade ten, he has pursued his goal of becoming the Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC). In addition to his academics Dylan, volunteers both with the Ottawa City Courthouse, as well as with Attorney Maya Shukairy of Shukairy Law, to gain valuable experience he will need to accomplish his career goal.

His biggest influencers within his academic work are, Dr. Noam Chomsky, George Carlin, Bob Dylan, and above all his mother Dr. Julie Wieland-Robbescheuten. He would like to take this opportunity to thank her for all she has done for him in her support of his academics, her pushing him to achieve his full potential, and above all for setting the example of the importance of academia and pursing knowledge.

This is Dylan's first publication, but it will not be his last, he is currently working on a variety of papers premised on the prevalent issues of contemporary society.

McKean Shave is a fourth-year undergraduate architectural design student with a minor in archaeology. His interest in history is focused on the duality of deriving cultural evidence from archaic architecture and creating architecture established from contemporary values.

Maeve McMahon is a third-year student in the Bachelor of Humanities, with a minor in Greek and Roman studies. She is currently co-editor in chief of the Humanities literary journal NORTH, as well as a member of the Humanities Colloquium board. Her current research interests include the campaigns of Alexander the Great, and the historicity of Homer.

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

I have often been asked why one would wish to study history, especially history that goes well beyond the collective memory. Why does it matter? What is there to gain? Why dig up the past that is good and gone?

The fact of the matter is, though, that it is just not "good and gone". Time is like a great river, picking up sediment and debris from one time period and bringing it forward into the future. The "times gone by" have never really left us, but have rather collected into the world we live in today.

In the face of such turbulence throughout our last century, it is important for the minds of our present generation to engage in the study of "ages gone by". Not only does this endeavour provide comfort from studying the resilience of our ancestors in the face of challenges long ago; it also builds a foundation during which we may connect our humanity to those around us now by rooting ourselves in the common humanity we share with those of the "Ancient Past". Thus, it is more than just "digging up bones" and "reading old books" that the students here at Carleton do; through understanding the past, we may better understand the present, and thus build a better tomorrow. To the students of the Carleton community and the wider Academic community at large, keep doing the great work that you do!

Corvus received many fantastic submissions this 2019-2020 academic year, which made both the selection process challenging and rewarding. To the contributors who made the cut, congratulations. To those who did not, this is not the end; life would be boring without the room to grow and the challenge to do so. To everyone who submitted, thank you for giving the team and I such great material to work with. I hope you always strive for excellence for your futures look promising!

I would like to take the space my wonderful team of editors who were so prompt and flexible during the editing process. It is people like you who make it such a joy to work on projects such as this, and I wish you success and contentment in all your future endeavours. To the wonderful staff in the Greek and Roman Studies program, thank you for your kind and prompt support during the production of this Journal. To Zoë Burness (Editor-in-Chief of Corvus, 2018-2019), thank you for your fantastic advice and generous support.

To everyone involved, thank you for giving me the chance to support my future career with this very fulfilling opportunity.

Brooke McArthur, 2020

MYTH OF THE SIXTH

The epic poet Hesiod composed in metered lines
the Myth of Ages murmured to him through oceans of time.
Hark the tale of days of Gold long life and feasts of plenty,
Kronos' nectar shared by all until our cups were empty.
Sweet first of ages!

But when the golden glow grew dim then Silver rays shone cool,
wisdom withered on the vine as the fertile earth birthed fools.
Good remained but life restrained to abysmal years for us,
growls and groans and roars of Zeus rumbling from Olympus.
Second of ages!

Silver shivered into Bronze trembling ash trees morphed to men,
with bronze we lashed and slashed and bled in vicious violence.
Grim gods from lofty perches glared at us with piercing eyes,
no mortal or divine caress would calm our wounded cries.
Cruel third of ages!

Hungry gods began to crave sacrifices never made,
seized by whim divine we spawned our bold half-human race.
Brave battles led by Heroes demi-gods who fought and fell,
life force of this age faded but its legends we still tell.
Hail fourth of ages!

Forging next the Iron age ceaseless works through dismal days,
sad Hesiod surrounded by immoral wicked ways.
Blatant disrespect for all, gruesome greed and heinous crime,
decency and morals flee heartless gods leave us behind.
Cold fifth of ages!

This Myth of Ages story rippled till the age of fifth,
Hesiod repeats the tale woeful words of despair drift.
Yet seas of care and kindness can quench all our thirsty fears.
Look past horizons Hesiod! Joys and wonders spring from tears.
Hope! Sixth of ages!

COLLEEN DUNN

THE MARIAN MILITARY REFORMS AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE ANCIENT ROMAN EMPIRE

JACKSON HARADA-POULTER

Abstract

This paper examines the military reforms put forward by consul Gaius Marius during the Late Republic, and their eventual impacts on Rome as a whole. In order to properly explore these reforms and their impacts, this paper first draws back and examines the context of pre-reform Roman society that necessitated their introduction. While all are touched upon, specific attention is paid to three reforms in question: the removal of the property requirement for army enrollment, the adoption of the cohort system, and logistical adjustments made to the baggage train. These are all argued to have succeeded in professionalizing the army, creating large numbers of permanent soldiers that were able to be leveraged by powerful generals for their political gain, and contributing to the eventual end of the Roman Republic.

The Late Republican period of Ancient Rome was one characterized by tremendous change on all fronts. Set against a background of rapid expansion, the Roman Empire evolved socially, politically, economically, and militarily to eventually transition into Imperial Rome. One of the most significant transformations during this period was observed in the Roman military at the hands of Gaius Marius. Elected for the first time in 107 BCE, he served as consul of Rome seven times, including five consecutive years from 104 to 100 BCE.[1] During his reign, he implemented a number of reforms to the military that would come to be known as the "Marian Reforms". Not only did these completely alter the military, they also had far-reaching effects on the Empire

[1] Santangelo 2016, 1

as a whole, ultimately contributing to the end of the Republic. The changing socio-economic environment in Rome pre-Marius elicited the development of his reforms, of which five are generally attributed to Marius: changes to the enrollment process, the implementation of the cohort system, logistical adjustments made to the baggage train, the adoption of the *Aquila* as a standard, and the modification of the javelin. The varying consequences of these on the late Republic, a period which saw a rise of generals such as Julius Caesar and Lucius Sulla and the use of professional armies for their political aims, will be explored.

Rome and its Army Pre-Reforms

By the end of the third century BCE, Rome had just emerged from the Second Punic War and its bloody encounter with the invading Carthaginian general, Hannibal Barca. It was during this period that the organisation of the Roman army was described in detail by Greek author Polybius in the sixth book of his *Histories*.[2] During this period, recruits for the Roman army were raised through a lottery system called the *dilectus* where, each year, four legions of men were chosen out of the eligible Roman population to total an army of 4,200 troops.[3] Service was seen by the general population as something conducted out of a sense of duty and loyalty to the state where, soldiers were expected to serve for the duration of a campaigning season (typically from March until October) before being released.[4] Soldiers could then be called back to the army up until a maximum service length of 16 years.[5] The basis for what defined an eligible person was their property value, with the idea that those with property held a vested interest in the state and would be more effective soldiers,[6] as well as having the ability to provide their own military equipment.

The division of society by property value can be traced back to the reign of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome. Through the Servian Constitution, he conducted the first census of the Roman population where he sorted people into classes defined by financial status.[7] The wealthiest individuals formed the *equite* class, followed by the bulk of the population divided into five classes, with the poorest forming the fifth class. Below them were the *capite censi,* who had no property, and were thus ineligible for military service except in times of emergency.[8]

The land proprietors in the first to fifth classes were then split into four troop types based on their physical fitness and their financial status while the *equites* made up the cavalry.[9] The *velites* were light infantry made up of the youngest and poorest enlistees and they generally could only afford the cheapest, and therefore the worst, equipment.[10] The next rank up was the *hastati* (medium infantry), followed by the heavy

[2] Keppie 1984, 33
[3] Keppie 1984, 33
[4] Keppie 1984, 51
[5] Matthew 2010, 1
[6] Matthew 2010, 1-2
[7] Keppie 1984, 16
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Keppie 1984, 34-35

infantry units of the *principes* and the *triarii*.[11] Those in prime physical condition were designated as *principes* and the older and more seasoned, as *triarii*.[12] The total legion size of 4200 was composed of 1200 each of *velites, hastati* and *principes*, as well as 600 *triarii*. They were arranged on the battlefield in 10 smaller groupings of 420 troops called *maniples*, in which the *velites*–tasked with disrupting the enemy by throwing javelins–led the line, followed by the *hastati, principes* and *triarii* heavy infantry.[13]

An important note concerning the Roman army at the time is that it was considered a "citizen militia" in that most soldiers were farmers and citizens who returned home after brief stints of campaigning. As a result, armies were mustered when needed and Rome therefore lacked a standing army. However, the socioeconomic changes present in the Republic during this time placed much strain on this militia army. During normal campaigning seasons, the Roman army numbered four legions, with a further four made up of Latins and Allies.[14] However, during Rome's period of conquest and expansion in the second century, there was a greater need for manpower to staff active armies. In the midst of the Hannibalic war for example, a peak of 28 legions were in active service.[15] The result of this war also meant that Rome gained additional provinces, namely Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Hispania Citerior, and Hispania Ulterior. Rome needed military forces in these provinces in order to maintain control over them. This, coupled with the war with Philip V of Macedon two years later, strained Rome's military capacity.[16] In the latter half of the second century BCE, the Roman Empire had grown to incorporate Macedonia in 148, Africa in 146, Asia in 133, and Narbonese Gaul in 121, which only added to the already overtaxed military.[17]

The consequence of Rome's rapid expansion was a series of crises that served to reduce the eligible military population. The vast majority of Rome's army was made up of small landowners in rural regions, representing a reported two-thirds of the troops.[18] Because of Rome's increased military activity, these farmers were now forced to serve six to seven years of continuous military service,[19] which wreaked havoc on their livelihoods as long periods away from their farms hurt their incomes, especially if they had no family to help maintain the land.[20] It then became common for these small landowners to sell their plots of land to the wealthy holders of *latifundia,* which were large plantations that had popped up during this period as a result of the influx of wealth and slave labour generated from Roman conquest.[21] Small landowners could not compete with these plantations which bought up all the good land and worked it with slaves who never had to leave to fight in the army.[22] So, the former landowners usually travelled to cities to seek a living, thereby relegating them to the unpropertied class of

[11] Matthew 2010, 2
[12] Keppie 1984, 34
[13] Ibid.
[14] Keppie 1984, 32
[15] Smith R.E. 1961, 1
[16] Smith R.E. 1961, 2
[17] Smith R.E. 1961, 2
[18] Brunt 1962, 73
[19] Keppie 1984, 33
[20] Smith R.E. 1961, 8
[21] Gambino 2016, 42
[22] Blois 1987, 9

citizens and disqualifying them from the military.[23] This also had an impact on the dwindling population of propertied individuals in the army. Not only did they have to leave their farms to serve in long campaigns overseas, the campaigns during this period were often unprofitable and did little to subsidize their lost income from farming.[24] For example, the Iberian campaigns were particularly notorious for lacking opportunities for the acquisition of booty and many soldiers became increasingly disgruntled at being selected, demonstrating how exhausted the military-eligible classes were becoming through the continuous expansion and conquest.[25]

All these factors contributed to a larger crisis where Rome's commitments became far too great for the army to sustain.[26] The expansion and constant warfare required a larger military, however the consequences of this expansion only served to reduce the population eligible for the military, while increasing the burden for those remaining. In an attempt to increase the eligible population, the Senate took measures to reduce the property requirements for the fifth Servian class. Originally, this requirement stood at property worth 11,000 *asses,* which was gradually reduced to 4,000 *asses* around 212-214 BCE, and finally 1,500 as reported by Cicero in 129 BCE.[27] The result was a gradual *"proletarization"* of the Roman army where many of the *proletarii* (landless poor) were legally transformed into *adsidui* (the fifth class) and became eligible for service.[28]

The Marian Reforms

It was these crises present in Rome during the Late Republic that necessitated decisive reforms to the Roman army by Gaius Marius that transformed it from a citizen militia unable to cope with Rome's increasing military commitments, into a professional army.

(1) Enrollment Reform – the Capite Censi

In 107 BCE, conflict was sparked between Rome and Jugurtha, a local usurper king in Numidia. At the same time, Marius was elected for his first consulship and was tasked with preparing for a Numidian campaign.[29] It was at this time that Marius implemented the first and most major of his military reforms by drawing on the *capite censi* for troops, thereby opening military service to all Roman citizens regardless of property level. In doing so, Marius completed the process of reducing the minimum property requirement for the fifth class by removing it entirely and allowing landless volunteers to join the military. The main motivation behind this reform was Rome's lack of willing manpower among the propertied class.[30] Similar to the earlier Iberian campaigns, the Numidian campaign was unfavourably regarded by soldiers due to the

[23] Smith R.E. 1961, 8
[24] Gambino 2016, 44
[25] Gambino 2016, 70
[26] Smith 1955, 63
[27] Gabba 1976, 3-6
[28] Gabba 1976, 22-23
[29] Santangelo 2016, 25
[30] Matthew 2010, 17

perceived lack of potential spoils on offer.[31] Carthage had already been sacked during the third Punic War so it was likely that Marius would have received resistance, or even flat out refusal, had he opted to draw upon existing soldiers.[32]

Opening the ranks of the military to the *capite censi* remains one of the most influential and important reforms in the context of Rome's history and had various pivotal impacts. To start, because of their low economic class, these volunteers from the *capite censi* entered the army as a way of escaping from an impoverished lifestyle.[33] This fundamentally altered the mentality of many soldiers. Military service changed from something done out of a sense of duty to the state present in many pre-Marian troops, to a means of economic survival.[34] By being provided employment, a certain level of prestige, and hope of loot, the soldiers from the *capite censi* were transformed into troops who were more likely to act out of their own self-interest and, more importantly, the self-interest of the general who could lead them to military rewards.[35] As will be touched upon later, this allowed armies to be used as political tools to achieve the aims of individual generals during the late Republic.

Reforming the enrollment process also allowed for an increase in professionalization of the military and a shift away from the citizen militia that had characterized the Republic up until this point. Because these new volunteers had no land or farms to return to, they were willing to serve for longer periods and in further provinces.[36] This made the annual *dilectus* redundant and also allowed Marius to lead campaigns in Numidia more effectively and at his own pace.[37] Ultimately, this was also a decisive factor in the emergence of standing armies in the late Republic, which will be covered later.

(2) The Cohort System

Another major reform attributed to Marius was the abolishment of the maniple system in favour of the cohort system around 104 BCE. Due to the *capite censi* now forming a bulk of the army, structural changes were necessary in order to account for this.[38] Under the previous maniple system based on the Servian classes, the influx of fifth class soldiers would have meant a disproportionate amount of lightly armoured *velites* in a given legion, reducing its effectiveness in battle.[39] The cohort system therefore did away with these light skirmishers and homogenized all the units and their equipment so that the legion was made up of cohorts of heavy infantry. Structurally, this was done by changing the 420-strong maniple unit into a 480-strong cohort unit without the class distinctions that had characterized the maniple system. As a result, the strength of a legion was boosted through increasing its heavy infantry from 3000 to

[31] Gambino 2016, 102-103
[32] Matthew 2010, 20
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Gambino 2016, 112
[36] Matthew 2010, 22
[37] Ibid.
[38] Gambino 2016, 117
[39] Ibid.

4800 men.[40] The long-ranged aerial benefits that *velites* provided was not lost either, since the heavy infantry in the cohort legions were all armed with javelins[41] and local auxiliaries in provinces could be recruited as *velites* when needed.[42] This had the added advantage of preserving transport space for heavy infantry units when embarking on distant campaigns.[43]

Tactically, the cohort system offered solutions to some of the weaknesses present in the maniple system. During the third and second centuries, Rome had been hurt by foreign tribes on multiple occasions, notably in the 309 BCE raids that culminated in the sack of Rome, and also at the hands of Hannibal's army during the second Punic War.[44] Under Marius, the cohort system was developed in part to tactically counter the threat posed by Germanic and Celtic tribes at the time.[45] Units were deployed on the battlefield in a triple rank formation with four cohorts in the first rank and three each in the second and third.[46] The aim of this formation was to counter the typical tactic of barbarian troops: a massed charge. Pre-Marian maniples had gaps between the *velites, hastati, principes,* and *triarii* of around 120 feet[47] which were easily exploitable by the charging barbarians.[48] By removing the troop classes and establishing a solid cohort, the gaps were reduced. Additionally, the solid nature of a cohort and its increased size provided an additional psychological advantage to its solders by strengthening their morale, making it easier for them to withstand a charge.[49]

The homogenization of the infantry and their equipment to accommodate the *capite censi* also served to increase bonding and unity between troops by removing the class-based roles of the maniple system. It prevented any resentment due to differences in equipment quality felt by poorer soldiers and created an environment where all soldiers were equal, regardless of economic background.[50] The cohort system would go on to become the accepted military model, as is demonstrated in Caesar's consistent use of it during his time.[51]

(3) Marius's Mules and the Baggage Train

During Marius's second consulship in 104 BCE, he turned his attention towards the logistical aspect of his legions by requiring every legionnaire to carry his own equipment (arms, armour, entrenching equipment, cookware, rations, etc.) slung on a forked pole over his shoulder, earning Marius's men the name "Marius' mules".[52] While this was a tactic sometimes used by other generals, Marius is credited with making it

[40] Gambino 2016, 118
[41] Ibid.
[42] Taylor 2019, 86
[43] Ibid.
[44] Matthew 2010, 32-33
[45] Keppie 1984, 63
[46] Matthew 2010, 31
[47] Keppie 1984, 39
[48] Matthew 2010, 33
[49] Matthew 2010, 34
[50] Matthew 2010, 36
[51] Keppie 1984, 63
[52] Matthew 2010, 39

common practice in the Roman legion, with the goal of improving the efficiency of the baggage train.[53] By compelling each soldier to carry his own kit, the dependency that they had on a legion's baggage train would be reduced, allowing the fighting sections of the legion to operate independently from the main body for a short time.[54] The result was a faster, smaller, and more flexible legion and evidence of the benefits can be seen when comparing legions pre- and post-reforms. During the pre-reform Numidian campaign in 107 BCE, Marius marched his troops a distance of 230 kilometers in 9 days, at a pace of around two kilometers per hour.[55] During his post-reform Gallic campaigns in 58 BCE, Caesar marched six legions fifteen kilometers in three hours (pace of five kilometers per hour) from the Sambre river in 58 BCE in order to set up an advanced defensive position.[56] This would have been impossible to accomplish had it not been standard practice for legionaries to carry their own entrenching equipment.[57] The self-portage of equipment also improved the *esprit de corps* felt by soldiers in a legion by encouraging self-reliance and self-discipline and enhancing their effectiveness as a fighting unit.[58] The adoption of Marius's mules is seen as one of the most important advancements in military logistics and completely changed the way legions operated, allowing future commanders to move deep into enemy territory during campaigns, without a cumbersome baggage train.[59]

(4) The Aquila Standard

According to Roman author Pliny the Elder, the adoption of the *Aquila* (eagle) as the single standard of the Roman army can be attributed to Marius during his second consulship. Prior, there were four other standards used in the army: the wolf, the minotaur, the horse, and the boar.[60] It is theorized that the eagle was always the most important and represented the first rank, while the other four represented the *velites, hastati, principes* and *triarii*.[61] One could reason, therefore, that the *capite censi* and cohort reform that signalled the end of the class structure in the army resulted in the removal of these four standards, leaving the eagle as the dominant one.[62] Advantages of this decision could be seen on the battlefield where the eagle standard improved organization. Carried by the first cohort, the eagle standard served as a reference point around which the other cohorts could deploy, and also informed soldiers when to advance and retreat during the confusion of a battle.[63] It also fostered the *esprit de corps* among the troops by bringing them closer together around a single point of

[53] Ibid.
[54] Matthew 2010, 43
[55] Matthew 2010, 46
[56] Matthew 2010, 43
[57] Ibid.
[58] Matthew 2010, 47
[59] Matthew 2010, 49
[60] Keppie 1984, 67
[61] Matthew 2010, 51
[62] Matthew 2010, 53
[63] Ibid.

identity, instead of dividing them using the class-based standards of the Manipular army.[64]

(5) Adjustments to the Pilum

The final reform attributed to Marius is the one with the least historical significance, although it does have some tactical importance. In 101 BCE, Marius altered the design of the heavy *pilum* javelin to enhance the effectiveness of his units on the battlefield. Before, the heads of these javelins were held in place by two metal rivets and Marius replaced one of these metal rivets with a wooden peg that would break upon impact.[65] The reasoning was twofold. When lodged in an enemy's shield, the broken peg would allow the javelin shaft to swing downwards on the remaining rivet and drag along the ground, both making the soldier's shield unwieldy, and also disrupting the enemy's formation.[66]

Rome and its Army Post-Reforms

The state of the Roman Republic during the final century BCE was jarringly different from the period preceding Gaius Marius. There was now the existence of professional, standing armies around the Empire that looked completely different to the temporary citizen militia found pre-reforms. There also existed powerful new generals who used these professional armies to leverage power and achieve their political aims against the state. Both of these factors succeeded in creating an environment of political violence and conflict that ultimately spelled the end of the Republic. Regarding each of Marius's reforms, some contributed more than others to this environment. His reform of the *pilum* only really had tactical significance, which was only in the conflicts with the Cimbric tribes at the time and therefore had no larger significance. Furthermore, the *esprit de corps* generated from the adoptions of the cohort system and *aquila* standard, as well as Marius's mules, was an important development. Marius's most important reform, though, was the change he made to the enrollment process through the inclusion of the *capite censi* in the military. This was the foundational reform and without it, it is hard to imagine that the turbulent environment of the late Republic would have been the same.

Professional Standing and Emergency Armies

As mentioned previously, the result of allowing landless volunteers into the army was the emergence of professional soldiers, who freely chose a military career and were driven by economic rewards as opposed to a sense of duty to the state.[67] This, coupled with the newfound unity and sense of belonging within reformed legions, led to fully-fledged professional armies that were vastly transformed. It was generally accepted that,

[64] Matthew 2010, 55
[65] Matthew 2010, 64
[66] Matthew 2010, 69
[67] Smith R.E. 1961, 11

during the first century BCE, there were two types of professional armies: standing armies and emergency armies.[68]

Standing armies were permanent garrisons kept in conquered Roman provinces. They did not need replacing or complementing every few years as the pre-reform armies did, and their numbers were not significant enough to execute anything other than these garrison duties.[69] By 60 BCE, there was a total of fourteen standing armies in eight provinces: the two Spains, the two Gauls, Macedonia, Cilicia, Bithynia and Pontus, and Syria.[70] Emergency armies were those raised when Rome became involved in a war, like the Sertorian and Mithridatic wars, and were disbanded upon its completion.[71] They were mostly made up of veterans from other wars, or even from other standing armies in the provinces, who had returned home and settled down.[72] These men welcomed the chance to serve in emergency campaigns of limited length with great promise of spoils and it was these armies that became influential in political conflicts.[73]

Soldiers in both armies had to take oaths of service to their generals that had to be renewed for any successors. However, where they differed was that generals in emergency armies were more likely to remain in command for the entire war, while appointed generals in provinces changed every so often.[74] As a result, oaths taken to generals of emergency armies took on a more personal quality, especially considering that many troops joined due to the personality or reputation of these generals.[75] The political significance of emergency armies was that, unlike the standing armies, they were discharged at the end of a war; in effect bringing a trained and experienced group of veterans back to Rome still with loyalties to a powerful general who could turn it against the state.[76] Without the inclusion of the *capite censi* in the military, it seems unlikely that these standing and emergency armies would have been possible, and it is evident that a few of Marius's later reforms contributed to their professional spirit.

The Rise of Generals

The years of the late Republic were also characterized by a rise to prominence of a number of famous generals with political motives and the backing of private armies. They included Marius himself, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar. The manner in which these generals acquired their armies was only made possible through the earlier military reforms that included the *capite censi* in the army. The continual military service for long campaigns, the proletarian makeup of the army, and the fact that generals changed less frequently resulted in bonds being created between soldiers and their generals in post-reform armies that tied them together in a mutual relationship not unlike a patron-client one.[77] Proletarian veterans who had no form of land income to fall back on needed

[68] Keppie 1984, 77
[69] Smith R.E. 1961, 29
[70] Smith R.E. 1961, 28
[71] Smith R.E. 1961, 29
[72] Smith, R.E. 1961, 37
[73] Ibid.
[74] Smith R.E. 1961, 38
[75] Smith R.E. 1961, 41
[76] Smith, R.E. 1961, 71
[77] Gabba 1976, 26

some form of financial support.[78] To them, their generals became this source of income, both through the spoils of war they delivered to them, and also through the plots of land they received after the war.[79]

Through something known as the "veteran phenomenon" it was common practice at the time for generals to settle their veterans on plots of land through the passing of *leges agrariae* (land distribution bills).[80] Marius himself settled a large number of his veterans in military colonies in North Africa and Italy and thus acquired himself a large retinue of clients in those regions.[81] Marius created the expectation that commanders would take care of their veterans through granting them land, which linked the success of Roman generals directly with their soldiers.[82] It effectively turned legionaries into their generals' clients since they relied on them for land, and therefore were motivated to follow their generals as it was to their mutual advantage.[83] Furthermore, these settled veterans in colonies abroad offered their former generals established pockets of political and military support and they could be recalled during times of need, such as when Marius used his veterans based in Picenum to put down the coup of Saturnius.[84] Ultimately, in the pursuit of riches by the proletariat, many armies during this time ceased to be state armies and instead became private armies in practice[85] belonging to a general. This phenomenon was nonexistent during the period pre-Marius due to the state of the military. Veterans were not significant assets for politically inclined generals because the nature of the citizen militia meant that generals rarely received soldiers for long periods of time.[86] This was changed after the implementation of the *capite censi* however, which saw generals like Marius receive the same soldiers for periods sometimes stretching six years.[87] Among the aforementioned generals, two stand out as stellar examples of the private army problem facing Rome at this time: Sulla and Caesar.

In 89 BCE, Persian king Mithridates invaded Asia Minor, which necessitated a Roman response. The elections for the consulship in 88 BCE therefore had the added layer of who to entrust with the command for the upcoming Mithridatic campaign, one that was highly coveted since there was the prospect of gaining loot and war profits from the East.[88] Due in part to his strong military record, Lucius Cornelius Sulla was elected as consul, given command of the campaign, and he started assembling and training an army. However, many other prominent figures still desired the Mithridatic command, Marius being one. So, with the help of the Plebeian tribune P. Sulpicius, Marius took measures to replace Sulla as the commander of the campaign.[89] Outbreaks of political violence followed, and Sulla fled the city. The resulting events were extremely significant

[78] Blois 1987, 19
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Gambino 2016, 127
[82] Gambino 2016, 129-130
[83] Shotter 1994, 32
[84] Gambino 2016, 129
[85] Gabba 1976, 27
[86] Gambino 2016, 128
[87] Ibid.
[88] Santangelo 2016, 74-75
[89] Santangelo 2016, 76

in a historical context as, in 88 BCE, Lucius Cornelius Sulla became the first consul in history to lead a Roman army against Rome.[90]

After leaving Rome, Sulla travelled to Campania where his army was based, informed them of the wrong done to him, and called for his troops to march with him to Rome. It is significant that when addressing his troops, Sulla emphasized that Marius would likely enlist other soldiers for the campaign, which would deprive Sulla's soldiers of the spoils of war in Asia.[91] While all of his generals save one (his kinsman Licinius Lucullus) refused to march on Rome and deserted, the main body of soldiers stood by Sulla.[92] They even stoned to death the Roman envoys that Marius sent to take control of Sulla's army before marching on Rome.[93]

The actions of Sulla and his army perfectly encapsulate the issues that were present during the late Republic. Author Richard Edwin Smith remarks that "No man marches against his ideals; if a Roman army was prepared to march on Rome, it was because Rome stood for nothing that had won their loyalty".[94] Sulla's rank-and-file soldiers had no qualms about turning against the Roman state because they were mostly *capite censi* soldiers who were motivated by land and plunder.[95] They remained loyal to Sulla because he promised to provide them with material rewards, which he did. In 84 BCE during the campaigns in Asia, Sulla ordered the sacked Asian cities to pay each soldier twelve *denarii* a day, which was as much in ten days as their normal annual pay.[96]

Securing armies' loyalties against the state by providing them material rewards was also a tactic used by Caesar during the years of his civil war. Similar to Sulla, Caesar faced a pivotal moment in 49 BCE when he crossed the Rubicon River to march against Rome. In identical fashion, his soldiers complied without argument and only one officer abandoned Caesar and joined his enemy Pompey.[97] Rewards for these troops included a doubling of their wages to 225 *denarii* a year around the time of the Rubicon crossing, as well as plots of land in Italy and Southern France after the war.[98]

It was clear that the state of the military at this time facilitated the development of professional armies loyal to power-hungry generals, and once he regained power, Sulla even tried implementing reforms to lessen this problem. He did so by clearly defining what constituted treason, which had previously only been a vague concept.[99] It would now be treason if a governor failed to leave his province within thirty days of his successor's arrival, as well as if he led an army out of his province without permission from the Senate.[100] Sulla also took measures to reduce the length of service of provincial leaders, to minimize the opportunity of them establishing rapport with their troops.[101]

---

[90] Keaveney 1982, 1
[91] Santangelo 2016, 77
[92] Levick 1982, 1
[93] Levick 1982, 2
[94] Smith 1955, 102
[95] Levick 1982, 2
[96] Brunt 1962, 78
[97] Keppie 1984, 103
[98] Ibid.
[99] Keaveney 1982, 142
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.

All this was done to attempt to stop what Sulla himself had done in previous years– turning professional armies into private armies to march against the state.

The effects of Gaius Marius's reforms upon the military in the late Republic were extremely significant. In opening the military to the *capite censi* in 107 BCE, Marius allowed men to voluntarily join the army in the pursuit of wealth instead of through a sense of duty. It dramatically altered the ideology of the common Roman soldier and created the possibility for them to be controlled through the promises of material rewards. It also allowed for permanent standing armies to emerge, as well as armies made up of veterans with interests tied to their commanders. His later reforms in 104 BCE of standardizing the organizational units, adopting the eagle standard, and reorganizing the baggage train, massively benefited the Roman army both tactically and structurally and heavily influenced future military practices. These also increased the professional aspect of the army, boosting the *esprit de corps* of its members and creating a more efficient force that acted as a single, homogenous unit. The consequences of these were felt in the late Republic, a time where powerful generals, like Sulla and Caesar, took control of these armies and used them against the State. It was during this turbulent period that the Roman Republic ultimately collapsed, an event in which Marius played a significant role. Ironically, while he implemented his military reforms to better equip the Republic during its times of expansion, they ultimately played a large part in its demise.

Bibliography

Blois, Lukas de. *The Roman Army and Politics in the First Century before Christ*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1987.

Brunt, P. A. "The Army and the Land in the Roman Revolution." *Journal of Roman Studies* 52, no. 1-2 (1962): 69–86. https://doi.org/10.2307/297878.

Gabba, Emilio, and P. J. Cuff. *Republican Rome, the Army and the Allies*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press , 1976.

Gambino, Michael C. "The Military Reforms of Gaius Marius in Their Social, Economic, and Political Context." Dissertation, ProQuest, 2016.

Keaveney, Arthur. *Sulla: the Last Republican*. London: Croom Helm, 1982.

Keppie, Lawrence. *The Making of the Roman Army*. London: Batsford, 1984.

Levick , B M. "Sulla's March on Rome in 88 BC." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 31, H. 4 (4th Qtr., 1982), 503–8. Accessed November 28, 2019. https://www-jstor-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/stable/4435825.

Matthew, Christopher Anthony. *On the Wings of Eagles: the Reforms of Gaius Marius and the Creation of Romes First Professional Soldiers*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Pub., 2010.

Santangelo, Federico. *Marius*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.

Shotter, David. *The Fall of the Roman Republic*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Smith, Ralph Elberton. *The Failure of the Roman Republic*. Cambridge: Univ. Pr., 1955.

Smith, R. E. *Service in the Post-Marian Roman Army*. Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1961.

Taylor, Michael J. "Tactical Reform in the Late Roman Republic: The View from Italy." *Historia* 68, no. 1 (January 2019): 76–94. https://doi.org/10.25162/historia-2019-0004.

RUTHLESS WARRIORS OF THE SEA: THE GREEK TRIREME

CAMERON PERRIE

Abstract

The importance of the naval invention of the Greek trireme is documented and emphasized throughout this paper, discussing its importance among Greek warfare, society, and technology. The trireme was used by many nations during the time and after the time of the Greeks due to its impressive architectural design and incredible functionality. Upon its creation, the Athenians became one of the most powerful influences across the Mediterranean civilizations, and asserted itself as the dominant force of the sea in trade, colonization, and warfare. Likewise, the use of triremes in the Persian Wars proved that the trireme was more than a simple ship made to protect trade, it was a ship specifically designed for naval combat, which is most notable by its speed, maneuverability, and the bronze ram that was used to effectively destroy enemy vessels.

The predecessor to the legendary ancient trireme was the bireme. The bireme was similar in design to the trireme in that it masts a sail, was armed with a ram, and that a rower manned each oar individually, but the major difference being that it had two banks of oars on each side, while the trireme added a third bank.[102] The trireme was a modification and an upgrade to the earlier bireme as it was designed to be faster, more maneuverable, to hold more men, and in result, it could only hold a

[102] McGrail, 2009, 141

limited amount of cargo and was not up for the challenge of rough waters and open sea. According to the Athenian historian and naval commander, Thucydides (c.460-400 BCE), the trireme was first introduced to the Greeks in the 7th Century BCE by the Corinthians.[103] However, this does not mean that it was the Corinthians who had invented the Trireme. Many Scholars can agree that the invention of the trireme can be credited to the Phoenicians, all the while others believe that the trireme was indeed invented in Corinth.[104] Nonetheless, it was the Athenians who transformed the trireme into the excellency that it was.

Evidence of the trireme appearing c.700 BCE can not only be proven by the recordings by the historians of the time, but also by the pottery which depicted both biremes and triremes on them. Furthermore, the knowledge gained from the history books can be used hand in hand with the information that was found in trireme excavations to decipher the size, shape, positioning of crew members, and most importantly, the materials used to create such ships.[105] The trireme interior was built out of softwoods like cedar, pine, and fir, but with a hardwood like oak for the exterior frame.[106] The use of softwoods came with major advantages and disadvantages. The most important reason for using softwoods came from the extreme maneuverability and unprecedented ability to accelerate and decelerate its speed or to turn itself around. However, this extraordinary galley ship came with a costly disadvantage; softwood absorbs water at a much greater rate than hardwood and thus triremes often had to be taken out of the water at night, for many reasons besides absorption, and could not be used to cross deep waters or stormy seas.[107] The trireme's remarkable speed was also helped by two large sails, however, when in battle, the sails were stored on land.[108] Furthermore, its design and size did not allow room for sufficient amount of resources to support the crew members and consequently could not endure long voyages.[109] The appearance of a trireme could be marked not only by the three banks of oars or the bronze-clad naval ram, but also by the painted prow that was made to resemble an animal with giant eyes.[110] Also, the triremes were given names based on Greek goddesses, heroines, cities, and animals, while usually being identifiable as and regarded to being female.[111]

The trireme's speed was met not only by its design, but by the enormous size of the crew that sailed the ship as well as the massive 4.5 metre oars. The size of the ship and the threeleveled arrangement of rowers allowed for a total of 170 oarsmen, 31 to each side in the top level, 27 in the middle, and 27 in the bottom.[112] The oarsmen were organized and directed by many different ranked men, including the rowing master who instructed the rowers; the bow officer, who repeated the same

[103] Ibid.
[104] Diodorus, XIV.42.3
[105] Morrison, Coates, Rankov, 2001, 32
[106] Ibid., 180
[107] Fields, Bull, 2007
[108] Morrison, Coates, Rankov, 2001, 113
[109] Fields, Bull, 2007
[110] Strauss, 2005, 148
[111] Fields, Bull, 2007
[112] Morrison, Coates, Rankov, 2001, 136

instructions further down the ship; and finally, the piper, whose job was to maintain the rhythm for the rowers by playing the wind instrument called aulos.[113] At the stern of the ship, the helmsman oversaw the steering of the ship from the stern, as well stood the ship's commander. The commander, or *trierarchos*, was a wealthy citizen who was in charge of maintaining the ship and who also achieved great political power within his society for sponsoring a trireme.[114] The ship also had a carpenter and deck crews to man the sails and to make quick repairs if needed. The trireme had a much larger crew than that of the bireme and thus the trireme was created to be much larger. The approximate length of the Greek trireme was about 37 metres long with a beam of 6 metres, and a 4 metre height from the deck to the bottom of the hull. The weight of a trireme was a mere 50 tons, light enough to have the crew carry it ashore if it was needed to beach overnight.[115] The trireme's average speed was roughly seven knots, six knots being a consistent speed without exhaustion, and was capable of achieving top speeds of around nine knots for brief bursts.[116]

The trireme was built with a bronze battering ram at the most frontal position of the prow and was used to collide with enemy ships in hope to destroy and sink them. The trireme's exceptional maneuverability and ability to increase speed at an astounding rate made the battering ram a near flawless naval weapon. In case the ram failed to sink the enemy and the crew were forced to engage in close combat, each Athenian trireme was armed with ten hoplites and four archers according to Herodotus.[117] This additional plan was used often and was effective. This lightweight ship could not support much more than that of the weight of the crew, and thus they were not often used for trade like other vessels were, but they did have an essential role in warfare and even transportation. Furthermore, transportation included the transport of horses and troops. Specifically, during the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians used multiple triremes, which were rowed only by oarsmen on the top row, while the rest of the ship was filled with either hoplites or horses.[118] However, these ships were not built for voyages longer than a day. A trireme could only hold enough for each individual to have 2 gallons of water, meaning the crew would not have enough supplies to carry on a voyage overnight.[119] With the combined lack of storage and the inability to travel stormy waters or deep seas, the trireme does not stand up to the test of being a great transport ship or a trade ship. Because triremes were expensive to maintain and were essential to the success of Greek naval warfare superiority, when they were not needed in battle they were still sufficient enough for non-combat purposes as well and were thus used whenever necessary.

The success and importance of the Trireme was most felt in the Aegean Sea during the first Persian invasion; the Trireme was used in many battles throughout the Persian Wars by both the Greeks and Persians. Directly prior to the decisive Greek victory at the Battle of Salamis, was the Battle of Artemisium. In late August of

[113] Ibid., 111
[114] Strauss, 2005, xviii
[115] Fields, Bull, 2007
[116] Morrison, Coates, Rankov, 2001, 5
[117] Morrison, Coates, Rankov, 2001, 50
[118] Hanson, 2007, 257
[119] Ibid., 258

480 BCE, 271 Greek ships met with 1207 Persian ships at Artemisium to hold off an important passage of water while the infantry held Thermopylae on the land.[120] Despite being heavily outnumbered, the Greeks managed to destroy around 400 Persian ships, while the Persians only managed to eliminate 100 of the Greeks. The battle ended with the Greeks retreating to Salamis because they were given word that the utterly vital positioning of Thermopylae had been lost.[121]

Yet the loss on the land ended up leading to the most significant naval victory in Greek history at the Battle of Salamis, a battle that proved the unparalleled capability of the Greek trireme. Like before, the Greek navy was heavily outnumbered again, but due to inspiration and direction by the Athenian general Themistocles, they had hope that this battle would end better than the Battle of Artemisium. Themistocles had "thought it [would be] safer to fight an enemy fleet faster and more than three times more numerous than his own in the narrow waters between Salamis and Attica rather than in the open waters"[122] and his decision to do so was the pinnacle of Greek success during the Persian Invasion. The Greek fleets positioned themselves in such a way where they could block both entrances to the channel and that the Persian ships would have to engage in combat in smaller numbers, rendering their advantage of having a larger fleet to be useless. The narrow passage way where the conflict took place surprisingly gave an advantage to the smaller number of ships, as the Persian fleet quickly became inefficient and unsystematic due to the superior Greek tactical position.[123] The Greek trireme thrived in the inland sea type combat that took place at the Battle of Salamis. According to Herodotus, the total number of ships on the Greek side was 373 triremes and 5 penteconters.[124] The Persian fleet is written by Herodotus, among other classical writers, to be 1,207 triremes, with a near 500 being wrecked by storms while crossing the Aegean and at the Battle of Artemisium. Because many ships were lost at sea due to storms, it can be further emphasized that the trireme lacked the ability to travel through rough seas.[125] The Battle of Salamis also proves that the trireme is best understood by Greek leadership as the Persians lacked the ability to understand how to achieve the most out of their triremes by losing many to storms and unwisely engaging their ships into a strait that had already been properly secured. The trireme is a ship with a specific function and the Persians tried to use it for more than it was. The Athenians managed to learn the importance of their perfected trireme and the significance of the Battle of Salamis and used this new-found knowledge to assert themselves as the most powerful naval force across the Aegean.

With the formation of the Delian League in 478 BCE, an alliance of Greek city states lead by Athens, the Greeks continued to resist the Persian oppressors and

[120] Strauss, 2005, 17
[121] Ibid., 17-19
[122] Morrison, Coates, Rankov, 2001, 74
[123] Strauss, 2005, 87
[124] Ibid., 79
[125] Strauss, 2005, 26

moved on the offensive.[126] An important battle for the league was in 466 BCE at the Battle of Eurymedon when the Greek alliance managed to gain victory both on land and sea.[127] The Persians were planning on retaking lost territory along the Asia Minor and were preparing to station their troops near the Eurymedon river. Cimon, an Athenian general, instructed the sail of 200 triremes towards the Eurymedon and ultimately stripped the Persians of any tactical advantage by effectively destroying their strategy.[12827] Cimon also commanded the fleets in the Battle of Salamis, the battle that displayed the greatness of the Greek trireme most notably. Therefore, Cimon achieved the title of being one of the greatest admirals that ever commanded the Greek navy, with victories crucial to the survival of Athens and other Greek city states.[129] The Persian fleet was no match for the Greeks under the command of Cimon, despite having the numerical advantage once again at Eurymedon. The Greeks utilized their use of the trireme and managed to achieve the tactical advantage when they were outnumbered, leaving the Persians stunned as well as physically and morally crushed. The Greek triremes chased the retreating Persian navy to land and beached themselves to follow the Persian sailors as they routed to their army, which ended up deserting as well.[130] Because of Cimon's strategic wisdom, the Greek fleet of triremes undeniably played a decisive role in the defeat of the Persian army and navy at the Battle of Eurymedon.

By the time the Peloponnesian War was starting in 431 BCE, the Athenian navy was superior to all the other Greeks and the Persians, not only by sheer size, but by the crew that sailed the Athenian triremes were of higher degree and better trained.[131] By the closing of the war in 404 BCE, Athens had lost most of its navy and thus completely lost its power as the greatest seaborne empire.[132] The strategy of the Athenians had always been to flank and encircle the enemy fleet by ramming their ships from behind or the side. This was achievable by their focus on speed and maneuverability, like before, the Athenians knew exactly how to prioritize the triremes strengths. However, the Spartans allied themselves with the Persians and realized that their only chance of defeating Athens was by mustering a larger navy and creating a strategy unique enough to put an end to the Athenian naval superiority.[133] The Spartans developed a tactic that involved turning the naval battle into a battle on the land by engaging battle near the shore and having its army waiting on the shoreline. Additionally, they would ram the Athenian triremes head on in order to destroy them.[134] Throughout the war, surviving members of a defeated fleet were punished as prisoners by the enemy. One practice, as explained by Hanson, was how crews were "brought ashore and either cut down or maimed – often grotesquely, by cutting off the right hand or thumb to guarantee that they

[126] Fine, 1983, 359
[127] Ibid, 344
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid., 340
[130] Fine, 1983, 344
[131] Hanson, 2007, 255
[132] Morrison, Coates, Rankov, 2001, 114
[133] Hanson, 2007, 255
[134] Ibid.

would never row again"[135] upon being captured. Perhaps the reasoning for such severity towards their prisoners is because it was the fleet of triremes that city states feared, not armies of hoplites. It is reasonable of the enemies of Athens to try to eliminate the Athenians navy in any means possible and to ensure that they cannot mobilize a large armada once again.

The Peloponnesian war was vicious towards captured sailors and just as bad for the seamen who died in battle. In the Battle of Aegospotami in 405 BCE, there were 330 ships with a total of 60,000 men on board among both the Athenian side and Spartan side.[136] Unlike land battles, the fleet cannot escape as easily or as often as infantry can, one destroyed ship most likely lead to the death of nearly 200 men. The trireme played an important role in the Peloponnesian war as the vessel was the focal point of the last major battle, the Battle of Aegospotami. The most devastating naval loss for the Athenians as 160 of their 180 ships were destroyed or captured, with 3000 of their sailors taken prisoner and executed.[137] Most of the 30,000 sailors on the Athenian side were either killed or captured and thus ultimately and immediately ending the reign of the largest and most dominant naval empire in the Mediterranean.[138]

After the downfall of the Athenian naval empire, the trireme lost some of its political importance in terms of investment due to a lack of people able to afford to pay for the maintenance of a trireme.[139] At the peak of the Athenian naval power, the social aspect of covering the expensive costs of a trireme extended far beyond just the repairs of the ship; it allowed one to rise further up within their society. The people who could maintain their wealth all the while giving as much as they could to the city state is what made them powerful within their community.[140] The reason that the Athenians could raise such a large fleet was because of this competition that existed among the wealthy patricians. As their dominance across the Aegean rose, the people of Athens felt it was even more necessary to support the creation and maintenance of their triremes. However, eventually, they became too much of a financial burden for some people to pay for as the trireme turned into a fierce competition of who could pay for the construction of the most extravagant and advanced trireme there was. The wealthiest patricians succeeded in making the trireme business one that was always changing and improving upon itself as ships became more impressive, intimidating, and the better ships attracted a better group of oarsmen.[141] The trireme was the greatest investment politically and militarily in ancient Greek history and played a crucial role not only in naval combat, but on the home front within Greek society.

Moreover, the men who powered these vessels were mostly Greek citizens. It is important to note that despite slaves or hired men being used when occasionally

---

[135] Hanson, 2007, p.247-248
[136] Ibid., 264
[137] Fine, 1983, 517
[138] Hanson, 2007, 264
[139] Ibid., 296
[140] Hanson, 2007, 143
[141] Morrison, Coates, Rankov, 2001, 4

needed, the majority of the oarsmen were citizens of their respective city state.[142] The trireme gave many citizens a profession; the rich maintained the trireme and the poor sailed it. This gave the trireme an essential role within lives of most Greeks. Likewise, training was given to the oarsmen and was not taken in a light regard whatsoever and took months and years to complete. Training was difficult and intense as it only would take one man to mess up the entire stroke of the ship, and that could prove to be life threatening when in battle.[143] Athenian triremes were superior to other city states in that they specialized in training their citizens for long periods of time allowing them to build up a greater endurance than their opponents.[144] The poor were given a highly essential, but laborious role and were paid accordingly for their work, thus further proving the trireme to be a significant part in the lives of the Greek people.

The story of the trireme's evolution is ordinarily linear, the unireme became the bireme, which became the trireme, and eventually the quadrireme and quinquereme came to be. Each model gained an additional number of oarsmen and allowed for the ship to be faster and more powerful in naval combat.[145] While the trireme held the crown as the most influential ship in the Mediterranean from the 7th century until the 4th, the larger models succeeded the throne after the decline of the trireme after the Peloponnesian War. The larger ships were rowed by more oarsmen, could carry more troops, and were armored against ram ships. [45] The trireme became the prominent ship of weaker and lower budget navies of the smaller Greek city states, while the larger, richer navies developed most of their navy using quinqueremes.[146] As time went on and antiquity came to an end so did the importance of triremes, as the largest fleet in the Mediterranean were being filled with quinqueremes.

However, the trireme was not officially insignificant or forgotten. In 1987, the trireme was reborn as the *HS Olympias*, a "commissioned ship in the Hellenic Navy of Greece, the only commissioned vessel of its kind in the world".[147] The construction of this ancient ship can be credited to the naval architect John Coates, the historian J.S Morrison, and a classics teacher named Charles Willink, all of which who have rediscovered and shed light on the majority of the knowledge we know about the trireme.[148] The ship was funded by the Hellenic Navy, but also by individual donations.[149] Parallel to antiquity, wealthy patrons had the opportunity to pay for the construction of the trireme. 170 oarsmen and women managed to row the *HS Olympias* at a top "speed of 9 knots and was able to perform 180 degree turns in one minute in an arc no wider than two and a half ship lengths".[150] The importance of

[142] Ibid., 111
[143] Ibid., 266
[144] Morrison, Coates, Rankov, 2001, 266
[145] Chrissanthos,
2008
[146] Ibid., 46
[147] Thema, 2017, 2
[148] McGrail, 2014, 70-71
[149] Ibid., 3-4
[150] Ibid., 9

noting this modern reconstruction is to finally decipher if classical historians stretched the truth on the trireme's abilities, but "the results that the trireme achieved with an amateur crew proves that ancient historians like Thucydides were not overstating the capabilities of triremes."[151] Conclusively, the recreation of the trireme allows a new perspective on the impressiveness, importance, and influence the trireme has in Greek history and society from its birth in the 7th century BCE until today, where it can be recognized as antiquity's most fundamental naval technology.

[151] Thema, 2017, 10

Bibliography

Chrissanthos, S. G. (2008). *Warfare in the Ancient World: From the Bronze Age to the Fall of Rome (Praeger series on the ancient world)*. Praeger.

Diodorus, Skelton, J., Salter, F. M., & Edwards, H. L. (1957). *The Bibliotheca historica*. London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Oxford University Press.

Fields, N., & Bull, P. (2007). *Ancient Greek warship: 500-322 BC*. Oxford: Osprey.

Fine, J. V. (1983). *The Ancient Greeks: A critical history*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hanson, V. D. (2007). *A war like no other: How the Athenians and Spartans fought the Peloponnesian War*. London: Methuen.

McGrail, S. (2014). *Early Ships and Seafaring: Water Transport Within Europe*. Pen & Sword Military.

McGrail, S. (2009). *Boats of the world: From the Stone Age to Medieval times*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Morrison, J. S., Coates, J. F., & Rankov, N. B. (2001). *The Athenian trireme: The history and reconstruction of an ancient Greek warship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, B. S. (2005). *Battle of Salamis: The navel encounter that saved Greece—and western civilization*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Thema Newsroom. (2017, April 17). The Hellenic Navy maintains a reconstruction of an ancient Athenian trireme, the HS Olympias. Retrieved March 19, 2018, from http://en.protothema.gr/thehellenic-navy-maintains-a-reconstruction-of-an-ancient-athenian-trireme-the-hs-olympiasphotos/

REFUTATION OF HERODOTUS AND DIODORUS SICULUS ON MUMMIFICATION

PAMELA ONG

Abstract

Mummification of the deceased in ancient Egypt was a religious practice central to their belief in the afterlife. However, there is little to no textual firsthand accounts that exist to explicitly describe the process. The classical accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus are two of the most commonly cited works in the literature regarding mummification. However, empirical data (i.e., CT scans) suggests that these accounts do not accurately represent the variation and evolution of the mummification process. Herodotean and Diordorean stereotypes such as, the elite nature of transabdominal evisceration, universal heart retention as well as universal brain removal via the nose, are all refuted. The two accounts are mere snapshots of the process of mummification. Consequently, scholars should view them critically and use them in conjunction with new empirical data.

The practice of post-mortem preservation of human bodies in ancient Egypt, also known as “mummification”, can be dated back as early as the First Dynasty. Although the early techniques and processes were rather crude, they were gradually refined, as the practice continued into the New Kingdom. It came to the peak of its practice in the

Twenty-First Dynasty.[152] The motivation behind this practice centred around a clearly defined belief in the afterlife.[153] According to their religious belief, the immortality of an individual was dependent on the preservation of their physical body. It was necessary for maintaining the bi-partite soul of the deceased, which consisted of the *ka* and the *ba*. The *ka* was the aspect of the soul that was restricted to the tomb. Meanwhile, the *ba* was the aspect of the soul that had the ability to leave its tomb. It could travel around at night in the form of a human-headed bird.[154,155] Consequently, the body of the individual needed to be well preserved and maintain enough likeness to the deceased that the soul could recognize its body. The body would act as an eternal home for the soul in the next world.[156,157]

Although mummification was a sacred and core religious ritual, the ancient Egyptians left little to no textual firsthand evidence to explicitly explain the process and techniques. In fact, the earliest writings concerning the Egyptian mummification process come from the writings of the Greek historians, Herodotus (in the Persian Period) and Diodorus Siculus (in the Ptolemaic Period). The classical accounts are often the two most commonly cited works within contemporary literature regarding the mummification process.[158]

With recent advancements in both radiology technology and medical imaging methods, scholars now have a variety of tools that allow them to non-invasively examine mummies. Computed tomography (CT) is one example of a tool used prevalently in the study of mummification. A CT scan machine has the ability to "take hundreds of images of individual thin sections of the body (slices). These slices can be taken at multiple angles, and then combined into a complete, three-dimensional image of a body."[159] The empirical data provided by CT scans have brought to light a variety of insights into the mummification process that were not previously achieved with invasive methods such as, endoscopy and histology.[160] Consequently, researchers have been able to determine whether the empirical data does, in fact, corroborate with the classical accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

I argue that the classical accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus are inconsistent with results from empirical studies. The empirical data suggests that these

---

[152] C. El Mahdy, *Mummies, Myth and Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London, England: Thames and Hudson, 1989).

[153] A.R. David and E. Tapp, *The Mummy's Tale (* London, England: Michael O'Mara Books Limited, 1992).

[154] El Mahdy, *Mummies.*

[155] J.E. Harris and K.R. Weeks, *X-raying the Pharaohs* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973).

[156] David, *Mummy's Tale*.

[157] Harris, *X-Raying the Pharaohs*.

[158] A.D. Wade, A.J. Nelson and G.J. Garvin, "A Synthetic Radiological Study of Brain Treatment in Ancient Egyptian Mummies," In *Journal of Comparative Human Biology,* no. 62*,* (2011): 248-269

[159] Z. Hawass and S.N. Saleem, *Scanning the Pharaohs.* (Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press, 2016).

[160] D. Moissidou, J. Day, D.H. Shin, and R. Bianucci, "Invasive versus Non Invasive Methods Applied to Mummy Research: Will this Controversy Ever be Solved?". In *BioMed Research International,* (2015).

accounts were simply normative descriptions of the mummification process as they lack any explicit details. Furthermore, they fail to acknowledge the full range of variability in techniques over the millennia of ancient Egyptian history. The empirical data refutes the restriction of transabdominal evisceration (i.e., disembowelment) to the elite and cedar oil enema evisceration to those of lower status. Moreover, the results of the CT images falsify the Diordorean stereotypes of universal heart retention or replacement of the heart with an amulet. Lastly, the writings of Herodotus do not acknowledge the variability in excerebration (i.e. brain removal) methods. Although these accounts are excellent resources, they are not entirely accurate representations of the mummification process. As they are only second-hand accounts that are several millennia removed from the origin of the process, the prevalent use of these classical accounts in the literature may be problematic. This potentially may lead its audience to believe incomprehensive information about the mummification process.[161] Therefore, scholars should examine these classical sources critically while taking into consideration new empirical data.

Empirical Data on Evisceration

The classical accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus both provide details on the process of evisceration (i.e., disembowelment). However, empirical data has falsified the elite nature of transabdominal evisceration and has also provided further details into the location, direction, and depth of these incisions. In Herodotus' classical account (trans. 1920)[162], he describes three different procedures for embalming the deceased. In his description of the "most perfect process," he insinuates that transabdominal evisceration was reserved for the elite, as it was the most expensive of the three options. In the second process, evisceration was completed by injecting cedar oil enema into the abdomen, in order to dissolve the viscera. After a prescribed amount of days, the cedar oil was "allowed to make its escape" per anum. This process did not involve any incisions. Lastly, he also described the third method of embalming which was usually practiced among commoners, as it was the "cheapest" procedure of the three options. In this process, the viscera were cleansed out using only a clyster. In a literature review of 108 scanned mummies,[163] it was revealed that transabdominal evisceration was not restricted only to the elite class as it was demonstrated in large numbers across both the elite and commoners. Of the 108 mummies examined in the literature, 58% of the mummies underwent transabdominal evisceration. Furthermore, there was little evidence of cedar oil enema evisceration via the anus in the dataset. This evisceration technique only applied to approximately 8% of the mummies in the dataset. Moreover, there was a higher prevalence of mummies in the sample who were not eviscerated (28%). The reason for the overall prevalence of this technique being that mummies in the early dynastic periods were not eviscerated. This could be due, in part, to the lack of refined techniques during the time. Contrary to the account of Herodotus, the empirical data demonstrated that transabdominal evisceration was not restricted to the elite. Therefore, the writings of Herodotus do not provide an accurate representation of the mummification process.

---

[161] A.D. Wade and A.J. Nelson, "Radiological evaluation of the Evisceration Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Mummies." In *Journal of Comparative Human Biology,* no. 64 (2013): 1-28.

[162] Herodotus. *Book II of History*. Translated by A. D. Godley. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920).

[163] Wade, "Radiological Evaluation".

The classical accounts were simply normative descriptions of the mummification process and therefore, they did not provide any explicit details about variation in the location, direction and depth of the incision made to perform transabdominal evisceration. The account of Diodorus Siculus did, however, highlight some details about the location of the incision. "The first is the scribe, as he is called, who, when the body has been laid on the ground, circumscribes on the left flank the extent of the incision."[164] Wade and Nelson's literature review demonstrated that the location of the incision on the left side did remain constant, as suggested by Diodorus.[165] Empirical data from Hawass and Saleem's Egyptian Mummy Project have demonstrated variability in the location and direction of the incisions.[166] Incisions have been found in areas such as the inguinal region, the iliac crest, the epigastrium, and the anterior pelvis. CT images have revealed that incisions in royal mummies such as Thutmose I, Thutmose III, Yuya, Ramesses II and Ramesses III, were obliquely oriented. In the mummy of Thuya, the incision was vertically oriented. Interestingly, the incision in the mummy of Tutankhamun extends diagonally from the centre of his abdomen towards the left iliac crest.[167] Research suggests that the size and shape of the incision is indicative of the care that was taken during the mummification process.[168] A lower quality of care was indicated by large and round incisions. The classical account of Diodorus is a good foundation for information about the location of the incision made to conduct evisceration, however, it does not provide any further comprehensive or specific details. As such, scholars should evaluate this resource critically and consider whether empirical data supports it.

Empirical Data on Heart Retention

The ancient Egyptian religion maintained a cardiocentric view. Consequently, the heart was perceived to be the centre of all human intelligence, emotions, thoughts, human action.[169] Predictably, the writings of Diodorus Siculus support the notion of universal heart retention or replacement of a heart with an amulet during the mummification process:

> When they have gathered to treat the body after it has been slit open, one of them thrusts his hand through the opening in the corpse into the trunk and extracts everything but the kidneys and heart, and another one cleanses each of the viscera, washing them in palm wine and spices.[170]

---

[164] S. Diodorus, *The Library of History*. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), 311.
[165] Wade, "Radiological Evaluation".
[166] Hawass, *Scanning the Pharaohs*.
[167] Ibid.
[168] M.J. Raven, W.K. Taconis, & G.J.R. Maat, *Egyptian mummies: Radiological Atlas of the Collections in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2005).
[169] Marios Loukas, Pamela Youssef, Jerzy Gielecki, Jerzy Walocha, Kostantinos Natsis, and R. Shane Tubbs, "History of Cardiac Anatomy: A Comprehensive Review from the Egyptians to Today." In *Clinical Anatomy* 29, no. 3 (April 2016), 270–284.
[170] Diodorus, *The Library of History*, 131.

Although empirical data did provide support report for heart retention and heart replacement, the Diordorean stereotype of heart retention as a universal practice was falsified. In a literature review examining 150 scanned mummies,[171] 21 mummies were shown to have an intact heart. Furthermore, 59 mummies did not appear to have a heart or a heart amulet as replacement. For example, the mummies of Paankhenamun and Herakleides do not possess an intact heart nor a heart amulet. Meanwhile, the data for the remaining 70 mummies was missing or could not be determined. According to the data, the prevalence of heart retention increased over time. The peak of this practice was seen in the Third Intermediate Period. During the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, the practice became less prevalent. However, the overall results of this literature review indicate that heart retention was not as common as scholars had originally believed. CT scans from the Egyptian Mummy Project[172] also falsified the universal heart retention stereotype. The presence of a heart was identified in royal mummies such as, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Thutmose III, Tiye, Ramesses II and Ramesses III. Additionally, CT images of the royal mummy of Seti I revealed the presence of a heart amulet within heart residue. However, the researchers did not identify a heart or a replacement in the royal mummies of Yuya, Amenhotep III, Tutankhamun and Merenptah. Although empirical evidence suggests that the practice of universal heart retention or the replacement with an amulet is false, scholars continue to maintain classical stereotypes that do not accurately represent the evolution and variability of the mummification process.

Empirical Data on Excerebration

The classical account of Herodotus is a normative description of excerebration that fails to represent the variability of craniotomy methodologies over millennia of ancient Egyptian history. Herodotus describes the process of excerebration:

> The mode of embalming, according to the most perfect process, is the following: They take first a crooked piece of iron, and with it draw out the brain through the nostrils, thus getting rid of a portion, while the skull is cleared of the rest by rinsing with drugs.[173]

According to his account, the brain was extracted from the skull via the nose using an iron hook-like tool. This process is called transnasal craniotomy. The account does not provide any further explicit or informative details of the process. Empirical data, however, has revealed insights about the general excerebration process as well as the variability in craniotomy methodologies. CT scans demonstrate that Egyptian embalmers performed transnasal craniotomy and transforaminal craniotomy. Additionally, there are recorded instances in which both methods were used to remove the brain. Moreover, there are instances where the brain was not removed at all (i.e., intact crania).

Transnasal craniotomy is the most well-documented process. It is the procedure that was described by Herodotus. In a literature of 125 scanned mummies,[174] there were

[171] Wade, "Radiological Evaluation".
[172] Hawass, *Scanning the Pharaohs*.
[173] Herodotus, *Book II of History*, 371.
[174] Wade, "Synthetic Radiological Study of Brain Treatment".

92 mummies where transnasal craniotomy had been performed. In their analysis of prevalence across dynasties, they found that this practice was very low in prevalence (4.6%) among Old Kingdom mummies in the dataset. Increasingly, this practice became more prevalent as this procedure was performed on 90% of the mummies from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in their sample. In Hawass and Saleem's study,[175] the results of the CT scans were able to further insights into the process of transnasal craniotomy. The empirical data demonstrated that the tool was inserted into one or both nostrils. There did appear to be a preference for entrance through the left nostril.[176,177] The left-nostril preference is demonstrated in the CT scans of royal mummies, such as Merenptah and Ramessess III.[178] The identification of damage areas in the CT scans allow the researchers to infer that the goal of the Egyptian embalmer was perforate the ethmoid bone, in order to reach the base of the brain as it was the path of least resistance.[179] Consequently, the procedure often caused damage surrounding areas such as the nasal turbinates, the nasal septum, the sphenoid bone, and the pituitary fossa. Although the account of Herodotus describes the process of transnasal craniotomy, it lacks details about the actual procedure and its increase in popularity across dynasties.

The process of transforaminal craniotomy is not very well documented as there are very few reported cases. An embalmer using this method would extract the brain via the large oval opening at the base of the skull called the foramen magnum. In a literature review of 125 scanned mummies,[180] there were 6 mummies in which transforaminal craniotomy was performed with the oldest mummy dating back as early as the Fourth Dynasty. Because the foramen magnum is a naturally occurring opening, the researchers inferred this method was used in mummies that did not have an intact cranium and also did not have damage to areas such as the ethmoid or sphenoid bones. Additionally, the identification of damage to bones in the upper neck (e.g. the atlas and the axis) as well as lower cervical vertebrae also provided evidence for this type of craniotomy. This excerebration technique has been linked to the geographical location of Memphis. Scholars believe that King Ahmose underwent this kind of excerebration during his mummification. Additionally, it is believed that Tutankhamun underwent both transnasal and transforaminal craniotomy.[181] The account of Herodotus is not comprehensive and fails to identify the variability of craniotomy methodologies.

The account of Herodotus supports the notion of universal brain removal. The influence of this account has likely led many scholars, such as anatomists and anthropologists, to believe it as well.[182] However, empirical data demonstrates that this data is false. In an excavation of an Egyptian cemetery, Smith confirms that they found approximately 500 bodies with the crania intact and preserved through natural processes: "The brain is preserved in this manner in the vast majority of the bodies in

---

[175] Hawass, *Scanning the Pharaohs*.
[176] F.F. Leek, "The Problem of Brain Removal During Embalming by the Ancient Egyptians." In *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* no. 55 (1969), p. 112-116.
[177] Wade, "Synthetic Radiological Study of Brain Treatment".
[178] Hawass, *Scanning the Pharaohs*.
[179] Wade, "Synthetic Radiological Study of Brain Treatment".
[180] Ibid.
[181] Hawass, *Scanning the Pharaohs*.
[182] G.E. Smith, "On the Natural Preservation of the Brain in the Ancient Egyptians." In *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, no. 36 (1902), p. 375–384.

Egyptian cemeteries. I have seen a prehistoric cemetery containing nearly 500 bodies, in every one of which the brain was preserved."[183] Furthermore, there were 27 mummies discovered with their brains intact (i.e., not removed) in a literature review of 125 scanned mummies. For example, empirical evidence from CT scans demonstrate that the brain of the remains intact in the Sulman mummy.[184] Despite the empirical evidence that demonstrates a high degree of variability in craniotomy and explicit details about the excerebration process, contemporary literature heavily focuses on the stereotypes described by Herodotus. Scholars should examine this account critically and in conjunction with emerging empirical data.

In conclusion, the evidence presented by empirical data regarding the mummification process is not consistent with the classical accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. Although these accounts are good resources, given the lack of textual first-hand accounts, they are only snapshots of the techniques and process involved in mummification. They do not account for the variability in techniques nor do they provide any explicit or specific details into any of the processes during the embalming process that span several millennia. CT scans revealed that transabdominal evisceration was not restricted to the elite. The practice was found to be widespread among the elite and the common Egyptians. Second, the notion of universal heart retention was falsified. Empirical evidence demonstrated several instances in which the heart was not retained nor replaced. Lastly, the accounts of Herodotus were unable to highlight the variability of craniotomy techniques. CT images demonstrated the use of transnasal craniotomy, transforaminal craniotomy as well as cases where the brain remained intact. As the CT scans have shown, there appears to be a large discrepancy between empirical data and the classical accounts of the mummification process. As research in this field progresses, scholars should continue to use the classical accounts as a basis for their knowledge but should do so in conjunction with new and comprehensive empirical data to support its claims.

[183] Smith, 377.
[184] Wade, "Synthetic Radiological Study of Brain Treatment".

Bibliography

David, A. R., & Tapp, E. *The Mummy's Tale*. London, England: Michael O'Mara Books Limited, 1992.

Diodorus, S. *The Library of History*. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933.

El Mahdy, C. *Mummies, Myth and Magic in Ancient Egypt*. London, England: Thames and Hudson, 1989.

Harris, J. E., & Weeks, K. R. *X-raying the Pharaohs*. New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973.

Hawass, Z., & Saleem, S. N. *Scanning the Pharaohs*. Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press, 2016.

Herodotus. *Book II of History*. Translated by A. D. Godley. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920.

Leek, F. F. "The Problem of Brain Removal During Embalming by the Ancient Egyptians." In *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* no. 55 (1969): 112-116.

Loukas, Marios, Pamela Youssef, Jerzy Gielecki, Jerzy Walocha, Kostantinos Natsis, and R. Shane Tubbs. "History of Cardiac Anatomy: A Comprehensive Review from the Egyptians to Today." In *Clinical Anatomy* 29, no. 3 (April 2016): 270–284.

Moissidou, D., Day, J., Shin, D. H., & Bianucci, R. "Invasive versus Non Invasive Methods Applied to Mummy Research: Will this Controversy Ever be Solved?". In *BioMed Research International*, 2015. 192829. doi:10.1155/2015/192829

Raven, M. J., Taconis, W. K., & Maat, G. J. R. *Egyptian mummies: Radiological Atlas of the Collections in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2005.

Smith, G. E.. "On the Natural Preservation of the Brain in the Ancient Egyptians." In *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, no. 36 (1902): 375–384.

Wade, A. D., Nelson, A. J., & Garvin, G. J. "A Synthetic Radiological Study of Brain Treatment in Ancient Egyptian Mummies." In *Journal of Comparative Human Biology,* no. 62*,* (2011): 248-269. doi: 10.1016/j.jchb.2011.01.004

Wade, A. D., & Nelson, A. J. "Radiological evaluation of the Evisceration Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Mummies." In *Journal of Comparative Human Biology,* no. 64 (2013): 1-28. doi: 10.1016/j.jchb.2012.11.005

TALE OF A TROJAN

I could have told them, but they never asked.
After ten long years the Greeks would not have left
a true and noble gift outside our gates.
Yet there it stood,
four-legged timber beast of sturdy form.
I shivered at the sight and felt forewarned.

Amongst themselves they argued loud and long.
Brandishing bronze spears, encouraging Laocoon
and by his thrust the wooden giant groaned.
Its secrets held.
We should have pushed and dragged it to the ridge,
burst it in shattered gallop off the cliff!

Did hubris hide our Trojan common sense?
Could a cold and lifeless creature soothe our gods?
King Priam pleased and flattered by Sinon
drank up the lies.
Singing, dancing, pouring wine I crept away
convinced my trembling thoughts would hold no sway.

By night Greek ships slunk back from Tenedos
while Sinon spilt warriors from that equine womb.
With my daughter I donned my cloak and ran,
she must survive!
Behind us smoke rose up with choking ash.
I could have told them, but they never asked.

COLLEEN DUNN

A DEMAGOGUE IN THE MIDST: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE LEGACY OF SULLA AS THE REDEEMER OR MALEFACTOR OF THE REPUBLIC

DYLAN ROBBESCHEUTEN-OAKMAN

Abstract

What if the only way to preserve a society of laws is to seize power and establish absolute authority in order to draft a new constitution and thereby preventing other individuals from doing the same; would it not be more unethical not to seize power and watch the Republic of laws collapse? Can a Demagogue truly ever be good politically even if they have good intentions? These are fundamental questions within modern day politics, questions formulating the crux of my paper in which I examine the career of Lucius Cornelius Sulla, Rome's first long-term Dictator. Sulla's governance provided the closest to an answer for the aforementioned questions, leading to the query, can demagoguery not simply be good, but essential. Through an analysis of the politics of the past, I discovered an answer to the political questions of the present, in order to try and shape the politics of the future.

The purpose of this paper is to determine whether or not a demagogue can truly ever be good politically even if they have good intentions, through the examination of

the Roman dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla (Sulla). The career of Sulla provides scholars the rare opportunity to answer an important political and philosophical question. If the only way to preserve a society of laws is to seize power and establish absolute authority in order to draft a new constitution, and thereby prevent any other individuals from doing the same, would it not be more unethical to not seize power and watch the Republic of laws collapse? On that account, the decisive career to analyze in an attempt to answer this question is the Roman dictator Sulla through exploring Rome before Sulla's leadership, during Sulla's leadership, and the inevitable legacy of Sulla's leadership in Rome in the aftermath of dictatorship.

In order to understand Sulla's role in Roman history, and his leadership as dictator, requires a comprehension of the state of chaos in Rome before his ascension to power. The most pivotal event that conceived Sulla's ascension occurred decades before his dictatorship, as seen with the ascent, and subsequent assassinations of Tribunes Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus.[185] The Gracchi attempted to quell rising social inequalities through agrarian reforms to circumvent the elite Senate, and resulted in their assassinations culminating in profound political consequences on Rome, namely the demise of consensus-style leadership in the wake of party politics.[186] Furthermore, a new form of politics emerged with the assassination of the Gracchi, in which murder of political opponents, the weakening of legal rights, and the proscriptions of potential adversaries had become informally acceptable political weapons.[187] It was in the wake of this political turmoil the first individual to fill the power vacuum emerged: the general Marius in an opportunistic environment to claim power and prominence.[188]

However, Marius destroyed the Republic through his military reforms in which he created a model for military governance that set Rome on a course away from the Republic it was built on, and towards the empire it would become.[189] In conjunction with the political crisis of Rome, an emerging social upheaval besieged all classes of Romans through the rise of wealthy individuals who slowly seized control of the state; the same issue the Gracchi attempted to rectify.[190] With the destruction of the Republic and the waning political climate of Rome, this created the platform for Sulla's rise to eminence, through his trajectory of Roman governmental dissent as allowed under Marius, to implement reforms to prevent further corruption.[191]

The contentious cyclical dispute between Marius and Sulla for control motivated Sulla's infamous march on Rome to seize power before promptly leaving for campaign in the East.[192] This contention established a period of bloodshed as Marius and his accomplice Cinna threw Rome into a state of anarchy by killing his supporters, establishing himself as consul for a seventh time before dying of old age and was recounted by Cicero that Rome was "without laws, without any semblance of

---

185. Kevin M. McGeough, *The Romans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 72.
186. Ibid.
187. G.P. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate*: *The Great Dictator* (1927), 66.
188. Elizabeth Rawson, "The Conquest of Rome," in *The Roman World*, ed. John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 39.
189. Miriam Griffin, "Cicero and Rome," in *The Roman World*, ed. John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 82.
190. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 79.
191. McGeough, *The Romans*, 72.
192. Ibid., 73.

authority".[193] Therefore, if the account of Cicero is a foreshadow for Rome, it was Sulla who would bring a sense of order back to Rome. However, in doing so, Sulla would once again do the unthinkable as, upon his return to Rome, he burned down most of the city, executed all of Marius' supporters but, above all, in the process he cemented unquestioned power.[194]

A fundamental proponent of Sulla's rule was his power which he derived from fear, particularly due to his infamous ruthlessness against all those who had opposed him, which propelled him to a stature of dominance never obtained in Rome since the time of the monarchy.[195] However, acquiring power was an inaugural measure for Sulla, and spawned his intent to secure the fractured Republic through navigation of new political and social realities in the aftermath of his civil war, which had fundamentally rocked the Republic to its core.[196] With supreme authority, Sulla sought to accomplish the herculean task of refurbishing the Gracchi's remnants of a fractured Republic, eradication from the rise of Marius, and the subsequent civil war in which he seized unquestioned power.[197]

In order to evaluate Sulla's leadership, and thus, whether or not demagoguery can ever truly be good, requires an investigation of the Sulla's reforms, which were rooted in the crises that had unfolded in his lifetime, where political issues threatened the integrity of the Republic. However, the stabilizing reforms necessary for the Republic could not be carried out under the normal pretext, requiring Sulla to become an architect tasked to rebuild a new Rome.[198][199] Paradoxically, to safeguard the Republic from would-be tyrants and monarchs required assuming the role of supreme authority, which the role of consulship would not award and resulted in his act to re-establish the office of the dictator to restore order to the Republic.[200]

With the power of Sulla addressed, it is requisite to explore three main categories of reform which Sulla implemented through constitutional procedure: re-organizing of government, legal and judicial reforms, and Italian and tax reforms.[201] The first and most pressing of Sulla's reforms were addressed with the re-organizing of government, attempting to separate civil and military power, and giving authority to the statesman rather than the soldier.[202] This can be seen as the quintessential antithesis to the Marian reforms, which promoted the individual general at the cost of the state. Sulla promoted this re-organization in a myriad of ways, one of which was the development and codifying the Cursus Honorum, a map for the senatorial career.[203] The fundamental design of the Cursus Honorum had been customary throughout the Republic, but it was

---

193. Griffin, "Cicero and Rome," 82.
194. McGeough, *The Romans*, 73.
195. Mary Beard and Michael Crawford, *Rome In The Late Republic* (Bristol: Duckworth, 1985), 8.
196. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 255.
197. Ibid.
198. Ibid., 254.
199. Ibid., 277.
200. Arthur Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 138.
201. H. H. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero; A History of Rome 133 BC to AD 68* (Routledge, 2010), ProQuest Ebook Central.
202. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 276.
203. McGeough, *The Romans*, 73.

Sulla's reforms that made it mandatory, predicated on his belief this reform would elevate the eminence and prestigiousness of the Senate.[204] This reform of the Cursus Honorum had a twofold purpose. First, it ensured those who had control over provinces and armies would have had to serve as a bureaucrat for at least twenty years, which concurrently prevented an individual from garnering power too quickly and thus becoming a threat to the Republic.[205] Additionally, Sulla sought in his re-organizing reforms to limit power of the Tribunate through depriving them of their strength and power which, predicating Sulla, had the ability to pass laws without the Senate as seen with the attempted reforms of the Gracchi.[206] Stipulated on fear that Tribunes would destroy the constitution he was creating for Rome, Sulla sought to eliminate this threat by stripping the Tribunate of arbitrary powers, decreeing once an individual served as Tribune, they could no longer hold any other office.[207]

Finally, Sulla's senatorial empowerment reforms best exemplified his intentions, as his dictatorship was premised on the bedrock notion that an overly powerful individual was a threat to the welfare of the Republic.[208] Sulla decreed the Senate would have sole authority over the military, control of the courts making senators irremovable, and decreed entrance to the Senate be based on popular election.[209] Most importantly, he expanded senatorial membership to a populace of six hundred in order to carry out his judicial reforms.[210] This increase in membership was strategic in nature as it ultimately reaffirmed his re-organizing government reformations were concocted to subvert the realization of the Marian trajectory, further desisting the Roman mob from spawning demagogues.[211]

The next type of reforms conducted by Sulla were his immense judicial overhauls resulting from his persecution of the equites, the class of bankers who controlled the courts.[212] Sulla's reformation of the Senate allocated them to control the courts implementing a jurisdictional switch, while establishing for the first time in the history of law a separation between civil and criminal justice.[213] Sulla pioneered this legal reformation of law by separating civil and criminal justice, as well as the ways in which they were tried, specifically by a single judge, a bench of judges, or a jury.[214] Furthermore, Sulla implemented his new legal creation depending on sourcing between seven to eight new courts, with a strong emphasis on criminal courts in order to curb the lawlessness that had arisen in the aftermath of the civil war.[215] These courts held jurisdiction over such crimes as murder, poisoning, robbery, and arson.[216] Likewise,

---

204. A.E. Astin, *The Lex Annalis Before Sulla* (1958), 19.
205. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 143.
206. Beard and Crawford, *Rome In The Late Republic*, 9.
207. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 141.
208. Ibid., 150.
209. McGeough, *The Romans*, 74.
210. Griffin, "Cicero and Rome," 84.
211. Ibid.
212. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 274.
213. Ibid., 275.
214. Ibid.
215. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 146.
216. Ibid., 146-147.

Sulla's unprecedented legal reformation included the creation of a court which tried cases of fraud and counterfeiting and a court for embezzlement.[217]

Sulla instituted permanent courts for major crimes, enduring throughout the Republic and well into the empire, however, the most impactful of his legal reforms were treason laws.[218] Beset from his own example of marching on Rome, Sulla extensively legislated laws concerning treason in which he defined the acts that constituted treason prohibiting Governors without permission of the Senate to start a war, march his legions outside of his province, or leave his province.[219] Consequently, the court system as implemented by Sulla endured throughout the Republic well into the empire, as Sulla's legal reformations outlined and defined treason.[220] This reform thereby made the actions of any future demagogues illegal, with the intent that the Senate would recognize the illegality of their actions and eliminate any threats of treason to the Republic.[221]

Sulla's critical economic and Italian reforms have become synonymous with his rule, and formulate demagoguery claimants, with the most infamous reformation identified in the form of the proscriptions, which was used as a tool to seize the wealth of affluent Romans.[222] The proscriptions are debatably the most criticized element of Sulla's regime, as they were essentially an edict of mass murder of the affluent, yet proscriptions arose as a solution to one of Rome's major fiscal crisis: the impecunious state of Rome's treasury.[223] Subsequently, proscriptions as devised by Sulla solved dually his and thus Rome's problems in a singular execution, as the act annihilated any potential threats to his new Rome.[224] This was in conjunction with filling the treasury and, most importantly, removing wealth from those who had or had the potential to use it in an approximate manner that was counter to the Republic.[225] Moreover, proscriptions were equipped with an edict in which those whose names were on the lists had their property claimed by the state; a price was placed on their heads, supporters, and their descendants who were excluded from civil office.[226] As such, taking out the human toll of the proscriptions, scholars have contested Sulla's edict amounted to a capital levy on the wealthy, as many found themselves on the proscription list for no other reason than their immense wealth.[227][228]

Many academicians are unassured of the death toll as a result of the commencement of the proscriptions; however, it is believed to have numbered in the thousands, with it being alleged that the final toll was upwards of nine thousand.[229] Correspondingly, the intent of proscriptions served its purpose through a reign of terror,

---

217. Ibid., 147.
218. Ibid., 142.
219. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero; A History of Rome 133 BC to AD 68.*
220. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 147.
221. Ibid.
222. McGeough, *The Romans*, 74.
223. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 260.
224. Ibid., 261.
225. Ibid.
226. Ibid., 263.
227. Ibid., 260.
228. Ibid., 264.
229. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero; A History of Rome 133 BC to AD 68.*

eliminating potential threats, while supplementing seized assets to refill the treasury for the Republic.[230] It is further estimated that between Sulla's military campaign in the East and proscriptions, his reforms generated for the state a profit of approximately 350 million sesterces.[231] Consequently, as Sulla's methods were unorthodox, radical, and immoral, they were also rational, and occurred for a reason in order to inaugurate what Sulla viewed to be a better Rome.[232] Furthermore, there is no evidence to support Sulla's proscriptions were a product of psychopathy, as it would be counter-intuitive to undermine the rule of law he had been writing, unless an absolute necessity for what Sulla viewed as the good of the state.[233]

Apart from proscriptions, Sulla also attempted several tax reform initiatives such as devising of new taxation schemes including taxing new regions, and selling tax immunities to enfranchise a new type of Roman citizen.[234] Another element to his tax reforms was abolishing the tax-farming system, which he viewed to be initialized to prey on the Roman citizens and countered this by implementing a fixed amount for taxes in an attempt to limit corruption.[235] In addition, Sulla re-organized and re-settled Rome's Asian territory into forty-five districts, creating an efficient taxation system that yielded necessary revenue for the Sullan regime.[236] One of Sulla's notable tax reforms was seen in alterations to Italian Affairs, which he granted 120 thousand small holdings to his veterans (those who had served in his army), while further abolishing the corn dole as a method to promote small farming.[237] As with many other of Sulla's reforms, the re-settling of his soldiers into the role of small farmers was calculative and served a dual purpose for Rome and Sulla.[238] Firstly, the resettlement served as a safeguard in order to prevent any further individuals from marching on Rome and, secondly, with his veterans settled throughout Italy, they could be called upon in a time of crisis.[239]

Moreover, Sulla attempted to enfranchise a new type of Roman citizen through his reformations, firstly with granting Roman citizenship to all citizens of any Italian community and thereby remedying the cause of the Social Wars.[240] Additionally, Sulla radically freed approximately ten thousand slaves that had been owned by those condemned in the proscriptions and, in doing so, these freed slaves were granted Roman citizenship and were aptly called the "Cornelians."[241] The importance for the creation of the Cornelians was predicated on Sulla's architectural desire to rebuild a new Rome, as the new citizenship provided a protection to his constitution.[242] Sulla believed

---

230. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 266.
231. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 163.
232. Ibid.
233. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 265.
234. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 163.
235. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 274.
236. Federico Santangelo, *SULLA, THE ELITES AND THE EMPIRE* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 115.
237. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 274.
238. Ibid.
239. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 142.
240. Ibid.
241. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 272.
242. Ibid.

the Cornelians who gained their citizenship from him would have a vested interest in protecting the constitution.[243]

It was in the aftermath of implementing the aforementioned reforms, Sulla resigned his dictatorship and retired from politics in 80 BC despite being re-elected as consul.[244] In the process of his retirement, Sulla demonstrated he possessed no intentions to establish a permanent tyranny as his predecessors later would attempt and eventually succeed.[245] Sulla's demagoguery was meant to serve as an instrument of reform, a tool to repair the shattered Republic, to reach and maintain its grandeur.[246] This is in sharp contrast to the multitude of individuals in his same position who, when exposed to supreme authority, refused to relinquish power, whether in the time of Sulla or in modern day.[247][248] Moreover, in attempting to answer the charge of demagoguery against Sulla, he formulated the caveat to the saying: "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Nevertheless, Sulla's rule over Rome is a paradox as he restored the rule of law through despotic decrees, assured democracy through dictatorship, and peace through atrocities.[249] Subsequently, when analyzing Sulla, it is difficult to separate the means from the ends, as many of his decisions were fundamentally against any notion of ethics, as epitomized in the case of proscriptions.[250] However, it is through consideration of the necessity of the actions taken by Sulla in order to achieve his vision for Rome, and whether or not Sulla's radical reforms would have occurred without his extreme actions.[251]

In order to fully analyze whether or not a demagogue can ever be good, it is discerned through the legacy of Sulla on Rome that exemplifies this determination. A legacy can be categorized as actions, titles, or deeds affecting subsequent generations, and can be exemplified through the actions, titles, and deeds Sulla passed to his predecessors and the Roman Republic.[252] For the purpose of this paper, there are two categories that personify this argument: Sulla's impact on the broader scheme of Rome, and his direct influence on the subsequent generation of leadership. It has been contended by scholars the Republic was politically fractured and socially embittered, as the last semblance of stability was destroyed under Sulla's dictatorship.[253] However, while the Republic had been undoubtedly altered by Sulla, it is debatable whether this occurred as a causality of his leadership or lack thereof as, after his abdication, the destruction of the Republic began.[254]

Additionally, scholars dispute Sulla's death ensued the demise of the Republic as his reforms and laws were abolished, and his constitution and its creator could be

---

243. Ibid.
244. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 167.
245. Ibid., 139.
246. Ibid.
247. Ibid., 139.
248. Ibid., 167.
249. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 279.
250. Ibid., 266.
251. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 138.
252. McGeough, *The Romans*, 74.
253. Ibid.
254. John Dickinson, *DEATH OF A REPUBLIC* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), 3.

attacked.[255] The argument and placement of blame on Sulla for the fall of the Republic is irrelevant. His rule and the inevitable collapse of the Republic are intrinsically linked due to the climate of Rome's transformation culminating from the horrors of civil strife, spawning a sense of absolutism, accompanied by timidity, cynicism, and apathy.[256] Thus, when Sulla's political and legislative reforms were attacked and stripped by his successors, all that remained was his looming shadow of terror providing the blueprint for those who sought to gain absolute authority.[257]

The foremost contrast on the broader impact of Sulla's legacy on Rome is seen with the duality of a sense of a shadow over all Roman affairs as conferred, "The age of Cicero was, in many respects, the legacy of Sulla."[258] As Cicero claimed, the state was so dependent on Sulla's laws, the Republic could not survive said laws' dissolution.[259] Similarly, the legal and constitutional arrangements devised by Sulla remained to dictate the state of political affairs throughout the rest of the Republic, further exemplifying the legacy of Sulla to subsequent generations of Romans and the Roman Republic.[260] Nevertheless, many Sullan reforms produced negative consequences and a blemish on his legacy. This is most clearly presented with his attempt to expand governing offices, and his intent to create a higher accountability amongst Senators.[261] However, this resulted in establishing Senators and, by extent the Senate, to become more susceptible to corruption.[262] Likewise, Sulla's land reforms led to the disenfranchisement of a portion of the Italian population, some of whom either became criminals or allied themselves with later revolutionaries such as Catiline.[263] In review of the totality of Sulla's reformations to stabilize the Republic, it unintentionally undermined and ultimately destroyed said Republic through creating a climate of civil war.[264]

However, despite the failures of reforms, the starkest ramification of Sulla's legacy was his impact on subsequent generations of Roman leadership, specifically seen with the members of the First Triumvirate.[265] This is best summarized in the phrase 'every action has an equal and opposite reaction' as Sulla, the conservative constitutionalist, seized the dictatorship for a brief tenure before laying it down. This, ultimately, gave rise to a populist leader who would overturn the status quo and assume the dictatorship permanently, as seen with Julius Caesar. However, Sulla's impact on Caesar and the like stems much deeper, as his leadership directly led to the rise of Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar, with Pompey and Crassus being disciples of Sulla.[266] In actuality, Sulla designated Pompey his protégé and the assigned name "Magnus"

---

255. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 167.
256. Dickinson, *DEATH OF A REPUBLIC*, 20-21.
257. Ibid.
258. Griffin, "Cicero and Rome," 82.
259. Ibid., 84.
260. Ibid.
261. Ibid.
262. Ibid., 85.
263. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 153.
264. Beard and Crawford, *Rome In The Late Republic*, 69.
265. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 300.
266. Ibid.

(Great), which would become synonymous with Pompey.[267] Correspondingly, Crassus accumulated his vast fortune on Sulla's proscriptions, which later contributed to aggrandize Caesar to finance his political campaigns.[268]

It is ironic Sulla's own disciples were the ones whose consulship abolished his constitution, and the amalgamation of his reforms to save the Republic, which included restoring powers of the Tribunes, restoring tax-farming, and revival of censorship.[269] Additionally, Sulla's ultimate legacy and influence culminated in Caesar, who replicated Sulla's archetypal blueprint to acquire power and prominence utilizing the same tactics to make himself dictator.[270] This fulfilled Sulla's prediction Caesar would ultimately destroy the Republic through his ambition, as Sulla's legacy on Rome and Caesar is discernibly evident with his marching on Rome and, in the aftermath of a civil war, claim the office of Dictator.[271]

Further exemplification of Sulla's legacy extended to the East: "Away from Rome, Pompey had gone far beyond what might now seem the tentative steps of Sulla."[272] Pompey's irreverence to act without Senate approval, in addition to becoming a pseudo king in the East, demonstrated a Sullan type ambition which led to coins with his image, towns with his name, and a cult centered on him.[273] It is evident through analysis the symbiotic facets of the relationship between all three individuals: Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar. Sulla was the dictator, Pompey was his protégé, and Caesar the prodigal figure, and it was Caesar who Sulla wanted as his protégé. However, Caesar's domineering personality and social status prevented this from transpiring and, with the questionable acts of Caesar, Sulla could not execute him for transgressions, and was forced to informally exile him.[274] Ultimately, without Sulla there is no Julius Caesar, and while Sulla would be eclipsed by Caesar's exploits and fame, it was Caesar who based his own career on Sulla and his methods.[275] The contrariety with Caesar and, in sum, Sulla's legacy is seen with the same position Sulla had created in an attempt to save the Republic, and would now be used to destroy it by the very individual he predicted to do so, and yet was allowed to live.[276]

Situationally, Sulla was embedded in a tumultuous political climate ushered in by Marius, and the Republic was positioned to an inevitable fall due to the rise of the contemptuous individual. Sulla's evident opposition to the rise of the individual resulted in demagoguery as a measure to save the Republic.[277] Nonetheless, Sulla failed despite his altruism and various legal reforms as the Republic still fell. In analysis of Sulla's intentions that were noble in design, there remain two notions. If Sulla was unable to save the Republic in spite of all his power and enacted reforms, then the fall of the

---

267. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 160.
268. Santangelo, *SULLA, THE ELITES AND THE EMPIRE*, 93.
269. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 301.
270. Beard and Crawford, *Rome In The Late Republic*, 10.
271. Ibid.
272. Ibid., 11.
273. Ibid.
274. Ronald T. Ridley, *The Dictator Mistake: Caesar's Escape from Sulla*, 229, ProQuest Ebook Central.
275. Baker, *Sulla The Fortunate,* 5.
276. Ibid.
277. Keaveney, *Sulla The Last Republican*, 188.

Republic may have been inevitable.[278] Contrastingly, despite his ends, the means in which Sulla accomplished his goals were themselves responsible for the fall of the Republic. As aforementioned, his reforms inevitably became voided by time, and only the horror of the template he left behind remained for other, more insidious and ambitious individuals such as Caesar to follow.[279]

The conception, title, and actions of demagoguery have often been assumed to be menacing and degenerate at its fundamental core. However, the circumstantial position of a demagogue such as Sulla renders the evaluation - if a demagogue can truly ever be good politically, even if spawned from good intentions. Sulla's complete construct as a militaristic master, social empathizer, and supporter of upholding the moral and ethical foundation of the Republic for the people was amplified through his reformations. Sulla's reformations, specifically proscriptions, threatened the manipulators of corruption within the Republic, and posed a danger to the Roman elite and political factions, but not to the Roman democratic system. In evaluation of the corrupted and shattered Republic created by the Gracchi and Marius, Sulla's attempt at preservation through seizing power, establishing absolute authority, and construction of a new constitution was done with the ethical intent to prevent the demise of the Republic. Sulla's necessity of actions to rebuild Rome from the shadows of demise, prevent rule of the individual, and immoral descent, under the guise of a demagogue were paramount to achieve his vision for the Republic.

Sulla's reformations and adulation for the Republic led to his constitution, re-organization of government, legal and judicial reforms, and Italian and tax reforms as a means to strengthen the totality of the Republic. Therefore, Sulla did what was needed, what was unpopular, and what was controversial in a time where the political system had been irrevocably frayed. He established under his leadership, in a debauched political climate that threatened the integrity of a Republic, that demagoguery can be not simply good, but essential.

278. Ibid.
279. Ibid.

Bibliography

Astin, A.E. *The Lex Annalis Before Sulla*. 1958.

Baker, G.P. *Sulla The Fortunate*: *The Great Dictator*. 1927.

Beard, Mary and Michael Crawford. *Rome In The Late Republic*. Bristol: Duckworth, 1985.

Dickinson, John. *DEATH OF A REPUBLIC*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963.

Griffin, Miriam. "Cicero and Rome," In *The Roman World*, edited by John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray, 82-85. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Keaveney, Arthur. *Sulla The Last Republican*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

McGeough, Kevin M. *The Romans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Rawson, Elizabeth. "The Conquest of Rome," In *The Roman World*, edited by John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray, 39. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Ridley, Ronald T. *The Dictator Mistake: Caesar's Escape from Sulla*. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Santangelo, Federico. *SULLA, THE ELITES AND THE EMPIRE*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Scullard, H. H. *From the Gracchi to Nero; A History of Rome 133 BC to AD 68*. Routledge, 2010. ProQuest Ebook Central. Accessed November 15, 2019.

HATSHEPUT, MATRIARCHY, AND MINOAN CRETE

MCKEAN SHAVE

Abstract

Due to Hatshepsut's constant need to promote her legitimacy as a ruler, she alluded to the architectural style of the Minoans both because they were a prosperous matriarchal society, but also to differentiate herself from the surrounding architectural styles of Thebes. This is supported through the fact that after the defeat of the Hyksos, the Eighteenth dynasty was distinct for its involvement in nearby foreign cultures which allowed Hatshepsut to be introduced to the Minoan civilization and learn of their society, as well as the correlation between the architectural language of her own monuments, and those of the Minoan Palatial style.

Architecture has always been a form of cultural expression; it has allowed the identity of a civilization to represent itself in the built environment and define its unique characteristics through how they inhabit and alter the world around them. In the world of ancient Egypt, the rule of the pharaoh Hatshepsut was marked by a time of many radical transformations. These political, religious and artistic revolutions developed from her continual effort to fortify her place and legacy as a legitimate ruler, as well as to distinguish herself amongst an extensive heritage of past sovereigns. In order to individualize her monuments, Hatshepsut endeavoured to reflect her own values through her vast collection of shrines, temples and edifices. She sought to prove that a female ruler could be as equally strong as a male king of Egypt. This continual

representation is also evident in the form and function of possibly her finest architectural achievement; the mortuary temple at Dier el-Bahir (Figure 1). The temple is defined by its similarity to that of the foreign neighbours the Minoans. However, the reason for Hatshepsut to compare herself to a foreign culture, while she struggled to substantiate herself as the lawful ruler, was to demonstrate the similarities between her own rule, and that of a successful female centric one.[280]

After her father Thutmose I died, Hatshepsut was married to her half brother Thutmose II sometime close to 1492 B.C.[281] However, she wouldn't become ruler until after his death and seven years into her regency for Thutmose III, her stepson.[282] Due to her being a woman, and female rulers in ancient Egypt being rare, the reign of Hatshepsut was marked by a continual need to reinforce her legitimacy.[283] The lack of literacy in antiquity proved an issue and like other sovereigns, Hatshepsut would often use her own image as publicity.[284] Visual symbols and depictions of the kings of Egypt would be used to propagate their divine right to rule and enforce their legitimacy or royal lineage. While Hatshepsut was no different, the artistic conception during her rule was defined by experimentation and innovation.[285] Moreover, even though statuary was the predominant system for exemplifying a persons status and renown, architecture became the foremost method to exhibit power as well as the ability to influence control over the realm.[286] Hatshepsut, like the most noteworthy rulers, employed architecture and its formative composition to distinguish her rule as well as to manifest the ideals of her leadership.

The eighteenth dynasty was characterized by an increase in foreign influence, commonly attributed to the defeat of the Hyksos.[287] This newly obtained freedom and non-defensive attitude dominated the New Kingdom, including the reign of Hatshepsut. The exchange between neighbouring foreign civilizations began to have an impact upon the Egyptian culture and the import of goods was followed by the exchange of ideas. Hatshepsut would have been familiarized with the bordering cultures of Asia Minor, Punt, Nubia and notably, Crete.[288] Evidence of Minoan decorative influence being

---

[280] Joan Marie Cichon. "Matriarchy in Minoan Crete: A Perspective from Archaeomythology and Modern Matriarchal Studies." (PhD dissertation, California Institute of Integral Studies San Francisco, 2013). 502-504.

[281] History.com Editors. "Hatshepsut." *History*. Last modified October 10, 2019. Accessed November 27, 2019. https://www.history.com/topics/ancient-history/hatshepsut, pp. Hatshepsut's Rise to Power

[282] "Hatshepsut," Hatshepsut's Rise to Power.

[283] "Hatshepsut," Hatshepsut's Rise to Power.

[284] Kristina Hilliard and Kate Wurtzel. "Power and Gender in Ancient Egypt: The Case of Hatshepsut." *Art Education* 62, no. 3 (2009): p. 27

[285]Jose M. Galan. "Preface." In *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut,* ed. Jose M. Galan, Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman, (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2010). vii – xii.

[286] Galan, "Preface,"x.

[287] Eberhard Dziebek, Hiedleberg and Leverkusen. "The Paradigms of Innovation and Their Application to the Early New Kingdom of Egypt." In *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut,* ed. Jose M. Galan, Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman, (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2010), 14.

[288]Eberhard Dziebek, Hiedleberg and Leverkusen. "The Paradigms of Innovation and Their Application to the Early New Kingdom of Egypt."14.

adopted into Egyptian culture is emphasized in artifacts found throughout Thebes such as the wall paintings in the tombs of Menkheperresoneb, and Amenmose and Beni Hasan.[289] Each of them clearly defining the interaction between Egyptian people and those of the Keftiu, or Minoan.[290] There is also evidence of Egyptian vocabulary and loanwords being shared by that of the island culture.[291] It is highly possible that due to this rise of cultural exchange, Hatshepsut from an early age was introduced to the Minoan civilization, a society that was uniquely matriarchal, or at least matrilineal; something she would have almost definitely admired herself.[292] Therefore, with the evidence that the two civilizations had prolonged association and that there was an increase during the reign of Hatshepsut and her family, it is entirely possible that she was not only aware that the Minoan civilization was matriarchal, but it could have been an early influence upon her as a female ruler.

While artistic representation was one of the most prominent systems that Hatshepsut would use to project her values as a leader, and monumental architecture the principal method of that system, her architectural representation could have been in part, inspired from that of the Minoans; a culture she was both familiar with and that she respected. This appreciation, routed in the fact that they were a female centric society, is manifested in her distinct architectural style and in specific architectural components, and their relationships, ones that are inspired by or significantly related to those found in that of the Minoan built environment.

One of the greatest examples of Hatshepsut's architectural accomplishments is her mortuary temple at the cliffs of Deir el-Bahari. Remarkable, both because of its absolute domination of the surrounding landscape, but also because it is marked by a significant divergence from typical Egyptian architecture. In comparing the architectural style of her predecessors, the mortuary temple is characterized as being relatively accessible and indefensible, an attribute that was in direct opposition to previous generations.[293] Particularly, that of the temple of Ahmose in South Abydos, who's structure would have been dominated by an immense protective wall.[294] Hatshepsut's temple itself was surrounded at the front by at least 280 columns, whose openings allow light and sunshine to penetrate further into the building.[295] Another unambiguous innovation at Deir el-Bahari is the terraced levels and processional ramps that access these areas. The queen would also use this element in her palace at Avaris (Figure 2). There is little evidence of any previous rulers erecting ramps at this scale, not to mention their effect against the backdrop of the immense cliffs behind the temple. This geographical feature was an intentional architectural context for creating a focal

---

[289] Amanda L. Davis. "Egyptian and Minoan Relations during the Eighteenth Dynasty/Late Bronze Age." Phd dissertation, Brown University, (Department of Egyptology and Assyriology, 2008) 108-109.
[290] Davis. "Egyptian and Minoan Relations," 106-109.
[291] Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak. "Some Remarks on the Ancient Contacts between Crete and Egypt." *Acadamia Education*. 46-48
[292] Cichon. "Matriarchy in Minoan Crete." 502-508.
[293] Szafranski, Zbigniew E. "The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut." In *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut,* ed. Jose M. Galan, Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman, (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2010), 127.
[294] Szafranski, "The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut," 127.
[295] Szafranski, "The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut," 127.

point upon her temple, but also a prime location to orient it directly east towards the temple in Karnak, which lay across the river.[296] In doing so, Hatshepsut was able to associate herself with past temples of previous rulers such as that of Mentuhotep II, and reinforce an intricate multiplex of mortuary temples and architectural features in Thebes.[297] Artistically, the effect of the topography allows the visitor to extrapolate that the queen is synonymous with the land she rules, and that the natural feature is an extension of the temple itself. The direct embedment of the temple is also noteworthy as it was not common during the early New Kingdom to create such a radical reference to the surrounding landscape.[298] The building itself is completely encompassed by the cliffs, and without their association, the temple would not create as compelling of a monument. Through these architectural elements, she was able to both substantiate her rule, and erect an uncompromisingly personal architectural flourish.

By defining the most notable architectonic characteristics during the reign of Hatshepsut and how they were notable for their difference from those of her predecessors, it is possible to infer that there was a distinct shift of artistic expression. The basis for these values can be easily correlated to the fact that Hatshepsut desired to be conspicuous amongst her contemporaries, but by suggesting past architectural principals and orienting it amongst nearby temples, still reinforce her claim to the Egyptian throne.

It is apparent that these new components are evident in other ancient cultures that predated their use in Egypt. Specifically, that of the Minoan Palatial movement. It must be disclosed that the majority of Minoan architectural evidence is only able to be viewed from a primarily horizontal perspective, as the ruins are usually reduced to simple foundations and ground level structures. Nevertheless, certain architectural qualities can be defined and there is evidence that while the Minoan civilization's Palatial style architecture is at first seemingly random and lacking concentrated planning, the reality is that there are predominant and conscious efforts for architectural organization.[299] The overarching relationships and elements between the many architectural components that allow us to understand the Minoan architectural design practice and intent are outlined in their constant reproduction between multiple sites and locations across the island.[300] Possibly the most defining elements that form the identity of Minoan architecture is their tendency to be oriented towards large geographic features, possibly due to the Minoan religion being founded in the personification of the natural environment.[301] The Minoans sought to make their architecture both a microcosm of the surrounding environmental features, but also as an emblematic reconstruction of them.[302] A concept that has been often linked to that of

---

[296] Szafranski, "The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut," 128.
[297] Szafranski, "The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut," 125.
[298] Szafranski, "The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut," 125.

[299] Donald Preziosi. *Minoan Architectural Design: Formation and Signification*. (New York: Mouton, 1983), xvii.
[300] Preziosi. *Minoan Architectural Design*, 479.
[301] Louise A. Hitchcock. "Naturalising the Cultural: Architectonised Landscape as Ideology in Minoan Crete." *British School at Athens Studies* 15 (2007): 97.
[302] Hitchcock, "Naturalising the Cultural," 97.

a central female goddess of the earth.[303] Minoan architecture was also categorized as being non-defensible and open. There were no enclosing walls or fortifications, and instead, the complexes and palaces were defined by large colonnades and sloping ramps that dissolved into the topography around them.[304] Since these are all defining characteristics of the Minoan Palatial style, they are articulated in the majority of complexes, however some of the greatest examples are the immense *Rampa dai Mare* in the Haghia Triadha (Figure 3), and the central courtyard of the Palace of Knossos (Figure 4).[305] Palatial architecture was also distinguished through their multiple terraced levels, each one being defined by open courtyards and sun wells.[306] While non of these attributes currently exist, the widening of certain walls and floorplates serve as evidence for some elements to have served as structural frames for upper levels.[307]

The concepts outlined above between the two cultures, are easily comparable and apply to both the architectural works of Hatshepsut as well as those of the Minoans during her reign. The orientation and focus upon the surrounding landscape through architectonic language may have served as an inspiration for the location of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple. The open aired, courtyards and superfluous "use of colonnades anticipates their function in the columned roads of Hellenistic cities."[308] These collections of Minoan architectural features appearing in that of Hatshepsut are notable and while direct comparisons can be made between the queen's own architectural expression and that of the Minoans, her reasoning for choosing that specific culture can only be directed as the admiration for a society that was centered around a female matriarch or ruler.[309] Although the evidence for this is contested, there is adequate indication that there was at the least a female goddess that Minoan civilization was concentrated upon, perhaps even alluded to through their architectonic composition.[310] A value that Hatshepsut, being a female ruler, would have almost definitely regarded as being similar to her own relationship between herself and her subjects.

Throughout Hatshepsut's control of Egypt, her rule was constantly challenged, both by her stepson Thutmose III but also possibly by forces exterior to the royal family.[311] This meant that in order for Hatshepsut to maintain her rule, she was occasionally required to represent herself in statuary as an androgynous form.[312] Her depictions often merged that of the typical Egyptian man and woman, adopting in some cases the pharaonic beard, nemes crown and uraes (Figure 5). These acts require an examination as to whether or not she preferred to be depicted as female, and if she did not, then it would be erroneous to believe that she would reflect the Minoan cultures architecture, which could be interpreted as female focused. There is however,

---

[303] Cichon. "Matriarchy in Minoan Crete." 509.
[304] Preziosi. *Minoan Architectural Design*, 214-253.
[305] Preziosi. *Minoan Architectural Design*, 418, 427.
[306] Preziosi. *Minoan Architectural Design*, 435.
[307] Preziosi. *Minoan Architectural Design*, 5.
[308] Catharine Roehrig. *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 139.
[309] Cichon. "Matriarchy in Minoan Crete." 502.
[310] Cichon. "Matriarchy in Minoan Crete." 502-504.
[311] "Hatshepsut," Hatshepsut's Rise to Power.
[312] Hilliard and Wurtzel. "Power and Gender in Ancient Egypt," 27.

substantial evidence that while Hatshepsut was occasionally depicted as a man, or having masculine features. There was almost always the reinforcement that she was in fact a woman. This was often accomplished through the inscriptions or literary sources referring to the masculine statuary with feminine participles.[313] Therefore, if Hatshepsut had wanted to be characterized as a male ruler, she would not have allowed her female name to be attributed alongside the statues.

Another potential issue with Hatshepsut attempting to reflect Minoan style architecture through her own was that by doing so would directly undermine her aspiration of being associated with the past kings of Egypt and diminish her claim to the throne. Yet, it is evident that Hatshepsut through all aspects of her regime championed radical change and social shifts, perhaps due to the fact that the previous generations before the New Kingdom were characterized as a difficult time and by promoting a new period for the Egyptian Kingdom was of greater benefit during her rule. It must also be articulated, that while the style of her architecture was a marked change from her predecessors, the placement and orientation towards famous temples of rulers such as Mentuhotep II, a king notable for his restoration of the divided Egyptian lands and extensive rule, was enough to reveal her intentions of continuing her royal lineage. Hatshepsut would have wanted to align herself with another ruler whose reign was marked by prosperity throughout the kingdom.[314]

With regard to Hatshepsut's legacy, it is important to note that upon her death, the majority of her statuary was defaced, and her cartouche and name were systematically removed from her major monuments. This was enacted by her stepson and minor co-regent Thutmose III, most likely in an effort to redact the fact that she was a woman and maintain the male centric rule of the Egyptian kings.[315] Thutmose III had been reduced to a lesser political figure by Hatshepsut during her reign, he was often depicted as worshipping her as the embodiment of different female gods, or even secondary to any wall relief that he appeared in, as if lingering on the sidelines waiting for his rule to begin.[316]

Hatshepsut as a ruler was continually forced to promote the legitimacy of her reign due to her gender. Perhaps her early awareness of the matrilineal culture of the Minoans was an inspiration and during her rule she alluded to their architectonic language and composition as a way to compare her rule to that of a prosperous, matriarchal foreign culture. Through the analysis of the architectonic language and elements, it is possible to notice the similarities between the architectural expression of Hatshepsut and the Minoans. However, while it is likely that the two cultures had been aware of each other for a long period before Hatshepsut, and often associated with each other through trade, it was not until her reign that their architectural identity was somewhat reflected during her rule. The eighteenth dynasty was one marked by the

---

[313] Gay Robins. "The Names of Hatshepsut as King." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85 (1999) doi:10.2307/3822429, 103-104.
[314] Laura Etheredge. "Mentuhotep II." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Last modified May 25th, 2012. Accessed November 27, 2019.https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mentuhotep-II
[315] Vanessa Davies. "Hatshepsut's Use of Tuthmosis III in Her Program of Legitimation." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 41 (2004): doi:10.2307/20297187. 55.
[316] Davies, "Hatshepsut's Use of Tuthmosis III in Her Program of Legitimation," 62.

prosper of Egyptian culture, it allowed the civilization to abandon its xenophobic and defensive policies, and instead adopt and share with bordering cultures. This aspect allowed the knowledge and values of the Minoans to be imparted upon Hatshepsut and therefore make an impression upon her throughout her life as Queen. While Hatshepsut grappled with substantiating her rule among a lineage of male rulers, by creating a multitude of iconic and monumental buildings, she was able to demonstrate her ability to rule, her total control and influence of the Egyptian kingdom, as well as mark the landscape with her individualized self expression. An expression manifested through the allusion to the female centric Minoan society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Secondary Sources

Bietak, Manfred, Marinatos, Nannó, Palivou, Clairy and Ann Brysbaert. *Taureador Scenes in Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris) and Knossos*. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 43; Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 27. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007.

Cichon, Joan Marie. "Matriarchy in Minoan Crete: A Perspective from Archaeomythology and Modern Matriarchal Studies." PhD dissertation, California Institute of Integral Studies San Francisco, 2013

Davies, Vanessa. "Hatshepsut's Use of Tuthmosis III in Her Program of Legitimation." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 41 (2004): 55-66. doi:10.2307/20297187

Davis, Amanda L. "Egyptian and Minoan Relations during the Eighteenth Dynasty/Late Bronze Age." PhD dissertation, Brown University, Department of Egyptology and Assyriology, 2008. https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d1de/439ceac541879faaced4cf2784054584963e.pdf

Dziebek, Eberhard, Hiedleberg and Leverkusen. "The Paradigms of Innovation and Their Application to the Early New Kingdom of Egypt." In *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut,* edited by Jose M. Galan, Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman, p.7-20. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2010.

Galan, Jose M. "Preface." In *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut,* edited by Jose M. Galan, Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman, p.125-138. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2010.

Gundlach, Rolf and Andrea Klug. *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Aussenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen*. Harrassowitz, 2004.

Hilliard, Kristina, and Kate Wurtzel. "Power and Gender in Ancient Egypt: The Case of Hatshepsut." *Art Education* 62, no. 3 (2009): 25-31. www.jstor.org/stable/20694765

Hitchcock, Louise A. "Naturalising the Cultural: Architectonised Landscape as Ideology in Minoan Crete." *British School at Athens Studies* 15 (2007): 91-97. www.jstor.org/stable/40960577.

Lesko, Barbara Switalski. "Royal Mortuary Suites of the Egyptian New Kingdom." *American Journal of Archaeology* 73, no. 4 (1969): 453-58. doi:10.2307/504002.

Preziosi, Donald. *Minoan Architectural Design: Formation and Signification*. New York: Mouton, 1983.

Robins, Gay. "The Names of Hatshepsut as King." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85 (1999): 103-12. doi:10.2307/3822429

Roehrig, Catharine. *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005.

Szafranski, Zbigniew E. "The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut." In *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut,* edited by Jose M. Galan, Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman, p.125-138. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2010.

Websites

Brouwers, Josho. "Haghia Triadha," *Ancient World Magazine*. Accessed November 27, 2019. https://www.ancientworldmagazine.com/articles/agia-triada-centre-southern-crete/

Etheredge, Laura. "Mentuhotep II." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Last modified May 25th, 2012. Accessed November 27, 2019.https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mentuhotep-II

History.com Editors. "Hatshepsut." *History*. Last modified October 10, 2019. Accessed November 27, 2019. https://www.history.com/topics/ancient-history/hatshepsut

Witczak, Krzysztof Tomasz. "Some Remarks on the Ancient Contacts between Crete and Egypt." *Acadamia Education*. Accessed November 28, 2019. https://www.academia.edu/6878215/Ancient_Contacts_between_Crete_and_Egypt

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: The Mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut, XVIII Dynasty, Looking East, Deir el-Bahari
Lucy Scribner Library (Saratoga Springs, NY); Maser, Moreen O'Brien, 1902-1980; archaeological sites; Architecture, Ancient; documentary photography
Moreen O'Brien Maser; Documentary photography; Architecture; Archaeological sites

Figure 2: Hatshepsut's Palace at Avaris. Courtesy of M. Bietrak. Szafranski, Zbigniew E. "The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut." In *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut,* edited by Jose M. Galan, Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman, p.125-138. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2010. Figure 7.2.

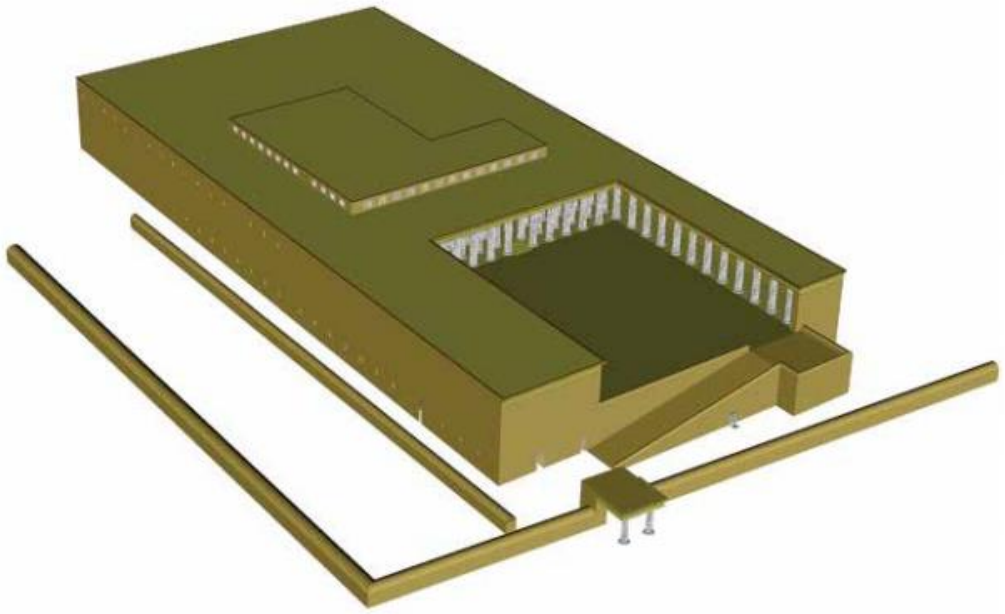

Figure 3: Haghia Triadha Plan with ramp and room legend.
Brouwers, Josho. "Haghia Triadha," *Ancient World Magazine*. Accessed November 27, 2019. https://www.ancientworldmagazine.com/articles/agia-triada-centre-southern-crete/

Figure 4: Palace of Knossos plan with central courtyard. Description
Source: Photographer: Rogers, Elizabeth Barlow
Rogers, Elizabeth Barlow; Landscape architecture--Study and teaching
Elizabeth Barlow Rogers; Landscape architecture
Collection Foundation for Landscape StudiesID Number 2100013, Image and original data provided by the Foundation for Landscape Studies

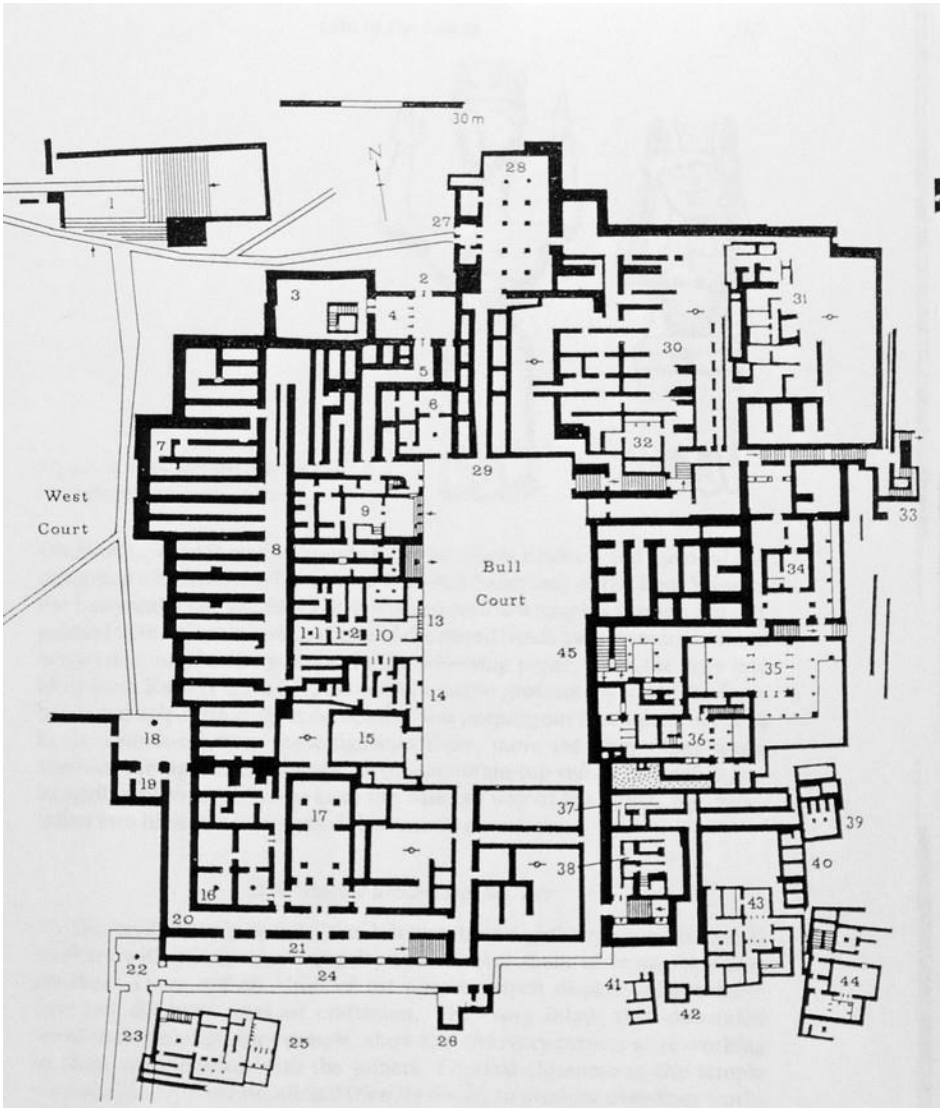

Figure 25 The Minoan Temple at Knossos: a reconstruction of the 'ground-floor' plan. 1 – Theatral Area, 2 – North-West Portico, 3 – Initiation Area, with adyton, 4 – Induction Hall and Vestibule, 5 – North-West Entrance Passage, 6 – Lotus Lamp Sanctuary, 7 – West Store-Rooms, 8 – Lower West Wing Corridor, 9 – Throne Sanctuary, 10 – Snake Goddess Sanctuary, 11 – West Pillar Crypt, 12 – East Pillar Crypt, 13 – Tripartite Shrine, 14 – Colonnade of the Priestesses,

Figure 5: Hatshepsut kneeling statue with pharaonic beard, seemingly male.
Source Image and original data provided by Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz
http://bpkgate.picturemaxx.com/webgate_cms/en

THE BOOK OF DANIEL ON BABYLON, PERSIA, AND HELLENISM

MAEVE MCMAHON

Abstract

This paper is an exploration of how different periods of Jewish oppression, from the time of the Babylonian exile onwards through the Hellenistic period, are expressed within the Hebrew bible, specifically looking at the book of Daniel. The book of Daniel is thought by scholars to have been written during two distinct periods of Jewish history, and due to this there are two distinct sections: the apocalyptic section, and the court tales. Through the hero Daniel, each section expresses the plight and concerns contemporary to the writers. This paper looks at each section, comparing the events in the stories to the historical events concurrent with the writing period.

The book of Daniel is largely agreed by scholars to have been written in two distinct sections, the first, including Daniel 1-6, composed circa 330 BCE, and the second, Daniel 7-12, between the years of 168-164 BCE.[317] Though composed separately, both chapters 1-6 and 7-12 have something in common: they were written during the second temple period of Jewish history, during which the Jewish people were under the jurisdiction of foreign kings. The aim of this paper is to examine how the

[317] M. Coogan, ed., New Revised Standard Version. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). p.1234

oppression faced by the Jewish people from the Babylonian exile to the Hellenistic kingdom of Antiochus IV is reflected in Daniel. This paper will analyze the stories of Daniel in relation to the historical context in which they were written, in order to shed light on how different periods of Jewish oppression are expressed through the text.

The early chapters of Daniel can be "ascribed to the genre of the court legend," meaning that these chapters are a collection tales about the dangers and triumphs of iconic Jewish heroes in the courts of foreign kings.[318] The court in which Daniel and his companions, the heroes of this tale, find themselves in is that of Babylon during the early years of the Babylonian exile. This section of the text depicts a time during which the king of Babylon was not perceived as intentionally malevolent towards the Jewish people, although still "ignorant and dangerously unpredictable," and so these chapters depict a "social context in which Jews [could] live at peace with their non-Jewish neighbours," albeit a tentative peace.[319] Although it would seem that there was no direct malintent directed towards the Jewish people, the inability of gentile rulers to understand the importance and power of the Israelite God did, in any case, put the Jews in Babylon in some risk. This tentative safety and dangerous uncertainty is what is reflected to us through the court tales of Daniel 1-6, wherein Daniel, our hero, is made to time and time again provide "an ideal model for how Jews are to relate to, and to function within, a foreign empire," as he face many tasks and trials in the kingdom of Babylon. This is a significant characterization, as by the time these chapters are thought to have been written, circa 330 BCE, Jewish sovereignty was not restored, and the Jewish people would require a model to emulate while navigating numerous foreign rulers.[320]

In Daniel 1, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, has just besieged Jerusalem and intends to treat Daniel and his companions Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah well, as long as they relinquish their identities and way of life (Dan. 1:3-7). They refuse to do so, and in the end, are found to be superior to the others in the court even so (Dan. 1:17-20). They are the exemplary Jews, that "ideal model," for they prosper even in the face of danger without giving up their identities and giving in to the pressure to conform.

Chapter 2 reveals that although the king's intentions are not to be cruel towards the Jews, his actions are still unpredictable (Dan. 2:5-6). We are also shown, for the first time, a vision of the future of the Jews and of the kingdoms to come after Babylon. This vision is communicated in the form of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, wherein there is a depiction of a statue, each part declining in quality. This myriad of parts, as we will see in the latter sections of Daniel, each represent a different future kingdom: Bronze and silver are the kingdoms of Media and Persia, which is followed by Greece, represented as both iron and clay. This two-fold nature of Greece, I argue, distinguishes between how the Jewish people view Greece under Alexander the Great (iron), as opposed to how it will be under the Hellenistic king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (clay).

In chapter 3, the king of Babylon attempts to force the Daniel and his companions to worship a statue, an idol, and when they refuse they are faced with

---

[318] P. Beaulieu, "The Babylonian Background of the Motif of the Fiery Furnace in Daniel 3." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, (vol. 128, no. 2. 2009). p.273.
[319] Coogan, *New Revised Standard Version*, p.1233
[320] M. Rindge, "Jewish Identity under Foreign Rule: Daniel 2 as a Reconfiguration of Genesis 41," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, (vol. 129, no. 1. 2010). p.88

perishing in a furnace (Dan. 2:47-49). Although it is their faith in God that puts them in this position, it is also a fate that, due to their resolute faith, they are saved from (Dan. 3:25-27). This message of perseverance against oppression even when faced with great odds is very prevalent in this first section of Daniel, as the Jewish people reflect on their time in Babylon as one that was not altogether peaceful.

Later, in chapter 5, there is a new king on the throne of Babylon who once again does not recognize the legitimacy of God, meaning that Daniel must again learn to navigate life as a Jew under a new foreign sovereign. A mysterious writing appears on the wall of the palace, which no one can decipher except Daniel, and he reveals that this message should be read as a warning to Belshazzar, the new king, that God should be recognized above all or his kingdom will be taken away from him (Dan. 5:18-23). As the writing alludes to, Cyrus the Great soon conquers Babylon, freeing the Jewish people from their exile in Babylon.

This chapter depicts the beginnings of Persian rule, which is portrayed quite differently than Babylonian. The members of Persian king Darius' court do not like Daniel, however the king himself likes and, further, respects him, and wishes to see him succeed. Due to Daniel's faith, however, he is susceptible to attacks by those courtiers who would like to see him killed. The court puts forward a rule that Daniel is unable follow since it would require him to worship Darius, which he can not do, and the punishment for not doing so is to be placed in a den of lions (Dan. 6:4-5). Daniel, although he is breaking Persian law, does not break the law of God, which has more authority, and so he remains unharmed (Dan. 6:20-22). This causes Darius to recognize God as legitimate, and so as the story goes, the Jews begin to prosper (Dan. 6:28). As stated above, this once again shows how the stories, which take place in the courts of foreign kings, are meant to build "an ideal model for how Jews are to relate to, and to function within, a foreign empire" through the character of Daniel.

These court tales are not typically read as entirely mythological, though certainly if historical they are history through the lens of myth. Horsley finds that "the tales in Daniel 1-6 resemble court legends found in other scribal cultures subject to Eastern empires," who also suffered similar treatment and displacement.[321] It is clear, however, that the particular portrayals of the kingdoms of Babylon and Persia within these chapters have largely to do with how the Jewish people gauged their level of oppression and acceptance under both of these empires. While exiled in Babylon, there was a great degree of uncertainty for the average Israelite, however there was a great deal more respect and freedom felt under Persian rule.

The episodes described as having taken place under Nebuchadnezzar's rule do have traceable grains of history within them, though they seem to be more appropriately ascribed to his son Nabonidus, the final king of the neo-Babylonian empire. Nabonidus reigned from 556-539 BCE, and history remembers him as exceptionally eccentric and difficult to predict regarding religious worship and freedoms.[322] Daniel 3 is likely a reflection of these aspects of Nabonidus' reign, especially regarding the building of the statue. Following his father, Nabonidus worshipped the Assyrian moon goddess Sin, rather than the Babylonian king of the gods, Marduk. Beaulieu recounts that Nabonidus

[321] R. Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea*, (London: John Knox Press, 2007), p.174

[322] Beaulieu "The Babylonian Background," p.275

attempted to impose worship of Sin as the new cult of Babylon, and furthermore believes that "the Danielic tradition transmuted this memory of Nabonidus' failed attempt at a religious reform into a timeless critique of idolatry."[323] In fact, according to this scholar, the entire premise of the book of Daniel "fits remarkably well with evidence available from contemporary documents," regarding the actual lives of Judeans in Babylon during the exile.[324]

Likewise, the depictions of Persia in the latter part of the court tales reflect the different type of subjugation imposed on the people of Judea by the Persian kings. After Cyrus the Great's initial conquer of Babylon, a number of Jews were permitted to return to their homeland, and the temple was rebuilt circa 500 BCE.[325] Jerusalem was restored under Persia but as a temple state.[326] A temple state is that which is governed by a priesthood that requires the indigenous population, in this case the displaced Jews, to serve their own ancestral gods with "tithes and offerings," which in turn provides financial support for the priesthood. The job of the priesthood is then to maintain social order and "appropriated revenues for the imperial regime to which they owed their position of power and privilege."[327] It is the action of allowing the temple to be rebuilt which is important for the depiction of Persia and Persian king Darius in Daniel. This action "gave credence to the Persian imperial propaganda that the great emperor was the liberator who restored gods, temples, and peoples, after the terrible destruction and deportation of the Babylonians."[328] This is why in Daniel, Persian kings are depicted as respecting the Jewish people and their god, and we do not see him descend into any horrible madness or become deposed in the same way that Daniel's depiction of Babylonian kings were. Instead, where Jews under Babylon must be constantly on guard, under Cyrus and Darius they began to prosper.

Between the composition of chapters 1-6 and chapters 7-12 are generations of foreign rule over the Jews with varying degrees of subjugation. By the time Chapters 7-12 are composed, the Persian kingdom had long fallen, as had the great empire of Alexander, leaving the Judea under the rule of one of the 'successor' kingdoms. These chapters are considered apocalyptic literature, starkly contrasting the court tales which depict the heroic Daniel triumphing over a knowable enemy. These sections do not depict a *potentially* hostile foreign government, rather one that is *extremely* hostile, beatable by God alone. For a work to be considered apocalyptic literature, according to K. Koch, means it must contain:

> (i)some form of revelation (apocalypsis), whether of future events or heavenly contents; (ii) a cluster of sub-genres or competent genres and (iii) a cluster of ideational elements common to works already agreed to belong to the apocalyptic literature.[329]

---

[323] Beaulieu "The Babylonian Background," p.277
[324] Beaulieu "The Babylonian Background," p.275
[325] L. Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism: History and Religion of the Jews in the Time of Nehemiah, the Maccabees, Hillel and Jesus.* (London: T&T Clark International, 2010), p.3
[326] Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries*, p.17
[327] Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries,* p.17
[328] Horsley, Scribes, Visionaries, p.17
[329] K. Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic; a Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and Its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy*, (A.R. Allenson, 1972), pp.18-33

Gammie, who cites Koch in his own work, states that this definition must include Daniel, since chapters 7-12 contain revelation (apocalypsis) throughout the court tales, which continues further in to a series of vision reports regarding eschatological prediction, interpretation of prophecy, and exhortations.[330]

There is scholarly agreement regarding the date of composition for the apocalyptic section of Daniel, placing it between the years of 168-164 BCE. This is reflected in the text by means of the apocalyptic visions, which increase in detail following their description of the splitting of Alexander's empire and the events leading up to the rule of Antiochus IV.[331] This dating is significant, because it places the apocalyptic chapters as having been composed during the Maccabean revolt against the "Hellenizing policies of Antiochus."[332] Though there is some debate as to exact dating, Gammie shows that the stories written in Aramaic from the court-tales section were certainly from the third century B.C. and that "many scholars have argued that 7-12 for the most part come from the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes."[333] All of this to say, Daniel 7-12 should be read as "an accurate and important" depiction of the events leading to and occurring during the reign of Antiochus IV.[334] Daniel is, entirely but most definitely in 7-12, a story written by oppressed people during a period of time which, for the writers, an exceptionally harrowing attack on their identity.

The content of Daniel 7-12 depicts extreme difficulties with foreign governments through a series of dreams that not even Daniel, who we have been shown was a talented interpreter, can interpret alone, rather he needs the help of an angel. The angel reveals that his dreams are visions of all the kingdoms who have "yet" to rule over the Judean people, although they are in fact being written in hindsight, centuries after the exile in which Daniel is living. In the first vision, each future kingdom is represented as great beasts which become progressively powerful. As seen in the analysis of historicity in the court-tales, the relationship between Persia and the Jews was not entirely ideal, as they were not a sovereign power, however the Jews were able to reconstruct their temple and, as well, the beginnings of their identity. The depictions in Daniel's visions of Persia as a beast are therefore, as we will see, quite non-threatening, portrayed neither maliciously or as overly powerful. The depiction of Alexander the Great, who conquered the Persian empire and thus the Jewish people as well, is not malicious either, although one might expect such a conqueror to be presented in such a way by his conquered peoples. Rather, what is stressed in Daniel's visions regarding Alexander is his great power and strength. The beats culminate in one who appears to be the greatest of all evils, quite likely representing the contemporary evil ruler at the time, Antiochus IV.

Recall that when the kingdom of Greece is first described in Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic dream, Greece is described as two-fold, both iron and clay. The purpose of this duality is that Greece, initially under Alexander, is a very different foreign kingdom for the Jews to navigate than it becomes later under Antiochus. Before his early death

---

[330] J. Gammie "The Classification, Stages of Growth, and Changing Intentions in the Book of Daniel." *Journal of Biblical Literature,* (vol. 95, no. 2. 1976). pp. 193-194

[331] Coogan, *New Revised Standard Version*, p.1233

[332] Coogan, *New Revised Standard Version*, p.1233

[333] Gammie, "The Classification," p.195

[334] B. Scolnic, "Antiochus IV as the Scorned Prince in Dan 11:21." *Vetus Testamentum,* (vol. 62, no. 4. 2012), p.572.

and subsequent splitting of his empire leading eventually to the power struggle resulting in Antiochus IV on the throne, Alexander was thought to be quite benevolent towards the Jewish inhabitants of his empire. One historian, Goldstein, paraphrases a story told by Josephus which well depicts Alexander in the memory of the Jewish people in his time. As the story goes, Alexander had conquered the Persian empire and was travelling to Jerusalem. Contrary to expectation, Alexander was impressed by the people and so he made obeisance to God. The next day, it is said that Alexander declared that the Jews would be allowed to live by the Torah and be "exempt from tribute in the sabbatical year," meaning that he had granted all that the high priest had requested of him.[335] Grabbe concurs that the period which one would consider 'oppression' under Hellenistic regime only began after Alexander's death, when the land of Syro-Palestine was given to the Seleucids and seized by Ptolemy I, resulting in the 'Syrian Wars'.[336] The eventual outcome of this post-Alexander chaos lead to Antiochus IV as king, which brings us to the time of the writing of Daniel 7-12.

While the first beasts in the vision of chapter 7 are described generally by their size and strength, the final beast is instead described in great detail through his actions. Daniel 7:25 is one of many clear references to Antiochus IV, rather than the vague descriptions of the rules by the other beasts/kings that come first. 7:25 describes blasphemy, changes to the seasons and laws of the Jews, and deliberate attempts to disrupt Jewish identity. As stated by Boyarin, this is an accurate description of Antiochus' attempts at Hellenization in the region of Judea, as he changed the law, and forced them to change their "appointed time (sabbaths and festivals)."[337]

Chapter 8 is Daniel's second vision, that of the goats and the ram (Dan. 8:3-12). The angel reveals the truth of this dream in more detail than he did first, specifically giving information on which beast represents which king and what events will take place under these kingdoms. The ram with two horns is the Medes and Persia (Dan. 8:19), they are quite powerful, until a goat with one very strong horn comes and the ram has no chance of survival. This goat is the kingdom of Greece, the singular strong horn representing Alexander, who is increasingly powerful however until his death. After this horn is broken, a symbol of Alexander's death, four horns grow in place of the one that represented him, none of them particularly strong, which is a reflection of the division of Alexander's empire, none of which rival him in power. The final horn that grows out of the goat is Antiochus IV, and this horn causes nothing but destruction, it is full of deceit, and it is hateful towards Jews (Dan. 8:24-25). This beast, the angel declares, will be broken, but only by the hand of God (Dan. 8:25). Here is a very interesting statement which contains an underlying message of hope for God's salvation, even in the face of a horrible enemy.

After chapter 8, Daniel sends up a desperate plea to God for help, begging Him to save them from oppressors (Dan. 9:17-19). The angel Gabriel appears to Daniel, promising to give him wisdom and understanding concerning the predicament of the Jews. He is told outright that history will unfold like so: three more Persian kings will

---

[335] J. Goldstein, "Alexander and the Jews." *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, (vol. 59. 1993). pp.62-63

[336] Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism*, p.15

[337] D. Boyarin, "Daniel 7, Intertextuality, and the History of Israel's Cult." *The Harvard Theological Review*, (vol. 105, no. 2. 2012). p.141

rule, after whom Alexander will emerge, thus beginning the series of events leading to Antiochus IV (Dan. 11:1-13).

Multiple scholars consider Daniel 11 the most historical chapter of the entire book, since it refers accurately to "specific events in Hellenistic history."[338] Since "the author of Daniel…is living in the crisis period of 11:29-35," it makes sense why this is the period given the most focus during the apocalyptic chapters.[339] To the authors, the period of time in which they were living may have truly seemed to be the apocalypse, hence why it is written about with so much detail and emphasis, and why Daniel is so afraid. A small list of historical events that appear in Daniel 11 includes: the campaigns of Antiochus III, the first ending in stalemate, the second being his campaign to Egypt which results in a check by Rome (Dan. 11:1-19); Daniel 11:21-12:3 covers the rise and reign of Antiochus IV. His deceitful rise to power (Dan. 11:21-24), his first campaign, (Dan. 11:25-28), his second campaign (Dan. 11:29-35); Daniel 11:36-39 describes his attack against religion.[340]

Certain things were done under Antiochus IV which directly concerned the people of Jerusalem. Antiochus is said to have literally "attacked the divine assembly and even the Most High God."[341] This claim is further elaborated on by Grabbe, who explains that he "raided the temple treasury to the tune of 1800 talents," and when Jason – an ex-priest in Jerusalem – attacked the current high priest Menelaus, Antiochus interpreted it as a revolt and reacted by sending an army which allegedly killed 40,000 Jews.[342]

At the time of composition, Antiochus had not yet died, and so the detailing of how he will die at the intervention of God is very vague (Dan. 11:45). The book of Daniel concludes with a message of hope for the oppressed Jews. Daniel 12:2-13 is a reminder to the faithful Jew that everlasting life awaits them should they remain faithful throughout even the hardest of times. In fact, those who keep the faith will be rewarded at the end time. Daniel is assured by the angel that he is such a man, and that he too can look forward to rising for his "reward at the end of the days" even though he is currently exiled and under potentially hostile rule.

Despite the two vastly different sections of this book and the different periods of composition, the book has a consistent theme. "The book of Daniel offers its readers both advice and consolation,"[343] teaching them how to deal with oppressive rule as well as encouraging hope for the future. It shows Daniel himself negotiating the dangers of living in foreign courts, being faced with challenges to his faith and to his life, and never giving up. Then, Daniel learns of the persecutions to come, including an absolute terror of a king, and yet he, the symbol of the ideal Jew, is promised that in death, all those who have kept faith in God will be happy. Daniel serves as a "role model of resistance and deliverance" to the Jews persecuted under Antiochus IV.[344] The book of Daniel is a literature about oppression written by the oppressed during a period of great strife, and this is clearly seen when one reads the text exegetically.

---

[338] Scolnic, "Antiochus IV," p.573
[339] R. Clifford, "History and Myth in Daniel 10-12." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, (no. 220. 1975), p.23
[340] Clifford, "History and Myth," p.23
[341] Clifford, "History and Myth," p.25
[342] Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism*, p.15
[343] Coogan, *New Revised Standard Version*, p.1234
[344] Coogan, *New Revised Standard Version*, p.1233

Bibliography

Beaulieu, P. "The Babylonian Background of the Motif of the Fiery Furnace in Daniel 3." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 128, no. 2. 2009, pp. 273-290

Boyarin, D. "Daniel 7, Intertextuality, and the History of Israel's Cult." *The Harvard Theological Review,* vol. 105, no. 2. 2012, pp. 139-162

Clifford, R. "History and Myth in Daniel 10-12." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* no. 220. 1975, pp. 23-26.

Cohen, S. "Respect for Judaism by Gentiles According to Josephus." *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 80, no. 4. 1987, pp. 409-430

Coogan, M., ed New Revised Standard Version. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Print. pp. 1233-1257

Gammie, J. "The Classification, Stages of Growth, and Changing Intentions in the Book of Daniel." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 95, no. 2. 1976, pp. 191-204

Goldstein, J. "Alexander and the Jews." *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, vol. 59. 1993, pp. 59-101

Grabbe, L. *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism: History and Religion of the Jews in the Time of Nehemiah, the Maccabees, Hillel and Jesus*. T&T Clark International, 2010: London, pp. 96-102

Horsley, R. *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea*. Westminster John Knox Press, 2007: London, pp. 173-189

Koch, K. *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic; a Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and Its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy*. A.R. Allenson, 1972, pp.18-33

Rindge, M. "Jewish Identity under Foreign Rule: Daniel 2 as a Reconfiguration of Genesis 41." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 129, no. 1. 2010, pp. 85-104

Scolnic, B. "Antiochus IV as the Scorned Prince in Dan 11:21." *Vetus Testamentum,* vol. 62, no. 4. 2012, pp. 572-581

Zeitlin, S. "'The Tobias Family and the Hasmoneans': A Historical Study in the Political and Economic Life of the Jews of the Hellenistic Period." *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research,* vol, 4. 1933, pp. 169-223

VIRGIL BY MOONBEAM

Blindfold bound beneath a starless sky nimble words won't come
and twists and turns of mythic meter pause unthought.
To 'sing of arms and of a man' remains unsung.

So too under a sunlit daylight dome the heroes rest,
mischievous muses choose to mutely flee afar.
Virgil, do you see the footprints of Aeneas?

A multitude of blinking cycles light and dark had passed
and still your Trojan warrior tale is not complete,
restless days and sleepless nights, a daunting task!

Does your stylus tremble Virgil? Surely it must.
Roman institution threatens bucolic balm.
Virgil, do you see the handprints of Augustus?

Bathed in cool illumination, orb subtle and serene,
finally edge frayed phrases fall into ordered place.
Pale prints appear to Virgil! Virgil by moonbeam.

COLLEEN DUNN